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Built Environment, Ethics and Everyday Life

Editors

Mattias Kärrholm and Sandra Kopljar

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Editorial

Built Environment, Ethics and Everyday Life

Mattias Kärrholm * and Sandra Kopljar

Department of Architecture and Built Environment, Lund University, 221 00 Lund, Sweden;
E-Mails: mattias.karrholm@arkitektur.lth.se (M.K.), sandra.kopljar@arkitektur.lth.se (S.K.)

* Corresponding author

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Abstract
In the wake of global crises concerning, for example, inequalities, migration, pandemics, and the environment, ethical concerns have come to the fore. In this thematic issue, we are especially interested in the role that the planning, design, and materialities of the built environment can take in relation to ethics, and we present four different openings or themes into urban ethics that we also think are worthy of further interrogation. First of all, we suggest that new ethics evolve around new materialities, i.e., urban development and new design solutions are always accompanied by new ethical issues that we need to tackle. Secondly, we highlight different aspects involved in the design and ethics of community building. Thirdly, we address the issue of sustainable planning by pointing to some its shortcomings, and especially the need to addressing ethical concerns in a more coherent way. Finally, we point to the need to further investigate communication, translation, and influence in participatory design processes. Taken together, we hope that this issue—by highlighting these themes in a series of different articles—can inspire further studies into the much needed field of investigation that is urban ethics.

Keywords
built environment; climate ethics; everyday life; urban design; urban ethics; urban planning

Issue
This editorial is part of the issue "Built Environment, Ethics and Everyday Life" edited by Mattias Kärrholm (Lund University, Sweden) and Sandra Kopljar (Lund University, Sweden).

1. Introduction

In old academic culture and in the academic publications of the 17th and early 18th centuries, theology and philosophy were the dominant subjects, and within philosophy there was probably no topic more popular than ethics. Slowly, other disciplines such as the natural sciences, medicine, and the social sciences took over, and ethics—once one of the more important topics in most universities—started to play a much less prominent role. Ethics has, however, always remained a topic of great importance and it has also had a tendency to pop up in times of trouble and disturbance when the wheels are not spinning as smoothly, i.e., when inequalities and income gaps increase or when the scientific and technical dream of constant progress no longer seems to make sense. Medical ethics is one case in point: Although developed already during the 18th and 19th century its relevance has steadily increased since the second half of the 20th century, in the wake of problematic medical experiments tainted by scientific hubris as well as a growing biotechnical development. Recently, and in the wake of climate change, it seems as if ethics have slowly come to the fore again on a more general level. In fact, it seems to be increasingly clear that technical solutions will never save us, nor can they help us build a sustainable society if we keep on living in unsustainable ways. Technologies (and here we include the built environment in all its guises) do not exist in a vacuum, but are put into play in contexts of social values, qualities, and norms which they both transform; and in turn are transformed by. But what does a contemporary ethical perspective on urban planning and design look like? Certainly it should not be developed along the nor-

mative and sometimes dogmatic ways that we saw in the 17th century; rather the debate needs to be concerned with bringing in more voices and try to reckon with relevant actors into discussions around contemporary themes, such as spatial justice (Fainstein, 2010), the green imperative (Fox, 2000), diversity (Sennett, 2018), urban politics (Mostafavi, 2017), matters of concern (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017), living in ruined landscapes (Tsing, 2015), etc. In fact, it seems increasingly clear that ethics must be expanded to include more actors than just humans (Haraway, 2016; Latour, 2018; Stengers, 2003; Yaneva & Zaera-Polo, 2017), since they play a role and increasingly seem to suffer the effects of our actions. Urban materialities affect how we live our lives. If the roads are wide and comfortable we drive; if there is no green space available close by where we live, we might take the car to a park or to the forest. The built environment takes part in producing our actions, and as such it also takes part in the co-production of an ethic. In a similar way, our actions have their effects on non-humans: air and water get polluted; animals are made extinct; forests are burned down; etc.; effects that in turn affect human lives. Our everyday morale is thus never produced by us alone—our intentions are not formed outside the world but in the middle of it.

2. Perspectives on Ethicality

The goal of this thematic issue is to investigate the increasingly complex relation between built environment and everyday ethics. The issue presents ethical discussions and considerations in relation to the built environment, urban materialities, and the everyday. The range of questions tackled thus acknowledges some of the ethical perspectives that are explicitly, or implicitly, involved in the problems that now are facing the field of urban planning and design. At the core of these questions is a concern for everyday life, and the ways in which mundane activities depend on and in different ways relate to the built environment. Although this relation has been acknowledged in different contemporary designs, the problem, we think, has quite often been dealt with in an unsatisfactory way. In fact, certain choices and aspects of ordinary life seem to be increasingly made invisible by means of design (for example in so called smart city solutions), by designs favouring clarity over complexity (Sennett, 2018) or through strategies such as nudging (French, 2011). These approaches tend to frame certain aspects as more important or salient than others, potentially decreasing the affordances and diversity of our built environment. In contrast to this, several articles in this theme issue do actually point to an opposite need, i.e., the need to embrace transparency and complexity. The goal cannot be reached through simple cause-and-relation logics or one-for-all solutions. Choices and relations are becoming increasingly complex and this is something that needs to be made visible and transparent rather than simply black-boxed or manifested as some technical machine, designed with a belief in that hardy modern myth that good deeds can be universal and set beyond a context or situation.

In this issue we present a series of articles on urban ethics that we think can be sorted under four different themes: a) new materialities; b) community building; c) planning for sustainability; and d) participation and communication. The first theme deals with the different ethical dilemmas and concerns that arise around new materialities (La Cecla & Zanini, 2013) and addresses the changing role of street furniture in everyday life, the affordance of blue-green solutions, and the urban borders constituted by mental healthcare facilities.

In their article "Ontological Boundaries or Contextual Borders: The Urban Ethics of the Asylum," Ebba Högström and Chris Philo (2020) argue against 'the asylum' as a neutral site in the city. Based on the case study of Gartnavel Royal Hospital in Glasgow, and through contacts with individuals that navigate its borders, they ask to what extent mental healthcare facilities are incorporated in the rest of the city. The authors interrogate if such institutions have become more integrated and on what ethical grounds urban planning treats the seemingly clear, but in a direct experience more porous, boundaries of mental healthcare facilities.

Johan Wirdelöv (2020), for his part, investigates how a "deceptively innocent" group of street furniture that keeps proliferating in our cities influence and encourage our behaviour in the city. Street furniture is reflected upon as artefacts that follow current trends in urban design, and support some events that are seen as sustainable, such as skateboard-friendly or solar-powered objects, while other events or individuals are instead seen as unwanted and excluded by hostile design. Through the suggestion of three furniture roles—carnivalesque street furniture that has temporal functions, behaviourist street furniture which engages in human public action, and cabinet-like street furniture which relocates other objects—Wirdelöv (2020) conceptualizes the material culture of street furniture for further investigations into the sociomaterial aspects of everyday life.

Misagh Mottaghi, Mattias Kärrholm and Catharina Sternudd (2020) inquire into the ethical consequences that blue-green solutions (BGS), managing stormwater, and climate change in situations of urban densification can have on everyday life. While urgent sustainability concerns are addressed with the introduction of BGS, these technical solutions present challenges in the form of new affordances that have an impact on everyday life in public space. Through the case study of Augustenborg in Malmö, Sweden, they exemplify how BGS tend to introduce a new kind of sensitivity and intensification of concerns and negotiations with significant social consequences.

The second theme revolves around community building, including both the forming of ethicalities in everyday communities and the growing need to facilitate for new communities or publics in an increasingly mobile society.

This also involves a discussion of different strategies for designing such communities as well as some of the problems or particularities involved in their formation.

In their investigation of the everyday ethics and sociability of outdoor ice rinks in Canada, Mervyn Horgan, Saara Liinamaa, Amanda Dakin, Sofia Meligrana, and Xu Meng (2020) give us a rich picture of the social life of public ice rinks and the different interactions between strangers. They discuss how the production of an everyday ethics here, among other things, seems to be connected to personal materialities, spatially situated norms, carnivalesque moments, and flattened social hierarchies.

Shelly Cohen's and Yael Allweil's contribution (2020) explores dwellings for seniors who live with caretakers through the design of Tel Aviv Metropolis apartments in Israel. They make a plea for a non-ageist housing where not only families with children are considered in design but also the need to adapt the dwellings for caring in old age. The article includes a design proposal which suggests a division of seniors' apartments into a primary and secondary unit in order to better provide a spatial organization for shared residency.

Ida Sandström (2020) looks at two different design approaches to counter segregation in public space. She discusses two contemporary public space projects—Superkilen in Copenhagen, Denmark, and Jubileumsparken in Gothenburg, Sweden. These are taken as examples of how design is thought to help us learn to be affected (the focus of the Copenhagen case) and care (the focus of the Gothenburg case), thus forming very different kinds of ethics in relation to the forming of communities.

In "Coffeehouses (Re)Appropriated: Counterpublics and Cultural Resistance in Tabriz, Iran," Laleh Foroughanfar (2020) looks at how counterpublics and cultural resistance are formed in the traditional coffeehouses of Tabriz, Iran. Through an ethnographic study, she maps the mechanisms of everyday ethics and how resistance and security are produced through practices that stabilise identity, but that also involve a process of othering and the production of a mono-gendered social environment.

The third theme that we cover in this issue is the ethical stakes and dilemmas in relation to sustainable planning. How can we plan sustainable cities, and perhaps more importantly, what learnings can we draw from contemporary efforts made so far? Here, it is suggested that the supposedly good and inclusive, or seemingly objective and neutral solutions, that are advocated within in contemporary urban planning also need to be accompanied by continuous ethical deliberations.

In her article "Guilt-Tripping: On the Relation between Ethical Decisions, Climate Change and the Built Environment," Paulina Prieto de la Fuente (2020) discusses climate-related decision-making in everyday life and its relation to guilt and shame. Drawing from her empirical study of the growing suburb of Stångby, just outside Lund, Sweden, she notes how people's good intentions quite often are hard to follow in everyday life where the room to maneuver different demands and circumstances can often be limited. Everyday life always carries an element of creative togetherness, as inhabitants and their environment depend on each other. This co-existence and how it unfolds over time needs to be better understood and taken into account by planning.

Pernilla Hagbert's, Josefin Wangel's, and Loove Broms' (2020) article is a critical examination of how an eco-modern imaginary is reproduced in sustainable planning in Sweden. In their investigation, they show how a contemporary sustainable planning rather than challenging the predominant regimes sustains them and the authors argue for a more ethically engaged sustainable planning that critically challenges and discusses planning agendas in relation to relevant scales, the use of resources, and the production of subjectivities.

Sandra Kopljar (2020) partly connects to this argument as she digs deeper into the notion of scale. In relation to the supposedly sustainable urban development of Lund regarding the new large-scale science facilities MAX IV and European Spallation Source, she discusses how planning intentions might align with expected outcomes on one scale but not the other. These contradictions in planning interests cannot be resolved unless we start to lift the issue of scale into a discussion of urban planning ethics.

The fourth and final theme concerns justice and equality, and more specifically participation and design dialogues. In his article "Lack of Participatory Effort: On the Ethics of Communicating Urban Planning," Gunnar Sandin (2020) points to shortcomings in participatory planning processes regarding land-use where seemingly democratic processes are identified as lacking real influence because of a lack of communication. A need for such processes of communication to last for some time, and to be adapted to the conditions of those concerned, is vital. The especially problematic 'successive translational steps' and 'dialogic reciprocity' are found to constitute areas of potential development.

Barbara Roosen, Liesbeth Huybrechts, Oswald Devisch, and Pieter van den Broeck (2020), finally, explore 'dialectical design dialogues' as a method for engaging in ethics in urban planning contexts. The dialectic approach acknowledges contrasting ethical standpoints and investigates these through an atlas as a methodological tool in the case study of a residential neighbourhood in Genk, Belgium. In the collective production of the atlas both professionals and laymen develop possible future scenarios on the basis of competing ideas and where the technique itself, and the example of 'real-time' urban planning process, contributes to the advance of urban planning.

3. Conclusions

Together, the articles of this issue present different openings into urban ethics and suggest different themes and

questions worthy of further interrogation. First of all, we have made it clear that new materialities and design solutions are always accompanied by new ethical issues and concerns. Two effects especially pointed to here is, for example, the ethical implications of densification (through the proliferation of street furniture on public places, or through the implementation of blue-green solutions in an existing park environment), and urban boundaries and borders (for example between the city and certain institutions or institutional areas). Secondly, we have highlighted different aspects involved in the design and ethics of community building. This included the discussion of the integration of different groups through design (both in residential spaces and public spaces) and the forming of ethics and its relation to both inclusion and othering (both in outdoor and indoor spaces). Thirdly, we have addressed the issue of sustainable planning by pointing to some of the shortcomings in contemporary efforts to account for scale relations, the production of different subjectivities, the use of resources in everyday life, as well as the problems of accounting for how the ongoing negotiations between people's everyday life and their environmental concerns are mediated through urban design. Finally, we have pointed to the need to further investigate communication, translation, and influence in participatory design processes. Taken together, we hope that this issue—by highlighting the ethicality in processes and relations of urban planning, design, and everyday life—can inspire further studies into the much needed field of investigation that is urban ethics.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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About the Authors

Mattias Kärrholm is Professor in Architectural Theory at Lund University, Sweden. His research deals with territoriality, public space, building types, space and culture, and everyday life. He has written the books *Retailising Space* (Ashgate, 2012) and, with Andrea Mubi Brighenti, *Animated Lands, Studies in Territoriology* (Nebraska University Press, 2020). He has also edited the volumes *Urban Squares* (Nordic Academic Press, 2015) and *Urban Walls* (with Andrea Mubi Brighenti, Routledge 2019).

Sandra Kopljar is an Architect and Associate Senior Lecturer at the Department of Architecture and Built Environment, LTH-Lund University. Kopljar's research interest revolves around urban development and design processes connected to design professionals' methodology and pedagogy. These themes are investigated in relation to design, in artistic research that explores architecture methodology, and in research about the handling of everyday actions and strategies in relation to the built environment.

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Article

Ontological Boundaries or Contextual Borders: The Urban Ethics of the Asylum

Ebba Högström [1,2,*] and Chris Philo [2]

[1] Department of Spatial Planning, Blekinge Institute of Technology, 371 79 Karlskrona, Sweden;
E-Mail: ebba.hogstrom@bth.se
[2] School of Geography and Earth Sciences, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, G12 8QQ, UK;
E-Mail: christopher.philo@glasgow.ac.uk

* Corresponding author

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Abstract
What and where is 'the asylum' today? To what extent do mental healthcare facilities stand out as clearly bounded entities in the modern urban landscape, perhaps reflecting their history as deliberately set-apart and then often stigmatised places? To what extent have they maybe become less obtrusive, more sunk into and interacting with their urban surroundings? What issues of urban ethics are at stake: concerning who/what is starkly demarcated in the city, perhaps subjected to exclusionary logics and pressures, or more sensitively integrated into the city, planned for inclusion and co-dwelling? These questions underscore our article, rooted in an in-depth case study of Gartnavel Royal Hospital, Glasgow, opened as a 'lunatic asylum' on its present, originally greenfield, site in the 1840s and remaining open today surrounded by dense urban expansion. Building from the 'voices' of patients, staff and others familiar with the site, we discuss the sense of this asylum as 'other' to, as 'outside' of, or merely 'beside' the urban fabric. Drawing from concepts of 'orientations' (Ahmed, 2006), sites as spatial constructions (Burns & Kahn, 2005), the power of borders and boundaries (Haselsberger, 2014; Sennett, 2018), issues of site, stigma and related urban ethical matters will be foregrounded. Where are the boundaries that divide the hospital campus from the urban context? What are the material signifiers, the cultural associations or the emotional attachments that continue to set the boundaries? Or, in practice, do boundaries melt into messier, overlapping, intersecting border zones, textured by diverse, sometimes contradictory, bordering practices? And, if so, what are the implications?

Keywords
asylum; border; boundary; built environment; hospital; stigma; urban ethics

Issue
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1. Borders and Boundaries: Beyond 'Grey Belts'

> Borders are porous edges, boundaries are not. The boundary is an edge where things end, a limit beyond which no particular species must stray or, conversely, which it guards as do prides of lions or packs of wolves by peeing or pooping to tell others to Keep Out! The boundary marks a low-intensity edge. Whereas the border is an edge where different groups interact; for instance, where the shoreline of a lake meets solid land is an active zone of exchange where organisms find and feed off other organisms. (Sennett, 2018, p. 220)

This article is concerned with borders and boundaries in the urban landscape, seeking to understand them as ideational and material—conceived and perceived, on the one hand, and physical and functional, on the other. Our specific interest is what comprises, for urban planning, a somewhat neglected research area: the 'spaces'

of mental healthcare institutions. Such spaces often appear to possess simple boundaries, sharply demarcating them from the residences, businesses, thoroughfares and other settings of urban life, but the reality may be different, with borders that are moveable, porous and, we might say, 'fractal,' in that what seems to be a 'straight line' at one scale turns out to be a much more complex, jaggy, twisting 'geometry' at another. Our aim below is to explore these matters and to draw out implications for the 'ethics' of urban planning, prioritising the 'voices' of people whose daily lives entail navigating the complexity of mental healthcare borders and boundaries, as well as negotiating everyday life in the urban environment.

In the quote above from *Building and Dwelling: Ethics for the City*, Sennett brings a natural–ecological distinction between borders and boundaries into the orbit of human communities, identifying the modern city as dominated by closed boundaries, "cut in segregated parts" (Sennett, 2018, p. 220), by traffic flows, functional zones and "guarded, gated communit[ies] inside a boundary wall" (Sennett, 2018, p. 220). Is it that simple? No, says Sennett, since there are things in-between, transitional and transgressive orders that ameliorate any crude distinction between the boundary's two sides. He continues with another pairing from the natural world: cell wall and cell membrane. The cell membrane "must at once let matter flow in and out of the cell" (Sennett, 2018, p. 220), but in a selective way so it gets what its needs to continue living, creating "porosity in dialogue with resistance" (Sennett, 2018, p. 220), a state of being overrun but able to absorb and hold. Sennett transfers such thinking into the realm of urban space, alerting urban planners to the dynamic relation between porosity and resistance. An open space is not per se porous and an urban wall made of stone is not totally solid: "Do not rely too much on the sheer materiality" is his message for the planners. He offers the example of historical city walls as "invitation(s) to dwell" (Sennett, 2018, p. 221), acting like membranes, border zones where transgressive practices are made possible passing between the two sides, with people moving seamlessly from one side to the other without taking any cognisance of the wall as barrier.

Although boundaries are generally understood as limits and conceived as lines (e.g., on a map), carrying with them a sense of division or separation in/of space, they are also social phenomena, "made by humans to help them organize their lives" (Popescu, 2011, p. 15) by regulating movement and often, indeed, with a high degree of porosity and permeability. Borders too can have quite obvious physical presence (e.g., the Berlin Wall), and at the same time carry a burdensome symbolism of past performances (e.g., the asylums; Anderson & O'Dowd, 1999). To state, as does Popescu (2011, p. 15), that "borders are not fixed; they are transitory, and they always change in space and in time" concurs with Sennett's thesis about the city wall's porous character making possible the invitation to 'dwell,' contrasting the boundary's capacity for territorial exclusion/inclusion. However, seeing walls as complex social constructions (Haselsberger, 2014) adds philosophical layers of belonging, exclusion and inclusion to their stark materiality. As such, fundamental ethico-political issues are at stake when considering borders and boundaries, at all scales from everyday life struggles of individuals to global political relations (Haselsberger, 2014; Paasi, 2009).

An important part of training as an urban planner (or architect) is to define the spatial features of any built, natural or urban landscape in terms of its borders, boundaries, edges and barriers, often from a top-down view over a base map perhaps, but not necessarily, confirmed by a site visit. Different urban structures mirror different conceptions of how to best organise the urban environment—infrastructure, distribution, security, health—and sometimes aesthetics become a driving force. However, few urban environments 'on the ground' are as consistent as planners envision, not least because pre-existing features in the environment are so hard to neglect (even if a tabula rasa position is in principle adopted). As cities grow, extant built constellations and natural formations have to be tackled and incorporated into the new urban layout. What to do with those fuzzy and 'unordered' spaces causes more frustration than inspiration for planners accustomed to an urban planning discourse whose ordering principles centre on consistency, control and continuity (Beauregard, 2005; Dürr, Egeb, Mosera, Neumann, & Winder, 2020; Sennett, 2018; Sibley, 1981; Till, 2009). An example is when Jacobs dismisses scrapyards, manufacturing firms and other such sites as indistinct 'grey belts' (Högström, 2020, pp. 65–66; after Jacobs, 1961). Such places do not have a ready place in the diverse, vibrant, small-scale city culture that Jacobs envisioned. Similarly, institutions like hospitals (especially mental healthcare sites) are seldom integral to visions of the 'good city,' arguably reflecting a more-or-less acknowledged hierarchy of places with 'a spirit' and places without one (or with a negative, stigmatised spirit; Brook, 2000; Dyck & Deighton, 2017; Moon, Kearns, & Joseph, 2015).

This is a question of urban ethics, as the subtitle of Sennett's book indicates (see also Dürr et al., 2020). Who gets included in the urban realm, as a legitimate urbanite? What about the stranger, the newcomer or the one-time insider now troubled or troubling? What role is played in this respect by the material structuring of the urban milieu? By the built environment with its buildings, landscapes and infrastructural technical and social components, some elements of which themselves become coded as 'noxious' or indeed associated with outsiders? Ethical urban questions are tightly coupled with 'caring for place' (Metzger, 2014; Philo & Parr, 2019), and with the interactions of people and 'lived space,' "concentrat[ing] on daily places and encounters in the urban life" (Söderström, 2017, p. 58). Such are big questions sometimes, if still too rarely, addressed by academic researchers, policymakers and planners: They lie provocatively in the background of this article.

This article is organized as follows: after this introduction, we present the site of study, and its relation to urban and care landscapes, the empirical material and the methodological considerations. Thereafter, we outline our theoretical position, interfacing Ahmed's (2006) concept of 'orientations' with Burns and Kahn's (2005) claims about sites as 'spatial constructions.' This is then followed by the empirical section with its five subsections, all engaging with a specific dimension of bordering practices: straight line, imploding, exploding, no line and fractals. When concluding, we rejoin our findings with claims about how orientation 'positions' people, ending with speculations about how urban developments engulfing the site and bordering practices from everyday inhabitants may cause perceptions of the asylum as a place 'aside' to fade away, and as a result invite in mental healthcare institutions as full members of the urban fabric, no longer left as 'stigmatised territories' or the 'unclaimed' of the 'grey belt.'

2. A Site Study: The 'Unclaimed' Asylum

> And what already exists is more than just the physical attributes of terrain (topography, rivers, roads, buildings) but includes also the various hidden forces that underlie the workings of a given place. (Corner, 2011, p. 90)

In what follows we take our material point of departure from the remains of a perimeter wall made of sandstone and concrete located in the western part of the city of Glasgow, Scotland, leading us to consider the borders and boundaries of a hospital campus (Figure 1). This wall was constructed to enclose the grounds of a 'lunatic asylum,' Glasgow (or Gartnavel) Royal Hospital, opened in the 1843. The hospital remains open today on the same patch of city ground, still widely perceived as sat 'within' its boundaries and 'secluded' from the surrounding neighbourhood: An 'outsider' in the city's built fabric, housing those often considered as outsiders to the 'normal' workings of urban civic society.

Indeed, Gartnavel as 'outsider' is suggested in Pacione's (1983) Glasgow-based study of neighbourhood communities. Pacione, searching for factors promoting social cohesion, sought to identify neighbourhoods in the city's 'greater West End' with established boundaries *as* perceived by local residents. Fascinatingly, a few areas came forward as 'unclaimed,' eccentric to what were perceived as neighbourhoods where people 'belonged,' including a few industrial sites, a former harbour area *and* our own area of inquiry, Gartnavel (Figure 2). Clearly outside citizens' perceptions of what constituted a 'neighbourhood community,' institutional areas like Gartnavel have a history of being perceived as empty, blanks on the map, or even as feared, stig-

Figure 1. The perimeter wall once constructed to enclose the entire grounds of Gartnavel Royal Hospital. Source: Ebba Högström.

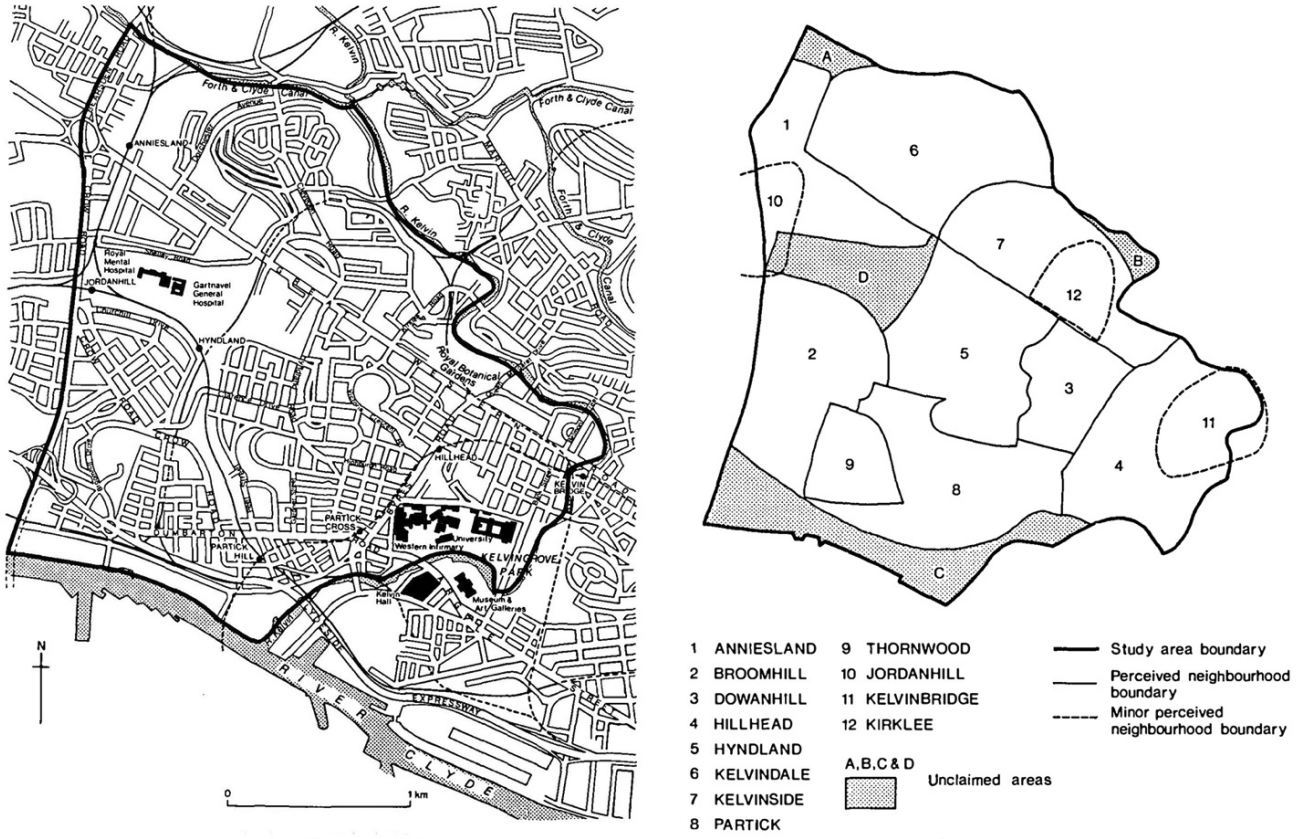

Figure 2. To the left, Gartnavel Hospital Campus location in the western part of Glasgow with the layout of the old asylum in black. To the right, Gartnavel as 'unclaimed space' (area D). Source: Pacione (1983).

matised territories (Goffman, 1963; Moon et al., 2015), whether in popular culture, citizen perceptions or urban planning discourse: "A place for those who mainstream society would prefer to shun, separate and segregate, rather than include" (Cornish, 1997, p. 106).

The original Glasgow Royal Asylum left the city's urban-industrial fringe during the 1840s for what was then an elevated location in a rural situation several miles west of the city. Over subsequent years, this 'old asylum' on the hill was reworked and extended, as well as being supplemented by new wards, units and treatment centres trailing around the slopes below the original Victorian buildings. Today, this former asylum area is characterised by a remarkable diversity of health-and-medical spaces, including a general hospital, cancer treatment centre, homeopathic hospital and more, as well as a state-of-the-art acute psychiatric inpatient facility opened in 2008. Parts of the grounds are used as a neighbourhood park, while urban expansion has changed Gartnavel's relation to the city, it now being located amidst residences, businesses and other civic facilities such as schools, sports facilities, train station, garages and shops (Figure 3).

Gartnavel's 'biography' is of course one version of a broader, complex history of mental health care, treatment, administration and spatial arrangements. It is a history of how different 'modalities' (Moon et al., 2015) have followed each other, oscillating between notions of progress and 'not-fit-for-purpose': e.g., care modalities (innovation in drugs vs. counselling therapies) and facilities modalities (huge institutions vs. small-scale facilities) and location modalities (rural vs. urban). An earlier phase of institutionalisation starting in eighteenth-century Western Europe and North America was characterised by isolated, sizeable and often forbidding 'lunatic asylums' (Philo, 2004), whereas the most recent transition from the 1960s, deinstitutionalisation, saw a shift from large institutions, often located in rural areas, to small-scale mental health facilities run by state, voluntary and private sectors under the banner of 'care in the community' and usually localised in urban areas (Högström, 2018; Parr, 2008).

Our overarching argument is that such institutions bring the complex relation between built environment and everyday ethics powerfully to the fore. These institutions–and the 'areas' that they colonise—often 'live a life of their own,' made possible by powerful owners (e.g., UK National Health Service) in tandem with operational demands (e.g., constant alertness to change), which in turn renders it difficult for local planners to enrol these areas into local planning regimes. These areas appear as 'outsiders' in contemporary ideals of dense and vibrant city life, a specific dimension of which is that institutional health care sites are seldom the primary choice of assignment for planning students' projects, not being considered sufficiently interesting as

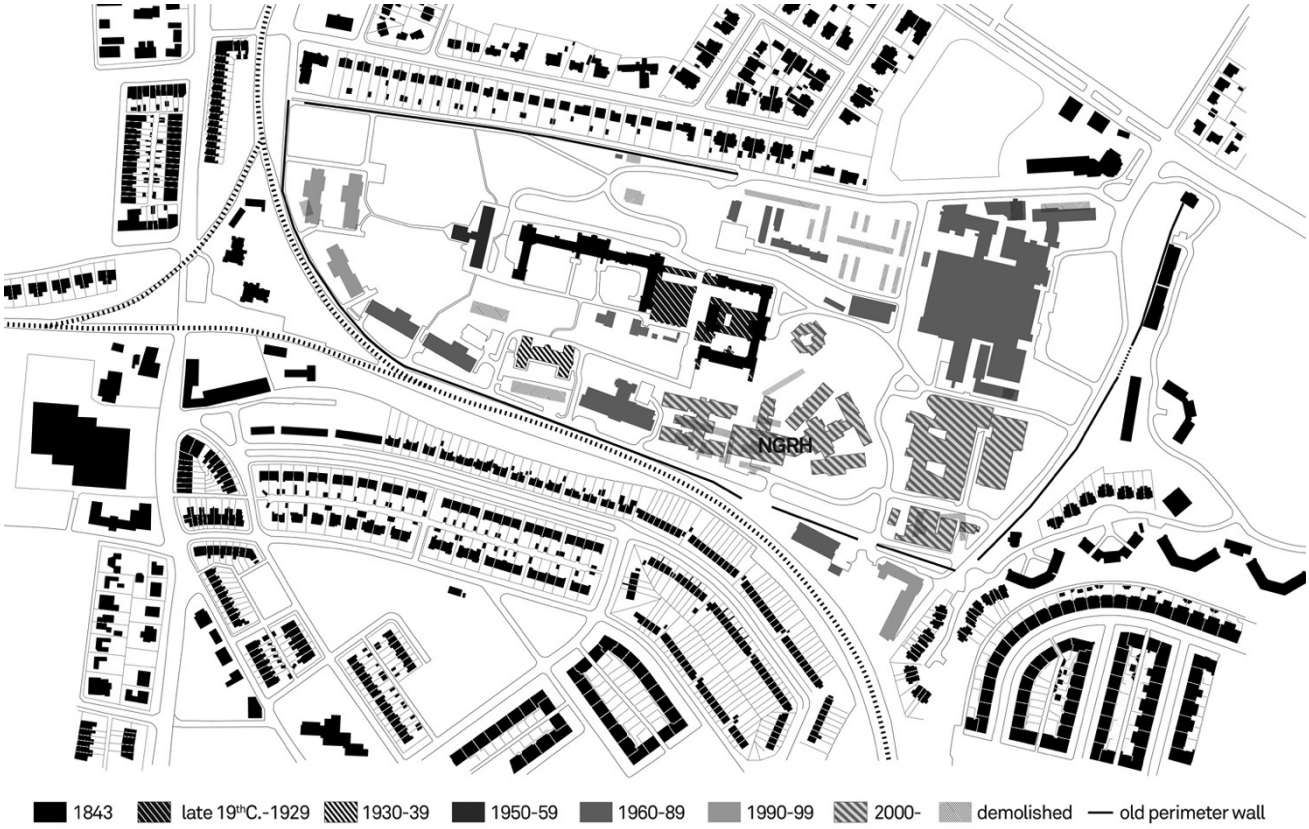

Figure 3. Site plan over Gartnavel Hospital Campus as it looks today is located amidst residences, businesses and other civic facilities. Since the construction in 1843 of the 'old asylum' on the hill it has been reworked and extended, as well as being supplemented by new wards, units and treatment centres trailing. One of the most recent developments is the new psychiatric clinic, New Gartnavel Royal Hospital (NGRH) and with its opening in 2008 the last patients moved down from the asylum on the hill. Note: Site plan by Andrea Gimeno Sanchez.

they do not 'fit' with the idea of urban mix in both formal and functional aspects (Dovey, 2016). Haselsberger (2014, pp. 505, 523) urges planners and planning scholars to confront the challenge of thinking and working "within multiple hard, soft and fuzzy spaces in parallel" and being awake to "multiple relational geographies," and hence to this call we would add that the 'fuzzy spaces' of the city asylum or mental health campus (and other similar areas) must feature when contemplating such 'multiple relational geographies.'

This article is based on the research project Psychiatry in transition: Discourse dwelling doing, an 18-months EU-funded inquiry offering an experience-based and 'spatialised' perspective on European psychiatric transition, with Gartnavel as case study. The objectives of the study were to nuance the history of asylums and contemporary mental health care (also comprising 'care in the community') by gathering the voices of people with lived experiences of mental ill-health or having worked or in other ways had a relationship with this place (e.g., neighbours). As part of the nuancing, we analysed the wider urban constellations in which this hospital campus is located.

During May 2017–April 2018, we completed 33 in-depth qualitative interviews with primarily patients/ex-patients, staff, volunteers and others, besides field walks (transect walks around the site), building visits and an art workshop with inpatients. In the interview quotes participants are designated as follows: A-patients, B-staff, and C-volunteers. Patients were recruited through Gartnavel clinical staff, following strict ethical protocols and only including individuals reckoned to be 'well enough' to participate, while ex-patients were recruited through psychiatrists, voluntary services manager and patient representative on our local research implementation group. Staff (of various kinds) and volunteers were also recruited via the local research implementation group, supplemented by presentations and invitations given to clinical, nursing and ancillary worker cohorts at Gartnavel Royal Hospital. We were very much beholden on whoever was prepared to speak to us, and hence cannot claim the 'representativeness' of our sample beyond ensuring near-parity between each of the principal groupings participating. Interviews followed a loose schedule of topics, with master questions left deliberately open-ended, most then becoming conversational with participants typically becoming comfortable with steering the precise subject-matters being addressed. We generated an enormous amount of empirical 'data,' including more than 1,000 pages of interview transcripts (besides fieldnotes,

images, sketches and maps) which we have rigorously processed by deploying long-established hermeneutic procedures of close reading, re-reading and 'coding up' of transcripts attentive to emergent themes spoken by 'triangulated' by at least three participants (usually more; Cloke et al., 2004, Chapter 10). Our epistemological position is sceptical about the value of quantifying such 'data' or correlating it numerically with other variables, but in what follows 'many' of our participants equates to roughly more than 50% of the sample, 'some' to circa 25% and 'a few' to three or four respondents.

Using our Gartnavel study, then, we discuss the notion of the asylum as 'other' to, as 'outside' of, or merely 'beside' the urban fabric. Such a conception arguably continues to fashion an ontological narrative long after the original asylum has been vacated—when the 'old asylum' on the hill gets decommissioned—and the patients and staff are located elsewhere in less bounded realities (both on and off-site). Indeed, to anticipate, many of our participants were alert to the history of Gartnavel, and of asylums more generally, in which segregation was supposedly desired and enacted, even as they queried the extent of—or need for—such set-apartness in their own latterday experiences. After having set out the context and methodology of our study and before diving into our empirics, we will now move to the section where our theoretical position is outlined.

3. Orientation Matters, Site Matters

> Orientations are about the direction we take that puts some things and not others in our reach. (Ahmed, 2006, p. 56)

We draw from Ahmed's theoretical concept of 'orientation,' how orientation directs us towards some things while leading others to stay out of sight (also Hannah, 2019). Ahmed (2006, p. 1) claims "to be orientated is to turn towards some objects more than others." Such a 'turn' helps in finding our way as we tend towards objects we recognise. Landmarks or other well-known signs give anchoring points, and, by gathering on the ground, they create a ground upon which we can also gather. Ahmed (2006) asserts that social orientation shapes spatial orientation. Such a social orientation might be understanding what the asylum *is*, has been, and could become in the future, a contentious subject-matter loaded with different meanings. It ties into a co-mingled socio-spatial orientation fusing socialised senses of a place and more immediate phenomenologies of spatial encounter, shaping how 'we,' everyone involved, gather at and around the asylum-as-place-in-the-city. This orientation shapes our perceptions and conceptualisations as we gather at its grounds: a place wilfully set apart, as 'hortus conclusus' (Aben & De Wit, 2001), a deeply perceptual and markedly material 'protected' space akin to others emerging through time and across "different scales from the city's structures to small secret gardens" (Anonymous Reviewer, September 2nd, 2020) or, a site with border zones, a city membrane structure (Sennett, 2018), where movements, events, transactions flow between sides/sites? Or, as in Pacione's study, maybe we spy an orientation leaving the asylum as the unclaimed area, belonging to no one, a 'non-neighbourhood' (Augé, 1995), a 'grey belt' place (Jacobs, 1961). Such orientations affect what comes into view but are not simply given, "as they are effects of the repetition of actions over time" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 23). We tend towards a direction, pointing to the future, to what is not yet present; and yet, Ahmed (2006) continues, orientations are shaped by what is behind us, creating a loop between what is towards and what is behind. We make sense of the world by orienting in certain directions: These orientations, the sociocultural nexi of spaces and places, are shaped by what has taken place as well as shaping future events.

We also draw from the understanding of sites as 'spatial constructions' (Burns & Kahn, 2005). Space as 'lived,' material and discursive has interested a wide range of scholars in geography, planning and architecture from perspectives of, e.g., spatial justice (Harvey, 2009; Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005), assemblage thinking (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Dovey, 2016; Farias, 2010) and more-or-less experience-based constructs (Ballantyne, 2004; Crouch, 2011; Grosz, 1992; Palasmaa, 2013). Drawing from these spatial understandings, Burns and Kahn (2005) explore 'site matters' in material, conceptual and methodological realms with the ambition of tying site "as a conceptual construct—'site thinking'—to the grounded site as a physical condition—'thinking about a site"' (2005, p. x). To perform site thinking, however, entails an exploration of one's own normative assumptions. Echoing Ahmed (2006)—where we come from and where we are heading forms perceptions and consequently conceptions—Burns and Kahn (2005, p. viii) contend that "[e]ach specialised area of physical design-architecture, landscape architecture, urban design, and urban planning…construes the location of its activities and practices overtly and tacitly through its own normative approaches." For example, site analysis is part of the urban planning and design profession, typically a taken-for-granted activity which means, generally, formulating a site's basic spatial features. In so doing, the site to be analysed is "too often taken as a straightforward entity contained by boundaries that delimit it from the surroundings" (Awan, Schneider, & Till, 2011; Burns & Kahn, 2005, p. x), construing the site as simply 'there' waiting to be discovered and its context as uncomplicatedly 'there' too, merely a repository for the gathering of relevant data. This way of representing space as well as people has normally been regarded as value-free and neutral, as if the plans, maps and texts are merely accurate and valid representations of a measurable world 'out there' (Hillier, 2008). Yet, what Burns and Kahn (2005) argue, is that there are no such things as site or context per se waiting to be discovered, mea-

sured and analysed. Instead, they understand 'the site' and 'the context' as constructions, as narratives written and rewritten, told and retold by a plurality of 'voices' (Hillier, 2008; Sandercock, 2003). The 'site' is a 'hybridity,' at once "a real construct (of nature), a narrated construct (of discourse), and a collective construct (socially constituted)" (Burns & Kahn, 2005, p. xxi; see also Amin & Thrift, 2002; Lefebvre, 1991; Massey, 2005). In similar vein, Dovey (2016, p. 4) contends "the city [as] a palimpsest that emerges as the result of multiple layers of creativity, erasure, history, politics, economics and technical invention," possessing strong linkages to the sublime and sensory experiences "that overwhelm us" (Dovey, 2016, p. 4). In short, where does the physical end and where starts the perceptual? With this provocation and with Burns and Kahn's claim that "site is best viewed from points in between" (2005, p. xxiii)—supported by Hillier's vision of a multiplanar theory of planning that starts in the middle, with a multiplicity of different and often agonistic, if not antagonistic, desires, needs and wants" (Hillier, 2008, p. 43)—it is now time to dive into 'the middle of' our empirics.

4. From Spatial Ontology to Bordering Practices (at the Asylum)

4.1. Straight line

> A walk like this, from north to south, means we are experiencing barriers, we must take long detours. However, the wall is not the main barrier, it is the urban structure, the long blocks, and the railway. (Authors' field notes, November 9th, 2017)

One of our key walks traced the old perimeter wall, this most material manifestation of the asylum-city boundary. In simple physical terms alone, this boundary is now distinctly fuzzy in places, making it hard to identify any clear-cut dividing campus–neighbourhood boundary (Högström & Helms, 2019). This fuzziness owes to the partial demolition of the wall, but also to the influx of new constructions overtaking the wall's location (e.g., roads, buildings, railway). The gatehouse at 'the main gate' on Great Western Road is now demolished, although as recently as 1988 "[y]ou …entered…through the front gate….The back gate was open for a period of time. So you could come in the back or in the front. It was open but there was a wall still demarked round about it" (B1, nurse). Today, there is no longer any 'gate keeper' controlling entrances and exits; instead the traffic junction controls movement by its lights, while the back gate on Crow Road is always open to deliveries, cyclists and pedestrians.

The overall campus has changed over the years, but as late as the 1980s the old buildings were still fully occupied, a thriving but enclosed hubbub:

> There was just under a thousand patients at that point….So in 1988 there was a—it felt…busy…it felt like a village in itself, that's the only way I can describe it. Obviously it had the wall around about it. (B1)

Today, the old buildings are partly inhabited with the National Health Service administration (West House), partly empty or lying derelict (East House; Figure 4), and such 'phases' cannot but fuse with differing orientations towards where the boundaries lie. For the above participant, the 'wall around about,' a mental construct as much as a material one, remained–for many, if not for him personally–one between the 'mad' and the 'normal':

> The mystique was still there round about mental illness, you know? I think maybe people still felt that, 'Oh God, once you go over that wall there, everybody in there is going to either look a bit different or is going to appear different to you.' Maybe people still had an image of people that perhaps had mental illness were screaming and shouting all day. (B1)

The quotes above and following fold into a 'straight line' construct, meaning here a clear asylum-city demarcation materialised in the old perimeter wall, accepting it in bold (as a significant ontological divide) or in dots and dashes (rendering it more ontologically fractured).

On the question where the wider community 'starts,' meanwhile, this participant answers: "Outwith the grounds of the hospital, I would say" (B9, occupational therapist). This conception focuses on the site/grounds and also infers a standard 'straight line' depiction of the asylum-city boundary:

> There is the 'here and now' and the 'then and there'…[T]here's a sense of respite being here. You're away from the world and…it's a bit like when you go on holiday and the world is back there and you are over here, and you're not having to deal with your worries and problems. (B9)

For someone to be admitted is to put a temporal and spatial boundary around their troubles. Time and space are seen here as tightly coupled inside/outside concepts: 'asylum in here'/'world out there,' with, in this instance, the former equating to a kind of sanctuary or retreat, a less stigmatising model than that of 'mad' asylum inmates walled in to protect neighbouring residents.

4.2. Imploding

Another series of quotes hints at an 'imploding' of the asylum-city boundary, dragging the latter, the wider community, on to the site itself—within the old perimeter walls—and effectively closing it around a really quite narrow set of spaces associated with the newer inpatient provisions (Figure 5):

> Interviewer: Where do you think the boundaries of Gartnavel Royal Hospital are?

Figure 4. View from NGRH towards 'old asylum' on the hill and its empty and derelict East House. To the right, behind a curtain of mature trees, Glasgow's Maggie's Centre (opened 2011) is crouching. Source: Ebba Högström.

Figure 5. Perimeter wall and the new psychiatric facility at Gartnavel, designed by Macmon architects. Source: Ebba Högström.

> Respondent: Well I suppose there is the historic view which is that it's all around the old sandstone wall and all the way to Great Western Road…that's all Gartnavel Royal Hospital site. But now there's Gartnavel General Hospital, and there's the Health Board site and things, so the site has become…more populated with other services and things. So now I would say that Gartnavel Royal Hospital is this [new] building, probably, and maybe the wards along there although they are slightly different as well.
>
> Interviewer: So then when you step outside this building you're out in…
>
> Respondent: A public space, yes. (B13, psychiatrist)

This exchange captures the 'historic view,' taking 'the old sandstone wall' as the notable boundary, before developing a more sophisticated sense of a boundary complicated by all the newer non-psychiatric accretions across the site. But, rather than then arriving at an interpretation of an 'open' site where asylum and city admix, this participant settles on a still starker socio-spatial orientation in which the meaningful boundary between mental hospital and what is beyond implodes into the heart of the site, effectively ending up at the front-doors of the newest inpatient facility. The result is an implosion of the boundary into merely a distinction between indoors and outdoors, private and public spaces, the psychiatric clinic building and the urban fabric.

4.3. Exploding

Other quotes hint at a quite opposite 'exploding' of the asylum-city boundary, stretching it off the site itself–beyond the old perimeter walls–and effectively distributing it around a diversity of spaces, psychiatric, medical, civic, residential and more, that would never otherwise be labelled 'Gartnavel.' Such quotes disclose easy movements by all manner of participants (patients included) across the 'historic' boundary, creating permeability/porosity that was not there before, certainly not for patients or some categories of staff: "I like taking a look, walk up…here [where] a generator is, [and] I used to stay on top of a roof. I stayed up there for a month or two months" (A2, patient).

During periods when discharged from the asylum, this participant stayed, sometimes for long periods, living in the grounds, one time in a tunnel under the old asylum and another on top of a small power-generation station. He would walk down to his grandmother's house nearby to have breakfast, steal pints of milks from affluent parts nearby and beg sandwiches from local shops. He covered quite an area by walking and used the grounds, and indeed the whole neighbourhood, for quite other purposes than the planners intended. He transgressed boundaries with his haphazard bordering practices (in terms of socially acceptable behavior, breaking into buildings and 'sleeping rough'), and yet he also exercised a 'caring for place,' mirroring a sense that the place cared for him, "with all the nurses around" (A2).

Other instances of exploding the boundary are even more stark:

> A lady patient and I went down to Byres Road [some distance off-site] and she was quite full of herself, you know? And she done this, so I said to her one day, 'Why don't we go and fly to Ireland?' So, we went down from here, got a taxi down to the airport on a Friday night and flew down to Dublin. (A2)

This story reflects that the asylum was not anywhere near as enclosed—as policed, we might say—as it appeared, or that might commonly be supposed, and that there was a porosity rendering it possible for people, vigorous and wily, to challenge the rules and regulations. It also reflects on how the world 'outside' was not only a possibility, it was a reality into which one might disappear if the opportunity arose. The world 'outside' in this case stretched far beyond the neighbourhood and the city as a whole.

4.4. No Line

For some participants, there was arguably no line at all, straight or curvy, imploded or exploded. This participant, a junior doctor, having worked at the adjacent general hospital, knew little about the site and its history before commencing work at the new psychiatric facility: "I had never been around to the psychiatric department. I'd got as far as the Beatson [cancer centre on the campus], so I knew there were some new buildings there but I had never been around here" (B14, junior doctor).

She is not reproducing the asylum as an enclosed entity simply because she does not know what to reproduce: Before arriving in her current post, she knew that there was a building 'down there' from the old structures on the hill, but that was about it. Hers is a quote betraying a lack of familiarity with—and, someone not greatly attuned to—any dramatic asylum-city boundary, nor indeed having any historical knowledge of the asylum. For her, the boundaries in question, insofar there are any, are solely ones demarcating medical from urban space.

Another example comes from a young inpatient during her first time at Gartnavel, who knew nothing about the history of the site, nor of the old asylum upslope:

> Oh is that what that is? I was wondering. Me and my dad went past that and thought…and I just looked up and said, 'What is that?' It looks really nice. It's a nice building; I don't know anything about it though. (A10, patient)

She had for the most parts stayed in the new hospital, cocooned within the walls of that building, lacking awareness of Gartnavel as an overall site with any kind

of boundary around it (historical, functional, administrative, etc.).

4.5. Fractals

When considering implosions, explosions or even a perceived absence of the asylum boundary, questions about its porosity in both directions, from 'outside' to 'inside' and vice versa, crowd into view, challenging any simple sense of any straight line laying down—consistently, fixedly—the asylum-city boundary. Hence, a better picturing may be, as mentioned at the outset, fractal, reflecting the claim that "[f]ractals are…objects…which can be described as irregular, coarse, porous and fragmented" (Madelbrot, 1977, as cited in Dauphiné, 2012, p. 1). Pursuing this notion further, we would emphasise how Gartnavel staff and volunteers explicitly scramble the boundary, inviting in the wider community through public events such as the annual Over the Wall fair (Figure 6), running gardening groups and by encouraging people to walk their dogs or play in the grounds: "We're trying to do away with any mystique round about that there is something strange happening in here" (B1).

This openness gets noticed by others: "I think it's nice that people come and walk their dogs and stuff. So you do feel at least a little bit sort of connected to the outside world" (C3, volunteer). Relatedly, as expressed by another participant who grew up locally:

> I've been in the grounds about a thousand times….I used to play football down at the front….We got told off every time but there was about twenty or thirty of us at school playing. So that's maybe twenty years ago. (A4, patient)

This respondent saw patients walking in their dressing gowns and he and his friends used to laugh at them. He knew it was a mental hospital, but predominantly for him it was a place of recreation, a place effectively belonging to the neighbourhood where he could play football. For him, therefore, both a 'straight line' against the stigmatised inmates and an entitlement to jump the

Figure 6. The annual festival Over the Wall at the hospital grounds in August 2018 with horses, theatre, music among other things. In the foreground our pop-up exhibition The Gart Game. Source: Ebba Högström.

wall for football jumbled together: a marked boundary scrambled by truant bordering practices.

On the matter of the site's relation to community and urban milieu, this participant offered nuanced appreciations of both separation and connection:

> It's extremely well connected to the transport networks….So I don't think of it as being secluded in the sense that it's cut off from anything. But I think of it as being secluded in the positive sense of it being this nice, leafy green space that feels, you know, a little bit separate and quite calm. (C3)

She reflects that the psychiatric hospital would have felt much more secluded if it had been set in a 'pure' mental health campus with no reason to visit for others than staff and patients. The blending of different care operations here renders stigmatised perceptions of mental health care less salient: "It just feels part of the larger hospital network to me" (C3). This blending also goes for people moving around the campus: "I don't know [if] they're a patient, or if they're a member of staff on a break or they're a random dog walker…or they're somebody from the general [hospital]. You don't know" (C3). Even the perimeter wall 'fades' away in this blended site: "I've not really thought about the fact that that was probably used to keep everybody in at one stage" (C3).

The accessibility from different directions, the mix of people and the openness to using the grounds for diverse reasons make the site appear as a fluid border zone, not one sealed behind an enclosing boundary:

> Well, I think of it as separate to the neighbourhood in the way that any establishment would be. But it's still open for people to walk through and stuff, so I don't…think of it as separate in a bad way….So it feels connected and people can move through it and out it…as opposed to being just some big fenced-off campus where you just come in a main gate. (C3)

The site's capacity to be connected but yet secluded arises in many interviews and walks: a warren of fractal places within the porous site, not always easy to find (like those favoured by the site's 'rough sleeper'). The 'Walled Garden' is such a place (Figure 7):

> It's kind of like a secret garden: if you don't know where it is, it's quite a nice surprise to find it up here. And it's quite a sanctuary. It's secluded a little bit and peaceful. You feel like you're not on the hospital site anymore. (C4, ex-patient and volunteer)

This participant had worked at the general hospital before getting ill, but never visited this 'secret garden.'

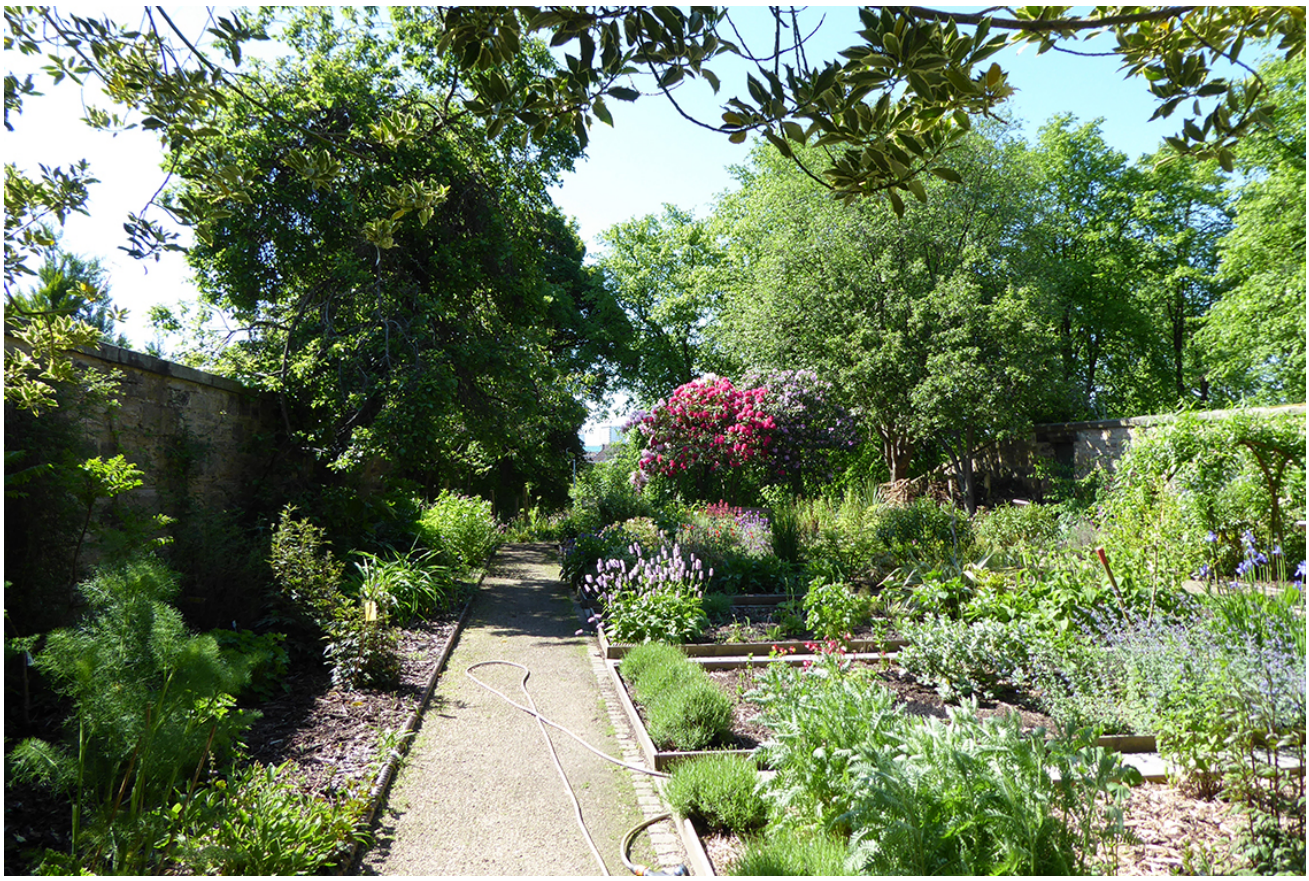

Figure 7. The walled garden at the old asylum. Source: Ebba Högström.

In retrospect, she pondered whether it would have been beneficial for her then to have done so, "just [to] get a mental break from work" (C4), but she had not known of its existence, hardly too the grounds or the old buildings either. Now it is all familiar, even if it is the gardening and sociality of her gardening group that she directly values, the old asylum merely a background presence (Figure 8).

We hence bring our empirics to a close by now electing to view Gartnavel's boundary as fractal, a border zone or, maybe better again, a kaleidoscope—a constantly changing space-time pattern (Högström, 2012)—of overlapping zones characterised by differing bordering practices (Haselsberger, 2014), certainly not a simple enclosed entity. We thereby return to Sennett's urban space characterised as "porosity in dialogue with resistance" (2018, p. 220): An array of spaces of different registers, intersecting, sometimes contradictory, emerging out of the messy realities of how we make it possible to orient ourselves (Ahmed, 2006) in and to the world, the city and into its areas unjustified labelled as unclaimed.

5. Asylum-City: Curvy Lines of Bordering Practices

We have worked towards an interpretation of the variegated mental healthcare campus—and its historical antecedent, the asylum—as a 'site' of much more variation and ambiguity, a "hybridity" (Burns & Kahn, 2005, p. xxi), than is initially given to the imagination (with or without knowledge of historical twists in mental healthcare), and one more connected to the urban built envi-

Figure 8. Just besides the Walled Garden, with the old asylum's West House as background, the gardening groups have their greenhouse and cultivation boxes. Someone thought the handrail needed a protection against the cold metal. Source: Ebba Högström.

ronment than is generally perceived. The 'orientation' towards conceptualising the likes of Gartnavel as 'institutional sites' disconnected from the rest of the urban environment remains strong, continuing to feed perceptions of less valued sites as 'problems' disturbing an otherwise consistent and ordered urban structure. To map closely an area such as ours, through embodied onsite investigations and in-depth interviews with people involved with the site, reveals a much richer repertoire of 'site constructions' (Burns & Kahn, 2005; Dovey, 2016; Hillier, 2008) than might have been anticipated. This repertoire is not to be seen as solely internal, as only relevant for the spaces inside the remains of the perimeter wall or for administrative boundaries; rather, the site constructions are overlapping, blending, merging and even sometimes divided by other means (e.g., railway and housing blocks) than the ones once constructed to border out the society from the asylum. All of which questions a 'site thinking' of enclosed discrete sites located side-by-side in neat order.

From our empirical investigations, intriguingly different perceptions arise about the boundaries of Gartnavel. For some it is the line of the old boundary wall; for others it is the entrance area to the new building; and many tell of a place much less bounded, less sealed-off from the surrounding city, than was true of earlier years. Many of our participants convey 'spatial stories' that reinforce a discourse of enclosure: Of a place 'beside,' where the remains of the original perimeter wall are indeed still perceived as the boundary line. We have also listened to accounts of 'breaking the line' through transgressive practices ('sleeping rough at the grounds'). Some tell of an imploded site, where perceptions of a bounded site are totally dismissed; others have no opinion of a bounded site at all (maybe their knowledge of the past is limited). Lastly, quite a few intimate a multifaceted, fractal and porous site, a site that has gained from the blending in of other operations, leading to further blurring of the asylum-city boundary and to the emergence instead of a border zone meaning it is not obvious to state where mental healthcare ends and community starts. This outcome is due to both deinstitutionalisation and city expansion, having played equal parts in the 'blending in' of built structures and functions and consequently the blurring of boundaries.

Urban planners and designers, even though working and often feeling stuck in a political domain hard to master, have an important mission in working across the professional biases clinging to many sites. What spatial stories of 'bordering practices' could replace the 'straight line' thinking of ontological boundaries? Would it be a deeper engagement in places and spaces, by those professionals working in the spatial 'industry' (i.e., urban planners, urban designers and architects), so as to 'construct' sites as the multiple, temporary and fluid constellations that they seem to be? These are significant claims to voice in relation to emerging work on ethics and the built environment, in planning, architecture and geography; to increase awareness of what is at stake when planning for inclusive living environments or, in Sennett's words, working towards 'the open city'; to adopt a 'site thinking process' challenging "a modern epistemological framework that privileges clear categorization" (Burns & Kahn, 2005, p. xxi).

Ahmed (2006, p. 59) talks about the relationship between how we look upon the world and its objects and how we use these objects, asking how "what we do do, shapes what we can do." She entangles orientations' past dependencies, to histories, and how these pasts always work as horizons for how we act in the future. Is it possible to orient in another direction and to understand this place—here the asylum or psychiatric inpatient site seconded by an array of other care operations—as a connector, incorporating and incorporated into the urban fabric in its own right: A site taking part in society, in the urban structure, in the city as any other place; border zones fluctuating between order and disorder, to paraphrase Moser and Law (1999), between good passages and bad passages.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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About the Authors

Ebba Högström is Researcher and Senior Lecturer at Spatial Planning at Blekinge Institute of Technology. Her research interest concerns social issues in urban planning and architecture, geographies of welfare, and experienced-based knowledge and methods. Currently, she is engaged in research projects addressing cross-sectoral collaboration in planning for housing provision for vulnerable groups and living environments of people with mental ill-health.

Chris Philo has been Professor of Geography at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, since 1995. He received his PhD from the University of Cambridge, England, in 1992. He is passionate about the value that a geographical perspective can bring to almost any academic inquiry. His specialist research is on the historical and social geographies of mental ill-health, psychiatric provisions and living with mental difference, and has also published widely on the history, theory, spirit and purpose of his 'home' discipline.

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Article

The Trash Bin on Stage: On the Sociomaterial Roles of Street Furniture

Johan Wirdelöv

Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, 23053 Alnarp, Sweden; E-Mail: johan.wirdelov@slu.se

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Abstract
They are easily overlooked, but benches, trash bins, drinking fountains, bike stands, ashtray bins, and bollards do influence our ways of living. Street furniture can encourage or hold back behaviours, support different codes of conduct, or express the values of a society. This study is developed from the observation that the number of different roles taken on by street furniture seem to quickly increase in ways not attended to. We see new arrivals such as recycled, anti-homeless, skateboard-friendly, solar-powered, storytelling, phone-charging and event-making furniture entering public places. What are typical sociomaterial roles that these things play in urban culture of today? How do these roles matter? This article suggests a conceptualisation of three furniture roles: Carnivalesque street furniture takes part in events and temporary places. Behaviourist street furniture engages in how humans act in public. Cabinet-like street furniture makes itself heard through relocating shapes of other objects. These categories lead to two directions for further research; one concerning the institutions behind street furniture, and one concerning how street furniture shapes cities through influencing different kinds of 'scapes.' The aim of this article is to advance theory on an urban material culture that is evolving faster and faster. By conceptualising this deceptively innocent group of things and articulating its relations to the everyday structures of the city, I hope to provide a framework for further studies.

Keywords
everyday life; material culture; public space; sociomaterial densification; street furniture

Issue
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1. Introduction

At the ruins of Pompeii, there is a table-like piece of furniture with inscriptions and bowl-shaped holes in different sizes in its surface. The *mensa ponderaria* was used as a public measuring table, and the holes worked as standardised units for trading goods. It can be imagined how this object played a particular role in structuring the daily life of the ancient market place: It probably changed how people negotiated prices and maybe helped avoid conflicts and made trading more efficient. The combination of a technical dimension and a social dimension here makes the *mensa ponderaria* a striking case of when a thing takes on a role best described as 'sociomaterial.' Today, other kinds of furniture have entered squares and streets. What sociomaterial roles do they play? How do they take part in structuring everyday urban life? They are easily overlooked, but benches, trash bins, drinking fountains, bike stands, ashtray bins, and bollards do influence our ways of living. They can encourage or hold back behaviours, support different codes of conduct, or express the values of a society. The trash bin keeps you from throwing things on the ground; the traffic sign tells you how to behave; the length of the bench seat forces you to decide on how close to sit to an unknown person. In short, street furniture allows and disallows. The subtle but many ways in which these objects perform makes them powerful actors in the social game of city life, and without them the masks of civility we wear in public (Sennett, 1977) would probably look a bit different.

This study is developed from the observation that the number of different roles taken on by street furni-

ture seems to quickly increase in ways not attended to. Furniture is simply doing more and more in public places. While the milestone, the whipping post, the horse water trough, and the scrapers for cleaning one's shoes from dirty streets have retired (cf. Warren, 1978), we now see a range of new and evolving kinds. There is furniture that is produced from recycled materials, that is deliberately uncomfortable and targets the homeless, that is 3D printed, that charges your phone, that is friendly to skateboarders, that is heated by solar panels, and that sends a signal when maintenance is needed. There is street furniture partaking in explorative artistic and collaborative interventions (cf. the Berlin-based, interdisciplinary project "Hacking Urban Furniture"). There are anti-terror installations camouflaged as artwork, bike stands, or even in the shape of decoratively cute animals (Coaffee, 2018). There are retired phone booths turned into Wi-Fi hotspots and mini libraries. Street furniture appears to become increasingly intricate; it mutates, hybridises, and acts in multiple ways. It seems to densify and diversify at the same time. How can this changing landscape of things be made sense of?

While street furniture is acknowledged as an important place-making tool in urban design (cf. Gehl, 2011), this rich group of objects has mostly escaped questions about its societal and cultural impact. Against the background of urban areas becoming more complex, we need to understand cities also from the deceptively innocent viewpoint of street furniture. A hypothesis here is that street furniture can be understood as actors in processes of sociomaterial densification (Østerberg, 2000). The term densification is in this case broadened to describe more than planning strategies; cities can be thought of as more or less dense with regards to strangers, lifestyles, narratives, everyday practices, and so on (see also Harvey, 1989, on time-space compression). From this perspective, the hyper-diverse 'land of strangers' (Amin, 2013) that now characterises many public places is a form of densification. One way to put it is that this land of strangers is paralleled by a densifying 'land of strange things'—including street furniture.

As frameworks of how furniture can support desirable place-making are provided elsewhere (cf. Main & Hannah, 2010), this study shifts focus toward street furniture as a cultural artefact. What are typical sociomaterial roles that these things play in urban culture of today? And how do these roles matter? In the following, I will suggest three sociomaterial roles named carnivalesque, behaviourist and cabinet-like street furniture, and I will demonstrate how shifts between furniture roles occur. I end by pointing out two directions for further research; one concerning the institutions behind street furniture, and the other concerning how street furniture shapes cities through influencing different kinds of 'scapes.' This mapping is speculative and should be understood as a preliminary, rather than absolute, model. The aim is to advance theory that is up to date with an urban material culture that is evolving faster and faster. By conceptualising this overlooked group of things and testing how its relations to urban culture can be articulated, I hope to provide a rough blueprint for continued studies.

1.1. Approaching Street Furniture

The word 'furniture' stems from the French word *fournir*, meaning to supply or provide, while in many European languages the word for furniture is related to moving or being mobile, from the Latin *mobilia* (German: *möbel*; French: *meubles*). The term is sometimes unclear: Do technical objects such as power boxes belong? Bus shelters, public urinals, and kiosks can border between 'building' and 'furniture'—where to draw the line? Categories such as artworks and monuments further add to the fuzzy borders. To convey the richness of this subject, I have kept to a loose and inclusive view on what street furniture can be.

As noted in Song's (2011, p. 16) review of definitions, history, and design principles of street furniture, research on the subject is fragmented. When approaching this field, I have used systematic and intuitive methods in combination to gather empirical material. In October 2019, I searched in Scopus and Web of Science Core Collection for works containing the phrase 'street furniture' (or alternative phrases such as 'urban' or 'public furniture') in title or abstract. Duplicates removed, the results amounted to about 500 (of which some 25% were conference proceedings). Some of the most apparent areas associated with street furniture span from urban planning, urban design, and architecture to transportation, ergonomics, engineering, product design, and art.

I limited the results to works including the search phrases in its title and screened the one hundred abstracts left in order to better approximate themes characteristic of current research into street furniture. Some often overlapping themes found in this variegated body of works include street furniture related to ecological sustainability (cf. Jaramillo, Gallardo, & Martinez, 2018; Siu & Wan, 2011), digitalisation and smartness (cf. Ciaramella et al., 2018; Lamsfus, Cazorla, & Sanjuan, 2014), place identity (cf. Bayraktar, Tekel, & Ercoşkun, 2008; Bolkaner, Inancoglu, & Asilsoy, 2019), design method (Prazeres et al., 2019; Şahin & Curaoğlu, 2019; Schindler & Mbiti, 2011) and to questions of human behaviour and perception (cf. de Paiva, 2017; Pizzato & Guimarães, 2019).

The mapping of these themes outlined an area of things that is undergoing a rapid development—technically, ecologically, and in terms of design—but that also lacks conceptualisations from more societal perspectives. This outcome further motivated the study, while the literature also led to early ideas of possible furniture roles to elaborate on. These ideas were developed through a more intuitive orientation, as I then turned towards a wider range of sources: social media, magazines, Google street view, manufacturer's websites, and books in the fields of design and urbanism. Van Uffelens's

Street Furniture (2010) and online magazine *Dezeen* provided an introductory overview of what is celebrated in the design discourse. Further sources include colleagues and people approaching me after conference presentations to offer views and experiences of street furniture, as well as personal observations during travels and in my hometown of Malmö, Sweden. In the process of selecting and discarding among the great number of examples encountered, I have been guided by an overarching aim to identify on-going tendencies and to label these in fair and telling ways that also convincingly allows for a sociomaterial perspective.

Below, I present a grouping that has been reached by moving between phases of deductively filtering source material through preliminary categories and phases of developing categories through interpretation of source material. Methodological risks include a bias towards well-known Western(ised) cities and a possible overrepresentation of exceptional and eye-catching cases of street furniture. Nevertheless, I argue that the examples gathered provide a sufficient basis, as long as the three groups are not taken as overly essential or universal. The categories are suggested names of tendencies. They do not dismiss other sociomaterial roles that may be equally arguable. Neither of the groups mutually exclude each other but may overlap in the sense that one piece of furniture can belong to more than one category.

2. Carnivalesque Street Furniture

Urban time patterns can be understood as networks of rhythms (Lefebvre, 2004) of, e.g., transportation, working hours, seasonal sales, daily routines, and so on. Street furniture is part of these rhythms in many ways: through timetables, maintenance, and streetlight schedules. One specific player in the time-city relationship is carnivalesque street furniture, which is employed in events and temporary places. Temporary use of public places such as popup parks and car-free summer streets (see Figure 1) as well as happenings, exhibitions, workshops, interventions, big sales, and city festivals are to some extent dependent on furniture. One case in point is public places formed by activism and grassroots movements. For example, furniture is often used in tactical urbanism (Lydon & Garcia, 2015) to make events such as 'chair bombing' or workshops for building planters, tables, or stages from shipping pallets. The global event "PARK(ing) day," during which parking spaces are dedicated to picnics and other social activities, also engage intimately with furniture. This event assembles a range of furniture-like artefacts such as parklets, home-built miniature golf courses, sunshades and sunbeds, furniture that is inflatable or built by cardboard, colourful installations from leftover materials, and equipment for games and playing. The climate protest movement "Extinction Rebellion" also

Figure 1. Furniture on a temporary traffic-free street in Malmö, Sweden. Source: Photo by author.

makes use of furniture-like objects when appropriating public places. Modular plywood boxes have been used for seating or the forming of a temporary stage. During a protest at Trafalgar Square, this system even enabled building a small tower (that was demolished by heavy machinery).

These tactical (de Certeau, 1984) uses of furniture can be understood as successors of the hundred-year-old practice of soapboxing; to use a wooden (soap) box to form a small podium when holding a public speech. In contrast, there are the more top-down and commercial uses of street furniture in temporal and event-like contexts. To state just a few of the numerous examples, there is the furnished Level Up Street Pavilion designed for Rijeka being the European Capital of Culture 2020, or the organic bench Please Be Seated and the colourful living room-like Walala Lounge for London Design Festival. Large-scale events also employ street furniture, such as when the Royal Mail post boxes were painted gold during the 2012 Olympics in London, or when JCDecaux advertising columns with integrated internet arrived in Baku just in time for the 2012 Eurovision Song Contest (timed with a poster campaign in 26 European capital cities).

Street furniture supports events, but the events can at the same time cause shifts in the furniture hierarchy of a place. Some objects are put on trial, like benches and trash bins becoming overfilled with people and waste. Others might become less important, such as bollards on a temporarily traffic-free street or lampposts made redundant by the lighting from a festival stage. Furniture roles are shifted when people sit on anti-terror barriers, decorate lampposts, and dance on benches. The urinal is exemplary of how events transform furniture hierarchies. Intense crowding in combination with beverage consumption brings this type to the foreground. In fact, the temporary urinal seems to be on the rise; recent innovations include vessel and pipe-concepts that are easily attached to, e.g., trees or fences, as well as aims at gender equalising by providing safe urination-only facilities for women (Block, 2019).

In his study of Berlin around the year 1900, Fritzsche (1996, p. 120) accounts of the popular attraction of watching people moving between homes: On the two yearly moving days in April and October, one could observe "streets filled with wagons and handcarts stacked high with furniture." This recurring event generated newspaper reports, so called *Ziehtagen* stories that preyed on the display of poverty and sights of families in misery. Although concerning private furniture, this eccentric example summarises two important characteristics of the public furniture role outlined above: its carnivalesque potential and its engagement with the urban timescape.

3. Behaviourist Street Furniture

When considering the relation between human behaviour and street furniture, things like sitting positions or efficiency in moving or wayfinding might be the first to come to mind for most people. There is, however, a group of street furniture that is characterised by a more intense relation with behaviour. It can be understood as a particular concern with how people behave. This concern is evidenced not only by a special effort to influence what people do in public and how they do it, but also by surveillance and data gathering. One example of this kind of behaviourism is found in street furniture engaging in nudging, a strategy often used to foster sustainable or healthy behaviours. Waste seems to be of particular focus in this field; there are anti-littering projects with ashtrays highlighted with bright colours and humorous signs (the campaign TÄNK in Gothenburg), trash bins reprogrammed to act as charity collection boxes ("Bin it for Good" in the UK), and app-connected diaper recycling bins that reward deposits with discounts and visualisations of environmental impact (Pampers Recycling, in Amsterdam). Further examples include paving patterned with green footprints (REN kærlighed til KBH, in Copenhagen), mazes, or hopscotch boxes (Lucerne Shines, in Lucerne) leading up to trash bins.

By preventing or making impossible certain behaviours, hostile design makes another example of an active concern with the way people act. Hostile design also includes non-furniture like automatic sprinklers or sound frequencies only perceptible by young people, but street furniture is a main character in this phenomenon. Examples include anti-sleep benches with strategically placed armrests or a tilted seating surface, handrails with anti-skateboard metal applications, and trash bins shaped to obstruct picking up, e.g., discarded food or deposit bottles (cf. Rosenberger, 2020). Also, decorative objects such as big flower pots can be used to occupy places that otherwise would have been used for begging. Most notable is perhaps the Camden Bench, in the UK. This concrete piece not only prevents sleeping, skateboarding, and vehicle terror attacks, but is also void of small cavities for hiding drugs and has a recession where a bag can be placed more safely from being stolen (Edin, 2017, p. 39).

Street furniture can take on the task of supporting surveillance technology. Some lampposts are even designed to uphold CCTV cameras (cf. the Victorian-styled security products by manufacturer English Lamp Posts). According to Piza, Caplan, and Kennedy (2014), public CCTV cameras come in mainly two different designs: overt and semi-covert. The traditional overt camera has a box-like appearance and its field of vision is limited. The newer, semi-covert type is spherical and allows for 360-degree surveillance. The overt camera is sometimes assumed to better prevent crime through mere presence as it is more noticeable than its subtler counterpart. On the other hand, the semi-covert camera is sometimes said to be the better crime preventer as the impression of all-round vision seems more inescapable and cannot be sidestepped. In any case, street furniture is here partaking in panopticon-like situations in which behaviour is

not only observed, but also influenced by the very experience of being watched.

Public surveillance is not a new phenomenon, but the recent development of smart cities has spurred debates on privacy and anonymity. The connected, sensor-equipped, and Wi-Fi-providing smart city gathers data on how much trash we throw out, how we drive, and where we commit crimes, and also in this context, street furniture plays a part. Among the current advancements in smart street furniture we find a number of approaches to human behaviour: The outdoor advertising platform Soofa has sensors that register audience reactions in real time. The Steora CCTV bench is equipped with four cameras, one on each side, and includes a night recording function. When used, the interactive EvoBin responds with informative and motivational messages on how to sort waste. The camera in the kiosk totem of the STiNO platform can sense if a child is near, and thus adapt the commercial content. The Airbitat Oasis Smart Bus Stop, tested in Singapore in 2018, not only measures average waiting times and the amount of users, but also includes a "smart alert" for detecting "unusual activities" (ST Engineering, 2018). In sum, with the rise in behaviourist street furniture we see new types of relations develop between humans and non-humans in public space. And, as shown by the case of anti-surveillance protesters tearing down smart lampposts in Hong Kong (Fussel, 2019), just as with human-to-human relations, these encounters are not without conflicts.

4. Cabinet-Like Street Furniture

Terms such as urban soundscapes, smellscapes, visual pollution, and the availability of information through personal digital gadgets indicate that public places might be more loaded with flows of stimuli, messages, and narratives than ever before. While signs and billboards as well as figuratively ornamented street furniture can easily be understood as a form of storytelling, there is one more particular way in which street furniture plays a part in the urban infoscape. It is similar to how the cabinet historically has been used to showcase curiosities and artefacts from other places. Street furniture sometimes takes on a cabinet-like role by relocating and incorporating shapes of other everyday objects. By moving a motif between environments, it can deliver a kind of narrative punch line.

There is street furniture that makes a point of relocating shapes between the interior realm and the exterior. This includes furniture shaped like office supplies such as pencils, paperclips, and keyboards (Luntz, 2019) enlarged table top lamps (Piccadilly Place, in Manchester), seating shaped like open books (various locations in Istanbul and London), or piano keyboards (Vörösmarty utca, in Budapest; the Cynthia Woods Mitchell Pavilion, in Texas). The furniture-like installation Tokyo City Bench is a fiberglass piece looking like a slice of a classic living room, including dining table and chairs. The Community Chalkboard at the City Hall in Charlottesville, US, is, just like its counterpart at Les Berges de Seine, in Paris, a slate chalk wall that in the name of democracy offers itself to the citizens. The Flying Grass Carpet is a decoratively patterned rug of artificial grass up to the size of a public square that to this date has 'travelled' some twenty cities around the world as a temporary place-maker. It is used for open-air festivals and other popup-concepts and can be hired together with additional features such as plants, furniture, and events.

One extraordinary case of interior-exterior relocation is a campaign for a hardware store chain in Thailand. The company typically used sidewalk billboards for advertising, but this campaign also made use of the backsides of the billboards through turning them into interior walls—including shelves, lamps, and wallpaper. Besides being an eye-catching way of displaying the product assortment, this action also referred to the habit of poor people taking billboards and using them to repair the roofs and façades of their homes. In the short campaign movie (Boonyanate, 2013), we see an old lady waving towards the camera before closing the door to her shelter that is now clad with sale offers and the HomePro company logotype and colours. This campaign can be seen as another example of how a narrative punch is gained from a play between the interior realm and the exterior.

In contrast, there is street furniture that relocates everyday objects within a place. A thing that is somehow associated with the place is represented in a piece of furniture. Such is the case with bike stands in the shape of bike locks or keys, cigarette bins looking like a cigarette (cf. the Chiave Cycle Stand or the Fu Cigarette Bin by Artform Urban Furniture), or trash cans shaped like ice cream cones placed outside of ice cream parlours. Similarly, there are the benches and tables in the City of Gold Coast, Australia, that by being shaped like surf boards reference the region's famous surfer culture (van Uffelen, 2010, p. 226), or the alphabet-shaped seating at the Arts and Humanities Faculty of the Aix-Marseille University. Also in the small island municipality of Træna, Norway, we find object-relocating furniture that accounts of local history: fish industry pallets redesigned into public seating. A related example is the bench seats at Roosevelt Island, US, which are shaped like the island contour. One further case of intra-place relocation of objects is The Car Bike Port (see Figure 2), a bike stand that has spread to a number of European cities. It carries the silhouette of a full-size car, thus making a point about the amount of space that a car occupies as compared to ten bicycles.

The cases perhaps most similar to the traditional cabinet displaying exotic artefacts are the ones working on a transnational level. This goes for the red, white, and green painted fire hydrants and bollards in New York's Little Italy, as well as the phone booths with pagoda roofs in Chinatown and the one in 'Little Sweden' Lindsborg, Kansas, in the colours of a Swedish flag. Similarly, there are cases of iconic red British phone booths left in former colonies (and some painted green in Kinsale,

Figure 2. Bike stands displaying the silhouette of a car, Malmö, Sweden. Source: Photo by author.

Ireland). A striking case of transnational relocation is Superkilen, Copenhagen. This square exhibits objects associated with over 60 different ethnicities, for example, an elephant-playground slide from Chernobyl, a Moroccan fountain, and swings from Iraq. The way in which cabinet-like street furniture engages in a play of references might at first come off as something from a theme park, or as a postmodern game of cheap tricks. But these cases illustrate how the relocation of shapes and materials can enable street furniture to take on very clear-cut and direct storytelling roles. As shown, it taps into discourses on sustainable mobility, democracy, marketing ethics, and local and national heritage.

5. Commanded Street Furniture Roles

While this article so far has described roles, the following part focuses on shifts between roles. I will here suggest a few type-situations by focusing on a particular relationship often overlooked in studies of public life: that with smaller objects that people carry. Not only do these small things provide a useful limitation here, they can have a significant influence on how we interact with places and other people, and they seem to imprint themselves on a considerable part of urban culture (cf. Cochoy, Hagberg, & Canu, 2015; Kärrholm, 2017; Magnusson, 2016, pp. 263–268).

In short, some furniture roles are commanded through the force of external objects. First, furniture roles can be dependent on another object that is mandatory, a kind of deal-breaker, for activating a role. On a general level, bike stands are dependent on bicycles, trash bins on empty packages and waste, turnstiles on tickets, and telephone booths are dependent on coins, phone cards, and telephone books. Semi-public situations where you need to buy something (ice cream or coffee) to be allowed to sit at a table are also a case in point. One more unexpected type of transaction here is an anti-littering campaign in Mexico (van der Kroon, 2012) in which bins provide Wi-Fi in return for dog excrements (20 minutes for 70 grams). Dependency on external objects is perhaps best illustrated by newspaper stands. As analogue media loses some of its prevalence, the cancellation of a newspaper can now suddenly retire the newspaper stands of a whole city in an instant and leave public places full of empty boxes. As shown in Figure 3, while waiting to be removed, the stands are sometimes appropriated by another group of objects: trash. This role shift occurs especially during events and city festivals.

Secondly, some furniture roles are extended or reinforced by external objects. Blankets and quilts used at open air cafés at the end of the outdoor season postpone the expiration date of chairs and tables by a month or so. The camera supports the souvenir value of red British phone booths and Guimard's Art Nouveau metro entrances in Paris by mediating them. The refillable water bottle teams up with urban drinking fountains and extends its provision from a momentary resource to something you can save and consume later.

Figure 3. Newspaper box after the newspaper was cancelled, Malmö, Sweden. Source: Photo by author.

A sub-type in the long tradition of drinking fountains (Becker-Ritterspach, 1990) is the one compatible with an additional non-human: the pet-friendly drinking fountain with a dog bowl at its foot. Even gravestones make an example here. Gravestones are perhaps not usually thought of as street furniture, but as cemeteries in densifying cities accommodate more and more everyday activities and user groups (runners, cyclists, dog owners; cf. Grabalov, 2018), they do assume a street furniture-like role. They become one type in an assembly of other pieces popping up in the urban cemetery: dog trash cans, signs with opening hours or codes of conduct, and even battery recycling bins due to the use of electric lanterns. Here, we see the role of the gravestone as a memorial reinforced by small things such as wreaths, candle holders, stuffed animals, and flower bouquets.

Thirdly, a small object can command one out of several roles from a piece of furniture. This is what the cigarette does when it turns movable furniture into demarcation tools in smokers and non-smokers negotiations over space (Subasinghe, 2019, p. 38). Similarly, the skateboard brings out a role from the railings and bench-like blocks in public places such as Auditoria Park in Barcelona, Phæno Science Center in Wolfsburg, Riverside Museum in Glasgow, and the Oslo Opera House (Borden, 2019, p. 156). Loan books turn the iconic tubular bus stops of Curitiba, Brazil, into small libraries, called *tubotecas*. The most powerful artefact in commanding one out of several roles is perhaps the smartphone. Following the smart city trend, there is a range of furniture from which a smartphone can elicit charging, Wi-Fi, or Bluetooth connection.

A fourth and slower type of influence on furniture roles occurs when a culture of small things develops into sub-types and pieces of furniture co-develop to stay synchronised. This is not a role shift, rather a kind of branching, or role diversification. Bike stands now concern regular bikes, rental bikes, or electric bikes. What was previously one trash bin are now often several smaller bins for glass, paper, combustibles, and so on. One recent innovation here is the type of trash bin that offers a side-vessel for users to place empty deposit bottles. The bottles are made available for people who make a small sum of money when turning them in for recycling. A related

example occurring in Beijing and Rome is ticket machines accepting deposit bottles as payment.

The perspective of small, carried things demonstrates how street furniture roles can be conditioned by other scales of material culture. This allows for a particular sociomaterial aspect, in which public places are characterised by their specific setup of combinations of furniture and carried objects. An analogy can be made to an ecosystem, where organisms of different sizes have various possibilities of forming symbiotic relationships (a sea urchin can attach itself to a crab, but not to a jellyfish). In his discussion on material culture, Miller (2010, pp. 42–54) points at a 'humility of things' that makes the formative powers of ordinary objects escape our attention. Their tendency to be taken for granted makes us overlook how they shape us as social and cultural beings. It is through naturalisation and humility that everyday objects—or, in Miller's words, "stuff"—can so strongly work as settings that frame our ideas of whether behaviour is normal or abnormal in a given situation. Following this line of thinking, constellations of furniture and carried objects are active in the formation of social life. One important point here is that what we carry in public to a large extent is a matter of social demography. Cigarettes and cups of take-away coffee have different associations to identity and lifestyle (see Graham, 2012, on smoking, stigma and social class; see Zukin, 2009, p. 4, on 'domestication by cappuccino'), and are distributed differently over social groups. The group of people that throws bottles in a trash bin is arguably not the same as the group that goes picking them up for deposit. The bike, fast food, or shopping bag—if any—someone carries in a public place is a question of living conditions. Depending on the furnishing, the carrier might, as shown in Doherty's (2018) account of the exclusionary mechanisms of smart trash bins, be subtly welcomed or rejected.

6. Discussion

With regards to research on hostile design, Rosenberger (2020, p. 890) calls for "greater conceptual clarity." Considering the richness of the subject—of which this article has really only scratched the surface—Rosenberger's call seems valid also for street furniture at large. There is an interesting point in Subasinghe's (2019, p. 40) study on public smoking at a college campus, when an ashtray bin takes part in an ethical drama: "Scattered cigarette butts that had fallen out of bins were seen as the direct responsibility of the smokers rather than accidental in nature due to misplaced lids." Just as the *mensa ponderaria* in Pompeii, the ashtray bin here mediates social relations. It is playing innocent and blame is transferred from non-human to human. What do we call these and similar sociomaterial situations involving street furniture? How could we analyse and discuss them if we do not have names for them?

This article provides an example of how a conceptualisation is possible, while it at the same time points at a need for continued research in a similar vein. I hope that the suggestive character of the roles sketched out can inspire research that supports, questions, or expands on this mapping, and that the sweeping approach to empirical harvesting can prepare for studies that tailor more rigorous methodologies to the subject. Aspects out of scope here serve as openings for further studies: What street furniture roles are specific of different cultures? This study deals with existing and upcoming roles, but what kind of roles are currently retiring from public space? How can roles be understood in the context of specific types of places (the park, the square)? Below, I will conclude by recommending two more specific concerns for continued research.

First, further research into sociomaterial roles of street furniture should address relations to different actors and institutions. Between the lines of this study looms a range of activists, design firms, artists, advertising agencies, charitable organisations, retail companies, and local governments. Who makes use of what furniture roles, and with what intentions? One of few in-depth works portraying a relational development of street furnishing is design historian Herring's (2016) study on street furniture controversies and modernism in post-war Britain (see also Abildgaard, 2019). While public authorities' engagement with street furnishing has weakened during later decades, the private sector has gained influence. Following ideological shifts and an increasingly market-dependent urban landscape where cities compete in branding themselves, street furnishing has become a lucrative business. The influence of the private sector over street furniture is linked to a privatisation of public space itself, according to Herring (2016, pp. 197–201). It can be argued that this development calls for an up to date terminology that can go beyond dualities like classic/modern, mobile/fixed, or mono-/multifunctional, and that is able to address how the intentions of different actors are played out through furniture roles. The categories proposed in this article can be seen as building blocks towards an updated terminology. To recognise carnivalesque, behaviourist, or cabinet-like features of street furniture allows for questions about who exerts what influence over which places. Who benefits from this rhythm, observation, or storytelling being installed at this place? It would furthermore be possible to explore how furniture roles differ in flexibility of employment by many or few actors. For example, carnivalesque furniture is employed by both grassroots movements and formal institutions, whereas the behaviourist category seems more associated to the latter—what other patterns of relations are there?

Secondly, continued research should address questions of what kinds of cities are co-produced by street furniture of today. I suggest that the notion of -scape as a way of seeing (Appadurai, 1990, p. 296; DeLue & Elkins, 2008, pp. 162–164) has potential here. As a tentative demonstration of this idea, the three categories can be understood as corresponding to three different

'scapes.' Carnivalesque street furniture contributes to a timescape. It takes part in public events and temporary spaces, and so adds to a densification of the rhythms that structures urban timescapes. Cabinet-like street furniture contributes to the infoscape of a city. It makes itself heard through the relocation of other things, and so contributes to the flows of information in public. Behaviourist street furniture forms closer, more intimate connections with how humans act and behave. Meetings between strangers in public are often described as everyday encounters (cf. Wilson, 2011), and it is in a behaviouristically furnished landscape of encounters that we see a densification of relations between humans and non-humans.

Founder of ethnomethodology Harold Garfinkel (1964, p. 227) set out to reveal "how the structures of everyday activities are ordinarily and routinely produced and maintained." Timescapes, infoscapes, and landscapes of encounters can be regarded as examples of the structures that Garfinkel (1964) refers to, and in light of the presented cases, street furniture provides one possible answer to the "how" posed in his quote. The notion that street furniture has structuring capacities might at first seem obvious: Traffic flows are ordered by signs and bollards, streetlights are turned on at regular intervals, and the trash bin prevents disorder. But, as I hope to have shown, the ways in which these objects structure daily life work well beyond the obvious. Street furniture plays roles on several scale levels, it changes roles, and it forms alliances with other materialities such as water bottles and mobile phones.

In *Paris: Invisible City*, after listing that Paris has 400 newsstands, 700 billboards, 9,000 parking meters, etc., Latour and Hermant (2006, p. 64) state that:

> Each of these humble objects, from public toilet to rubbish bin, tree protector to street name, phone booth to illuminated signpost, has a certain idea of the Parisians to whom, through colour or form, habit or force, it brings a particular order, a distinct attribution, an authorisation or prohibition, a promise or permission.

By gathering notions on street furniture, sociomateriality, and everyday orders, this is a rare quote. Although one should probably be careful about going too far with ascribing power to objects, it is more likely that we are underestimating the influence of street furniture—and while perhaps not so much today, it might be even more so tomorrow.

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Conflict of Interests

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About the Author

Johan Wirdelöv holds a Master's degree in Architecture and is currently undertaking doctoral studies in Landscape Architecture at the Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU). Research and teaching interests focus on how urban public places and everyday life shape each other. Previously published work draws on autoethnography, rhythmanalysis, and territoriology, and deals with questions of urban design, densification, and the sharing of space between strangers.

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Article

Blue-Green Solutions and Everyday Ethicalities: Affordances and Matters of Concern in Augustenborg, Malmö

Misagh Mottaghi *, Mattias Kärrholm and Catharina Sternudd

Department of Architecture and the Built Environment, Lund University, 22 100 Lund, Sweden;
E-Mails: misagh.mottaghi@arkitektur.lth.se (M.M.), mattias.karrholm@arkitektur.lth.se (M.K.),
catharina.sternudd@abm.lth.se (C.S.)

* Corresponding author

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Abstract
This article aims to understand how the introduction of blue-green solutions affects ethical concerns and expectations of an urban environment. Blue-green solutions are complementary technical solutions, introduced into urban water management, in order to deal with the impact of urbanisation and climate change. These kinds of solutions establish new affordances that have an impact on everyday life in the urban environment. This article describes how blue-green solutions become part of urban settings and how they influence the inhabitant's perceptions, desires and matters of care concerning these settings. The article examines the interplay between blue-green technologies and the social, material and cultural context in the Augustenborg district in Malmö, Sweden. The study is based on the analysis of free-text answers to a questionnaire aimed to collect information about the interaction between blue-green solutions and everyday life in public spaces. By exploring the inhabitants' point of view, the article then seeks to recognise the meanings and thoughts entangled with place concerning different types of blue-green solutions. We summarise the main concerns raised by the inhabitants and discuss how the implementation of blue-green solutions relates to the transformation of everyday ethicalities and matters of concern relating to the neighbourhood. We conclude that blue-green infrastructure seems to come with a new kind of sensitivity, as well as with an intensification of concerns, in an existing urban environment. This has important social repercussions, which also makes it important to study the social role and implications of blue-green technologies further.

Keywords
affordance; blue-green solutions; ethicality; everyday life; public space; urban design; urban infrastructure; urban water management

Issue
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1. Introduction

The climate is changing and intensive and frequent rainfalls have turned urban flood management into a growing concern in urban areas (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2014). Underground pipe facilities are in many cases insufficient to manage urban stormwater and developing the drainage systems through surface open solutions in outdoor environments has become essential (i.e., Chocat, Krebs, Marsalek, Rauch, & Schilling, 2001). The solutions have been termed and applied differently based on their local shared understanding (i.e., nature-based solutions, low impact development, water sensitive urban design, sustainable urban drainage systems and best management practices; Fletcher et al., 2015). In recent literature, there has been a broader interest in the term blue-green infrastructure (Stovin & Ashley, 2019).

The urban population is increasing dramatically, which exposes larger numbers of people to the risk of urban flooding (Kazmierczak & Cavan, 2011). By 2050, 68% of the global population will reside in urban areas (United Nations, 2019). Urban areas are also getting denser. A larger proportion of constructed land and sealed surfaces make it difficult to leave surfaces open for flood management. Also, land use competition for different kinds of urban infrastructures seems to be going on, struggling for every free square meter of existing open space. This highlights the need for flexibility and multi-functionality of urban space (Mottaghi, Aspegren, & Jönsson, 2016). However, for blue-green infrastructure to hydraulically perform, imposing changes on the urban landscape (e.g., modifying the urban setting, topography, type of vegetation and soil condition) is unavoidable (Backhaus & Fryd, 2013). Further, making these changes influences the use of urban areas for different users, and increasing our knowledge on the use aspects is necessary for better integration with urban spaces in the future. While previous research has mostly focused on hydrological efficiency, adaptability and spatial morphology of blue-green infrastructure (i.e., Ashley et al., 2018; Bacchin, 2015; Haghighatafshar, 2019; Radhakrishnan, Pathirana, Ashley, Gersonius, & Zevenbergen, 2018), knowledge about social dimensions remains quite vague and needs to be developed further (Ashley, Gersonius, & Horton, 2020; Gandy, 2014). A variety of different values can be recognised as important for blue-green infrastructure, and these vary between different stakeholders. Non-technical and intangible values need to be better studied and understood to be taken into account in the early stages of planning (Vierikko & Niemelä, 2016).

In this article, we use affordance theory to explore possibilities of use and the consequences of the implementation of open stormwater facilities in Augustenborg, an urban district in Malmö, Sweden (Figure 1). Augustenborg's outdoor environment was transformed

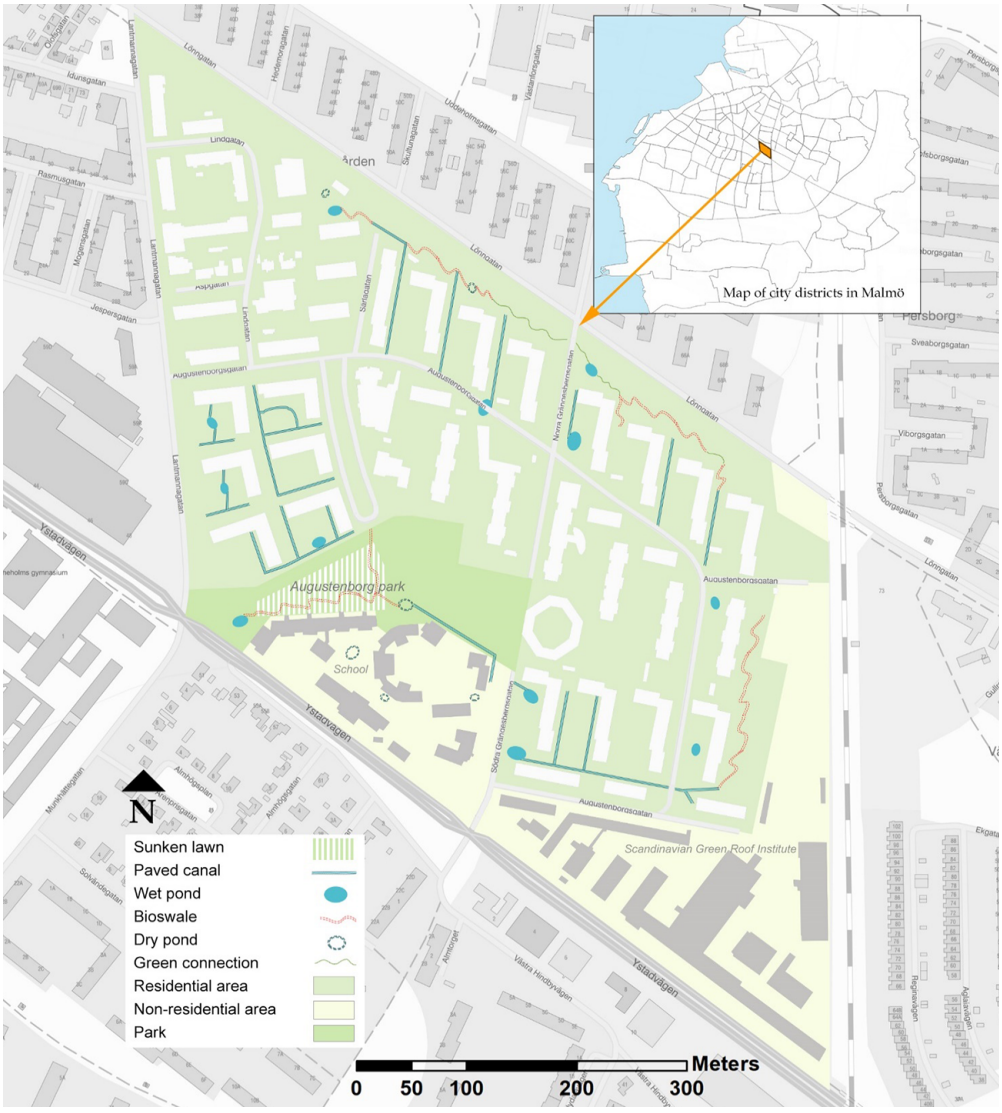

Figure 1. Map of Augustenborg showing blue-green solutions in public open spaces. Source: Misagh Mottaghi (the background picture is a topographic web map, courtesy of The Swedish Mapping, Cadastral and Land Registration Authority).

into a flood resilient district through the implementation of surface drainage technologies between 1999 and 2003. It is a pioneer case of urban retrofitted projects in Europe and was chosen because everyday life has had enough time to adapt to these technologies. In this article, we provide an overview of how these facilities mediate human exchanges with the outdoor environment, with a specific focus on how they create possibilities for a range of different activities. These possibilities are then discussed in relation to the expectations, conflicts and matters of concern they generate. The discussion revolves around how a certain culture of ethics (La Cecla & Zanini, 2013), or an ethicality (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017), has formed itself around blue-green infrastructure. In the text, we refer to stormwater facilities as blue-green solutions. This concept has recently increased in use in Sweden, both in research and practice, and also makes clear that the two main components we are dealing with here are water and greenery.

1.1. Affordance Theory

In this study, we use affordance theory. Affordance theory gives us a relational understanding of how actions can occur in an environment. The psychologist James Gibson introduced the notion of affordance to describe possibilities for action that the environment offers to an actor (Gibson, 1977, 1979). According to him, affordance does not change with the change in perceivers' need. Like the postbox that affords to post letters even when there is no letter to be posted, affordance is permanently present in a certain environment. However, affordances are also relational, which means that they only exist as a relation between specific actors. A certain stone might be suitable to sit on for one person, but not for another. Affordances are also situational (cf. Kopljar, 2016; Nilsson, 2009), they can evolve over time (Heft, 2001) and they can also, as Gaver (1991) has suggested, unfold in a sequential process, i.e., as nested affordances. Gibson was furthermore focused on affordance as part of an ecological psychology and on different patterns of setting-specific actions presenting themselves in the environment to form a kind of ecology of social life (where ecology here must be understood in a broad sense, as the relationships inside and between a complex system and its environment; cf. Heft, 2001, p. 271). Even though affordance theory has often been used in the discussion of individual artefacts and designs (Norman, 1988), a key aspect for Gibson is that affordances relate to environmental concerns. As such, affordance theory might thus readily lend itself to a discussion of more complex milieus and infrastructures such as blue-green infrastructure. However, as has been pointed out by Anique Hommels (2008), infrastructures tend to become stabilised and fixed over time, thus bringing a certain inertia or obduracy to the urban environment. Affordance theory is often used to focus on more direct situations and perceptions, on what is (indisputably) present in the world. However, the theory is perhaps less strong when it comes to investigating disputes, so we need to find another way of engaging with these issues—which leads us to the notion matters of concern.

1.2. Matters of Concern

Although affordance theory may be used to discuss the particularities of different species (animals, including humans), it follows from its relational perspective that different users might perceive use quite differently. Thus, different meanings evolve around the same incident or the same space (Dinnie, Brown, & Morris, 2013). People are concerned about different things. In her book *Matters of Care*, Puig de la Bellacasa (2017) has elaborated on the ethical as a more-than-human construct (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017). Here, she does not focus much on ethical norms or obligations, but on how ethical issues are constructed, for example around socio-technological practices, such as soil production and permaculture, and how they play a part in forming an ethicality. Ethics are, as she suggests, "born out of material constraints and situated rationalities in the making" (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017, p. 145). She also brings up the notion of 'matters of concern,' which was introduced by Bruno Latour (1999, 2004) as a more productive concept for epistemological discussions than matters of fact. Instead of talking about matters of fact, i.e., of things as indisputably present in the world, Latour argues that we need to acknowledge that things are disputable; they are produced (and reproduced) through different kinds of concerns. Puig de la Bellacasa tries to further investigate the affective and ethico-political aspects of these matters of concerns through developing the concept 'matters of care' (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2011, 2017). Ethics is here seen as entangled in the production of politics and the effects of everyday life, and it can also be seen as something that takes form and stabilises over time. Concerning this temporal dimension, La Cecla and Zanini talk about 'conformity' as two entities that are taking form together, describing conformity as "the almost dance-like ability to put our body next to other bodies without bumping into them or actually dancing with them" (La Cecla & Zanini, 2013, p. 60). They regard ethics as a form-taking process where habits form ways of conduct, for example, concerning a certain new technology (discussing the introduction of the cell phone into everyday life; La Cecla & Zanini, 2013, pp. 76–79). We propose that new affordances are also produced through a process of conformity. Affordances take form as the environment becomes a matter of concern and care, which in turn makes these concerns take form and stabilise. With the introduction of blue-green solutions, one would expect new affordances, new concerns and a changing culture of ethics related to the area. In the following, we will look at how the changing landscape of affordances affects and takes part in forming these concerns and vice versa.

2. Studying Augustenborg Blue-Green Solutions

2.1. Description of Setting

Our case study is the Augustenborg residential neighbourhood in Malmö. Malmö is the third-largest city in Sweden. In the late 1980s, its fundamental industries failed and the city faced an economic crisis. Since then, Malmö has been undergoing a transition from an industrial to a post-industrial city. This transformation has included neoliberal planning strategies (Baeten, 2012; Pries, 2017) and a re-branding of the city through a new University as well as a focus on sustainability (Holgersen & Malm, 2015; Lenhart, Bouteligier, Mol, & Kern, 2014).

Augustenborg is one of the administrative districts of Malmö. According to Statistical data for Malmö (Malmö stad, 2019), updated on 27 September 2019, it is a housing area with 1,887 households. The area has a population of 3,875 inhabitants, and an employment rate of 47% (for the 20–68 age group). Augustenborg can be considered as an ethnically mixed area, with 41.5% of inhabitants born in Sweden and 58.5% born abroad. Augustenborg is entirely owned by the municipal housing company MKB, and it is the first district in the city built according to the guidelines of social housing requirements. The land belonged to Augustenborg and Sofiedal farms, later replaced by Västra Kattarps village in 1805. The area got different functions and ownership during the time, until it was bought by the city of Malmö in 1911. In 1947, Augustenborg was planned as a post-war housing area. The urban development of Augustenborg aimed at increasing services and recreational values. It was developed from 1948 to 1952 primarily with open 3- to 5-storey housing blocks. These housing blocks are freely placed, offering a variety of rental apartments except for a few privately owned apartments and single-family houses. The area is characterised by a typical 1940s Swedish architecture with the apartment blocks surrounded by green spaces. There is also a large green park, which is connected to smaller green open spaces (Tykesson & Ingemark Milos, 2001).

However, social problems such as unemployment, criminality or dissatisfaction with apartments and services formed in the area over time. These problems, together with the national public housing project called the Million Program (*Miljonprogrammet*) 1965–1974 (Hall & Vidén, 2005), which provided a higher supply than the demand, increased the number of people moving out of the area in the 1970s. In 1998, the project named Eco City Augustenborg was launched in order to improve the social, economic and ecological conditions of the area. Since urban flooding historically damaged some cellars due to sewage system overflow, mitigating the flood risk was of crucial importance for the project. The project thus also aimed at improving an already green housing area through blue-green solutions (Kazmierczak & Carter, 2010; Stahre, 2008). The objectives were to manage 70% to 90% of the stormwater locally by implementing different kinds of ponds, canals, green roofs and remodelling the park, as well as improving waste management and engaging the community in the development process (Delshammar, Huisman, & Kristoffersson, 2004; Kazmierczak & Carter, 2010). The project was quite successful in reducing flooded surfaces during extreme rains, resulting in less flood damage in the area (Sörensen & Emilsson, 2019). Although there is not enough evidence of socio-economic improvement in the area, some positive social influences have been noticed, such as an improved sense of community (Xu, 2011).

2.2. Method

The data for this article was collected from an extensive questionnaire. Following previous research on how blue-green solutions possibly benefit society via additional values (i.e., Lamond & Everett, 2019; Moore & Hunt, 2012), the questionnaire was designed to collect information on what blue-green solutions meant to people in Augustenborg. The questionnaire aimed at investigating the interaction between blue-green solutions and urban life in public open spaces. It was designed based on previous observations and studies the research team reviewed, to understand how the respondents interact with different types of blue-green solutions in the neighbourhood. The questionnaire was inspired by affordance theory, and it included sections related to proximity, use and experience around three types of blue-green solutions: a sunken lawn area, wet ponds and paved canals (Figure 2). Respondents were asked to rate different statements regarding these different solutions on 5-point and 7-point Likert scales. Moreover, it contained questions about willingness to pay for blue-green solutions, expectations, stormwater knowledge and demographic information. At the end of each section, some open-ended questions were asked. The questionnaire was distributed to all households in the neighbourhood in November 2018. The filled-in questionnaires were collected by the end of December 2018, answered by 328 respondents (households).

The main object of the questionnaire was to study the affordance of blue-green solutions per se. However, reviewing the respondents' answers uncovered that certain concerns and thoughts have been shaped around blue-green solutions, which obviously affects use and everyday ethics. The descriptive answers opened up perspectives of interaction between people and their environment, which were not noticeable through answers to the designed items. Hence, the materials to be discussed in this article mainly come from the free-text answers (by 222 respondents) to four open-ended questions:

1) In which situation do you encounter this area [shown through illustration]? 'I go there to…'
2) How do you experience this place? 'I like that/I do not like that…'

Figure 2. From left to right: Sunken lawn (part of Augustenborg remodelled park); one of the paved canals; one of the wet ponds. Source: Misagh Mottaghi.

3) What would be your suggestions for improving blue-green solutions? If the space should be used for other purposes, please name them.
4) If you have any thought, suggestion or critique on the questionnaire or/and blue-green areas, please share them with us.

The open-ended questions required descriptive answers from the respondent. The questions were asked in order to complement the answers to the Likert scale items.

3. Affording Concerns: Investigation and Findings

In this article, we are interested in the affordances that blue-green solutions bring to the neighbourhood and subsequently also how people perceive and care for the affordances. Affordances can be generated over time and new affordances can evolve as we get to know the place better. According to the survey, among 320 respondents who answered the question how long a time they have been living in Augustenborg, 71% answered five years or more and only 14% replied two years or less. Table 1 shows the frequency of activities that respondents reported performing around at least one of the blue-green solutions.

The free-text answers provided a more detailed view of the reasons and motives that brought people to these places. From analysing these answers about respondents' individual reflection on what blue-green solutions bring that make the areas different from other green urban spaces, four kinds of affordances were identified. These affordances were produced through interactions between different actors and the environment, and here we have focused on those relations that can be associated with the blue-green solutions (Figure 3). We identified: 1) Affordances related to animals (faunal affordances), based on human-animal and/or their habitat relations; 2) affordances related to other people (social affordances), based on human-human relations; 3) affordances related to water (blue affordances), based on human-water relations; and 4) affordances related to synergies (synergistic affordances), based on the compositional relations of human-nonhuman actors and affordances, where the composition not only adds new affordances but transforms them.

The affordances brought certain concerns, expectations and in some cases raised conflicts (created and/or solved conflicts). As mentioned previously, the focus of this article is not on what blue-green solutions afforded as such but on how the affordances, related to the blue-green solutions, may become a matter of concern. Blue-green solutions brought affordances that shift people's concerns and cares, and blue-green solutions might thus be seen as playing a part in the shaping of a new ethicality.

Table 1. Frequency of activities the respondents do close to at least one of the blue-green solutions.

	Number of respondents (n)	n (%) Never	n (%) A few times a year	n (%) A few times a month	n (%) A few times a week	n (%) Everyday
I go there to walk, bike, run, jog or dog walk.	325	2	2	4	22	70
I go there to sit for a while, look around/think/spend time, talk to/hang out with others, play games/play/do sports or read.	319	16	17	18	27	22

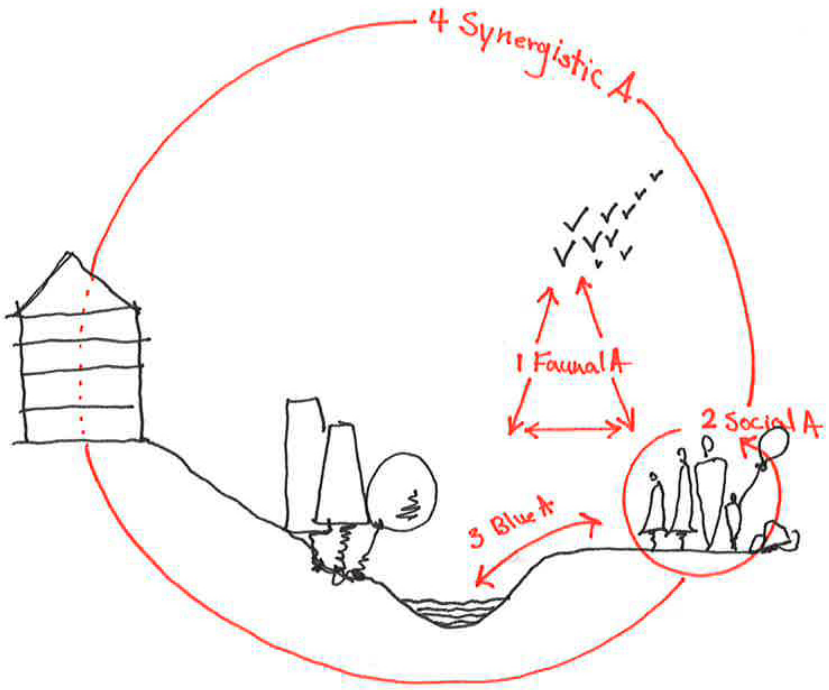

Figure 3. Four kinds of Affordance around blue-green solutions in Augustenborg, Malmö. Notes: 1) Faunal affordance, related to nonhuman animals; 2) social affordance, related to the presence of other people; 3) blue affordance, related to water; and 4) synergistic affordance, related to synergy. These affordances were identified from respondents' comments, and we focused especially on the affordances that cannot easily be applied to green spaces without blue-green solutions. Source: Misagh Mottaghi.

3.1. Concerns around Faunal Affordances

Animals usually go to places where they have access to food and water. Green spaces generally allow wildlife to thrive as they provide animals with shelter and food. Due to the presence of water, blue-green solutions might attract more animals and of more various species than an ordinary urban green area. This creates crowding of not only animals but also of people interested in animals. Blue-green solutions afford being close to animals, which also was seen as a positive experience by many of the respondents. The presence of animals mediates a specific kind of human interaction, the blue-green solutions seem to be strengthening the relations between humans and animals in everyday life (cf. Holmberg, 2015). People care for animals, like the respondent who complained that "the fish there are not moved out during winter so they die." They also want them to have a good habitat: "Cutting the vegetation is not ok during the seasons when animals have offspring (need to hide)." However, animals are also categorised as pets or vermin, and domestic or wild. People are often selective, for example, they like birds but not rats and insects. They might refer to rats and rodents as more disturbing animals than others, while birds, ducks, rabbits, fish and dogs are regarded as 'nice' animals. Even with animals considered as nice, there is, however, a limit, e.g., people may not want "too many rabbits" in a given area. The special habitat that blue-green solutions generate attracts many species. Controlling the population of some or fragmenting the habitat for different species is difficult. When someone suggests "more ponds for wildlife," it will bring more rats and insects too, which others might hate. The same happens concerning birds "ponds attract rare birds to cities i.e., heron and (through ducklings) eagle and falcon" which are wild and do not get along with domestic ones. On the other hand, the presence of birds might be interesting but not everywhere and not for everyone, like the respondent who noted: "I do not like gulls that are attracted by the water and the green roofs, [they are] disturbing.''

People generally expressed their interaction with animals as something enjoyable, i.e., "to watch them" or "to photograph them." However, they did not always approve of other's experiences, such as "when kids chase ducks," or "when people disturb birds," or "feeding birds." Another matter of conflict concerns the fish. While some think that the ponds afford fish to be there for people to enjoy and watch, others might think that the fish are there to feed, or to fish. Facing an unfamiliar animal-related situation, some actions might thus be seen as almost incomprehensible by others. For instance, a respondent referred to a man they had met at the pond who "was trying to chase away the heron because, according to him, it ate the fish." This uncertainty or dissonance on how to address the place and situation

around blue-green solutions might also be what affords a culture of ethics, or ethicality, to slowly evolve.

3.2. Concerns around Social Affordances

By social affordance, we do not necessarily mean social exchanges in general but refer to those possibilities for action that are related to actions that other people or social groups do. This type of affordance can be seen as important for everyday life around blue-green solutions. It relates to the interdependence of subjects and explains how people can influence other people's behaviour through their own interaction. Socio-material concerns might also affect mundane encounters and their power relations in different ways (Amin, 2008; Valentine, 2008). The use is dependent on others and in certain places this might even alter the coexisting of different social groups. For instance, very often the respondents mentioned that they either use one type of blue-green solutions or like or dislike it because of how other groups of people relate to it.

The respondents' interest in social life was quite varied. One person liked "when there are many people" in the area. Others did not. However, children, the elderly, neighbours, friends, families and relatives were usually referred to as something that attracts people to blue-green solutions. Blue-green solutions were mentioned as gathering spots that afford meeting, talking, playing, mingling, gathering or even watching others as reasons to use the area. Children were stated as a specifically important group in generating life either as the producer of an action, "I like to watch children playing," or the co-producer of action, "I go there to play and walk with my grandchild." Some comments show how the play value of blue-green areas was appreciated as something relating people to their own past, i.e., I go there because "it reminds me of my childhood."

Moreover, the categories of children, elderly and disabled were mentioned in relation to two types of concerns. The first relates to the physical environment. This was regarded as something "different and cool for children," but also as something that mediates risk. For example, canals were sometimes seen as "a bit dangerous for small kids who easily run, roll and hurt themselves," the ponds as "a bit dangerous for small kids who like bathing," or the sunken area might become problematic because of the "gravel since the walker gets stuck and sinks." The second type of concern relates to the social environment, and especially to worries about the interrelation of different social groups, often highlighting negative impacts of other's behaviour: "I do not like when people sit [around ponds] and drink alcohol and argue with one another, the children get scared."

Addicts, criminals, drug dealers, homeless people and motorcyclists were mentioned as groups that repel some from the outdoor environment. There are two perspectives on these groups. The most common one views them as problematic occupiers of space, for example, when calling the area *Alkisplats* (place of alcoholics), or stating that "criminal gangs, drug addicts and drug dealers need to be evicted, and that it would be worth the higher rent to set up CCTV." A less common viewpoint was that one needs to show some kind of respect for these groups: "Sometimes there are intoxicated people there [around the ponds], but where should they sit? Perhaps more benches [are needed]."

3.3. Concerns around Blue Affordances

This group of affordances concerns relations between humans and water. The respondents wrote about different kinds of concerns. Some referred to the special feeling water brings them: "It is wonderfully nice with the ponds and fountains"; I like the fact that the pond is like a "fantastic little lake." Likewise, many statements concern relations people have with water through their senses. For instance, I like "the sound of the water" or it is "aesthetically pleasing with ponds." Hartson (2003) calls it sensory affordance. Some people expressed worries as well, explaining that the water and open canals could be attractive but also dangerous for children.

Imbedding blue-green solutions in Augustenborg's outdoor environment turns the area into a space where urban landscape and urban infrastructure intertwine and thus blurs the distinctions between the operational and non-operational structures (Gandy, 2014). Water not only affords pedagogical possibilities, i.e., "I go there with my grandchild to see how the water flows" but also offers specific greenery. For example, some appreciated the water lilies or "the green area with water." The respondents who knew about the purpose of the blue-green solutions also referred to how they afford protection from flooding: "I like the way the canals collect water," or "I like the sunken area because it can collect a large amount of rain." However, not everyone agreed on this, like the one who believes "the stormwater installations work bad in rain."

Other types of affordances are those that come and go with temporal shifts, e.g., seasonal change or changes in temperature. "I do not like that children and teenagers destroy [the ice] when the water turns into ice," or, I do not like that "in the summer the water is disgusting green, dirty, muddy." Some people expressed how they liked when it rained, and others how they disliked it. Many of the affordances also created new expectations on the environment. For instance, when someone realised how 'nice' it is to see or be close to water, or how "aesthetically pleasing [it is] with ponds," it becomes unacceptable when "the water is dirty or smells bad." Furthermore, people seemed to relate to stormwater in different ways. Knowing that blue-green solutions are there to collect water, some showed their dissatisfaction with the absence of water. Seeing running water made some people aware of how nice it is to see or hear it. We thus see both quotes about how they like "the running water" or "how nice the water flows," and quotes

that complain "there is never water" or "there is too little water/running water there."

3.4. Concerns around Synergistic Affordances

Synergistic affordances can be described as the outcome of a synergy effect from a composition of different affordances. Recently, Hoelscher and Chatzidakis (2020) have used the term to describe dualistic relations between physical and digital realms, which enhance the usability within both realms. However, by applying the term we here refer to affordance as an outcome effect dependent on how different actors work together, for example, to produce a certain atmosphere (Gandy, 2017) or niche as a "set of affordances" (Gibson, 1979, p. 128), but it also implies that this set of affordances produce something more than just an agglomeration, i.e., a synergy effect. For example, some respondents suggested that more fruit trees are needed around the blue-green solutions. At first, fruit trees may not be directly related to the affordance of the blue-green solutions. Yet, when someone writes, "I would like to see more fruits and berries so when you are out there with kids or animals you can also eat," it means that being there, together with kids or pets, and together with fruit trees, the place affords you to do more and stay longer. It also affords you to experience something different, as it generates other types of affordances (such as attracting more animals and people) interacting with you, and perhaps enhancing the quality of your experience.

Another example, also related to social affordance, is the presence of 'regulars.' As mentioned before, alcoholics were named as a group whose presence the respondents did not usually appreciate. However, interestingly, this group was mentioned mostly when it comes to the ponds. Perhaps this only shows that the ponds are the most attractive, but it might also indicate that different blue-green solutions might attract different groups of people, or that different types of composition may affect specific groups differently.

The last example of synergistic affordance relates to maintenance. Out of the 222 respondents who answered the free-text questions, around 90 made maintenance-related comments. Here, only a few showed satisfaction, whereas the majority made complaints. These complaints often showed the importance of taking care of blue-green solutions when it comes to everyday use. For instance, it was mentioned that "ponds that are full of trash and dirt smell bad, and instead of thinking about how nice the water is, you do not even want to pass by it." Some comments described how people who use the outdoor environment neglected their responsibility to take care of the area: "Since the blue-green surfaces are so littered, it is difficult to appreciate one's time there." Other comments complained about maintenance more generally: "Since the ponds are handled so poorly, the water stands still. Then algae form toxic algae. The rats can roam there freely." Another informant noted that "some ponds are not kept clean. They are dirty and it is not possible to see the fishes.''

What makes a certain blue-green solution pleasurable or not is the outcome of the interaction of different actors such as property owners, users of the environment, designs, animals, greenery, water, seasonal changes, etc. This does of course not mean that blue-green solutions, more than other green areas, afford to throw trash or maintenance to be ignored, but it might highlight the fact that blue-green environments are especially sensitive to this. Blue-green solutions, with their sometimes-empty ponds, etc., have the potential to turn certain spaces into displays. Also, since blue-green solutions might attract more people than an average green area, it might be especially important that these areas are equipped with more different kinds of furniture, such as wastebaskets and barbecue areas. Some statements indicate that blue-green solutions afford trash to be gathered in specific locations. Since the trash can travel with water, depending on the amount of rain, the design of blue-green solutions, etc., trash gathers in some spots, becomes more noticeable and demands more maintenance. Here there are, however, also potential conflicts, as some people are dissatisfied with the machines used for the cleaning and trimming of plants. For example, one person wrote that s/he did not like "the leaf blower, lawn mower (machines) that make noise." Machines do not only cause disturbing sounds but as mentioned before, cutting the bushes might alter the required environment for animals to nest or hide. Moreover, due to the microclimate and the presence of water, the greenery might grow differently and also produce more biological waste, which makes it difficult to afford good maintenance and to mediate between different expectations. It became very clear, through the answers, that the respondents had very different and sometimes conflicting views on nature. Some people wanted nature to be wild, whereas others preferred it well-maintained.

4. Conclusion

Blue-green solutions introduce a large number of affordances that do not only concern the taking care of stormwater. In the case of Augustenborg, they especially concerned what we have called faunal, social, blue and synergistic affordances. The new urban designs and materialities thus played a part in new forms of social conduct and care, including caring for certain animals, children and for maintenance, but also raised concerns with weeds, litter, rats, and the configuration of social groups. Different non-human actors constantly influence human interactions (Latour, 2005). Through our case study, it became clear that an ecology of affordances (or a niche) is also related to a political ecology and to concerns around what actors (humans as well as non-humans) can use the place and how they can do so (Latour, 2005). Furthermore, it is an ecology of care where people and animals are affected and where new

routines and mechanisms need to be formed for what should be cared for and what should not.

From our study of Augustenborg, it became clear that the introduction of blue-green solutions was not just the addition of another technology, but that it takes part in a territorial transformation and in the production of a new sort of place, which also comes with new expectations. In a way, the environment becomes open to new interpretations and ways of behaviour. Affordance often makes for a strong justification of certain actions, since they easily lend themselves to pleas based on analogies to 'the natural' (Douglas, 1986, p. 46). Affordances are, however, not just there to be 'found' but they are produced as socio-material relations. What we see in this case is how the production of affordances also comes with the conformation (La Cecla & Zanini, 2013) of an ethicality, taking part in shaping the behaviour of people but also shaping the territory itself. Augustenborg's blue-green area affords new kinds of crowds to gather (of both humans and animals), and these, in turn, produce new affordances (e.g., synergistic ones). Augustenborg gets a new intensity that leads to a reterritorialisation and densification of the area. New uses, species and groups find their place, old relations are broken and new ones are formed.

In this case, the densification of actors (human and non-human) also means that the place becomes a matter of concern for more people and animals, and new negotiations proliferate in its wake. The introduction of a certain technological infrastructure like blue-green infrastructure, might at first look innocent, but it brings much more than meets the eye. It is an object that can take on many different actor roles, a niche that allows for new kinds of relations to evolve, and once introduced, stormwater is far from the only concern that this technology needs to deal with. The introduction of blue-green solutions brings about new affordances, but also new kinds of sensitivities and new senses of care. It adds qualities and possibilities, and this, in turn, brings an intensification or a compression of related concerns. These concerns have important social repercussions as they might affect power relations and questions of who can do what, where and how. As the implementation of blue-green solutions is also focused to already existing urban settings, a social intensification and/or compression might potentially be problematic.

We have only looked at one case in this article, but our findings point to the importance of studying the social role and implications of this new technology in future studies. With an affordance perspective, it became possible to see how new designs aiming at bionomic concerns also stirred up a series of socio-material concerns that subsequently needed to be negotiated and settled. We think that an ecological perspective (in the sense of focusing on systems of relations), coupling affordances with matters of concern and care, might be a fruitful way to study the effects of new urban planning implementations in the future—especially for those interested in the relationship between urban design, on the one hand, and the forming of ethicalities in everyday life, on the other. The ecological perspective cannot be reduced to questions of 'ecological sustainability,' but is just as needed when we study the social effects of urban planning and design.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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About the Authors

Misagh Mottaghi is a PhD Student of Architecture at Lund University, Sweden. She is conducting research for Sweden Water Research and her research deals with blue-green infrastructure, focusing on how blue-green solutions affect the quality of public spaces in relation to everyday life.

Mattias Kärrholm a Professor of Architectural Theory at Lund University, Sweden. His research deals with territoriality, public space, building types, space and culture, and everyday life. He has written the book *Retailising Space* (2012, now on Routledge), and together with Andrea Mubi Brighenti the book *Animated Lands, Studies in Territoriology* (2020, Nebraska University Press).

Catharina Sternudd is Senior Lecturer of Architecture and Head of Department of Architecture and Built Environment at Faculty of Engineering, Lund University, Sweden. She is also a Coordinator of Urban Arena, a platform that gathers research on sustainable urban development at Lund University. Her research revolves around urban design with a special focus on environmental support for sustainable everyday practices, such as walking and children's independent psychical activity.

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Article

A Shared Everyday Ethic of Public Sociability: Outdoor Public Ice Rinks as Spaces for Encounter

Mervyn Horgan *, Saara Liinamaa, Amanda Dakin, Sofia Meligrana and Meng Xu

Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Guelph, Guelph, N1G 2W1, Canada;
E-Mails: mhorgan@uoguelph.ca (M.H.), sliinamaa@uoguelph.ca (S.L.), adakin@uoguelph.ca (A.D.), smeligra@uoguelph.ca (S.M.), mxu10@uoguelph.ca (M.X.)

* Corresponding author

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Abstract
Everyday life in urban public space means living amongst people unknown to one another. As part of the broader convivial turn within the study of everyday urban life (Wise & Noble, 2016), this article examines outdoor public ice rinks as spaces for encounter between strangers. With data drawn from 100 hours of naturalistic and participant observation at free and accessible outdoor public non-hockey ice rinks in two Canadian cities, we show how 'rink life' is animated by a shared everyday ethic of public sociability, with strangers regularly engaging in fleeting moments of sociable interaction. At first glance, researching the outdoor public ice rink may seem frivolous, but in treating it seriously as a public space we find it to be threaded through with an ethos of interactional equality, reciprocal respect, and mutual support. We argue that the shared everyday ethic of public sociability that characterizes the rinks that we observed is a function of the (1) public and (2) personal materiality required for skating; (3) the emergence of on ice norms; (4) generalized trust amongst users; (5) ambiguities of socio-spatial differentiation by skill; and (6) flattened social hierarchies, or what we call the quotidian carnivalesque. Our data and analysis suggest that by drawing together different generations and levels of ability, this distinct public space facilitates social interactions between strangers, and so provides insights relevant to planners, policy makers and practitioners.

Keywords
affordances of sociability; conviviality; everyday ethics; public ice rinks; public space; strangers

Issue
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1. Introduction

While an ethical worldview can inform public space design, the people who use public spaces and the interactions between them give life to everyday ethics. Ethics may inform design, but actual everyday use may not reflect those ethics: intentions and consequences are rarely one and the same thing.

Everyday life in urban public space means living amongst people unknown to one another (Amin, 2008; Horgan, 2012). While the existence of public space alone may not be a sufficient condition for creating a just and equal society, it is certainly a necessary one. Truly public spaces that are free and accessible, facilitating contact across various forms of social difference, are both necessary and desirable to any vision of a just and inclusive city (Cattell, Dines, Gesler, & Curtis, 2008; Young, 1990).

Here we examine one type of temporally bounded, weather-dependent public space dedicated to recreational activity: outdoor municipally-managed public ice rinks where ice hockey is not permitted (hereafter, outdoor public ice rinks). These are a common recreational feature in many northern cities with winter temperatures consistently below freezing. While numerous free-

form leisure pursuits—cycling, skateboarding, jogging—can take place within and across a wide variety of public spaces, ice-skating is necessarily temporally and spatially circumscribed; the rink is a specialized space in need of regular maintenance. Unlike some other pursuits requiring single-use facilities (e.g., golf, squash, tennis), recreational skating is not associated primarily with elites. As a form of public recreational activity, skating is potentially available to a wide population and has positive implications for both public health (Frumkin, 2003) and community identity (Francis, Giles-Corti, Wood, & Knuiman, 2012) in cold climates. Rinks make possible public sociability that may be otherwise lacking in public spaces during winter months.

Drawing on 100 hours of systematic naturalistic and participant observation at outdoor public ice rinks in two Canadian cities, this article focuses on features of these outdoor public ice rinks that facilitate sociability. The specific type of ice rinks that we observed are free to access, centrally located and, importantly, where ice hockey is forbidden. Many Canadian towns and cities have municipally managed indoor and outdoor rink facilities, usually with a mixture of times for ice hockey and for recreational skating. Over half of Canada's 25 most populous cities offer free outdoor public ice rinks exclusively for recreational skating (that is, no hockey), with many located in city hall plazas (for example, in Calgary, Edmonton, Guelph, Kitchener-Waterloo, Ottawa, Regina, Toronto), or located downtown and/or close to other major municipal facilities (e.g., Halifax, Hamilton, London, Quebec City, St. John's, Vancouver, Windsor). This type of rink can be further distinguished from backyard and community rinks across Canada, as these too tend to be overwhelmingly dominated by ice hockey (Frederiksen, McLeman, & Elcombe, 2018). Similar types of outdoor public rinks also exist in northern US cities (for example, New York City's Bryant Park and Chicago's Millennium Park) and in Northern European cities (for example, Stockholm's Kungsträdgården and Oslo's Spikersuppa rink).

While our empirical data is based exclusively on naturalistic and participant observation, our analysis is informed primarily by social scientific literature on urban sociability concerned with the possibilities and perils of everyday interactions between strangers in public space. We show how the built form of the rink and the social activity of skating are animated by a shared everyday ethic of sociability amongst rink users. We suggest that analyzing the social organization of the outdoor public ice rink deepens our understanding of how the design, management, promotion and use of such spaces can help planners and designers contribute to cultivating and sustaining soft infrastructures of sociability across various forms of social difference.

2. Outdoor Public Ice Rinks and/as Public Spaces

Interactions between strangers in the Anglo-North American public realm are underpinned by an ethic of civil inattention (Goffman, 1963), where strangers offer one another mutual indifference (Durkheim, 1964; Simmel, 1971). The rules are not hard and fast; some interactions are attentive—a friendly word, offers of assistance—while others may be uncivil (Horgan, 2019, 2020; Smith, Phillips, & King, 2010). Sociologists demonstrate multiple factors shaping interactions between strangers in public spaces, including, social characteristics like age (Cahill, 1987; Corcoran, Gray, & Peillon, 2009), gender (Gardner, 1995; Lenton, Smith, Fox, & Morra, 1999), and race (Anderson, 2011; Raudenbush, 2012). Also important are types of public space and associated activities (Goffman, 1963; Smith et al., 2010), and basic spatio-temporal features, such as time of day and seasonal weather conditions (Grazian, 2009; Milbrandt, 2020; Nash, 1981; Vannini, Waskul, Gottschalk, & Ellis-Newstead, 2012; Zacharias, Stathopoulos, & Wu, 2001).

Below, we first discuss existing literature on ice rinks, finding a dearth of research on outdoor public hockey-free ice rinks. We then turn to social scientific literature on interactions between strangers in public spaces. This sets the scene for the data reporting and conceptual development that follows.

2.1. Ice Rink Research

Ice rinks figure strongly in the collective imaginations of northern countries. Popular images posit outdoor rinks as sites for romance and seasonal sociability, perhaps most famously in New York's Rockefeller Plaza. In Canada's national imaginaries, ice rinks are iconic, appearing in wide varieties of popular media representations of Canadian-ness (Cormack & Cosgrave, 2013), but ice rinks are overwhelmingly associated with ice hockey. Ice hockey's status is near religious (Trothen, 2006): "[If] hockey is a Canadian religion, then the outdoor rink is the church" (Ramshaw & Hinch, 2006, p. 404). Outdoor hockey rinks are widely romanticized within narratives of childhood and nationhood (Johnson & Ali, 2017), with the 'mythologized space' of backyard rinks at the core of privatized forms of community building (Frederiksen et al., 2018, p. 47). Accordingly, both popular representations of outdoor rinks and rink research focus near exclusively on hockey.

Our interest here is not in advancing or undermining this iconicity or mythological status, rather, we complicate the picture, showing how outdoor hockey-free public rinks are qualitatively different. While hockey is interesting in its own right, existing research indicates its alignment with social exclusion. Evidence is mounting that ice hockey is increasingly a preserve of the wealthy (Mirtle, 2013), contributing to a broader problem of "physical activity culture that disproportionately favours organized, competitive sport" (Johnson & Ali, 2017, p. 259). Relatedly, the public availability of rinks for non-hockey use generates local-level conflict in Canadian cities; one municipality developed separate indoor community rinks "to avoid conflicts among

hockey players and family skaters" (Winder, 1998, p. 89). More recently, a Montreal scheme seeking to develop interest in hockey amongst immigrants and racialized groups built temporary outdoor rinks in communities with high numbers of immigrants and visible minorities. Researchers there noted that even in an ethnically heterogenous neighbourhood, rink users appeared to skew both white and male (Roult, Adjizian, Lefebvre, & Lapierre, 2014). With recreational hockey dominated by relatively well-off white men, participation by wider publics is limited. Research on the culture of hockey has found the sport in general, whether professional or recreational, and hockey rinks in particular, to be highly-charged sites of racism, sexism, homophobia, and hegemonic masculinity (Allain, 2008; MacDonald, 2018; Robidoux, 2012; Robinson, 1998; Runstedtler, 2016; Theberge, 1998). Beyond hockey, ice skating has also received dedicated focus in existing literature, particularly figure skaters' personal aesthetic and embodied experiences (Adams, 2011; Maivorsdotter & Wickman, 2011). Researchers have also positioned ice skating as serious leisure (McQuarrie & Jackson, 1996; Stebbins, 2007).

Outdoor skating in public spaces barely appears in existing research (Mair, 2009). Studies of seasonal variability in public space usage refer to rinks only in passing, with little research focused exclusively on outdoor public ice rinks (Chen & Ng, 2012; Li, 1994; Nash, 1981). Research attending to 'socialization' in outdoor rinks focuses on national identity and media representations, rather than empirical data from rinks themselves (Edwards & Kulczycki, 2018, pp. 413–415). Yet, a UK-based study of temporary rinks found that:

> [The] embodied pleasure of moving over ice, the sensorial pleasures of the cold, the festive socialities of the season and the visual pleasures of the spectacle of people skating, are intensely productive of an urban vitality that is popular, democratic and intensely sociable. (Bell, 2009, p. 15)

Generally, public rinks fit with the 'ludic city' as a space of unstructured play that modifies "relations between perceptions, intentions, actions and objects" (Stevens, 2007, p. 197).

Beyond these studies, outdoor public hockey-free rinks are underscrutinized as social environments in general, and as a space for sociability between strangers in particular. Hockey's dominance and associations with social exclusion may blinker understandings of rinks as more broadly sociable spaces. We use social scientific methods and data to address this oversight. Before turning to this, we first survey literature on interactions in public spaces more generally.

2.2. Interactions in Public Spaces

While the outdoor public ice rink as a site of sociability has been largely overlooked, social scientists treat public spaces as important sites for social contact across difference and for staking democratic claims (Mitchell, 2017). Surprisingly, despite both being concerned with public spaces, historically, there is little sustained dialogue and mutual influence between planning research on the design and management of the public realm and social scientific research on public interactions between strangers: Planners may seek to design spaces that facilitate stranger encounters, but what of the features of those interactions themselves? Urban design literature focused on material elements of public spaces is often underpinned at a macro level by democratic political philosophy, and concerned at an individual level with cognitive evaluations of design elements and personal safety (Amin, 2008; Del Aguila, Ghavampour, & Vale, 2019; Mehta, 2009, 2014). Some recent work on urban design explicitly examines how topographical features of public spaces can facilitate encounters between strangers (Wang & Stevens, 2020). For example, building on influential work on the public realm (Jacobs, 1961; Oldenburg, 1999), Simões-Aelbrecht (2010, p. 113) calls attention to the "spatial, social and experiential conditions…conducive to social interactions amongst strangers" (see also Simões-Aelbrecht, 2016).

Sociologists examine the social organization of public spaces, treating public spaces as settings for encounters between strangers (De Stefani & Mondada, 2018; Goffman, 1963; Mondada, 2009; Smith, 2017; Wessendorf, 2013). The interactional organization of public spaces—the "urban interaction order" (Horgan, 2017, 2019)—requires the ongoing mutual accomplishment of order amongst co-present strangers. Interactionally-attuned sociologists emphasize the particularity of the interactional dynamics characterizing types of social contact between strangers in urban public spaces (Lofland, 1973; Morrill, Snow, & White, 2005). Echoing Simmel's conception of the 'blasé attitude' (1971) as a necessary individual level adaptation to urban experience, and dovetailing with the concept of 'civil inattention' (Goffman, 1963, pp. 83–88) noted above, Lofland (1973, p. 151) refers to densely populated urban public space as a 'world of strangers' where urbanites develop a 'symbolic shield of privacy' particularly in instrumental spaces like public transit and on busy sidewalks.

Empirical research illustrates, though, that civil inattention is not universally applicable in public spaces (Gardner, 1995). Raudenbush (2012, p. 459), for example, shows its' uneven application in public settings where strangers are co-present, observing "racial differences in the use of civil inattention" on public transit in Chicago, observing that African-Americans generally uphold the norm of civil inattention only when white people are present, and that a more relaxed sociability occurs when only African-Americans are present. Connected to this, many scholars adopt the fear-avoidance paradigm (Smith et al., 2010), treating individuals in cities as predominantly fearful of strangers, and in-

teractions between strangers as fraught and/or perilous. Given this paradigm's dominance, much social scientific work on urban space focuses on 'disorder' (Sampson & Raudenbush, 1999), treating urban spaces as characterized by mutual distrust. Focusing on observations and accounts of interactions between strangers, Duneier and Molotch (1999, p. 1276) outline the 'tacit conventions of sociability' that organize interactions between strangers in public spaces, while Anderson's (2011) 'cosmopolitan canopy' analyzes mundane encounters to delineate possibilities for civil sociability between strangers across racial differences.

In a similar spirit, Gilroy (2004, p. xi) draws attention to "the processes of cohabitation and interaction that have made multiculture an ordinary feature of social life." This observation has inspired a 'convivial turn' (Neal, Bennett, Cochrane, & Mohan, 2013) in the social scientific study of the everyday spaces where stranger encounters take place. Contemporary convivialities researchers, primarily anthropologists, geographers and sociologists, examine actually existing interactions between strangers across various forms of social and cultural difference, especially in public settings and institutions, schools, markets, sidewalks, and public parks (Barker, Crawford, Booth, & Churchill, 2019; Blommaert, 2014; Germain, 2013). This research demonstrates that while conflict does still appear (Anderson, 2011; Back & Sinha, 2016), everyday interactions between strangers in public settings are not necessarily fraught and are often characterized by conviviality.

Having situated our study within literatures on ice rinks, public spaces and conviviality, next we outline our research methods, then we report descriptive data, before turning to an analysis of elements making up the shared everyday ethic of public sociability.

3. Rinks as Social Spaces

The present study of outdoor public ice rinks is part of a broader research program examining interactions between strangers in Canadian public spaces. Our wider project—the Sociable Cities Project—examines properties of public spaces and characteristics of encounters facilitating or mitigating against sociability between strangers. Our empirical research is underpinned by a normative commitment to the centrality of public spaces as key sites for encounters across difference in the context of an increasingly large, mobile, diverse, and unequal global urban population. We are especially interested in understanding the promises and perils of public spaces as realms for the production, maintenance and dissolution of everyday solidarity between strangers. Ice rinks are the first sites in this broader study (others include playgrounds, transit and parks). We treat rinks not simply as spaces where encounter is likely, but as public spaces that explicitly produce encounters between strangers—skating as an embodied physical activity is near impossible to do in public without engaging in some kind of social interaction. Moreover, as a leisure setting, it does so in a relatively low-stakes, generally non-instrumental way.

Before discussing our data, we will outline our methods. Between December 2019 and March 2020 (our observations were cut short in mid-March 2020 by the COVID-19 pandemic), we conducted naturalistic and participant observation at two outdoor public rinks in Canada, one in Guelph, a mid-size Canadian city, and the other in downtown Toronto, Canada's largest and most diverse city. Collectively, we observed for a total of 100 hours across 50 discrete observation periods ranging in duration from 0.5 to 3 hours, with an average of 1.25 hours, spreading observations across day of the week and time of day to capture potential temporal variations. Our team of five researchers (this article's co-authors) consists of female and male, immigrant and Canadian-born, visible minority and white, as well as both seasoned skaters and novices, and range in ages from early 20s to early 40s. Our various social differences and skill levels sensitized each of us to observing what other team members may not have noticed, thus collectively developing a broader and more nuanced set of observations.

Our naturalistic and participant observations followed standard sociological methods for the description and analysis of social settings, focusing in particular on observable features of the setting, actors and activities (Lofland & Lofland, 1984; Spradley, 1980). To systematize our observations, every observation period began with each researcher recording time of day, weather, number and basic demographic characteristics of users that could be determined visually or aurally (for example, estimating age, gender, white/visible minority, skill level) through unobtrusive observation. Each of us then varied our time between skating and not skating, reasoning that the embodied experience of skating would bring us to observe interactions on ice more closely, and that observing from the margins would help make some more general observations about the rink as a whole. While we did not solicit interactions with other rink users, if someone initiated interaction we reciprocated. Interpersonal acknowledgments and spontaneous brief conversations amongst strangers were frequent. Across our observations, young children, caregivers, men, women, teenagers, elderly persons, and cognitively impaired persons initiated conversations with each one of us.

Throughout the observation phase, the research team shared field notes and met regularly, both in-person and virtually, to discuss our observations. Once the observation period was complete, we reviewed our individual observations, and collaboratively developed 'sensitizing concepts' (Blumer, 1954, pp. 7–9) to describe and analyze observations shared across multiple observers and observation periods. These form the basis of our analysis.

While there are some notable differences between our two field sites (size, relative density, availability of in-

door space, immediate environs, etc.), our primary focus is on common features of the social organization of the rink. Particularly, we foreground elements of rink life that bear directly on the inter-relationships of built environment, ethics and everyday life via interactions between strangers. Needless to say, there are thousands of discrete observations that we could report but space does not permit us to itemize and describe these observations in toto. Consequently, our focus is necessarily narrower. Following a basic description of rink life, and based on an analysis of our observations, we concentrate on those specific elements of rink life relevant to the shared everyday ethic of public sociability.

4. Rink Life: Some Basic Observations

Our observations focus on a particular type of ice rink—municipally managed, urban rinks with well-developed facilities, regular ice maintenance, clearly stated safety guidelines, and accessibility features (e.g., sloped access points, accessible washrooms). The two rinks where we gathered data are both located in the central business districts of each city; they are centrepieces of municipal plazas containing each municipality's city hall. Neither rink charges an admission fee. By virtue of being free, accessible, centrally-located, hockey-free, and outdoors, the rinks we observed are distinct from other types of rink that previous researchers have examined. These rinks, though, are by no means unique: As noted, over half of Canada's 25 most populous cities have rinks of this type and location. These rinks are designed to accommodate those with mobility impairments, and with adaptations to facilitate assistive devices; however, sports equipment, like hockey sticks and pucks are not allowed. Many other free community outdoor rinks do not have these sorts of formalized guidelines and facilities, and such rinks tend to be hockey dominated.

Though the precise times and dates of opening and closing of both rinks are weather dependent, in winter months (late November to late March/early April) they are generally open daily for more than 12 hours. Both rinks have seating around the perimeter, this faces towards the rink providing a place for skaters to rest and spectators to watch. Immediately adjacent to the Guelph rink there is a small heated glass-walled changing room and locker facility that includes two public washrooms, and a nearby store offers reasonably-priced skate rentals. The Toronto rink has a locker facility and a dedicated skate rental counter. The Toronto rink has a rink monitor on duty at all times, while the Guelph rink did not always have a visible official presence, though municipal workers were sometimes present.

The number of users on the ice at any given time ranged from zero to well over one hundred with equivalent numbers present in the rinks' immediate environs. When large numbers are present, the constant to and fro between skating and resting made precise numbers at any one point in time difficult to determine. In general, far fewer skaters were present on days where the temperature approached or dipped below minus 20 degrees Celsius. Weekday mornings at both locations tended to be quiet, with a notable uptick in numbers of users on milder evenings and a huge swell in numbers on weekends and holidays, with weekend and holiday afternoons consistently the busiest at both rinks.

Skaters ranged in age from two years old to over 70. Children under 12 and accompanying adults tended to be the most frequently occurring group at both rinks. We also commonly observed groups of teenagers, and adults in singles and pairs. Both opposite and same-sex couples from teenagers to older adults over 60 were also regular users, with younger couples tending to skate together side-by-side for longer periods than older ones. Unaccompanied skaters at both rinks tended to be adult men, predominantly white at the Guelph rink but more visibly diverse in Toronto. A mix of novices and experienced skaters were present in every observation period where at least five skaters were present. Child learners were generally under 10 and visibly diverse, while adult learners at both rinks tended to be visible minorities and/or non-native English speakers. The Toronto rink was always ethnically diverse, while Guelph rink users tended to be predominantly, though by no means exclusively, white. Larger groups of five to ten teenagers and young adults appeared frequently at both rinks, and these groups were often ethnically mixed with very varied skill levels. In Guelph most skaters communicated in English, but we also heard French, German, Japanese, Polish, and Tagalog, while in Toronto many different languages were in use throughout each observation period.

Again, while we could catalogue thousands of discrete observations from both sites, having provided a basic description of rink life, we now turn to a more focused discussion and analysis of the social organization of the rink.

5. A Shared Everyday Ethic of Public Sociability: Affordances of Sociability at the Rink

In this section we draw upon our observational data to demonstrate how outdoor public ice rinks are characterized by a shared everyday ethic of public sociability. We define this ethic as a mutual orientation in mundane social interaction in public space, where strangers freely and fleetingly interact without visibly evident instrumental reasons for doing so. Below we draw upon data from our naturalistic and participant observations to demonstrate how this ethic is informally produced and upheld by rink users. We propose that the emergence and sustenance of this ethic derives from *affordances of sociability*, that we define broadly as any elements of a social setting that facilitate positive interactions between strangers. Settings with numerous and varied affordances of sociability form an essential part of what we call soft infrastructures of sociability. In the present study, we locate these affordances in the material and

social organization of the outdoor public ice rink (see also Rietveld & Kiverstein, 2014). Specifically, we note the following features that are salient at the rink. The requirements of skating as a specific type of physical activity provides affordances of sociability through (1) public materiality, which refers to the built environment of the rink and its environs, and (2) personal materiality, which refers to the specialized equipment necessary for skating. Further, the social organization of the rink as a space for expressive activity provides affordances of sociability through; (3) norm emergence that is reasonably consistent in the relative absence of explicit sanctions or overarching intervening authorities; (4) generalized trust amongst users; (5) ambiguities of socio-spatial differentiation by skill; and (6) a quotidian carnivalesque, whereby social hierarchies are generally flattened and sometimes inverted due to the temporarily diminished salience of non-rink status hierarchies. Each of these elements is discussed in detail below. Throughout, we provide illustrative examples from our field notes. Important to note here is that the six elements that we delineate are not wholly discrete and distinct from one another. We parse them out here for the purposes of description, analysis and illustration; in practice, in our observations we found them to be imbricated with one another. As social scientists we analytically disentangle constitutive elements while recognizing that they are more fully integrated in the everyday realities of rink life. We conclude this section with a discussion of some limits to our study.

5.1. Public Materiality

Specific elements of the skating rink as a built environment enable sociability between rink users. Most obviously, the existence of the rink itself provides a shared space for engaging in a seasonal leisure activity, an especially important one since winter weather tends to curtail outdoor activities in public spaces. While our data is exclusively observational and does not yet include interviews, we can assume that people who come to use the rink come in the knowledge that it is a shared space, and one that they take pleasure in using. As a free and open public space, users come expecting to share it with unknown others.

One especially significant feature of the rink as a built environment is the open bench seating around the perimeter. On every occasion where children and caregivers were present, we observed caregivers call out to children from this seating or vice versa. The shared nature of the seating itself affords sociability as it makes side conversations with proximate others possible. We regularly observed parents and caregivers engaging in friendly exchanges with one another, and they often shared knowing glances when younger children were having tantrums. For example, from our field notes:

> It's a busy Sunday afternoon…with about 35 people present, about 20 of them are children….A young white boy, around 5 or 6 appears quite upset, but it's not clear why. Immediately after his caregiver comforts him, another caregiver at the bench to her right smiles and exchanges words as they both watch him race back on to the ice.

Adults regularly offered encouragement to children unknown to them from the sidelines. Adults who are strangers to one other may comment on the skill of a young child or offer pointers to novices. Again, from our field notes:

> A young girl, around 4 or 5, keeps trying to skate ahead of her caregivers, but has difficulty keeping her balance….She falls for the 5th or 6th time immediately in front of a middle aged white man taking a rest on a bench who catches her eye and says: "Keep bending those knees, you're doing a great job!"

Benches of this sort are a valuable resource because they are "public, egalitarian and free….and allow people to loosely belong within the flow of city life" (Bynon & Rishbeth, 2015, p. 3).

5.2. Personal Materiality

Skating requires not only a public rink, but also personal materials, including skates, a helmet (mandatory for children at both rinks), and warm winter clothing. While there is a cost associated with the necessary equipment, the trade in second-hand and hand-me-down skating and winter gear in Canada is both widespread and relatively inexpensive. A young child can be kitted out with basic skates and a helmet for the equivalent of 3–4 hours minimum wage work. In addition to thrift stores, a well-established network of second-hand sports stores also accept trade-ins, so as children grow out of skates and helmets these can be traded in for store credit, and so after the initial investment, future costs can be lowered. Worth noting here is that the price tag for participation in ice hockey is substantially higher and prohibitive for many (Mirtle, 2013) because much more and specialized equipment is involved, to say nothing of coaching, competition and 'ice-time' costs.

The skating boot itself often afforded sociable interactions. The strangeness of skates for the uninitiated were a constant source of interaction between strangers. We observed eight occasions where seasoned skaters advised novices having difficulty squeezing into new or rented skates, for example, with strangers offering advice like: "You gotta loosen the laces all the way down the skate," and, "if you stand up you'll slip into it more easily." Additionally, if they were far from their caregiver, we witnessed small children on the ice ask random nearby adults to help with undone laces on six occasions. A familiar sound from adults at a rink is a sigh of relief as laces are opened and skates removed. These sighs were often commented on by nearby adults. We overheard com-

ments such as "isn't that the best feeling in the world?!" and "that is the best part of skating."

Winter wear in general also leads to sociable encounters. In North American society 'territories of the self' (Goffman, 1971)—including one's body, personal possessions and personal space—are sacrosanct, and in most public contexts, inviolable, with demonstrable offence generally taken when these territories are violated by strangers in particular. At the rink, territories of the self are blurred. For example, it's not unusual for skating children and young adults to cast their winter jackets aside when they get too hot, with little concern for where they land (young boys, in particular, appear to take great pride in skating in t-shirts). These expanded territories of the self necessarily overlapped with those of others, as strangers' clothing piled up, with some searching for shoes beneath piles of others' clothing. In our 100 hours of observation, we did not once witness this leading to any kind of overt conflict.

5.3. Emergent Norms

Both rinks had some signage indicating rules/etiquette for users, but the rink surface appears to be largely self-organized through implicit agreement amongst skaters. Direction of flow is a good example: Agreement about direction of travel is arrived at collectively without explicit communication. When small numbers are present, skating is multi-directional, but once a critical mass is reached (generally, about seven or eight people) a uni-directional flow emerges (at the larger rink, attendants intervened if someone consistently skated in the wrong direction). For example, during an early evening weekday observation, only four skaters were present, some skating clockwise, another counterclockwise, and one in the rink's centre skating back and forth in a straight line. As more people arrived, seemingly naturally, everyone began skating in the same direction. As it involves a demonstrable mutual orientation and commitment (Rawls, 1990) between skaters, we call this an 'emergent norm.'

Those who do engage in counter flow are generally those providing assistance to fallen or struggling skaters, and children, mostly pre-teen/teenage boys. On every occasion where at least three pre-teen/teenage boys were present we observed them skating very quickly, stopping abruptly, performing tricks (such as skating backwards), skating in inconsistent directions, and being louder than other users. While their caregivers sometimes called out to these boys to be more careful, we never once observed other skaters treating this as disruptive or making facial or audible gestures that outwardly demonstrated upset.

What is especially interesting about this emergent norm is that unlike other public settings, breaches of the norm do not seem to draw immediate sanction from other users (Goffman, 1963, 1971). Rather, disruptions tend to be fleeting and quickly reabsorbed.

5.4. Generalized Trust

In addition to norm emergence above, users at the smaller rink in particular, appeared to demonstrate a high degree of trust, unguarded personal possessions being a clear example. During busy weekend periods, we observed many people leaving personal belongings on top of and underneath the outdoor benches, and skaters rarely stopped to check on their belongings. This is especially noteworthy since both rinks have secure locker facilities that few skaters use.

This atmosphere of generalized trust is not only with regard to personal possessions. It is especially evident in caregiver-child relationships. For example, almost all small children with some skating competence skated far from their caregivers, at distances much greater than commonly observed in other public spaces. Accompanied children appear to be less subject to direct supervision than at public playgrounds, for example. Attesting to the implicit trust characteristic of these rinks, most strikingly, we twice observed young children (under 10) skating alone while caregivers ate at restaurants visible from the rink. While there is much research to show that children perceive public spaces as potentially dangerous, and that both they and their parents generally act in line with this belief (Cahill, 1990; Harden, 2000; Valentine, 1996, 1997), the rink appears to be a space where such fears are fleetingly suspended, and where children can express and enact some degree of autonomy.

5.5. Ambiguities of Socio-Spatial Differentiation by Skill

While the physical surface of the rink is largely undifferentiated, observations suggest some differentiation by skating skill. By virtue of the type of movement involved, skaters weave to avoid one another, with steady skaters, leaving space (anywhere from 1–3 feet, depending on density) between them when passing. Skilled skaters can easily avoid more hesitant novices, and novices quickly learn not to fear high-speed skilled skaters. Beginning skaters tend to shuffle around the very outer edge of the ice, sometimes holding onto someone without skates who walks around holding them, other times to a more skilled or fellow-learner friend. Occasionally, beginners try to find their balance at the very centre of the rink, though getting there often proves difficult. We twice witnessed wheelchair users wheel onto the ice, moving from the perimeter to the centre and interacting with skaters. Highly skilled skaters as well as learners use the outer edge, and this very mixing of skill levels lends itself to encouraging words, sharing of advice, and, often, direct physical assistance. These patterns though are not fixed; on one weekend afternoon as we observed the rink become increasingly dominated by families with young children who skated on the outside of the rink. Consequently, stronger skaters moved towards the center.

No single group or skill-level dominates the ice rink. That said, in general, showy displays of skating prowess (e.g., skating backwards, 'hockey stops,' fast turns), tended to be from competent male skaters from the very young to the middle-aged, often wearing the jersey of an ice hockey team. Only twice did we witness flamboyant figure skating maneuvers—in both cases, by women—in the centre of the ice in the immediate presence of novices. Like activities in public spaces more generally, activities on ice are gendered. That said, activities on the rinks we observed did not appear subject to the kinds of gendered performances that so clearly dominate on hockey rinks. The ambiguities of socio-spatial differentiation by skill, where novices and seasoned skaters share space and with no one group controlling or dictating parts of the ice surface or the surface as a whole, appears to facilitate a collaborative and somewhat egalitarian ethos on the ice.

5.6. Quotidian Carnivalesque

Building on the ambiguities of socio-spatial differentiation by skill, the rink provides a space where the mixing of, in particular, skill levels, genders and ages, disrupts status hierarchies that may be salient outside the rink. We call this the quotidian carnivalesque. For Bakhtin (1984a, 1984b), the carnivalesque refers to occasions where social hierarchies may be flattened, disrupted and inverted.

In over half of our observation periods, young children not only outnumbered adults, but appeared more skilled than many adults present. The mixing of skilled children and relatively hapless adults inverts pervasive age-based status hierarchies. For example, early on a weekend evening, a man skating at high speed fell spectacularly. A toddler skated towards him, reaching out to help him up. The toddler's father skated over, moved the toddler aside and helped the man up. After a few friendly words, all returned to skating. The embarrassment one might expect is tempered substantially on the ice, as failure is frequent, more or less routinized, and treated frivolously. Indeed, failing became a source of fun, with those who fall usually laughing at themselves, and nearby strangers sharing a smile once they determined that the faller was not injured.

Across 100 hours of observation we witnessed dozens of falls, though no serious injury evidently occurred. Strangers regularly assisted in picking up fallen skaters, checking 'are you ok?' Stumbling skaters (including our research team), regularly experienced a steadying-hand on their backs or shoulders as more skilled passing skaters—child or adult—sensed (usually correctly) impending falls. We witnessed female skaters assisting males and vice versa with no perceptible difference. Occasionally someone skates too close or if a nearby skater looks like they are about to fall, it is not unusual for another skater to reach out—regardless of age or gender—to physically support or gently push another skater.

We point to these instances as in Anglo-North American society, direct physical contact between children and adults who are strangers to them has the character of a taboo. Yet at the rink, this kind of reaching out—literal forms of support, whether from adult to child or vice versa—is thoroughly normalized. Prevailing hierarchies of gender and age, and the usual touching rules between strangers in public spaces appear to be modulated when on ice. While this does not make the rink a carnival, the suspension of hierarchies does give it a carnivalesque quality in the Bakhtinian sense, especially when busy.

6. Summary and Limits

The rink as a public space and skating as a public activity provide affordances of sociability that yield social interactions between strangers beyond the civil inattention characteristic of North American urban spaces. Derived from our observational data, the six elements described above characterize a shared everyday ethic of public sociability at the outdoor public ice rink. This ethic is informally produced and upheld by rink users. We distinguish these six elements analytically, though in practice they are less distinct. We suggest that rink life appears to suspend many of the fears, norms and hierarchies that, as discussed in our literature review, researchers have found both on ice hockey rinks and in public spaces.

While sociability between strangers was evident in every observation period and the picture we paint above is largely positive, not all observed interactions were uniformly sociable. We do not wish to claim that outdoor public ice rinks are some sort of panacea, free from social exclusion. We note in particular that the presence of official rink monitors in Toronto rink led on two separate occasions to street-involved persons not wearing skates being asked to leave the rink surface. We also witnessed rink monitors shouting at skaters who did not leave the ice as the ice-resurfacing machine (Zamboni) prepared to enter the rink. In addition, while the rink appears to offer some autonomy to children, the dominance of boisterous play amongst young boys dovetails with gendered socialization that treats public space as a primarily masculine domain (Gardner, 1995; Kern, 2019). While outdoor public ice rinks may not be free of the norms of hegemonic masculinity so prevalent at the hockey rink, these norms do appear to be tempered somewhat.

Some evident drawbacks of our study derive from the limitations of our method. While generative in its own right, research based exclusively on data gathered through naturalistic and participant observation from a five-person team does not necessarily capture all ways that users experience rinks. One-on-one interviews and surveys may generate different kinds of findings, in particular around personal perceptions about outdoor public ice rinks. Such data would help to deepen our understanding of varieties of experiences in this type of public space.

7. Conclusion

While the sustained study of the outdoor public rink might seem inconsequential, its very everydayness veils the extent to which it is instructive for deepening understanding of public spaces as sites where strangers interact. Public ought to mean free and accessible to all, with minimal physical and financial barriers to entry. Rinks can offer important lessons for learning how we might make good on the inclusive principles of truly public spaces.

We have demonstrated how the endogenous organization of the rink by co-present persons generates and expresses a shared everyday ethic of public sociability. The rink is a space that affords interaction between—and perhaps also openness to—strangers. It is animated by a mutual responsibility not only for maintaining some semblance of orderliness and trust, but also for pleasurable play through a demonstrably shared commitment to the collective production of fun. We hope that academics, urban planners, policy makers and community organizations—all those interested in how the relationship between the built environment and the ethics of everyday life manifests in the social life of the public realm—can draw on insights from the shared everyday ethic of sociability at the rink. By better identifying and cultivating soft infrastructures of sociability, we can collectively advance the social life of urban public spaces in our increasingly dense and diverse cities.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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About the Authors

Mervyn Horgan is Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Guelph (Canada), and Faculty Fellow of the Center for Cultural Sociology at Yale University. He has published widely on social theory, gentrification, stigmatization, strangers and public space. He is the Principal Investigator on the SSHRC-funded Sociable Cities Project.

Saara Liinamaa is Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of Guelph (Canada). As a cultural and urban sociologist, her research and publications examine practices of everyday life, with a particular interest in how individuals and organizations manage uncertainty and change. She is Co-Investigator on the Sociable Cities Project.

Amanda Dakin is a SSHRC-funded Sociology MA Student at the University of Guelph. She researches the regulation of public space and, in particular, how homeless persons are excluded from the public realm through the use of the outdoor built environment. She is a Research Assistant on the Sociable Cities Project.

Sofia Meligrana is a Sociology MA Student at the University of Guelph. Her research interests include cultural (mis)appropriation, multiculturalism, ethnic minorities, and symbolic boundaries. Her MA research focuses on ethnic minority responses to cultural (mis)appropriation in Canada. She is a Research Assistant on the Sociable Cities Project.

Meng Xu is a Sociology PhD Student at the University of Guelph. He holds a BA and an MA in Sociology from Minzu University of China. His areas of research interest include interactionism, public space, and consumption. He is a Research Assistant on the Sociable Cities Project.

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Article

Towards Non-Ageist Housing and Caring in Old Age

Shelly Cohen [1,2,*] and Yael Allweil [2]

[1] The David Azrieli School of Architecture, Tel Aviv University, 6997801 Tel Aviv, Israel; E-Mail: local.shelly.c@gmail.com
[2] Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning, Technion IIT, 3200003 Haifa, Israel; E-Mail: aryael@technion.ac.il

* Corresponding author

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Abstract
This article investigates aging-in-place among seniors who live with caretakers, particularly domestic workers who immigrate to Israel from poorer countries. In recent decades, new apartment designs are intended for families with children. Drawing on Dolores Hayden's (1980) 'Non-Sexist City', we expound on Non-Ageist architecture for the aging population and migrant caregivers. We examine how this kind of residence can include additional and vulnerable groups in the population, such as seniors and their caregivers. Our study explores the design of Tel Aviv Metropolis apartments. We argue that typical apartment design affects the ethics of everyday living. Following Michel de Certeau (2011), our research observes everyday behaviors and creative tactics through which seniors and caregivers re-appropriate shared living space. Most seniors house caretakers in a room within the bedroom area of the apartment, for instance, while others use a separate room by the entrance. These practices point to hierarchy and equality as spatial aspects of typical apartments' layout and their effect on their usage by seniors and caregivers. Our research explores the potential of a planning proposal—dividing the seniors' apartment into a primary apartment and a secondary unit—suggested by the inter-ministerial government team in the National Housing Headquarters and by the Israeli Affordable Housing Center, an academic-social organization. We argue this division could enable better housing solutions for shared residency. Thus, the article combines qualitative research of residence in old age with analysis of the role of social values such as equality, autonomy, inclusion, affordability and communal values in old-age housing and care.

Keywords
aging; apartment design; architectural design; care; caretaking; equality; everyday ethics; hierarchy; Israel; work immigration

Issue
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1. Introduction

Since the late 1980s, the intersection of global social processes—such as an aging population, work immigration, and a shift of welfare policy towards community care—have culminated in a new form of residence in Israeli society: Seniors share their residential space with their caregivers. In Israel, life expectancy at birth is at a record high (82.29 for both sexes in 2016; World Health Organization, 2018). While regarded as a 'young' country compared to Europe, Israel's population is aging rapidly. In 2018, people aged 65 and above were 11.8% of the total population. The population over 85 is expected to grow at a faster pace than populations over 65 (Israel Central Bureau of Statistics [Israel CBS], 2019a). Israel's welfare policy encourages aging in place—the average age of those entitled to the caregiver benefit is about 83; they receive the allowance for approximately five years (Assiskovich, 2017). This policy and old people's desire to remain in their home leads them to employ live-in caregivers. Following the pioneering research of American urban landscape and architecture scholar Dolores Hayden

on the housing needs of unique groups in society, we identify the aging population and immigrant caregivers as inter-related groups whose living conditions require examination (Hayden, 1980). Our research focuses on the ways in which housing environments take part in producing the conditions of care in everyday life.

Both scholars and government regard aging as an acute problem for Israeli society. While extensive research and policy is conducted in the fields of gerontology, health systems, and social work, the spatial aspects of housing for old age are yet to be examined. This article focuses on the architectural scale, design of apartments, and their adjustments for later phases of life; and asks: How does apartment design shape an equitable relationship between seniors and caregivers? Dwelling apartments where care is practiced are regular apartments designed for large families. By focusing on one key dwelling solution common in Israel, the shared dwelling of seniors and caregivers in the seniors' own urban apartments, we therefore ask: What can be learned about the suitability of typical residential apartments for old people with caregivers? How can this information be translated into the ab initio design of residential apartments, so that they are suitable for care of the elderly?

This housing type, where retired seniors and their 24/7 caregivers spend their entire days, thus transforms into more than dwellings per se. As senior and caregiver share the dwelling apartment, it becomes a workspace, a clinic, and a temporary home for the caregiver. Shared habitation of seniors and their migrant caregivers therefore consists of a new type of housing on the Israeli market, where planning policies of aging-in-place intersect with the privatization of public services in the early years of the twenty-first century (Katan, 2002). These privatization policies aim to replace the creation of nursing homes isolating the aging from the rest of society, by directing that care for seniors be mostly provided in their homes, but not by their family members. Round-the-clock care—usually done by immigrants—is partly subsidized by the National Insurance Institute of Israel (Doron, Bar, Adut, & Gan-Mor, 2016; Iecovich, 2011). Currently, about 69,000 migrants, documented and undocumented, work as caregivers (Abrahams, 2020).

Labor migrants became an important part of the workforce following the first intifada in 1987. The possibility of Palestinians working in Israel was restricted but, two years after the intifada, Israel began issuing residence and work visas to immigrants. Most of them are employed in caregiving, agriculture, and construction (Nathan, 2011). The phenomenon of labor migration is a result of globalization in the labor market, and of the significantly higher minimum wages in countries of the global north compared to wages in the countries of the global south. Most of the migrant caregivers in Israel come from the Philippines and India, less so from Eastern Europe, where they come especially from Moldova and Uzbekistan (Abrahams, 2020). In addition to old people, they also care for adults and children with disabilities.

This thematic issue invites us to engage with ethics in everyday life, and the ways in which spatial planning influences our behavior in space and our moral choices. In this context, we are interested in examining how the design of the typical apartment, an apartment structure that is repeated with small variations in residential apartment buildings in many neighborhoods throughout Israel, has an ethical impact on residents' daily lives. While writers have referred to home interior design from the perspective of power relations (Dovey, 1999; Hillier & Hanson, 1984), to the best of our knowledge, the Israeli apartment has not been analyzed from the perspective of theories of justice or by examining the concepts of hierarchy and equality.

The relationship between seniors and caregivers is a hierarchic relationship between the former—who are Israeli citizens, employers, and landlords—and the latter—neither Israeli citizens nor permanent residents, dependent on their employers for dwelling and income (Refworld, 1991). Such a relationship is mandated by Israeli law, which requires that immigrant caregivers dwell in their employers' homes (Ben Israel, 2011). Admittedly, power relations may be overturned as the seniors become weaker and more dependent on their caregivers. Typically, rooms in an apartment are unequal in size and location; there is a hierarchical relationship between them. This hierarchy is based on architectural convention rather than the tenants' perceptions. When the residents age, the new use of the apartment, as well as selecting the room where the caregiver will live, is an expression of the ethics of daily life expressed in space, which in turn affects the relationship of care. We address equality and hierarchy by examining architectural qualities such as size, location, and separation/independence.

Analyzing apartment plans reveals that there is one established subtype of apartment design that better meets the needs of old people with caregivers, in which a room and a bathroom is located in the entrance and separated from the other bedrooms in the apartment. Apartments built according to this plan make it possible to create two focal areas in the apartment that meet the needs of both the old person and the caregiver. Implementing Hayden's Non-Sexist attitude to issues of population aging, we examine proposals for developing the appropriate housing type found in our study, subdividing apartments into a main unit and a secondary unit. These planning proposals have been recommended by an inter-ministerial government team in the Israeli Ministry of Finance (National Housing Headquarters, 2018) and by the Israeli Affordable Housing Center (IAHC), part of the Faculty of Law of Tel Aviv University. IAHC develops new tools in the field of housing to advance policies to help medium and low-income households in Israel secure adequate and affordable housing (IAHC, n.d.; Rabinowitz, 2017). These civil society and government organizations proposed to divide the apartment without examining the proposal architecturally. In this article we discuss architectural and

technical aspects of expanding a caregiver's unit into a separate unit such as the obligation to build a protected space for each separate unit.

2. Aging in Typical Apartments

The population of senior citizens in Israel is above one million. It is estimated that by 2040 that number will be close to 1,900,000 and represent 14.3% of the total population (Israel CBS, 2017; Israel CBS, 2019a). The vast majority of senior citizens remain in their homes, and a minority live in institutions or in sheltered housing (either private or public) for those capable of independent living. There are several key housing arrangements for independent senior citizens. Living in their own home, whether owned or rented, is the most common housing arrangement. About 96% of the older population lives in a community, and 78% own their apartment. There is both private and public sheltered housing, which is home to some 3% of senior citizens. A survey conducted by the Ministry for Social Equality found that 22% of senior citizens would like to live in sheltered housing. Public sheltered housing is intended for those eligible for housing support from the state. About 14,000 senior citizens currently live in public sheltered housing. Private sheltered housing can be a relevant residential solution for many senior citizens but is inaccessible due to the low supply of vacant units relative to the size of the population and high cost to the consumer. According to survey data from the Ministry for Social Equality, 60% of respondents would consider having a live-in caregiver if their health situation deteriorated (National Housing Headquarters, 2018).

The housing supply, as planned and built in Israel, is characterized by very homogeneous neighborhoods and residential buildings, which consist mainly of 4–5 room apartments with an area of approximately 90–130 square meters per apartment. This means that the supply is suitable for couples with children, even though the structure of households in Israel is much more varied and includes families of many types. Not only are there old people, divorced families, and single-parent families, there are families created by joint parenting, people with special needs, adult couples, multigenerational families, couples without children and non-family households (Iplan Studio, 2019). However, until recently, planning institutions focused most residential planning on traditional families. This orientation emerged, among other things, because Israel in its first decades absorbed many immigrants and encouraged childbirth, leading to a high natural population increase. The fertility rate in Israel is one of the highest in the developed world, and it is increasing (in 2018, the total fertility rate was 3.09; Israel CBS, 2020a). Therefore, the need for domestic nursing takes part in the changes in western family structure: The age of marriage is rising, as is the rate of divorce; changes in life expectancy and lifestyle mean that more people are living alone; families are deconstructed and reconstructed, while the number of single-parent and single-sex families is increasing (Skolnick & Skolnick, 2007). Family and marriage still have a central place in Israeli society. Nonetheless, as in the rest of the western world, the rate of marriage is decreasing in the Jewish population, and therefore in the general population (Israel CBS, 2019b). The rate of single-parent families in Israel has increased to 12% (Israel CBS, 2020b).

Different living arrangements and household lifestyles require different, especially smaller, apartments (Iplan Studio, 2019). However, beginning in the mid-nineties, a significant decrease took place in the scope of building small apartments, in particular 3-room apartments (Israel CBS, 2019c). Municipalities are less interested in increasing the reservoir of small apartments, preferring rather to build large apartments since these attract more affluent populations (Gruber, 2014). This trend began to change in 2015, when the state began to encourage the building of small apartments (Israel CBS, 2019c). These small apartments are intended for small households, including seniors. Although some 47% of households in Israel consist of 1 or 2 people, the supply of new residential construction usually includes only 20% small apartments. There is a shortage of small residential units and a surplus of large ones (Wenger & Naor, 2019). Our study shows that apartment size is not the only variable that expedites adapting housing to the needs of multiple population groups. Other architectural variables, and specifically the way in which the older person and caregiver divide the space, also influence the home-care relationship.

The apartments studied here, built in Tel Aviv between the 1960s and the 1980s, are mid-sized and range between 3–4 bedrooms. They are part of apartments buildings type H, which were designed by leading Israeli architects such as Itzhak Yashar (1920–2011), Uri Zrubabel (b. 1941), Itzhak Perlstein (1914–1981), and Aharon Doron (1917–2020). In H type buildings, there are usually four apartments in each floor, organized around a core of stairs and elevators. This arrangement enables each apartment to enjoy three directions of light and air, while mirroring the two adjacent apartments. This typical floor plan is repeated on most floors of the building, except for the last and first floors where there are unique apartments. In recent years, these unique apartments, duplexes for example, replaced the typical apartments in luxurious buildings.

Early H type apartment buildings were designed in the 1950s as part of public housing projects for Jewish immigrants to Israel (Efrat, 2004). At the end of the 1970s, residence building in the private sector replaced public residence building. Rationalistic modern design, local conventions, building regulations, and market forces impacted the development of apartment types under the private market. Thus, the evolution of typical apartments stemmed from the capitalist need to sell mass housing for anonymous clients and replaced the uniformity of public housing shaped by ideological motives.

Target populations of new residential neighborhoods—young families with children—perceive the apartment as a safe space that protects the family against external threats, and public space as a familial meeting place (Bar, 2011). Access to center and out-of-town employment and leisure centers, social rapport between residents, and the latter's support of middle-class family lifestyle and values characterize the Ramat Aviv, Ne've Avivim, and Tel Baruch neighborhoods in the north of Tel Aviv (Hatuka & Bar, 2018), where the interviewees reside. Other apartments in this research were built in the center of Tel-Aviv.

In Israel, income decreases in old age, making seniors financially vulnerable. In 2017, only about 21% of seniors participated in the workforce, in comparison to 65% of the 20–64-year-old population. 25% of the over-65 population was unable to cover their household monthly expenses (Israel CBS, 2019a). Downsizing apartments in old age would improve the affordability of housing for seniors by decreasing the direct and accompanying expenses of housing at later stages of life (Judd, Bridge, Davy, Adams, & Liu, 2012).

Architect Alexander Klein, who worked in Berlin in 1920–1933, sought to develop apartment plans that met the minimal requirements for living (in German, *existenzminimum*; Wiedenhoeft, 1985). He contended that, in practice, apartments are divided into two: an area that is active in daytime, and an area that is active in night-time. In daytime, the living room, kitchen, and dining room are active, used for shared living. At night, life moves to the private section: the bedrooms and bathrooms. This division had climatic implications when orientating apartments, towards the sun and winds. Klein emigrated to Israel in 1935 with his western apartment plan (Shadar & Yacobi, 2014). As a Professor of Urban Planning and head of the Department of Urban Planning at the Technion, beginning in 1951, he trained and influenced students of architecture who went on to design residential buildings (Tidhar, 1956). The design of apartment blocks in Europe in the 1920s also had a direct influence on leading Israeli architects such as Arieh Sharon (Graicer, 2017). Israeli apartments are divided into private areas, consisting of bedrooms and bathrooms, and a public area, consisting of the living room and kitchen. The apartment's public spaces—the living room, the kitchen, and the dining space—are planned to connect in one shared space that is approached directly, without an entrance hall. A small corridor grants access to the bedrooms, the apartment's private rooms. Caregivers are usually placed in a bedroom that was formerly a child's bedroom.

3. Equality and Hierarchy in Housing and Caring

The situation in which old people and caregivers, who have relationships of power and dependency, live together invites a new look at the typical apartment from the perspective of perceptions of justice. We are interested in assessing how much freedom tenants in the typical apartment—whose structure they did not design—have and how the relationship between old people and caregivers is shaped by the typical architecture.

Among the ethical concerns raised by the practice of architecture is its physical impact upon people who live in it (Fox, 2006). The design of typical apartments influences dwellers' way of living, without involving them in the planning process. To examine the ethical status of choosing to house the caregiver in a certain place, we must first analyze the apartment and the degree of equality or hierarchy in which it is divided. A hierarchy exists between bedrooms in the apartments when they are not equal in size, their locations differ, they boast an attached bathroom, etc. Typical apartments were planned for families with children, where hierarchy exists between men and women and between adults and children. When the senior or caregiver live in a room that is preferable to the other rooms in the apartment, the division of space in the apartment is not equal. How did the hierarchy of rooms in the apartment affect the creation of unequal relations between seniors and caregivers?

For Rawls, the modern state must be based on justice and equality. By 'justice' he means a fair distribution of resources to all members of the state (Kymlicka, 1990; Rawls, 1971). His theory of justice follows those of earlier thinkers such as Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau who theorized a primordial 'natural state' in which participants make a rational choice to come together and form a social contract. Shrouded by a 'veil of ignorance,' no person can know in advance what his social status can be once a society is formed, nor does s/he know the skills or resources s/he will possess in the future society. Given these primordial conditions, Rawls argues that before forming social contracts, those behind the veil of ignorance most likely grant most of the assets of skills and resources to those with the fewest assets. Inequality is justified only if it favors the weakest in society (Rawls, 1971).

Turiel (1996) places values of equality and rights against social hierarchies, inequalities, and restrictions on freedom that cause conflicts among people. He addresses inequality and injustice as a result of gender relations in the family. We discuss inequalities in hierarchical relations of care. Migrant workers suffer from injustice and discrimination. Human Rights organizations report how the Israeli work laws do not protect the immigrants who work in the caretaking field: Their working day continues throughout all hours of the day. These workers earn minimum wages and are not paid overtime (Ben Israel, 2011). Hierarchy is not necessarily unjust. According to Buchanan, a hierarchical order may be justified if it is based on universal criteria (Buchanan, 2006). When equality of opportunity prevails, for example, some form of competitive process determines individuals' places in the social hierarchy, and all members of society are eligible to compete on equal terms (Arneson, 2015).

Feminist and cultural perspectives discuss discrimination stemming from unrecognized cultural diversity (Fainstein, 2014). Hayden stresses the need to adapt living environments to working women who also carry the burden for taking care of the family. For her, the separation between home and work leads to a situation in which mothers and house workers (housekeeping and childcare) are not paid appropriately. Women who live in such environments have no work possibilities close to their home. In addition, suburban environments lack public services such as catering, cleaning, childcare, and transportation to support the private home. Although Hayden focuses on gender-based differences and on residence for working women (Non-Sexist city), she also notes the need to integrate the old, the sick, singles, and single parents in the planning of new housing types in ordinary living environments, rather than building separate projects for these groups (Non-Ageist city; Hayden, 1980).

4. Methodology

In order to integrate spatial and human knowledge in the research of shared residence of seniors and caregivers, we incorporate three research methods:

1. Qualitative study of test cases: Interviews with old people and caregivers to learn how they live together. Following de Certeau (2011) we observed how seniors and caregivers re-appropriate shared living space. We examine the spatial choices related to this form of cohabitation.
2. Spatial analysis makes it possible to analyze the division of the apartment between old person and caregiver, and to identify different types of apartment. By using concepts of hierarchy and equality, theories of justice and feminist theories are applied to the spatial analysis of typical apartments.
3. Design solutions are at the heart of architecture, but they are less accepted in theoretical research. Hayden's article, as mentioned above, serves as our methodological model for connecting the social analysis of a test case and a proposal for spatial and social change through planning. We propose developing a subtype of apartment design, as identified by our study. Our proposal to modify the typical apartment plan adds concrete social and architectural content to the principled discussion of proposals raised by the planning authorities and social academic organizations in Israel.

We studied six residential apartments of seniors and caregivers in the community, selected from a larger group of cases that included seniors sharing an apartment with a caregiver in private sheltered housing. We documented the apartments, and interviewed five caregivers, the seniors who employ them, and seniors' families. Interviews were matched and compared with spatial analysis of the apartments themselves—using archival sketches of the apartments, drawing detailed plans, and taking pictures of the lived spaces. We made particular note of the changes made in habits of dwelling in standard apartments in order to transform them into spaces of domestic-care work. Likewise, we examined the size, location, and separation of the caregivers' room.

We interviewed three females and two male caregivers, who together care for five females and one male. Of these, only four seniors were interviewed (four females and one male). Once a decision was made to examine a certain apartment subtype, we added one apartment to the research. Due to the old woman's refusal to reveal herself, this example was added without a visit to the apartment and was based on archival drawings of the apartment, and on an interview with the old woman's relative and her cognitive mapping of the apartment. In two other cases, seniors could not be interviewed due to their deteriorated cognitive state. Instead, interviews were held with close family members: a daughter and a son. One interview was held after the old person had passed away. Other seniors were in a relatively good cognitive state. At the time of the interviews, most caregivers had spent several months (up to seven years) living in the shared residential space with their employers. When we addressed cultural differences, regarding cooking, between seniors and caregivers who come from South Asia, we resorted to interviews of caregivers and seniors who lived in two apartments in sheltered housing.

The caregivers we interviewed came to Israel from the Philippines, India, and Sri Lanka. Most of them studied nursing in their country of origin and paid an agency fee to come to Israel. Many have children in their home countries, who are cared for by members of their family. They spend most of their time in the old person's home, except for short outings during the week and one day off on the weekend. Some of them rent (or rented in the past) shared apartments in south Tel Aviv with other caregivers for use during their days off. They have friends and sometimes spouses in Israel; occasionally their friends visit them in the older person's apartment. Some also belong to communities of migrants from their country of origin residing in Israel, and hold religious ceremonies and celebrate national holidays together (interviews with E., C., A., A., and H. October 2018–June 2019; Liebelt, 2011). We interviewed caregivers in their place of work, sometimes in the presence of their employers. This posed an ethical limitation. Despite our attempts to interview them separately, only three interviews were conducted in a separate room, the senior unable to listen in. Appositely, the fact that most seniors agreed to be interviewed suggests the cases under study consisted of spacious-enough shared residences and good-enough relationships, rather than abusive or oppressive senior-worker relationships.

Likewise, additional interviews were conducted with six relatives of seniors or with caregivers, without analyz-

ing their apartments and with five professionals from relevant fields: a social worker, two members of NGOs, one working on behalf of migrant workers and the other serving senior social housing, an architect who designed one of the apartment buildings where the seniors live, another architect who specializes in renovation apartments in H type buildings, and a social planner who advises the Ministry of Construction and Housing on age-friendly cities. We examined our findings looking for equality and hierarchy in shared residency. Likewise, we implemented Hayden's social perspective in studying suggested apartment design for senior care.

5. Architectural Design and Moral Choices in Housing and Caring

Following de Certeau (2011)—the French Jesuit and scholar known as the philosopher of everyday life and whose work combines history, psychoanalysis, philosophy, and the social sciences—we observed tiny everyday behaviors and creative tactics through which seniors and caregivers re-appropriate shared living space. In most cases, seniors had lived in the same apartment for decades. They renovated it well before reaching old age but changed its usage at later stages of life. In two case studies, seniors stopped using the main bedroom. Following her husband's death, T. moved to the children's unit (interview with Z., November 2018), while A. preferred to sleep with her legs raised on an adjustable armchair in the living room (Figure 1, interview with A., November 2018). Another senior, O., stopped using the room in the attic where her husband used to listen to music because of the painful memories it evoked (interview with O., November 2018).

Since no major changes were made in their apartment as they entered the stage of shared residency with a caregiver, the central ethical decision seniors who participated in this research made was to determine the caregivers' living space and the room the latter would live in. In each case it appears that, while architects planned the residence buildings decades ago, in the transition to domestic care the moral agency moved from the architect—who planned the building meant for families with children—to the elderly who make new use of the spaces as a space for caregiving.

The room's size, location, and accessibility to a bathroom are all seemingly neutral spatial variables, which are not charged by social values. However, the discussion of certain spaces, such as the parents' bedroom, demonstrates that the planned usage of these spaces is not devoid of social and cultural meaning.

5.1. The Size of the Caregiver's Room

Judy Attfield describes how concepts of open plan and social change led to renouncing the idea of "a hierarchy of rooms that divides the servants' quarters from those of the employers" (Attfield, 1999, p. 76) in British modern apartments since World War II, thus increasing the social equality in house design.

In Israel, apartments built in the 1930s in the international style had several equal-sized rooms, including the living room. However, since the 1950s a distinction has been made between the size of rooms, and the size of

Figure 1. An unused bedroom, apartment of A. and T.

the living room has increased. In the 1970s, one of the bedrooms grew in size in relation to the others, and became the parents' bedroom (Amir, 2001).

The Planning and Building Law determines the minimal size of a room in the apartment, no less than eight square meters (Nevo, 1970, 1980, 1990). However, according to Tula Amir, in the private housing market—where promoters are pushed to maximize the number of rooms in an apartment—"the minimum becomes the standard" (Amir, 2017, p. 92). In any case, these rooms tend to be twice the size of what the Israeli regulations require an employer to provide a migrant worker—a sleeping area of at least four square meters (Population and Immigration Authority, 2018). But still, most of them live in a room smaller than the parents' bedroom, thus manifesting an unequal relationship between them and their employers. Other considerations are involved in this choice as well. The preference for a particular room is not only according to its size, but sometimes according to its previous use: The caregiver's room could be the room left unused; T. chose the smaller room, as mentioned above, so that she could avoid difficult memories of her husband's illness; while H. chose to stay in her smaller room, which is indeed larger than that of the caregiver and didn't move to her late husband's room which was located in the parents' unit (Figure 2; Interview with Z., November 2018; Interview with N. May 2019).

5.2. The Location of the Caregiver's Room

Two different locations for the caregiver's room were found in the research. The first is in one of the children's rooms, in the bedroom area of the typical apartment layout (Figures 3–5). The other is at the entrance of the apartment, made possible by an apartment subtype, in which one room is separated from the other bedrooms in the apartment (Bar, 2011; Figures 2 and 6). Such a room at the entrance had, from time to time, served R. and R.'s son, who lives abroad. The senior couple chose to house the caregiver in this room rather than in a smaller half-room in the apartment, in order to provide him with a separate unit. We interpret this choice in old age as an expression of the couple's attempt to benefit caregivers through the use of apartment resources (Figure 7).

We argue that this variation of the apartment plan can take on an important role for both seniors and caregivers as life expectancy grows. The apartment's location in the floor plan shows that the bedroom area benefits from more natural light than the room at the entrance, since this room is attached to the walls of the adjacent apartment (Figure 7). Nevertheless, its proximity to the entrance enables the caregiver to enter and leave without interruption or supervision. This location meets the needs of both senior and caregiver for spatial separation; at least in the first stages of shared living, before the senior's condition deteriorates.

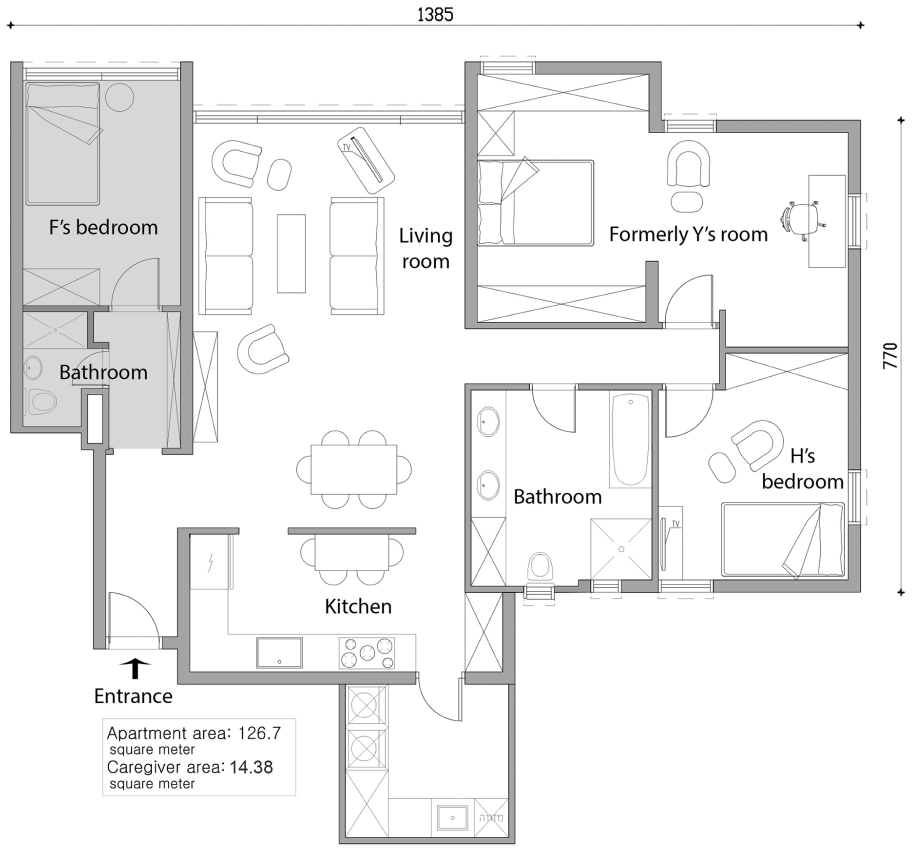

Figure 2. Apartment of H. and F., Tel Aviv. Graphics by Shahar Malka.

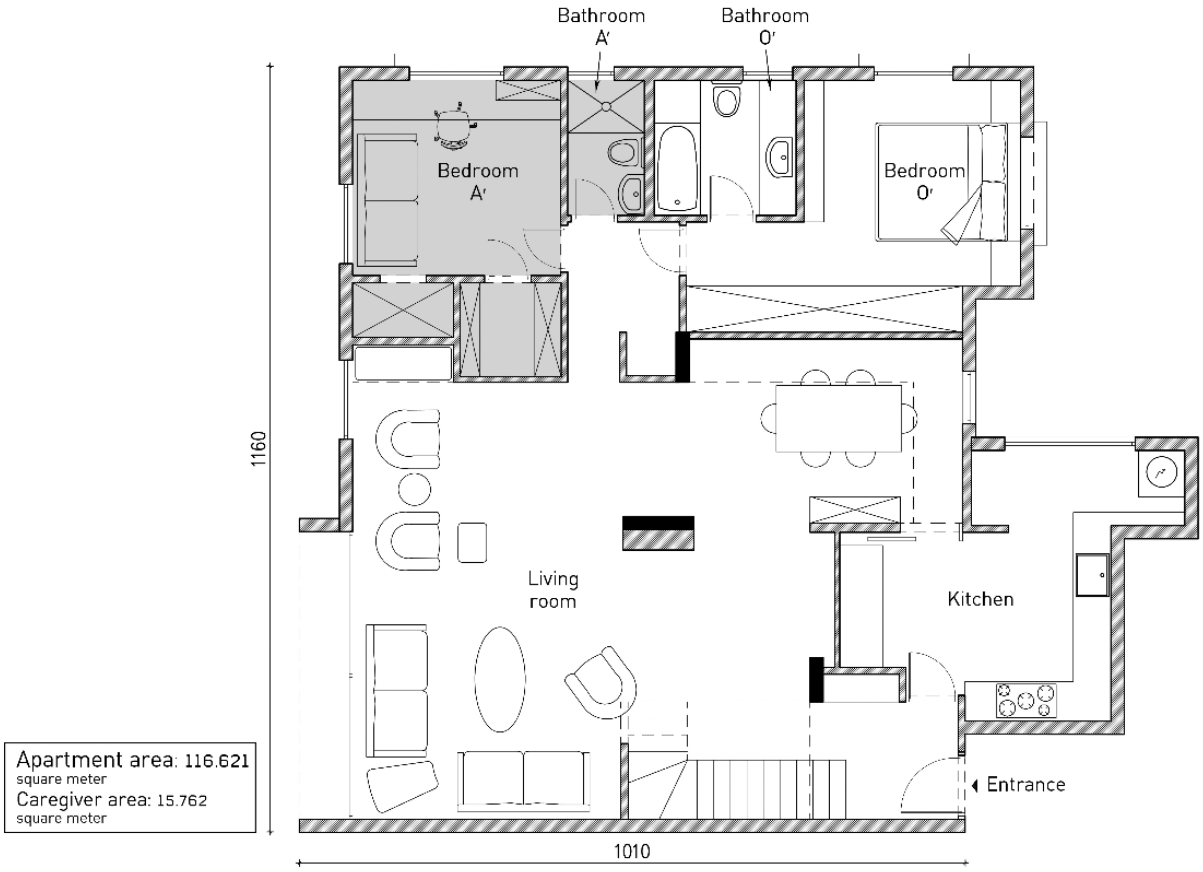

Figure 3. Apartment of O. and A., main floor (upstairs is the roof balcony). Graphics by Ira Elon.

Figure 4. A.'s room, apartment of O. and A.

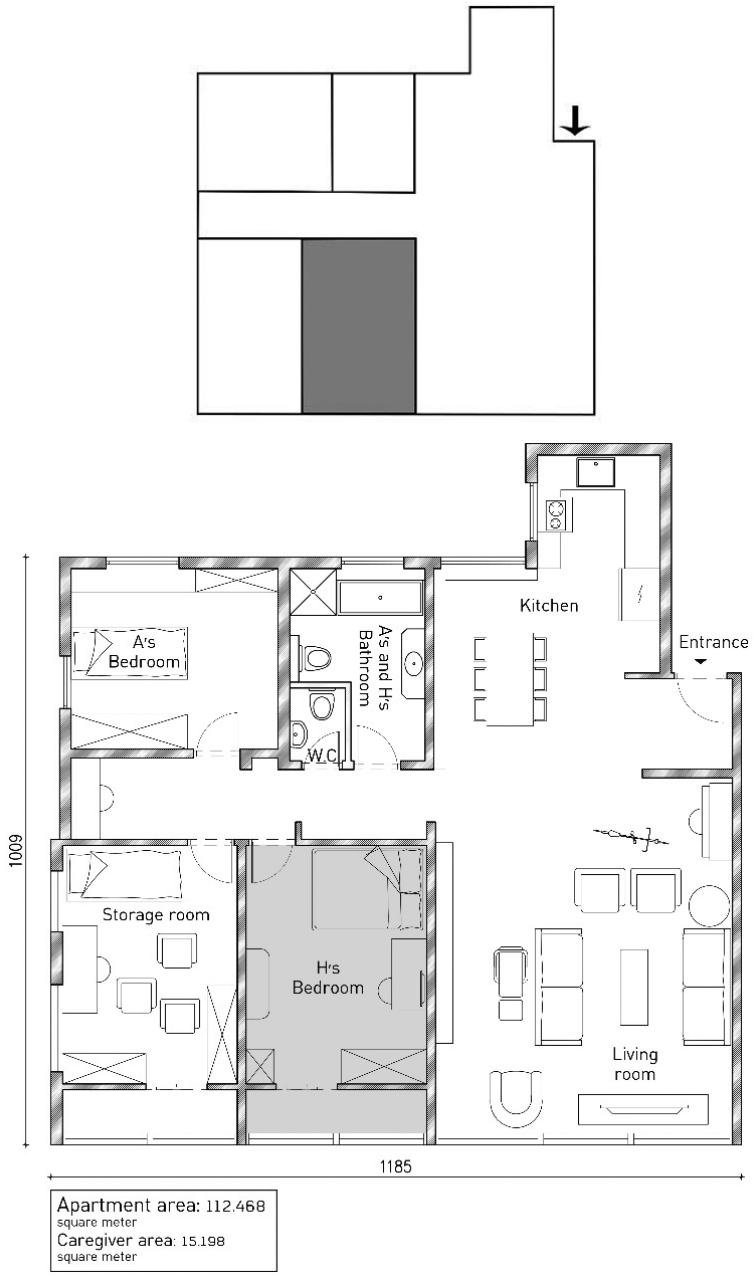

Figure 5. Location of caregiver's room, apartment of A. and H. Tel Aviv. Graphics by Shahar Malka.

5.3. Independence and Separation of Units in the Apartment

When the service areas—including those shared by several bedrooms in the private area of the apartment—are brought into the bedroom, it becomes an independent unit that sustains more domestic needs and manifests a hierarchy between the rooms of the typical family apartment (Figure 8).

A central example of this hierarchy is the development of the separate parents' unit in the 1980s with a bathroom and a walk-in closet. In English, it is called the master bedroom—the main bedroom or the room of the master of the house (Thompson, 1998). In most of the apartments we examined, a parents' bedroom—as it is called in Hebrew—was added in a later renovation of the apartment. Three decades later, the caregiver's room at the entrance to the apartment also becomes a separate living unit with a separate bathroom and toilet, and a manifestation of hierarchy in the use of the apartment in old age.

The development of the parents' unit is a manifestation of a rise in living standards, hedonism, and an aspiration to prestige in the U.S.A. (Vollmer, Schulze, & Chebra, 2005) and Israel alike, as well as global inspirations over the design of apartments in Israel in the 1980s (Regev, 2001). For old people, however, whose range of movement becomes restricted and who spend more hours a

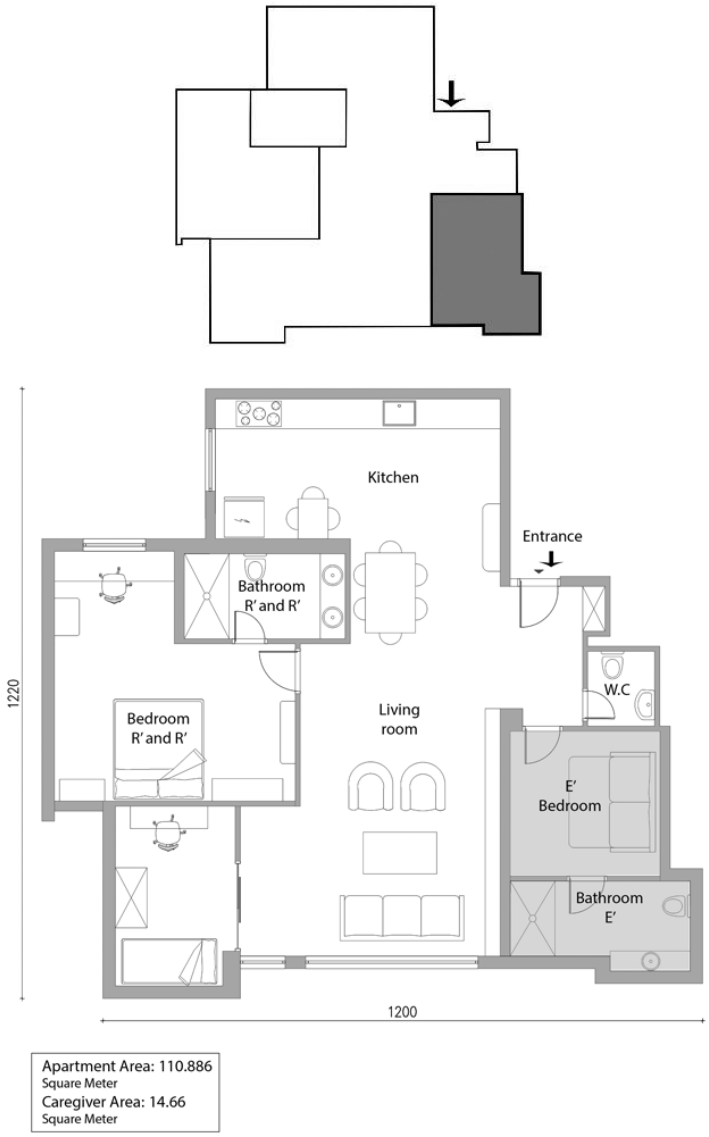

Figure 6. Location of caregiver's room, apartment of R., R. and E. Graphics by Shahar Malka.

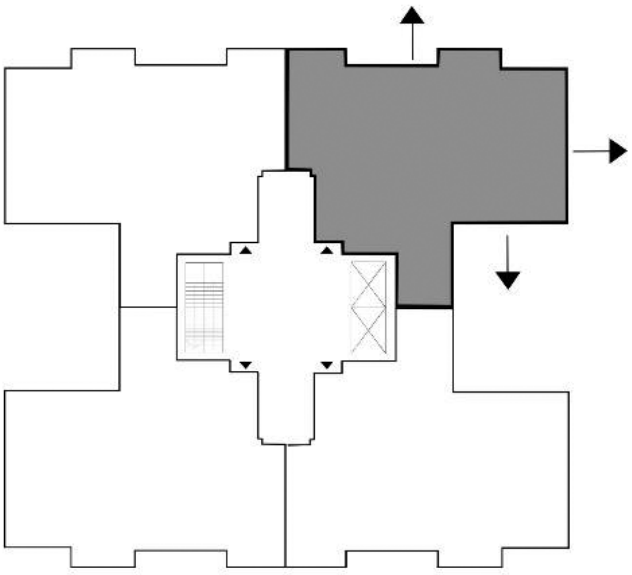

Figure 7. Location in floorplan of the apartment of H. and F. Graphics by Shahar Malka.

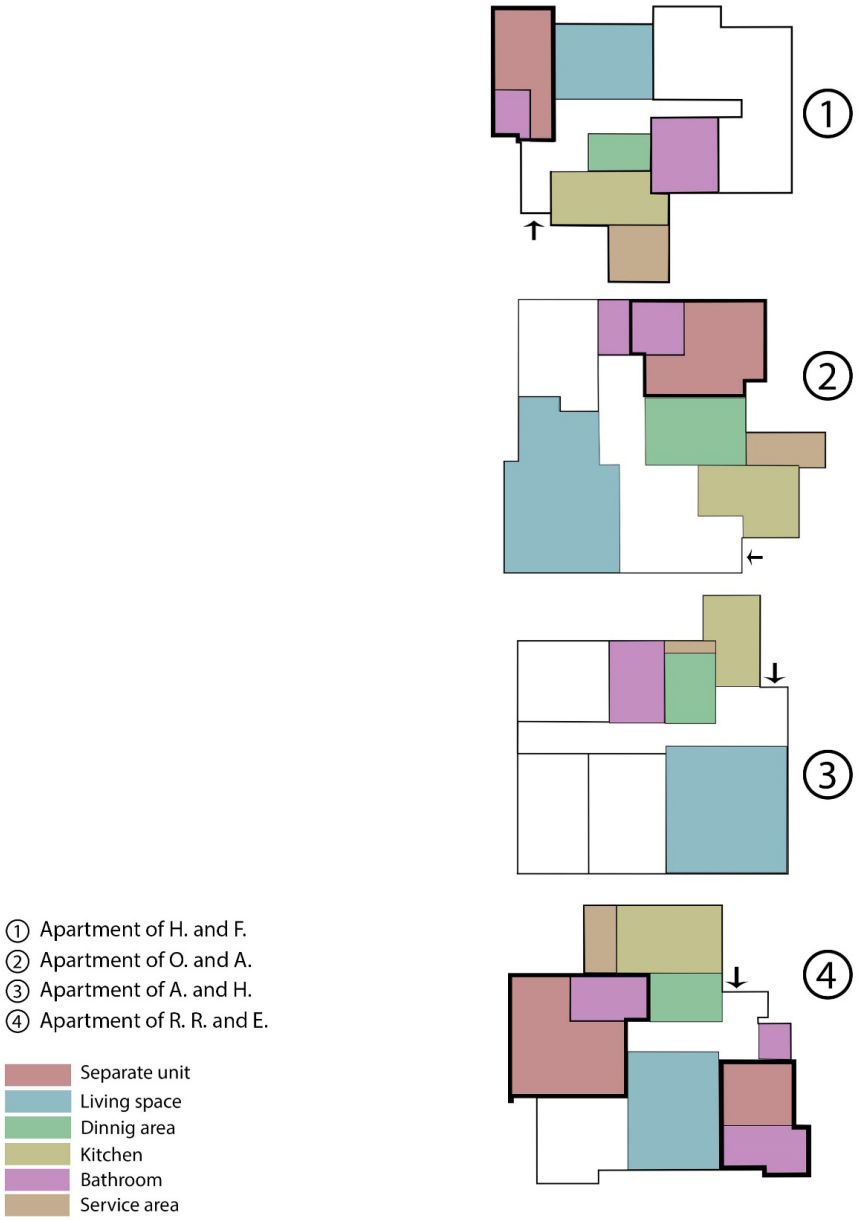

Figure 8. Independence and separation of units in the apartments. Graphics by Shahar Malka.

day in the bedroom, a proximity of the toilet to their bed is no longer considered a luxury.

It can be contended that separating the caregiver's unit increases further the inequality in the apartment. However, following Rawl's Difference Principle, which determines that inequality is justified when serving the weaker members of society, expanding a unit in the apartment for the weaker resident is justified. Acknowledging the caregiver's weakened status, we propose that the caregiver's unit be further expanded.

6. Housing as Care: A Suggested Apartment Layout

Most home owners do not want to leave their apartment in old age (interview with R. Ben-Nun, adviser to the ministry of construction and housing, June 2020; National Housing Headquarters, 2018). Can it be adapted to their changing needs? Hayden proposed that large private homes in suburban neighborhoods in the U.S.A. should be divided into several small units that would provide housing for singles and seniors (Hayden, 1980). Small temporary and inexpensive units, used to house seniors and relatives in suburban private lots in Australia, are called 'Granny Flats' (Folts & Muir, 2001). In private houses in Israel, too, there are frequently sub-units in the basement with a separate entrance. Planning law has been amended to allowed to split apartments in detached houses (Knesset, 2017).

A separate private unit makes it possible to create additional distinctions within the residence apartment: a distinction between work and living, between adolescents and children, and between caregivers and family

members. In order to increase the equality and independence of caregivers and seniors, architect M. Kaplan, who specializes in renovation of apartments in H type buildings, offered upon our request to enlarge the entrance room of an apartment built in Tel Aviv in the 1990s into a small, separate unit that includes a bathroom, a kitchenette, and a larger living area (15 square meters). A separate kitchen could meet cultural differences between the food caregivers eat and the one seniors eat—the caregiver S. doesn't prepare her employer kosher food and the senior M. said she could benefit from a closed kitchen to avoid cooking smells (interview with M. and S. in 2018 and 2019 respectively). To compensate for the reduction in living space, one of the bedrooms—which served one of the couple's child in an earlier phase—will be eliminated (Figure 9).

Ronny Bar found families with children satisfied with the typical apartment in new neighborhoods, except for residents who wanted studies, a larger parents' unit, and a unit for adolescent children (Bar, 2011). Thus, the separate living unit will serve various purposes, according to the residents' stage of life: a room for an adolescent, a room for visiting grandchildren, and accommodations for various work-from-home arrangements, which could serve for isolation purposes during an epidemic as well.

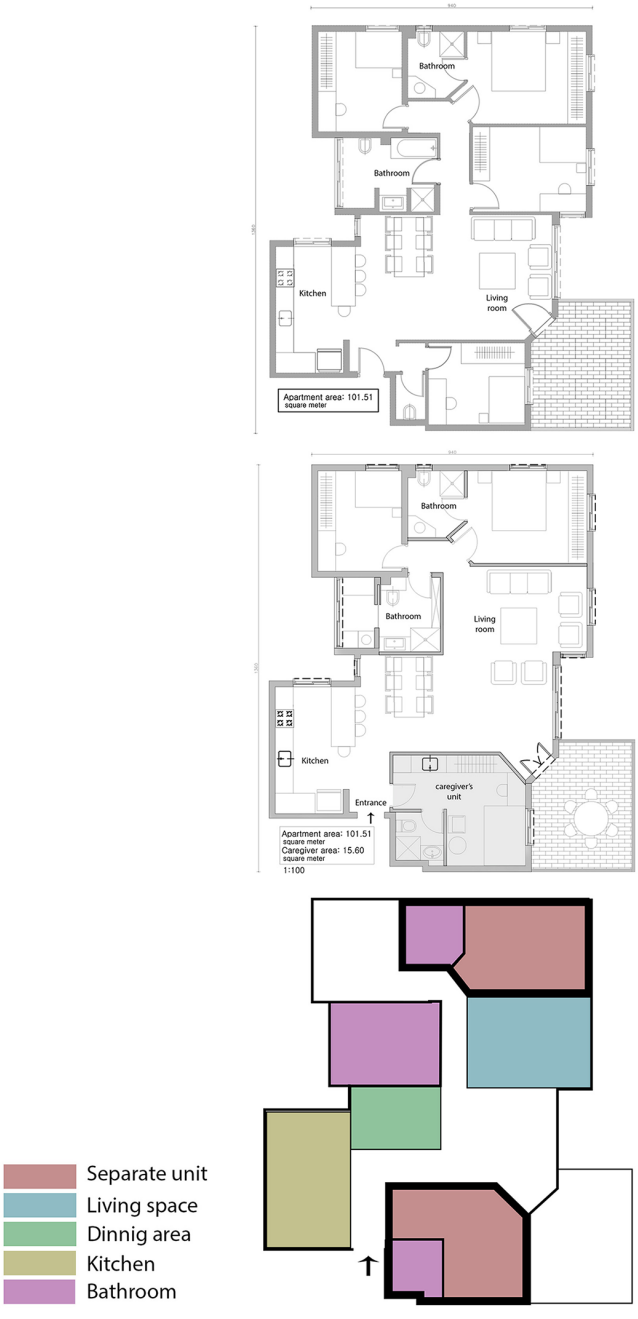

Figure 9. Architect M. Kaplan's proposed layout of an apartment in Tel Aviv. Graphics by Shahar Malka. In the figure, see the original plan above and suggested plan below.

The suggested sub-units would be located in all residential areas where senior citizens live, including in residential buildings in the most expensive neighborhoods in Israel. When the old person lives in the main apartment and the caregiver lives in the secondary unit, the independence, equality, and privacy of both parties would increase at no additional cost.

In light of the current and expected increase in the older population, an inter-ministerial government team in the National Housing Headquarters suggests a more radical solution. Their report concluded that it is necessary to formulate solutions and increase the inventory of planned and existing apartments that meet the needs of senior citizens who are interested in remaining in their homes. The team recommended allowing existing apartments to be subdivided in ways that would facilitate the caregiver their own unit within the apartment, which provides a degree of privacy. Subdivision could offer opportunities for additional income (National Housing Headquarters, 2018). Before the life-stage of requiring homecare, seniors would be able to rent the units on the free market to individuals, to small households, or to Israeli caregivers who are not legally required to reside with the person for whom they are caring. The idea was developed by the IAHC for apartments in old residence neighborhoods that are in the process of urban renewal (Rabinowitz, 2017; interview with M. Rabinovich, representative of the Affordable Housing Center, June 2019).

According to the IAHC, the accompanying apartment (called in Hebrew a *diurit*, a special kind of an apartment), will be planned in advance as a sub-apartment within the larger apartment—with the possibility to split it physically, without any need for permits, into two separate apartments. Thus, the accompanying apartment solution does not require a move out of the original apartment. Instead, the senior can split the apartment and rent the smaller unit out, remaining at home in the bigger unit, while improving his or her income in old age. The IAHC representative suggested this approach as a tool for keeping the older population in the neighborhood, without any specification on an architectural scale in the Tel-Aviv Ne've Ofer neighborhood's urban renewal (Lazar, 2018).

We emphasize the important use of the accompanying apartment that arises from our research: It will be able to house seniors' caregivers. Thus, the accompanying apartment will provide a living arrangement for seniors who require everyday help despite still being relatively independent, increasing caregivers' equality.

Dividing the apartments raises economic and planning questions. New building policy will be needed to allow flexible splitting of apartments and enlarging the amount of housing units in a building project (National Housing Headquarters, 2018; Interview with architect Uri Zrubabel, December 2019). Small independent apartments require by law a minimal area of 30 square meters (Nevo, 2013). However, the Israel Planning Administration recently suggested reducing minimal apartment areas, starting at 15 square meters (Melniki, 2020). Splitting standard apartments into two units requires adding a protected space against bombing and missiles, according to civilian protection laws in Israel (Civilian Defense Regulations, 1990). This is a serious limitation that is imposed on the planning of small apartments. However, the use of a shared protected space on every floor—instead of a private one, as was customary in the past—is an opportunity to create shared spaces on every floor that can be used in favor of the senior residents, caregivers, and other residents. This refers back to Hayden, who suggested creating a mixture of uses between residence and services in private spaces of a suburban neighborhood (Hayden, 1980). Other regulations that exist, but are about to expire, allow for additional 30% in the number of housing units without adding to the total building area (Fialkoff, Cohen, & Lindenbaum, 2016).

7. Conclusion

Examining spaces shared by seniors and foreign domestic workers in relation to the needs of a growing elderly population, this study showed that standard architecture—catering to young families—can be measured according to its hierarchy and equality, and to the ethical effects of these qualities among senior-caregiver relations. The article examined justice on several levels: in the architectural design of the apartment, in the choices of elders about where to house caregivers, and in the potential of design proposals of architects and planning policy recommended by government teams, civil society organizations, and academia to improve housing conditions of caregivers of old people. These architectural solutions cater to the social needs presented in the earlier sections of the article.

Variations of the typical apartment, built in Tel-Aviv in the 1960s–1980s, meet better the needs of equality and separation, and may allow both seniors and caregivers varying degrees of interdependence and autonomy. Inspired by Hayden's question—What would a non-sexist city look like?—we ask what would a non-ageist residence look like: a residence that does not discriminate against seniors, but rather adapts itself to their needs. Hayden criticized the suitability of the American suburban private home for the needs of working women. She described a separation between women's work environments in the city, their living environment in the American suburb, and wrote against the privatization of housework—a situation in which the work of child caregivers and cleaners is carried out without wages or at a low salary. Four decades later, we examine the integration of home and work for those who provide care for seniors, when welfare policies encourage aging in place and privatizes nursing solutions in old age.

Against values of sharing between caregivers and seniors, and values of the apartment's familial nature, stand values of independence, separation, and auton-

omy of the caregivers. The bipolar transformation of the apartment, with two focal points of importance—the caregiver's unit and the parents' unit (apartment 4 in Figure 8 and Figure 6)—manifests a change in the family structure and the transition to seniors living with caregivers.

The planning proposals examined here show potential use of flexible accompanying living units, according to the needs of seniors. These units might meet other families' needs as children grow up and adults grow old. When accompanying living units are to serve the housework of immigrant caregivers within the apartment building, they will turn the standard apartment building from one-dimensional—serving only Israeli families with children—into an inclusive residence for seniors and immigrant caregivers who lack citizen status.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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About the Authors

Shelly Cohen (PhD) is a Researcher, Curator and Architect. Her PhD dissertation (Tel Aviv University), explores the relationships between the ethical, social and aesthetic aspects of the activism of architects who join initiatives to plan and build projects for Israel's marginalized groups. Her post-doctoral research (Technion IIT) explores the shared residential architecture of seniors living with caretakers. She curated a series of exhibitions entitled 'Local,' at the Architect's House Gallery in Jaffa, which examined political aspects of Israeli space.

Yael Allweil (PhD) is an Architect and Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Architecture and Town Planning at the Technion, Israel, where she heads 'HousingLab: History and Future of Living.' She completed her PhD in architecture history at UC Berkeley exploring the history of Israel-Palestine as a history of the gain and loss of citizen housing. Her research was published in the monograph *Homeland: Zionism as Housing Regime 1860–2011* (Routledge, 2017) and in journal articles from the journals *Urban Studies*, *Footprint*, *ACME*, *City*, and others.

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Article

Learning to Care, Learning to Be Affected: Two Public Spaces Designed to Counter Segregation

Ida Sandström

Department of Architecture and Built Environment, Lund University, 221 00 Lund, Sweden;
E-Mail: ida.sandstrom@arkitektur.lth.se

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Abstract
In response to social fragmentation and segregation, public space is increasingly conceived of as an instrument for fostering openness towards differences. Drawing on two recent public spaces—Superkilen in Copenhagen, Denmark, and Jubileumsparken in Gothenburg, Sweden—this article explores the ethical potential of two different design approaches to the sharing of public space—designing for an *ethics of care* and an *ethics of affect*. Although different in terms of design, Superkilen and Jubileumsparken are both influenced by artistic approaches in their aspiration to make people connect emotionally to the space. In their design, the two spaces display contrasting approaches to community: Jubileumsparken invites its visitors to join shared projects, suggesting that community is a potential that may be realised through processes of collective care—it is a space in which we learn to care when working together. Superkilen works in an almost opposite way, confronting its visitors with transnational formations, diversity and designed fragmentation leading to situations, or moments, in which we may learn to be affected by distant atmospheres and faraway people and places. When studied together, the two spaces display a range of everyday situations in which the personal, or even the intimate, may be experienced along with the deeply collective—be it through shared work or the exposure to those or that different from you. It is finally argued that this palette of everyday situations, in which we learn to care and learn to be affected, holds an ethical potential of expanding the notion of community beyond sameness and unity, as seen in Superkilen and Jubileumsparken.

Keywords
affect; care; community; Denmark; public space; segregation; Sweden; urban design; urban diversity

Issue
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1. Introduction: Can Public Spaces Promote a More Coherent Society?

In Scandinavia today, public space has moved to the centre of discussions on how to achieve the socially sustainable city. In response to growing segregation and social fragmentation, public space is increasingly conceptualized as an instrument for fostering openness towards differences (Mukhtar-Landgren, 2012). In a Swedish planning context, it was suggested almost 15 years ago that a segregated public space is more dangerous than segregating housing (Svensson, 2006)—and the idea that inclusive public spaces can promote a more cohesive society has guided municipal planning in Sweden since then. It is in public space that we see those who are different from us—this is where acceptance, or perhaps even an interest in difference, is to be fostered. The ethical potential of this suggestion will be discussed concerning actual makings of public space, and in light of current developments, but first, something ought to be said about the planning culture from which these spaces have originated.

Parallel to the increased trust in public space, urban professionals in Scandinavia have lately experienced a growing distrust in the traditional planning paradigm and its ability to produce equal and neutral public spaces (discussed in a European context by Sohn, Kousoulas, & Bruyns, 2015) and more generally speaking, to con-

tribute to a coherent society (Grange, 2014, 2017). A devaluation of conventional planning has opened the door to more experimental modes of working with urban design and planning; temporary interventions, event-based forms of participation, collaborative or open-source configurations. Characteristic of such practices is the exploratory and curating role taken on by architects and planners (Runting, 2018) and correspondingly, an increased interest in design solutions deriving from particular groups and interests (Sandström, 2019). The idea that heterogeneity may be promoted by making particular interests influential points to questions of design and power. Which uses, spatial practices and groups should be encouraged—why some and not the others? Mukhtar-Landgren (2012, p. 148) points to a fundamental dilemma: How can urban design and planning embrace differences and urban diversity without losing their responsibility to represent everyone, i.e., a general public? Adding to that concern, a related question of community can be added: What kinds of communities are created or supported in design processes deriving from interests articulated by particular groups? The inclination to foreground particular interests in public space may well increase diversity at a city level by strengthening the presence of underrepresented groups, but on the ground, it will still build on sameness as the pre-requisite for community, if we understand sameness as "either established against, or productive of, but in any case presupposes difference" (Pettersson, 2015, p. 10). The notion of difference and sameness opens up to many interpretations; concerning the spaces of this study, it is particularly relevant to stay attentive to how people share space with those who are different from them in terms of life situations and background.

Critiques of sameness as a pre-requisite for community have been articulated from within political science (Pettersson, 2015), sociology (Brighenti, 2014) and philosophy (Nancy, 1991, 2000), but less within the field of architecture and planning. The conception of community as an apolitical constellation of people who 'belong together' seems harder to dispatch in relation to urban planning. Concurrent societal changes such as the use of communications technologies and increased mobility make it increasingly difficult to say who goes where, and therefore also to say who belongs together. Seeing the difficulties of categorisation and the persistent risk of segregation and social fragmentation, there is a need to think about public space in relation to more open forms of community; how can urban planning and design promote a sense of community between people who differ in terms of culture, origin and lifestyle? In the following sections, I seek to answers this question through the study of two recent makings of public place: Jubileumsparken in Gothenburg, Sweden and Superkilen in Copenhagen, Denmark—both made with a stated ambition to reflect and promote diversity, and to counter segregation. Despite ideological similarities, the two spaces are fundamentally different in their take on community—as I will show in the following sections. The discussion is consequently centred on several design approaches that seem particularly influential for developing what is from here on discussed as an *ethics of care* (Jubileumsparken) and an *ethics of affect* (Superkilen). With the attempt to further understand communities based on care and affect, I will by the end of this article discuss Superkilen and Jubileumsparken in the light of the recent corona pandemic.

2. Learning to Care, Jubileumsparken

Jubileumsparken is a temporary park established in a centrally located harbour area in Gothenburg, Sweden. It is a pre-run for a new city park that will be ready for Gothenburg's 400-year celebration as a city in 2021, for which several strategically located new public spaces have been suggested to make the city more attractive and less segregated. Jubileumsparken has been developed in phases, taking time into great consideration in the development scheme. An extensive temporary-use strategy, centred on the notion of co-creation, was applied to establish the park gradually. The on-site work started in 2013 when fences were taken down and basic infrastructure was put in place, and in 2019 the park included several features such as a roller derby rink, an area for urban gardening, two swimming pools, a beach and what has become the most iconic feature of the park: a public sauna. The process is guided by the idea that public value can emerge before the actual construction phase. In line with that, the public has been invited to join in the making of the park through several workshops, in which the future uses of the park were tested on a 1:1 scale (see Figures 1 and 2). Focus is on public participation, co-creation and various forms of civic engagement and care. Several design approaches appear to have been particularly influential in developing what I discuss as an *ethics of care* at Jubileumsparken. The following three design strategies will be addressed below: building lasting attachments, entering civil-public-partnerships, and curating controversies.

2.1. Building Lasting Attachments

Although some spaces at Jubileumsparken stay open for everyone to use at all times of the day, other spaces and activities must be booked in advance. Some spaces made and designed for specific groups or uses even require membership for full access. One example is the roller derby rink, where only members of a team are allowed at certain times of the week (see Figure 3). The urban garden is another example of the same strategy—one needs to be a member of Jubileumsodlarna, the gardening community, to be allowed to do any gardening in the area. On Facebook, the members of Jubileumsodlarna have an online community in which they discuss a wide range of issues stretching from the future plans for the park to the risk of being visited by produce thieves dur-

Figure 1. Building a small library pavilion during a public workshop at Jubileumsparken (2014). Photo: Ida Sandström.

Figure 2. Open call with children: Investigating what a future playground could be in scale 1:1 (2018). Photo: Ida Sandström.

Figure 3. Roller derby training at Jubileumsparken (2018). Photo: Ida Sandström.

ing the night. This online community-page is also where they share gardening advice and arrange watering when someone is away. The high level of care for the space and for the community as such undoubtedly depends on continuity over time (a base for solidarity and growing friendships) and also to some extent on predictability. Jubileumsparken's design is based on the idea that attachment to the space grows with time, but also on the idea that specific interest (such as the wish for an urban garden) must be heard early in the process to make the space relevant for a large number of people. It is seen as particularly important to hear socially vulnerable or underrepresented groups. The city has accordingly entered into dialogue with particular groups with the belief that urban diversity depends on the intentional foregrounding of less visible or resourceful groups. This belief has resulted in the number of workshops directed to specific groups such as women, children and asylum seekers—and some features at the park are made as a direct response to the demands made in such dialogues. One example is a flexible greenhouse structure located by the beach: This was made in response to the need for a sheltered space for eating, socialising and keeping strollers, expressed by a group of Muslim women who participated in a dialogue on bathing culture. The roller-derby rink and the inclusive sailing school are two other examples of spaces made in direct response to specific demands and requirements from groups connected to those activities.

2.2. Entering Civil-Public-Partnerships

Jubileumsparken's project leader describes Jubileumsparken as a place where the visitor is received by 'hearts and hands' (interview 20 November 2015), i.e., by people deeply engaged in the space. This strategy, to populate the park, is especially evident in the maintenance plan for the park. Jubileumsparken is part of a 'civil-public-partnership' with an NGO, Passalen, who was commissioned to operate the park in 2015. With the one exception of emptying the waste bins, they have since been responsible for the maintenance of the whole park, including running the public sauna and directing the inclusive sailing and swimming education. Each summer, Passalen employs young people from all over the city as 'park hosts,' a role that is central to the maintenance plan—they embody the idea of populating the park with 'hearts and hands.' The park hosts are recruited to represent different districts in Gothenburg, but also to be different in terms of interests, ethnicity and body abilities. Being a park host is as much education as it is employment, one learns everything needed for the position on the job—for instance, one does not need to be able to sail before being employed as a sailing instructor, adequate training is provided by Passalen and the city administration. This is a way to make the recruitment of park hosts more inclusive in terms of socio-economic background. As the construct with park hosts shows, Jubileumsparken is a space that develops both physical and social capacities.

2.3. Curating Controversies

The colour scheme at Jubileumsparken is bright with a distinctive do-it-yourself aesthetic. Spray-painted slogans known from activist circles such as 'The Queer Revolution is Close,' 'Another World is Possible,' and other politically charged messages are to be read on the ground. It is interesting to know that the writing, which could have been an undesirable element in another place, was here initiated within the project and painted by an invited artist and architecture collective during an event hosted by the city. And this is not the only way political messages are curated in the park: In August 2015, Jubileumsparken was subject to what appears to have been a political act of dissent. The project leader of Jubileumsparken explains what happened:

> We had an incident this summer with paint in the pool and graffiti on a house. 'Stop gentrification' it said in black letters. We let the text remain throughout the whole season and had a dialogue about it, talked to our visitors about it. It was all good in a way. (Interview 20 November 2015)

So the action itself, the writing on the wall and the paint in the pool were not initiated from within the project administration, but from the moment it was discovered it was curated as an asset. It was used as a 'conversation-piece' and a starting point for a dialogue on the long-term development of the park—a way to bring public engagement triggered by the controversy into the project—and to further support Jubileumsparken as a site of care.

2.4. Developing an Ethics of Care

What is the ethical potential of a space characterised by engagement and care? The notion of 'care' has been explored extensively concerning architectural practice in recent years (Fitz, Krasny, & Wien, 2019; Fraser, 2016; Tronto, 2015). The feminist scholar Maria Puig de la Bellacasa discusses the difference between being affected by something and caring about something. She writes:

> We can think of the difference between affirming, 'I am concerned' and 'I care.' The first denotes worry and thoughtfulness about an issue as well as, though not necessarily, the fact of belonging to the collective of those concerned, 'affected' by it; the second adds a strong sense of attachment and commitment to something. Moreover the quality of 'care' is to be more easily turned into a verb: to care. One can make oneself concerned, but to 'care' contains a notion of doing that concern lacks. (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017, p. 42)

As Puig de la Bellacasa points out, the word care is twofold as it addresses the affectionate connection to the space on the one hand, and the labour of caretaking on the other hand. Jubileumsparken invites people to connect with the spaces in this dual sense, asking its visitors to care about the space, but also to take care of the space by investing work into it—following the belief that the level of commitment will increase proportionally with the time and work invested in a space. Jubileumsparken presents itself as a site shaped by love and affection on the one hand, and by labour and work on the other hand as seen for instance in the urban gardening. To think of care as a co-producer of public space is also to acknowledge space as continuously created through both affective and practical efforts. It must however be remembered that care is always a situated practice; care-taking might be a delight in one situation, but feel heavy and oppressive in another setting. In relation to urban planning, it is therefore wise to revisit the topic of care in the particular situation and to stay interested in the inclusions and exclusions created in particular and site-specific processes defined by care. If community is staged as a collective project, as seen in the example of the urban gardening at Jubileumsparken, who will join in and who will not? Invitations to participate will speak to some people, but not to others; this is why care, understood as an emotional and practical undertaking, cannot be communicated as the only way to belong to a space and its community. Keeping that in mind I will now turn to Superkilen, a public space that displays an almost antagonistic strategy to Jubileumsparken's belief in care as the prime driver in the making of community.

3. Learning to be Affected: Superkilen

Superkilen is a public space in central Copenhagen, Denmark. It was financed by the Danish association Realdania and the City of Copenhagen. The park consists of three connecting parts—each with a different colour—indicating, it seems, different atmospheres and intensities. Since it opened in 2012 (see Figure 4), the space has gained a lot of attention for its design strategy to fill the space with a large number of everyday objects and street furniture from around the world. The design plays with relationships between far-flung places; each one of the 108 objects at Superkilen is also a fragment of another place (see Figures 5 and 6). The objects invite the visitor to engage in a wide range of activities. Whereas some objects relate to specific activities such as boxing, square dancing, playing chess and barbequing, others are designed for more general activities like resting, walking and playing. Because of its collection of foreign objects, its colourful and unconventional design, Superkilen has recurrently been compared to a world exposition. The discussion in the following sections is centred on three design strategies that appear to have been particularly influential when establishing Superkilen as a space in which we may learn to be affected by people and situations far away from our selves: Making difference the shared experience,

Figure 4. 'Superkilen is opening: Come and party': Billboard announcing the opening of Superkilen, June 2012. Photo: Ida Sandström.

highlighting the universal and designing for transversal connections.

3.1. Making Difference the Shared Experience

The particular atmosphere at Superkilen is created through several hyper-present objects from around the globe. Whereas many objects come with a story of eviction and migration, some relate more to tourism and adventures. One example of the later is the bull from Spain, chosen by two retired Danish ladies who had been travelling to Spain since their youth. Still, a visitor at Superkilen can not walk far without being exposed to politically charged objects: soil from Palestine, Kurdish benches and an elephant slide from Pripyat, an abandoned town close to Chernobyl (see Figure 6). The exposure of objects with strong political connotations creates a certain level of provocation at the site. Realdania's representative explains the strategy in the following way:

> If you have soil from Palestine or a manhole from Israel, will some people spit on it. Yeah, maybe, but still, of course, we hope nobody would do this. The idea is that everybody respects that we are coexisting together. (As cited in Steiner, 2013, p. 70)

Situations that could potentially stir up anger are instead trusted to build respect for difference, and the message is clear: At Superkilen, we do not only coexist, but we coexist *together*. The space comes with the hopeful idea that the experience of difference can become a shared experience in itself.

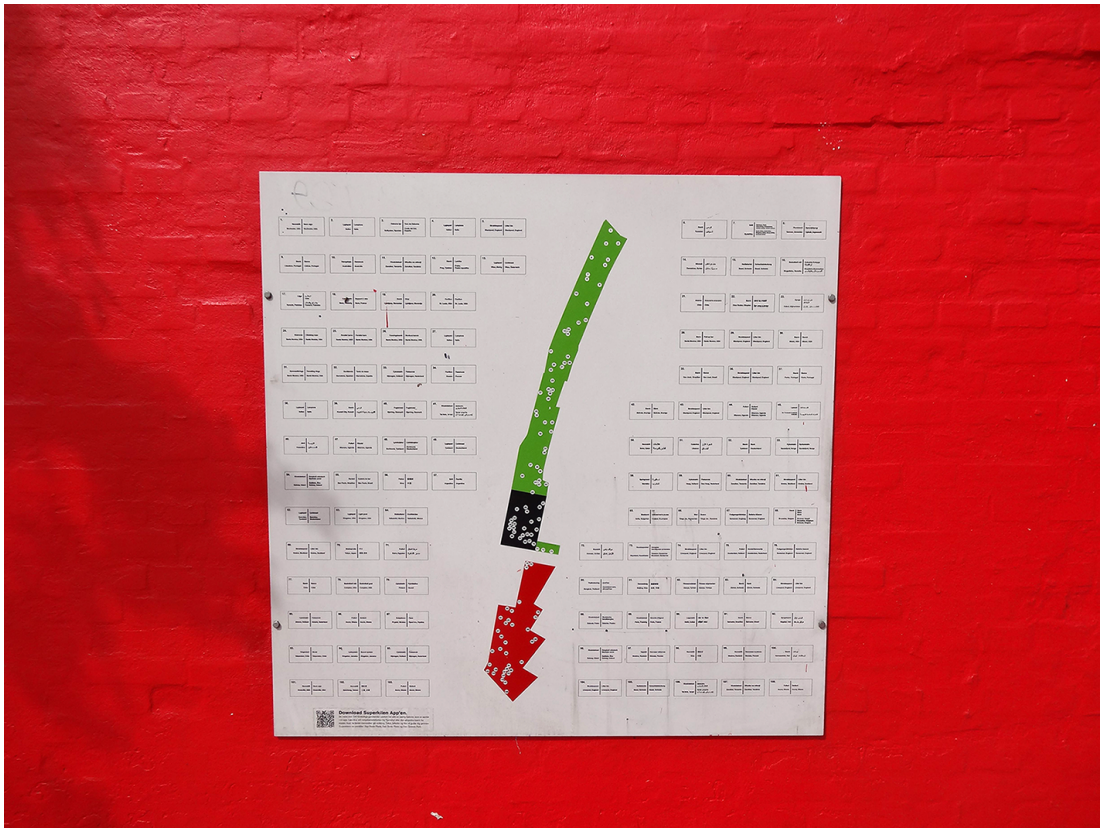

Figure 5. Sign on the wall showing the location of the 108 objects at Superkilen. All object are named in Danish and their original language. Photo: Ida Sandström.

Figure 6. Objects at Superkilen: A British litterbin, a bench from Zurich and an elephant slide from Pripyat, the abandoned town for workers at Chernobyl (2015). Photo: Ida Sandström.

Whereas Jubileumsparken is a public space made to encourage long-lasting relationships and attachments to the site, most social interactions at Superkilen happen through brief encounters. People unknown to each other would typically share a bench for a short period, before walking off in different directions. Occasionally, brief conversations occur, but more often, strangers remain strangers. The confrontational quality of the space is intensified when a wide selection of people, interests and habits of using public space are exposed to each other. While there were several sports clubs involved in the making of Superkilen at an early stage, no established clubs use the facilities today. The fact that nothing can be booked or reserved in advance creates a situation where one will never know whether a space or facility is available at a certain time. The space and its facilities are accessible to many, but it is hard, if not impossible, to use the space for pre-arranged or organised activities. No one is entitled to a certain space or object; this is why the sharing of space becomes an on-going negotiation on the ground.

3.2. Highlighting the Universal

The design of Superkilen is fragmentary and scattered: Objects are 'thrown out' with the hope that they will create some reactions or even better connections between people. The space becomes an invitation to connect with sentiments of playfulness and beauty, but also with personal stories of loss, longing and exile. Let me illustrate this condition in a brief detour to a harbour regeneration project I was part of some years ago. On one occasion, artists invited to comment on the development of the area wrote questions on walls and buildings by the harbour. The questions, written with huge letters, were personal and intimate: 'What have you lost?,´ 'Do you care?,' 'Are you feeling lonely?'—using the second-person singular 'you' rather than a more general third person. At Superkilen, a similar technique has been used. By placing an extensive number of objects relating to different human experiences side by side, the visitor is exposed to shared basic sentiments of human life such as loss, loneliness, and affection. Through that site-design, a "minimal/maximal we is formed—minimal in the sense that it does not build on any shared identities, interests or concerns, and maximal in the sense that it is incalculable in its inclusion of all subjects related to the site" (Sandström, 2019, p. 263). Superkilen may be experienced precisely in this double binding of singular beings sensing the universal human condition across differences.

3.3. Designing for Transversal Connections

The fragmentary design of Superkilen makes it a space that foregrounds not only the objects as such, but also the distances between them. The French philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy (1991) uses the French word 'partager' to address the spacing of community. The word partager means both to share and to divide, and for Nancy, this is exactly what community does. It is the space between us that makes it possible to move towards each other—to connect. A consequence of this thinking is that difference is necessary for community. This move, placing the drift towards differentiation at the heart of community is the radical move of Superkilen. It is a space that allows its visitor to experience the particular atmosphere that emerges when one is affected or touched by those different to oneself—suggesting that the space that we cross when we reach for something or someone exterior to ourselves is an essential part of community.

For example: In 2011, the artist group SUPERFLEX travelled to Palestine in the company of two young women with ancestries in Palestine. They travelled with a mission—to reach the site of the former village of the women's ancestors, and bring back an object from there to Copenhagen. After a long and emotional search, the women found what they believe to be traces of their relatives' houses in the wide, undulating landscape. The journey from Copenhagen to Palestine and back was documented and can be seen in four films uploaded on Superkilen's homepage. The last film shows the process of transporting a large plastic trunk with soil from the Palestinian highlands to its final destination, a much smaller hill at Superkilen. Some years later, I encountered a group of international students having a lunch picnic on this very hill where the soil is placed. As it turned out, they were unaware of its presence. Once the students became aware of the Palestinian soil on which they had laid their picnic blanket, they reacted with distress, shame and regret (it was almost as if they had been caught disrespecting the grave of someone). The transformation of the atmosphere was abrupt, and the students started moving their things to get away from the Palestinian soil. How can this sudden shift of atmosphere be understood concerning ethics and affect? I suggest that the students' collective reaction to the sudden discovery of Palestinian soil triggered not only awkwardness, but also a degree of connection, or even, in the broadest sense of the word, of community.

3.4. Developing an Ethics of Affect

The term affect gained influence with Deleuze and Guattari's reading of Spinoza in the 1980s (1988/2013). Despite more recent attempts to discuss affect concerning cities and cultural production (see, for instance, Thrift, 2008), the question on how to use it in architecture and planning remains somewhat open, as pointed out by Kopljar (2016). Affect is, on the one hand, discussed as the ability to affect, i.e., one object's ability to have an impact on another object, and on the other hand, as a capacity associated with feelings, i.e., with the trigger of affections. Affect theory (Massumi, 2002; Shouse, 2005) tends to distinguish between these two aspects of affect. However, a space like Superkilen points to the difficulty in discussing affect and affections (emotions) as

two distinctive and separate capacities. Superkilen is a space that plays with the very idea that an object or an event in one place can affect objects and events in other places, but it is also a space made to affect its visitors emotionally—and the two processes, to affect and to be affected, are here inherently interconnected.

Drawing on this paired understanding of affect, what is the ethical potential of a space characterised by the exposure of difference, a space in which we may learn to be affected? Superkilen's endeavour to make difference the shared experience relates to Nancy's idea of community as a space of radical exposure. A space where connection must be understood not in terms of what we have in common, but that we are in common, and where the singularity of every being is exposed to the singularity of others. Community seen in this way is not based on any shared values, identities or practices, and it cannot be achieved through any work and effort. The strategy, which was discussed earlier, of creating community by exposing highly personal yet universal conditions resonates with Nancy's (2000) suggestion that we are always singular, but always longing for connection, hence also always related and plural. As human beings, we are constantly reaching out to each other, repeatedly attempting to connect and repeatedly failing at sustaining such connections over time. The potential of community is therefore situated in the enactment of what has been described as "momentary, exceptional acts of coming together" (Anderson, 2017, p. 593). Let me return to the situation with the picnic on the hill at Superkilen with that in mind—the students' affectionate reaction to the origin of the soil can be seen as a transient experience of "the moment, the point, or the event of being-in-common" of which Nancy speaks (1991, pp. xxix–xl). Drawing on observations from Superkilen, I suggest that the condition of 'being-in-common' that Nancy speaks of (1991, pp. xxix–xl) may be experienced in exactly such passing moments of transversal connections. Nancy speaks of community as a circumstance in which we "learn to be affected" (Anderson, 2009, p. 77) by distant or vague atmospheres, and by people and places far away from us. The soil at Superkilen is not only soil but also a pledge to connect to the destiny of Palestine and its people. We catch sight of the fact that we are separate, but always relational to each other—and this, I suggest, is the ethical potential of Superkilen.

4. Spaces of Collective Care, Spaces of Being-in-Common

As I have attempted to show, Jubileumsparken is a space that presents itself as a space in need of relentless attention and care. In this way, it promotes relational attachment to the space as such. Compared to many public spaces, Jubileumsparken does not strive for the durable and robust. Instead, it operates with fragile social processes and materials that call for continuous maintenance and care. Many features in the park, such as the pools, the sauna, and the urban garden, could not be sustained without processes of extensive maintenance and care. The production of relational attachment through practical everyday work is particularly evident in the construction surrounding the 'park hosts' who care for the park in the double sense of affection and practical work. My study suggests moreover that it is not only professionals who care for Jubileumsparken. Care is also performed by its regular visitors, as seen among the urban gardeners, who help each other with watering and other practical tasks. To sum up, I have so far addressed Jubileumsparken as a space of care and commitment, characterised by its highly curated processes of social interactions. I have also discussed how attachment to the space is encouraged through specific operative models such as the maintenance model based on a civil-public partnership and an extensive number of public workshops.

Superkilen on the other hand is addressed in this article as a space that confronts the visitor with several issues but does not ask for any practical, hands-on engagement. At Superkilen, there are no plants to water, no sauna sessions or swimming lessons to join, and no workshops to attend. In contrast to Jubileumsparken, Superkilen does not represent itself as a site of care. Here, the visitor is not demanded—or invited—to relate to the space, or to other people in the space, through any practical work or long-term commitment. Instead, the visitor is confronted with a large number of objects and people different from herself. A setting that may trigger transient connections—i.e., moments in which the visitor is touched by people and places that are foreign to her. It is also in these moments that one might catch sight of the human condition of being singular-plural, i.e., of being separate, yet always in relation to others. Separation becomes the prerequisite for connection. Drawing on Nancy, we can reach a certain kind of togetherness if we acknowledge that the "being of fundamental difference" is the primary condition that all beings share (1991, pp. 27–28). If we think of community as the result of people coming together around shared projects, as seen at Jubileumsparken, it will be hard to catch sight of any community formations at Superkilen. To even distinguish community at Superkilen, we will have to give up on unity as the precondition for connection.

The difference between Superkilen and Jubileumsparken's approach to community comes through in how the two spaces are represented in social media. In a mapping I made from 987 Instagram posts from each space, several interesting differences surfaced. Although this is by no means a complete representation of the two spaces (one can think of many trivial activities that would seldom, if ever, be shared on social media) they are interesting as a collectively produced record of our attention. Whereas a large part of the pictures from Jubileumsparken show activities that demand some kind of group affiliation, such as swimming-, biking- and sailing-for all, the urban garden, and roller derby

training—such pictures are almost completely missing at Superkilen. Superkilen on the other hand has an extensive number of photos in which people are posing for the camera, relating to the space itself, and to its objects. Also, there are more posts showing events, food and parties at Jubileumsparken. The greatest difference is, however, to be seen in the number of posts relating to the actual making of each space. Whereas only four posts relate to the making of Superkilen, there are 97 posts depicting the making of Jubileumsparken (see Figure 7). This includes posts relating to the actual building and planting of the park, the construction of buildings such as the sauna and the library pavilion (see Figure 1) and the planning processes. Again Jubileumsparken comes forward as a space designed to support collective processes of care, and Superkilen as a space designed for, and characterised by, exposure, disruptions and affect—a space of being-in-common.

5. Conclusions

Seeing the two spaces together, they outline two different ways to think about community in public space. While Jubileumsparken builds primarily on the idea that communities are produced continuously through shared projects, Superkilen points in the other direction, advocating a kind of community that is not based on what we have in common, but the fact that we *are* in common. At the heart of the matter is whether we think of community as something that happens when we come together around a shared project (an ethics of care), or rather as a kind of transversal connection that we may experience when we sense a shared human condition (an ethics of affect). Although they differ on an ontological level, I argue that both strategies point to interesting possibilities to think about community without unity. A space characterised by an ethics of care advocates a non-essentialist take on community by acknowledging the many overlapping and fluid community formations that may take place at a site, leaving the individual free to move in-between them and engage in several communities at the same time. It has also been suggested in this article that the act of coming together around a project can attract a diverse group of people that would not usually meet and interact. A space characterised by an ethics of affect is, however, more radical in how it places difference in the heart of community, suggesting that exposure may trigger a kind of momentary connection between people who are far away from each other in every sense of the word.

To deepen the discussion on care and affect as two entries to an inclusive understanding of community, I would like to turn to the current moment in which this article is written. In the Spring of 2020, the Covid-19 pandemic has caused an immense disturbance to singular lives around the globe. It is a peculiar time to write and think about the assets of public space. Travels, celebrations and get-togethers are being cancelled, and a combination of fear and legal restrictions has made people return to their homes, leaving squares and streets in many cities quiet and empty. Tragedy and despair are immense, but the pandemic has not only brought devas-

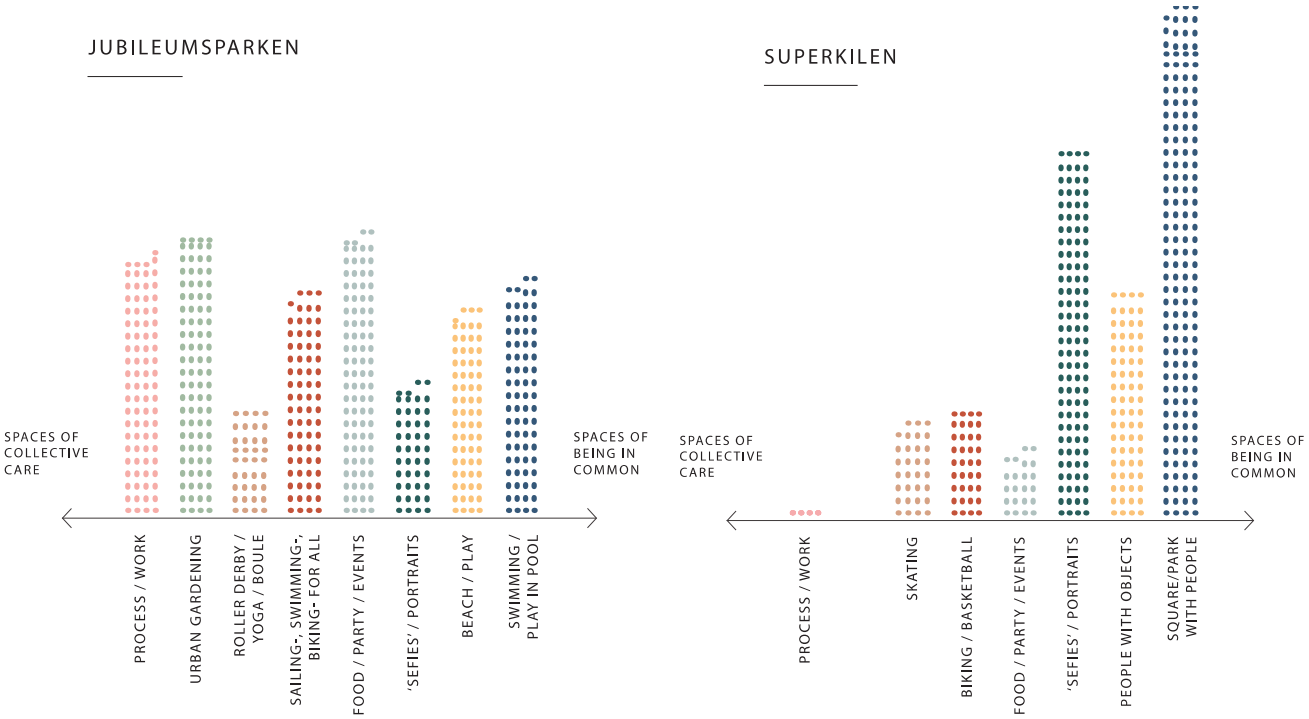

Figure 7. Instagram posts from Jubileumsparken and Superkilen categorised on a scale from spaces of collective care (ethics of care) to spaces of being-in-common (ethics of affect). Note: Each dot represents one Instagram post. Source: Ida Sandström.

tation, but also a rare chance to rearticulate the ethical dimensions of living together in cities—perhaps even a renewed potential for community? During the pandemic, new initiatives to keep up the social and technical infrastructures of the city arise; people organise themselves in order to support sick or elderly neighbours, to help quarantined children with their homework, and to set up home factories to produce materials for local hospitals. Drawing on the discussions from Jubileumsparken, we see an increased level of engagement and care, involving people who did not consider themselves part of the same community before the crisis, in shared efforts. Parallel to the potential of connection across difference, the pandemic has also to some extent rendered segregation more visible; some groups are more affected than others, a bias that seems to shadow pre-existing power dynamics. The virus is in that sense capable of producing its own communities of affected that (tragically) overlaps with socio-economic vulnerable groups. In order to further progress in the discussion on community, we must not sidestep the more ruthless sides to the pandemic. When things were at its worse, ice rinks, churches and other public buildings in cities around Europe were turned into mortuaries, leaving their inhabitants exposed to mortality and human loss in a most literal sense. Returning to Nancy's suggestion that community is a moment in which we are touched by a shared human destiny—this extreme exposure may also carry a potential for a renewed sense of community. In a situation where small and seemingly innocent actions (such as going to work or throwing a party) may threaten the bare existence of others, we will inevitably catch sight of the connectedness of all people. A shared human destiny is no longer an abstraction, but the position from which we have to act on a day-to-day basis. Covid-19 has not only taken away the possibility to travel freely, but also the option to act as a sovereign self, and this is a situation that pushes us towards the kind of condition that Nancy talks of, where community does not depend on what we have in common in terms of interests and preferences, but the fact that we are in common—unescapably connected as humans.

It has been suggested, concerning other catastrophes, that the longing for real connection stays an unrealised potential in ordinary life, but comes alive in the extraordinary situation of a crisis (Solnit, 2009). The two spaces that I have studied suggest that design can play a similar role by pushing us into unexpected situations in which we may open up to strangers. I have attempted to show how those two spaces have established an ethics of care (Jubileumsparken) and an ethics of affect (Superkilen) through several distinct design strategies. I have also shown how the different ethical standpoints are deployed in the mundane use of the two spaces. The community gardening at Jubileumsparken and the picnic on Palestinian soil at Superkilen are two examples of everyday situations in which one may *learn to care* (Jubileumsparken) and *learn to be affected* (Superkilen). I suggest, concluding, that the demand for public spaces that can counteract segregation and social fragmentation calls for an intensified interest in the mundane use of public space, and consequently in the urban design that enables it. Urban design may, if used wisely, support everyday situations that hold the ethical potential of expanding the notion of community beyond sameness and unity, as seen at Superkilen and Jubileumsparken.

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Conflict of Interests

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About the Author

Ida Sandström is an Architect. She holds a PhD in Architecture from the School of Architecture at Lund University. Her thesis is titled *Towards a Minor Urbanism: Thinking Community without Unity in Recent Makings of Public Space* (2019). Bringing together social and material aspects of urban life, her work outlines several ways to think and build more inclusive urban spaces. Ida has previously been working in urban planning and design, primarily in Sweden.

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Article

Coffeehouses (Re)Appropriated: Counterpublics and Cultural Resistance in Tabriz, Iran

Laleh Foroughanfar [1,2]

[1] Department of Architecture and Built Environment, Faculty of Engineering, Lund University, 22100 Lund, Sweden; E-Mail: laleh.foroughanfar@arkitektur.lth.se
[2] Centre for Middle Eastern Studies, Faculty of Social Sciences, Lund University, 22100 Lund, Sweden

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Abstract
Over the last decade, traditional coffeehouses have attracted increasing interest in the city of Tabriz, Iran, in the context of consistent state monitoring and restriction of public life—particularly so among non-Persian ethnolinguistic populations. Relying on a combination of ethnographic methods (observations, interviews, and visual documentation), this article explores the everyday life of two coffeehouses in Tabriz through a theoretical lens of third place, counterpublics, and everyday ethics of resistance. Coffeehouses are currently retaining functions as third places; cross-generational venues for preserving cultural, artistic, and linguistic identity as well as institutions of social defiance, resting on elaborate ethical codes and tacit social agreements. Through mechanisms of everyday ethics and cultural practices re-connecting to local history, cultural creativity, and language, insiders are distinguished from outsiders, serving to build trust, security, and solidarity in the context of Iranian state monitoring and restricted social space.

Keywords
coffeehouses; counterpublics; cultural resistance; everyday ethics; Iran; third place

Issue
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1. Introduction

In post-revolutionary Iran, public spaces are typically gender-segregated and under considerable surveillance. In large cities such as the capital city of Tehran, the control of public spaces has triggered a subversive life and assemblies in homes, underground concerts, fashion shows, and home galleries (Moeini, Arefian, Kashani, & Abbasi, 2018). Surveillance can be even more severe in other cities, where traditional and religious norms further enforce the social control of public life. In this context, the institution of coffeehouses (*qahva-ḵāna*) in Tabriz has taken a particular significance (among men, since coffeehouses remain heavily male-dominated). The traditional coffeehouse—as distinct from the 'Westernised' cafés—has a long history as a vital institution and communal core of public life. It shows all the characteristics of 'third places,' to draw on Ray Oldenburg's (1989) often cited study *The Great Good Places*. As shall be argued in this article, however, in Tabriz, the largest city in the Turkish-speaking Azerbaijan region of Iran, such third places also serve functions of everyday resistance. Although Azerbaijani–Turkish is the spoken language in the region, it is prohibited in schools and formal education. Thus, coffeehouses are stages for counterpublics in nourishing Turkic cultural and linguistic values—restricted through the Persianification policies of the state.

Based on fieldwork in two distinct coffeehouses, this article examines the history and use of coffeehouses in contemporary Azerbaijan region, and the role they play in the processes of resistance to state-oriented narratives and processes of neo-liberal urban development, through the everyday (re)construction of shared values and collective memory. Shedding light on intersecting ethnical, socio-economical, and political features

in constructing everyday ethics and solidarity, the article explores the recent attentiveness among the younger generations for coffeehouses. Even so, the historical pattern of coffeehouses as mono-gendered environments contributes to reinforcing gender-segregating policies of the government. This two-fold nature of coffeehouses, I argue, brings the emancipatory potential of the coffeehouses into question.

The article falls into five main sections. Following this introduction, Section 2 provides a background, discussing the historical and socio-political functions of coffeehouses in the context of urban development policies. Section 3 discusses theoretical notions of 'place' (public and private space; place identity; everyday resistance) and method. Section 4 discusses the findings, elucidating the everyday life, socio-cultural, and political functions of the coffeehouses. Section 5 provides a brief conclusion.

2. Coffeehouses: Politico-Historical Legacies and Urban Contexts

Originally introduced through Ethiopia, coffee spread to the countries of Southwest Arabia in the 16th century (Toussaint-Samat, 2009a, p. 532). The first public coffeehouse opened in Ottoman Turkey, while the former consumers of the beverage were members of Sufi orders who used coffee as a stimulant during all-night vigils and rituals (Wohl, 2017). With the growing public sentiment about the medical benefits of coffee (Hattox, 1985, p. 17), its popularity increased. On the other hand, coffee also stirred controversy. Pious critique alleged coffee to violate Islamic law against intoxicating substances as well as considering coffee as an unlawful innovation of doctrine (*bid'a*; Hattox, 1985, p. 6). Although pilgrims returning from Mecca introduced the idea of the coffeehouse in Egypt, Syria, and elsewhere, as a result of such religious disapproval, 1511 coffeehouses were temporarily closed in Mecca (Hattox, 1985, p. 36). Adding to such theological opposition, coffeehouses became a source of mundane political concern as well, as they were regarded as potential sites of political and oppositional discussion.

The first coffeehouses in Iran (former Persia) probably appeared during 16th century in Tabriz, Qazvin and new capital of Isfahan during Safavid rule (Encyclopædia Iranica, 2011). Coffeehouses were exclusive places of leisure for male notables and the upper-middle class of Safavid urban society. With increasing trade and urbanisation, coffee became cheaper and thus accessible for non-elites. Coffeehouses became places of contemplation (Matthee, 1994), education, music, and storytelling (Encyclopædia Iranica, 2011). As described by Rudi Matthee, in his travel accounts from the 17th century, Sir John Chardin reports on the unique freedom of speech in coffeehouses during the Safavid era. Other documents, however, indicate Shah Abbas's interest in controlling coffeehouses by sending *mullahs* (religious leaders) to provide moral and religious training and curb anti-Shah political debates. Chardin describes the activities in coffeehouses as follows:

> People engage in conversation, for it is there that news is communicated and where those interested in politics criticise the government in all freedom and without being fearful since the government does not heed what the people say. Innocent games…resembling checkers, hopscotch, and chess, are played. It often happens that two or three people talk at the same time, one on one side, the other on the opposite, and sometimes one will be a preacher and the other a storyteller. (Matthee, 1994, p. 24)

The very first coffeehouses were known as 'academies of knowledge' (*madrasat al-ʿolamā*; Encyclopædia Iranica, 2011), located by the main squares, theological seminaries (*madrasas*) and mosques (Matthee, 1994). The location indicates how coffeehouses were integral to the social everyday life of men (and men only) of knowledge and power. In late Safavids times, with the expansion of the commercial centres of *Bazaars*, coffeehouses were established in the vicinity of caravanserais and public baths. Here, coffeehouses became associated with guilds, functioning as employment agencies and forums for socio-political and economic affairs. As Wohl (2017) points out, in the late 19th century, Russian and Balkan immigrants who settled in Istanbul brought with them the new custom of teahouses. At about the same time in Iran, tea came to replace coffee as the most popular beverage. Even so, the term *qahva-ḵāna* has continued to be used interchangeably with *čāy-ḵāna* (Encyclopædia Iranica, 2011). In short, today 'coffee houses' are in effect tea houses, since coffee is not served anymore.

Tabriz has served as the capital for several Iranian dynasties (and the seat of the crown prince during Qajar times). Besides being a political centre, Tabriz was located on the Silk Road, as a crossroads between the Ottoman Empire and Russia. This established the Grand Bazaar of Tabriz (listed as a world heritage by UNESCO since 2010) as a socio-political and commercial hub. With this, it also became a centre for mobilising social, political, and religious movements, in past as well as recent Iranian history. In this context, coffeehouses in Tabriz assumed functions vital to both everyday life and social protests, such as the Tobacco Protest, in 1890, and the Constitutional Revolution, in 1911. As the contemporary historian Nahidiazar (2006) pointed out, during the historical Tobacco Protest, Zainab Pasha, a militant woman, together with forty women of Tabriz, started an armed struggle against the tobacco concession granted in 1890 by the Qajar Nasir al-Din Shah of Iran to Britain. According to this colonial concession, Britain was granted to control overgrowth, sale, and export of tobacco. However, with the intense resistance of people in cities like Tabriz, Nasir al-Din Shah was forced to cancel the tobacco credits that were given to Britain. In parallel, Zeinab Pasha and her female fellows organised several revolts against the brutal feudal system, which in support

of the local governors had caused a long period of famine and deprivation known as the 'bread shortage' in Tabriz. In both incidents mentioned above, Zainab Pasha and her female rebellions were actively choosing the Grand Bazar and coffeehouses to mobilise the male retailers and workers against the oppression and also break the patriarchal social norms (Nahidiazar, 2006). According to the oral historian Mashalallah Razmi (2018), coffeehouses similarly became venues for news dissemination, (elite) political discussion, interactions among ordinary people, and a nucleus of resistance against the Pahlavi monarchy before and during the Islamic Revolution of Iran in 1978–1979 (Razmi, 2018, p. 114). With the Islamic Revolution, however, followed a drastic reduction of coffeehouses, brandished by the authorities as places of potential insurgence and questionable public morals, crime, and health.

Despite their importance for the historical memory of the city, the majority of coffeehouses today largely function as a gathering place for guild members and lower socio-economic strata. Not only do political authorities continue to view coffeehouses with suspicion as sites of potential political activity, they are also stigmatised with a 'low-class' repute for housing rural migrant labourers or urban poor. As a sum effect, they draw little attraction among broader populations. Many establishments have closed down due to falling profitability, or faced demolition in the wake of urban renewal processes during the last decades.

2.1. Coffeehouses in the Shadow of Unequal Urban Development

With its population exceeding 1.5 million, Tabriz is the largest city and main economic magnet of the Eastern Azerbaijan province of Iran. Similar to other metropolitan areas in the Global South, the city is subject to uneven and unjust urban developments and socioeconomic segregation: About one-third of its population lives in informal settlements (Zangiabadi & Mobaraki, 2012). Such segregation partially originated in the economic recovery plan after the Iran–Iraq war (1980–1988) and in line with the government's centralistic socio-economic and political policies. Aspiring economic development and opportunity for the unemployed youth as well as meeting the housing shortage for a rapidly growing and urbanising population, the government relaxed the regulations for housing construction. With the exception of some affordable state-run housing projects, the market was simultaneously state-subsidised, deregulated, and commercialised. This, in combination with the oil rents based economy rising conjointly with the growing oil price during the previous three decades, had a severe effect on real estate development and commodification of housing and urban spaces (Kheiraldin, Taghvayi, & Imani Shamlou, 2013). This stimulated the private, profit-oriented sector to initiate large-scale projects and hence the creation of a new economic middle and upper class. The housing policy was further facilitated by economic support from private banks through long-term mortgages (Sadighi & Salek, 2018). This coincided with changes in urban planning policies and land use regulations allowing municipalities to compensate budget deficits through the renewal projects (Kamrava, 2012). Tabriz was among the pioneering cities for such processes, currently holding second place in the ratio of high rise buildings in the country (Dehgan, 2017).

The deregulation carried three important consequences for Tabriz. Firstly, the fabric of the inner city was thoroughly transformed. Single houses were demolished and replaced with new, high-rise, commercial, and office buildings combined with residential apartments, generating considerable profits for landowners and developers. Secondly, parallel to the transformation of the inner city, the urban municipal district drastically expanded at the expense of the fruit gardens surrounding the city (for which Tabriz was famous), destroying the natural ecosystem. Thirdly, the rapid growth of the city stimulated population mobility. In pursuit of work and settlement, migration from smaller towns and villages rose sharply, establishing a growing underclass of informal settlers in the city margins.

Taken together, these processes have radically changed the urban morphology and demography of the city. During the last decades—and parallel with global waves of neo-liberalism—spatial injustice has swiftly aggravated. Privatisation and 'mallification' has resulted in the proliferation of luxurious residential and commercial buildings, while public and green spaces are shrinking by the day and class-divisions are deepening. Over-establishment, commercialisation, and inflation have largely polarised the city and turned significant parts of the city into areas for upper/middle-class residence and consumption, able (and willing) to spend their new prosperity in shopping malls and Westernised cafés.

3. Theoretical Reflections on Place and Everyday Resistance

In this context, I shall argue, coffeehouses have recently come to re-emerge as a counterpublics in the city of Tabriz. They do so, in part, as third places in Ray Oldenburg's (1989) sense. In Oldenburg's (1989) understanding, third places are environments between home and work where citizens assemble in spontaneous and informal settings. He discussed places such as cafés, pubs, barbershops, and laundry rooms as social spaces of daily encounters. But certain coffeehouses also have come to reclaim a distinct socio- and cultural-political significance. Apart from their 'Oldenburgian' leisurely functions, they also cater to a new segment of the population, finding (and forging) in the coffeehouses an arena for nurturing localised, counter-hegemonic social and cultural affinity, integrated into everyday life and professional endeavour. Expanding on such functions, the following section considers theoretical perspectives on 'place' con-

cerning notions of 'public' and 'private,' in regard to power relations, counter-hegemonic struggle, and everyday resistance.

3.1. The Publicness of Places?

In the Western context, Habermas (1991) has identified coffeehouses and cafés as historically central for the emergence of a 'public sphere.' Habermas (1991) defines this sphere as an (ideally) inclusive venue for critical and democratic engagement in public and political deliberation. This definition of 'the public sphere' has also been the backbone for the conceptualisation of public space in urban design and planning discourse. It is, however, questionable to what extent this is universally applicable to varying socio-political contexts; to what extent every citizen de facto is able to engage democratically in such 'publics.' Nancy Fraser (1990) formulates critical reflections on the notion of a universal 'public sphere' for the practice of democratic citizenship. She understands democracy as a complex and contested notion, which varies in meanings and forms (Fraser, 1990). Suggesting a feminist revision of Habermas' theory, Fraser (1990) points to the hegemonic and dominant relations traversing 'the public sphere,' at the expense of alternative publics. She identifies the potential of "subaltern counterpublics" where marginalised groups create their distinct public spheres (Fraser, 1990, p. 67).

In line with Fraser, urbanist Margaret Crawford (1995) expands the notion of counterpublics into the realm of public space, identifying how informal micro publics (sidewalks, parking lots, swap meets, etc.) become particularly significant when access to public space is regulated, gendered, and monitored by norms and power systems. This invites critical perspectives on the dichotomy of public and private. Grounded in a liberal bourgeoisie concept of the public sphere (Crawford, 1995), public and private spaces have typically been understood as distinct and contrasting social realms. However, the emergence of counterpublics and multiple publics effectively blurs the boundaries of public and private through everyday lived experiences, reproducing multiple sites of expression (Crawford, 1995, p. 5).

Also, following the 'publics' and public sphere discussion, Warner (2002) distinguishes between 'the' public as a social totality, that of people in general, and 'a' public, a concrete audience bounded with an event or shared physical space. Warner (2002) draws attention to the discursive aspect of 'a' public, which, in practice, appears as 'the' public. In order to imbue a sense of belonging or carry emancipatory functions, a public must be self-organised and upheld through discourse—rather than external or formal processes such as participating in democratic processes through voting. Warner (2002) argues that if the ways of being public are organised through powerful state institutions and/or religious establishments, it will forward totalitarianism: in his words, "a non-kin society organised by bureaucracy and law" (Warner, 2002, p. 414). In contrast, Warner (2002, p. 416) argues, there are meanings, pieces of knowledge, symbols, and traditions, which are discursively shaping publics as subaltern counterpublics concerning state power.

Indeed, in post-revolutionary Iran, the intermingling of public and private life is a fundamental characteristic of everyday life, most notably so among marginalised segments of the population such as women and ethnic minorities. For such groups, the capacity for public participation and visibility is heavily constricted and marred with constant negotiations and manoeuvring. The attempts of sustaining a public life require low-profile social arenas, hidden from the gaze of public norms and the state-centred regulations, forging alternative publics in the form of domestically organised assemblies. Basements and garages are transformed into arenas for underground music. Homes turn into cafés and galleries. Social (and romantic) life in private cars complicates 'private' vis-à-vis 'public.' To quote Paul Gilroy (2003, p. 387), public yet hidden spaces "make room for those whose opinions are marginal or antagonistic to the mainstream or whose spatial freedom is limited by law, hostility or harassment."

3.2. Place and Everyday Resistance

Place, in its geographical definition, is the combination of spatial and social relations; it is a "social space" (Cresswell, 1996, p. 3), an "interpretative frame through which people measure their lives, evaluate others, take political positions and just make sense" (Gieryn, 2000, p. 467). Thus, norms and rules as well as deviance are produced in places (Cresswell, 1996, p. 25). It is in place that certain behaviours become accepted by others, creating a sense of meaning and belonging. Hence, places also create and affirm social stratification. As centres of contested meanings, places construct and reveal difference, creating insiders and outsiders. Or, to draw on Warner (2002, p. 418), "difference is a direct implication of the self-organisation of the public as a body of strangers united through the circulation of their discourse, without which public address would have none of its special importance." That is why the metaphor of conversation, answering, talking back, and deliberating is significant in the interactive social relation of a public (Warner, 2002, p. 420). Hence, belonging rests on fulfilling expected behaviours and internalising social values. In failing to do so, one becomes "out of place" (Cresswell, 1996, p. 26). Such perspectives also invite power perspectives. As Cresswell describes, "the meaning of a place is subject to particular discourses of power, which express themselves as discourses of normality…the meaning of a place, then, is (in part) created through a discourse that sets up a process of differentiation [between us and them]" (1996, p. 60).

De Certeau (1984) draws attention to the constant struggle between dominant and dominated through pro-

cesses of navigation, negotiation, and appropriation of place. People's mundane routines in consuming places shape distinct interpretations, based on group-specific social, political, and historical imaginations. In this sense, despite being subject to dominance, ordinary people are not passive members of society. Through mundane practices in the cracks of dominant strategies and hegemonic structures, they forge agency and tactics based on "the necessity to survive and improve life" (Bayat, 2010, p. 58): the homeless building a shelter; the street vendor appropriating a sidewalk; or, in application to this study and in response to centralised, politico-cultural dominance, localised cultural practices and group-specific understandings of place, belonging, and everyday ethics (produced in the Coffeehouses) have the potential of establishing counter-hegemonic meanings as survival tactics.

Resistance is not necessarily intentional. Cresswell (1996, p. 24) notices how counter-power practices often take the shape of non-planned 'transgressions' of normative boundaries, providing "tactics for resistance to established norms." This sits well with Bayat's (2010, p. 44) reflections of everyday resistance: Global restructuring has thoroughly changed the terrain of political struggle and subject formation. In this setting, ordinary people—the urban poor and the subaltern—establish channels through the core of power in everyday practices, and especially so in highly constrained political societies. Bayat (2010) conceptualises such aspirations as 'non-movements' among non-collective actors. He speaks of 'quiet encroachments' on the terrains of power: the non-formal but prolonged, direct actions to acquire basic needs in a quiet and unassuming illegal fashion (Bayat, 2010, p. 45). Such everyday encroachments have transformed the large cities of the Middle East (and beyond), "generating a substantial outdoor economy, new communities, and arenas of self-development in the urban landscapes" (Bayat, 2010, p. 15). Despite poverty, destitute conditions, and political dominance, subordinate social groups are exercising an "art of presence" through everyday practice (Bayat, 2010, p. 26). They do so without formal engagement in social struggle or joining party politics (Moeini et al., 2018, p. 2), yet asserting agency (Miraftab, 2012, p. 1207).

With a geographical take on place as a socio-material event and encounters, Popke (2009) brings in the matter of 'ethics,' not in the meaning of universal norms or juridical constructs nor morality, but as a form of 'ethos.' According to Popke (2009, p. 84), "such an ethos works toward encounters that open us to a generous sensibility, one that might be capable of re-enlivening our affective engagements with others and fostering a heightened sense for what might be possible." Ethics in its broader definition creates a platform for collective performance, caring for others, and solidarity. Relating to the philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy's (2000, p. 42) conceptualisation of co-existence as an 'in-common,' Popke (2009, p. 85) understands ethics as a "site of ethical responsibility and political efficacy," as opposed to ethics of neoliberal governmentality (Popke, 2009, p. 84). Or, as pointed out by Bruce Braun and James McCarthy (2005, p. 808), necessary for the establishment of an ethical social space is "a political language and imagination that takes as its starting point the 'being-with' or 'being-in-common' that Nancy so brilliantly locates at the centre of human existence." Concerning the cases in this article, the construction of such ethical sites of responsibility and political imaginations may increase citizens' capacities to act.

3.3. A Note on Method

The mixed-design, ethnographic methodology for this research included interviews, visual documentation, and observation. The fieldwork took place during two field visits in 2014 and 2016, followed up with regular contacts with the main participants. The study was conducted in six coffeehouses in different socio-economical zones of Tabriz, resulting in about thirty interviews. Subsequently, data from two of the best-known and iconic coffeehouses were chosen for this article, here designated as Alif and Ba, with four interviews in each. The choices were based on: (1) being favoured by both intellectuals/artists and 'traditional' regulars; (2) harbouring strong intergenerational relations; and (3) displaying relaxed traditional norms as concerns female visitors. As a female researcher conducting a study in male-dominated places, I faced several obstacles such as choosing the accurate time for interviews and not drawing unwarranted attention. Such limitations underscored the two-fold nature of the coffeehouses and their restrictions regarding equal gender accessibility. Nevertheless, to overcome such hurdles, three male research assistants facilitated the fieldwork in various stages. This included 'chaperoning' as well as introducing me to coffeehouse owners and regulars. The names, locations, and professional titles of participants, as well as establishments, have been altered in this article to ensure confidentiality and personal security.

4. Coffeehouses: Much More than Smoking *Hookah* and Drinking Tea

Coffeehouse Alif was built some 90 years ago inside the Grand Bazaar, while coffeehouse Ba is found in the basement of a downtown building. Both take on a low profile, with no signs drawing attention. The physical and interior features and sitting patterns are similar, dividing the *hookah* smokers (the older generation) from cigarette smokers (mostly the younger/professionals). Both places are flavoured with vintage elements such as old-style pictures, radio, and traditional instruments—but also a television screen on the wall and Wi-Fi Internet access. Mirrors on the walls enhance the visual space and provide the owner with an inconspicuous means of monitoring the guests. Wooden tables and benches furnish the room along the walls and the central space remains empty. One section is devoted to the traditional reg-

ulars, mostly middle-aged or senior male workers or entrepreneurs. Usually sitting opposite them, another group or regulars comprises a younger generation of artists, filmmakers, writers, and other cultural workers.

The main difference between the two coffeehouses concerns location and atmosphere. The location in the Grand Bazaar, starkly contrasting with the modernised city, has attracted locals as well as tourists to Alif. Its popularity among the artists partly has its background in the international photography festival Firoozeh, where many participants documenting the Bazaar used Alif for resting, drinking tea, and socialising with the locals. This also meant that female tourists visited Alif, gradually relaxing the long-standing social norms defining coffeehouses as exclusively male spaces. This expanded the clientele, establishing Alif as a hub for artwork, exhibitions, and professional meetings in parallel to its 'traditional' function as third place. Ba is larger and it is well-known both for its relaxed environment created by the owner and as a historical hub for intellectuals before the revolution. The owners in both coffeehouses have significant roles in the popularity and diversity of the places.

4.1. Coffeehouses as Third Place

Both coffeehouses fulfil Oldenburg's (1989) criteria for third places. They are available at different times of the day, for different groups of individuals, with different interests, occupations, and socio-economic backgrounds. Both coffeehouses meet the needs for sociability and relaxation in the gaps before, between, and after the duties of mundane life. They offer a wide range of activities, from smoking *hookah* and engaging in conversations or work-related meetings to watching football matches, reading books, and working on laptops. The latter two activities are new trends, as a younger generation of artists and professionals have appropriated the coffeehouses. Coffeehouses hence are the interstices of the privacy of home and the publicness of work (both associated with pre-defined responsibilities and obligations). Being neither a home nor a place of work makes the coffeehouses "what the home is not" (Oldenburg, 1989, p. 39). Ahmad, a senior participant, voiced the experience of the flexibility and multi-functionality of the coffeehouses:

> Some of us have been regulars of this coffeehouse for 60 years. It is a second home for us. Many of us can make our own *hookah* at home, but home is a limited place with limited activities, while the coffeehouse is a social place where people spontaneously engage in talking to each other and sharing their private issues and problems.

Individuals come and go as they desire. No one is required to act as a host, and all feel comfortable—what Oldenburg coined as "neutral ground" (Oldenburg, 1989). Visits vary in time according to interests and social groupings but peak in late evenings, as visitors tend to gather after work and before heading home. Prices are considerably lower compared with the Westernised cafés and coffeehouses offer a different temporal rhythm. In the words of a 33-year-old visitor:

> In the coffeehouse, I can choose either being with friends or sitting alone and thinking. It depends on my mood and need. But I know that I can sit as long as I want and no one will ask me to leave.

4.2. Scenes for Cross-Generational and Counterpublic Attachments

Besides the third place characteristics, the coffeehouses serve important functions as arenas for socio-political, cultural, and narrative processes responding to state-political hegemonic narratives as well as recent urban development. A socio-cultural and spatial consequence of the imposed top-down urban interventions described in previous sections is the loss of historical memory and collective-local identity of the city. In the context of drastic transformation, coffeehouses are among the scarce institutions to have survived as "vehicle[s] for constructing shared beliefs and identities" (Wohl, 2017; cf. Mills, 2010). As we have seen, a central experience among the regulars is the feeling of 'being at home' or considering coffeehouses as a 'second home.' There are particularly strong connections between the place and its regulars. The low profile (Oldenburg, 1989) characteristic of the coffeehouses, as manifest in the physical setting and furnishing, further contributes to the informal, intimate, tranquil, and welcoming character which is not available in the Westernised cafés. In the words of a 78-year-old man who has moved from downtown to one of the newly developed neighbourhoods in outskirts of the city:

> Even though it takes a long time to commute from home to Alif, I do it every day. I live in a small apartment where there is no place to hang out outside the house. I do not know anyone and if I become sick or die, no one will notice. The coffeehouse is the place where my friends gather and care about me, without the coffeehouse I cannot live.

Coffeehouses have also become environments where artists without official affiliations or financial support to lease an office can run their professional life. This new category of visitors has come to side with the 'traditional' category of senior regulars, initiating tacit yet pivotal negotiations of non-written rules, territoriality, sitting, and smoking patterns, as well as time of attendance—all defining the temporal and social rhythm of the place. Despite the old-style furniture and esprit of the coffeehouses, usage of digital technologies such as tablets, laptops, and cameras, as well as Wi-Fi by the younger and arty customers, is today widely disseminated in coffeehouses. Such changes notwithstanding, the atmosphere

remains friendly and the interviews indicate no tensions between the two categories of regulars:

> A laptop is an essential tool for my job. I often sit in the coffeehouses and work. The senior regulars watch me curiously and ask questions to learn more about it. Sometimes they wonder about my camera equipment, and why I use several lenses on my camera. But the interesting thing is they know how to keep distance to show respect and also not to disturb.

The cross-generational composition of the visitors makes coffeehouses unique places in contemporary Tabriz, providing arenas for socio-cultural interchanges on an everyday basis. This concerns the reproduction of local history as well as linguistic identity, underscoring the function of the coffeehouses as counterpublics. As distinct from the cafés, the coffeehouses override the class and generational distinctions polarising the city. The ambition to associate such places with notions of 'authentic' culture is manifested in the interior decoration and arrangement of the coffeehouses. Old pictures of the forefather of the owner, local leaders of the Constitutional Revolution, and vintage furniture contribute to root the place in local history and shared cultural codes. The sense of counter-public attachments is maintained by the informality and intimacy, embodying shared values and historical memories. Through intergenerational exchanges, historical memory, linguistic practice, and social imagination assemble, as will be developed in the following section.

4.3. Cultural-Linguistic Resistance

Verbal interaction and cultural-linguistic identity are important aspects of the distinctive character of the coffeehouses. Socialising rather than drinking tea or smoking *hookah* is the main interest of the regulars. Conversation, Oldenburg (1989, p. 27) points out, is the most "communal mode of connection" and "engages the members on various personal and collective levels." But in the context of Azerbaijan, such functions attain a particular baring.

Language regulation has been central in the state's efforts to homogenise Iranian society and manufacture a unified 'national identity,' before as well as after the Islamic Revolution of 1979, as non-Persian mother tongues are banned from public education. In the Azerbaijan region of Iran, the Azerbaijani–Turkish language is spoken in private, daily exchanges, while excluded from all official capacities. In reaction to such politics of marginalisation, Azerbaijan in recent years has witnessed invigorated bottom-up efforts to dynamise the vitality of the local language. Cultural production has seen a distinct revival through publications of books, magazines, and podcasts in Azerbaijani–Turkish, despite all limitations and disruptions. Also, theatre and music groups in Azerbaijani–Turkish are receiving increasing recognition. In this context, the coffeehouses play a crucial role in preserving and developing the Turkic culture and language.

One of the pre-modern traditions within coffeehouses was storytelling, particularly during long winter nights. A humorous and talented member of the coffeehouse community, versed in the repertoire of folklore or humorous stories, acted as the sole speaker. Also, peripatetic music players (*Ashiq*) were visiting coffeehouses, playing the *saaz* and singing epic folklore songs for money. The performer acted from the centre of the room, while the visitors gathered around him. This theatrical scenic arrangement is reproduced in the interior organisation of the coffeehouses, furnished along the interior walls and leaving the centre empty. This, in turn, facilitates verbal interaction with adjacent visitors as well as guests on the other side of the room. While the storytelling tradition has waned with modernisation, the interior arrangement of the coffeehouses remains intact, and the still peripatetic *Ashiq* occasionally perform during religious celebrations. Furthermore, the opportunity to partake of folklore, deep-rooted idiomatic expressions and jokes of the senior visitors particularly appeals to the younger artists frequenting the coffeehouses. In the words of one graphic artist:

> I relate myself with the Grand Bazaar and its original environment and thus this coffeehouse, where I find lots of value. Meeting various groups of people of different ages and backgrounds and listening to original stories and memories told by elderlies takes me to the past. This oral history of my city inspires me in my artistic approach.

A stage artist similarly highlighted the role of the intergenerational interactions and knowledge sharing in the coffeehouses:

> We gather here and talk about our artistic projects. We usually share our recent productions by reading our pieces out loud and asking others to give us feedback. The elderlies listen to us very carefully. They often correct us linguistically or remind us of the equal synonym form of the word if it is an old vocabulary.

In the coffeehouses, every topic and conversation can easily turn into a humorous story. In such a playful spirit (Oldenburg, 1989), every visitor of the coffeehouse becomes involved. All the same, the playfulness rests on subtle boundary drawings. It differentiates insider from outsider, playing on unwritten yet firm distinctions, linguistic codes, and behavioural patterns incorporated by the regulars. The threshold for entering into this community can be high and connected to notions of security and trust (which will be developed hereafter). Even so, the social texture of the coffeehouses can expand and develop, as illustrated with the recent cross-generational and cross-professional interchanges.

In this process, coffeehouses become arenas for resistance against the hegemonic imposition and assimilation through cultural-linguistic Persianification. Then again, such potentially emancipating dynamics take place in a (more or less) mono-gendered environment, hence also reproducing broader patterns of gender segregation and sexism, despite (or perhaps enforced through) the intergenerational dynamics.

4.4. Building Trust and Everyday Ethics for Survival

Demanding the right of mother tongue schooling in official education has been a central agenda for Azerbaijani civil society in Iran, whilst it has been regarded as a security concern by the state authorities. In such a highly constrained political environment, where local identities are subject to marginalisation and public life is subject to systematic state monitoring, coffeehouses become arenas for 'non-collective' 'non-movements' (Bayat, 2010). As counterpublics, the coffeehouses allow subordinated groups to assert agency and political imaginations through mundane practices. They function as safe havens where precarious segments of the population may nurture cultural distinctions and quietly encroach the socio-political boundaries with limited public exposure. Resistance against state hegemony finds shape in cultural survival mechanisms (Moeini et al., 2018, p. 5). How, then, are safety and trust established within the coffeehouses?

While the coffeehouses are public institutions, their publicness remains in flux. This flexibility allows them to occasionally function as exclusive and protected places. Unlike the branded and Westernised cafés, the low social and spatial profile of the coffeehouses obscures them from the monitoring gaze of the state. In this context, the owner of the coffeehouse often assumes a key role in the construction of the social and political atmosphere of the place, building security and safety from within. The owner may define the specific rules for the coffeehouse as an additional layer to the broadly recognised cultural rules and manners of the institutions ('regulating' the habitus of tea and *hookah* serving, smoking habits, sitting hierarchies). He selects the 'proper' visitors according to his own ethics, beliefs, and values. The role of the owner, however, varies among the establishments. In larger coffeehouses with more employees such as Ba, the community is less closely-knit and the owner takes no role as overseer. All the same, safety mechanisms and distinctions of insider/outsider are established here too, within the texture of various groups of regulars.

In the smaller coffeehouse with a more limited clientele, however, the owner takes a direct role in overseeing the social environment. He keeps a close, friendly, and captivating relationship with the inner circle, which is a significant component in the feeling of homeliness, according to the participants. Thus, as a result of mutual friendship and observance of hierarchal patterns, a strong web of trust is built between the regulars and the owner. Although strangers are welcome to drop in, they are scarcely accepted among the insiders. When deemed necessary, the owner may reject a visitor, something which is considered essential for the safety of the place. To quote a graphic designer's words:

> The rejection of the stranger—who might be a spy sent from the authorities—may happen obliquely and carefully such as avoiding serving *hookah* in order to make the stranger stay shorter. This manner creates a close circle of confidence inside the coffeehouse between the owner and us.

The owner's characteristics and attitudes are important parameters for the choice of frequenting a specific coffeehouse. More importantly, as the bonding between trusted members, owner, and place tightens, the regulars themselves come to take active responsibility for the security of the place. This creates a sense of collective care, vis-à-vis the place as well as the community. Many participants emphasised their interest in preserving the coffeehouse institutions and the socio-cultural norms and social ties which come with them. The sense of belonging resulting from such shared values can surface in practical undertakings, such as participating in the physical maintenance of the place and helping the social care of the regulars. In this capacity, coffeehouses provide informal social services, support, and solidarity, particularly for members with lower incomes and lack of support from the state. One of the long-standing traditions of coffeehouses is the aid for community members or their relatives in need. A 50-year-old participant who had frequented the place for more than 30 years echoed this view:

> The relationships are friendly with a high degree of intimacy and respect to each other's socio-economic situation. For example, if someone is absent one day, others call him to check if everything is fine with him, if someone is sick, we may go to visit, or if someone needs money we collect some money to help. These kinds of activities make the coffeehouse a place different than other places; people care about each other.

Or, as voiced by a young teacher:

> I have seen that the owner starts to collect money from the members for someone who is in need. No one asks for the reason or rejects. There is a high level of trust among people and toward the owner. I trust these people and this system more than the governmental charity institutions. Sometimes we even help the owner to repair the broken parts of the coffeehouse. We help him because we feel that this place belongs to us.

As is clear from the above, being a regular is paramount in the coffeehouses. The approval of owner and reg-

ulars establishes trustworthiness. This acceptance may depend on several parameters, but chief among them is frequent presence, social involvement, and respectful conduct, especially concerning elderlies. Showing openness to others creates a sense of familiarity, trust, reliability, and care within the community of regulars. The delineation of insiders versus outsiders, the tacit socio-cultural agreements, the mutual recognition and engagement of communal as well as individual needs hence constitute distinct coffeehouse ethics, observed and sustained on an everyday basis. Not only does frequenting the coffeehouse build on such norms, to draw on Cresswell (1996, p. 25), coffeehouse becomes the 'place' where social norms, definitions of rule, and deviance are produced. This specialisation of ethics or site of ethical responsibility (Popke, 2009) becomes the key component for constituting the coffeehouse as a safe place of counter-public sociability, solidarity, and resistance.

5. Concluding Note

The coffeehouses in this study function as counterpublics catering to cultural and ethnic-linguistic survival and everyday resistance, in the context of restricted public life and homogenising state policies. The limited public visibility, homeliness, and informality of the places coupled with cross-generational care and attachments make coffeehouses unique social institutions in contemporary Tabriz. Based on shared values and collective memory, owner and visitors contribute to the emplacement of socio-cultural meaning and identity. Such emplacement is upheld through everyday ethics, group affiliation, and othering, also contributing to a sense of security. In the politically constrained context of Iran, resistance and opposition in the coffeehouses hence surface as 'non-collective' 'non-movements' (Bayat, 2010). In this way, to draw on the concept of James Hoslton, marginalised ethnic groups configure new spaces of 'insurgent citizenship' (Holston, 1995).

Despite such emancipatory potentials of the coffeehouses, however, they remain mono-gendered social environments and hence problematical in any qualified sense as inclusive "subaltern counterpublics" (Fraser, 1990, p. 67). Despite the increasing access and political initiative of women in Iranian education and social activism of recent years, systematic control and legislation as well as broader cultural norms continue to severely constrain women's publicness. In this respect, coffeehouses are no exceptions. In Iran in general, and in non-Persian regions in particular, places asserting women's right to the city through public political action continue to be elusive.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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About the Author

Laleh Foroughanfar is an Architect and Urban Designer by training and currently a PhD candidate at Lund University. In her PhD thesis, she explores the everyday life of a post-industrial peripheral street emerging from the intersections of global migration and urban marginalisation in Malmö, Sweden. With a point of departure in critical ethnographty, the thesis elucidates negotiations and spatial interventions in processes of place-making among migrants, in relation to neo-liberal capitalism and precarious urbanism.

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Article

Guilt-Tripping: On the Relation between Ethical Decisions, Climate Change and the Built Environment

Paulina Prieto de la Fuente

Department of Architecture and Built Environment, Lund University, 223 62 Lund, Sweden;
E-Mail: paulina.prieto_de_la_fuente@arkitektur.lth.se

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Abstract
The curiosity of how the built environment, implicitly and explicitly, affects how citizens and users make choices in their everyday life related to climate change is on the rise. If there is a nicely designed bike lane, the choice to bike to work is much more easily taken than if the only option is a densely trafficked road. But which responsibility does the built environment have for citizens to be as climate neutral as possible and, in extension, who should it burden? Is it the individual user, the designer, the planner, the policymaker or global politics? Media is playing an important and complicated role here; it works both as a source of information and as a trigger, instigating both feelings of guilt, fear, and shame in order to set change in motion. In this article, I will discuss everyday climate-related decision-making fuelled by shame and guilt, drawing on Judith Butler's writings on ethical obligations and narrating it with findings from a mapping study of daily transportation routes that I conducted in a middle-class suburb outside of Lund, in Sweden. There appears to be a dissonance between the relatively high knowledge about one's responsibility concerning climate change and the limited space to manoeuvre in everyday life. Even though shame and guilt may be driving forces to make decisions, the possibility to imagine and to change needs to be expanded.

Keywords
built environment; climate change; climate ethics; ethical responsibility; guilt; shame; urban design

Issue
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1. Introduction

> For reasons unfathomable to the most experienced prophets in Maycomb County, autumn turned to winter that year. We had two weeks of the coldest weather since 1885, Atticus said. Mr Avery said it was written in the Rosetta Stone that when children disobeyed their parents, smoked cigarettes and made war on each other, the seasons would change: Jem and I were burdened with the guilt of contributing to the aberrations of nature, thereby causing unhappiness to our neighbours and discomfort to ourselves. (Lee, 1960/2002, p. 72)

This is a fictional quote that expresses popular belief and burdens children with guilt. By doing so, it neatly captures the topics that this article wishes to discuss: the level of responsibility that lands on the users of the built environment concerning climate matters and how shame can play a role in everyday decision-making. This article is driven by a curiosity concerning how the built environment, implicitly and explicitly, affects how citizens and users make choices in their everyday life related to climate change. If there is a nicely designed bike lane, the choice to bike to work is much more easily taken if the only option is a densely trafficked road. But what is the role of the built environment in encouraging citizens to be as climate neutral as possible and, in extension, where should this responsibility be placed? Buildings, roads, walls, bridges and other built elements can connect, disconnect, produce and perform through their use and thereby become important actors in many

everyday choices as they are activated in social and political settings (Yaneva, 2017, p. 72).

Catastrophic images and reports communicated by the media might be overwhelming, leaving us with a desire to act and to change quickly. In *Precarious Life*, Judith Butler (2004, 2011) writes about the rage and grief invoked in individuals through images of war reported by the media, she wonders if we must be overwhelmed to act (Butler, 2011, p. 3). In this article, I will discuss how shame and guilt may contribute to climate-related decision-making in everyday life. I will follow Butler's line of reasoning on ethical obligations and narrate it with findings from a mapping study of daily transportation routes that I conducted in a middle-class suburb outside of Lund, in Sweden. A tentative finding in the empirical study is that the respondents, in general, had a relatively high awareness of their responsibility concerning climate change and a rather narrow possibility of change in their everyday lives. This discrepancy must be addressed, and room must be made to increase the possibility of making climate-friendly adjustments in transportation routes.

2. Everyday Transportation

The mapping study took place in Stångby, which is an expanding village north of Lund, in the south of Sweden. Figure 1 shows a view over the newest part with residential single housing. First, in May 2019, a flyer was distributed in residents' mailboxes with information about the study and a call for participants. Out of the 200 flyers, 10 people answered that they wanted to take part. A few weeks later, in June 2019, I went back to distribute the packs with maps and questionnaires, I handed out 40 packs in total, to the ones that had responded to the call and to people I had talked to during my observational visits to the location. I gave some of the respondents' double packs, encouraging them to pass one of them on to a partner, a neighbour or a friend. The packs included maps in two scales; one focused on the area of Stångby and Lund, and one zooming out to include a larger region with Malmö in the south and Landskrona in the north. The instructions were to map out everyday routes in different colours depending on whether it was work-, consumption- or leisure-related and to make notes of what time and what type of transportation was used from Monday to Sunday, consecutively. There was also a questionnaire included in the pack with questions about decisions concerning transportation and a prepaid envelope to send the material back to me. I received 14 packs back with maps that were filled out between June and September. In this article, I will mainly use examples from the questionnaires and comments made in the margins on the maps. I have also followed letters to the editor concerning climate change and everyday life in the Swedish newspapers (mainly *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*

Figure 1. The view from the north entrance to Stångby. Source: Author.

and also *Dagens Nyheter*). I am using the empirical material from the mapping study qualitatively. The sample is rather small and could perhaps be considered biased since the packs were distributed to some extent between friends and family. In this article, the material is used mainly to contribute with situatedness to a wider ethical discussion.

3. Ethical Obligations

It is important to bear in mind that climate change is an international and intergenerational problem that strikes differently over space and time, and even if it is a problem for everyone, it is far from just. The western world is responsible for a major part of CO_2 emissions, however, at the moment, the effects are more acute in, for example, countries of the African continent (Williston, 2019, p. 71). Butler's discussion on ethical obligations in hard times is based on war, specifically violence sanctioned by the US government in the years after the attacks on the Twin Towers in New York on September 11th, 2001. Butler's reasoning is based on the individual citizen's responsibility, drawing on the work of Emmanuel Levinas and Hannah Arendt. Still, it does not allow anyone to be singled out but, on the contrary, to always be bounded in relation to the other (Butler, 2004, 2011, 2016). Even if the geographical distance spans over continents, we have ethical obligations to one another, we also have ethical obligations to the ones in our proximity, even those with whom we did not choose to live (Butler, 2011, p. 15). By writing this, she claims that what happens nearby also happens far away, and that involuntary cohabitation is prerequisite for equality but also precarity.

Butler describes how anger and grief can be dangerous if used as an excuse for governments or people in power to make hasty decisions, ideas that are also relevant in a discussion on ethical obligations concerning climate change. If grieving is to be feared, the fears can, in turn, become starting points for impulsive decision-making and quick fixes, leading to the elusive idea of restoring everything to a former order, or rather a fantasy that the world was once orderly (Butler, 2004, p. 29).

I am humble to the fact that the translation from war to climate change may not be immediate, but many of the preconditions are similar. For example, the issues of distance and proximity, even if the effects of our pollution do not necessarily have a direct effect on our everyday life, we are informed by the media, measurements, scientists, that there are effects that affect somebody else's everyday life. Carbon pollution does not respect national or political boundaries (Williston, 2019, p. 70) and that knowledge in itself should come with ethical obligations.

In some countries, the effects of climate change are so severe that it makes places unliveable and causes migration (Williston, 2019, p. 17). As in war, there is a shared precariousness that comes with the uncertainty of what effects we will witness in the near future and where it will strike hardest. Whereas war usually plays out between two or more nation-states and alliances, climate change defies national borders; it is global and will affect us all to different degrees. The inequality inherent in war—some lives matter and others do not—is also important to reflect upon in relation to climate change; whose lives are and will be protected and whose are not considered grievable (Butler, 2004, p. 32).

While Butler is focused on the perspective of the human, I will extend the focus to also incorporate non-human elements, in this case, the built environment, taking some inspiration from an Actor-Network approach (Latour, 2005; Yaneva, 2009), as well as from Donna Haraway's 'Sympoiesis' (Haraway, 2016, p. 58), which means being creative together. Haraway argues that there is an urgent need for reshaping and moving the boundary between the 'critters' of planet earth and to work collectively for everyone to be able to coexist. According to Yaneva, non-human actors play a vital role in everyday decision-making by mediating agency, connecting, disconnecting, performing and enacting the different realities that make up everyday life.

The built environment and its thingy nature become a political actor when facilitating or hindering important decisions concerning climate change (Latour, 2017; Yaneva, 2017). For example, a bike lane mediates controversies that surround the built environment, its pedagogical possibilities, and the shift to climate-friendly lifestyles. Following a reinforced surface unfolds the various quotidian life situations where it operates and the many controversies (Yaneva, 2012) it takes part in, materializing wider notions such as safety and time planning in the everyday. Albena Yaneva writes about the building as a microcosmos (Yaneva, 2012, p. 26), which is a way to describe architecture as networks that consist of different actors, both human and non-human, that change over time. By tracing these networks, we learn not only about what the built environment does but also how it teaches us to behave in a situation. Even if these are different perspectives, they share the view that our lives are dependent on boundedness, to other humans and also non-humans, that is non-communitarian, that somehow distorts the idea of proximity and distance and that places focus on the boundary itself rather than what it potentially separates and unites, a moral bond (Butler, 2004, p. 49; Haraway, 2016, p. 31; Yaneva, 2017, p. 29). These perspectives are important to the discussion of the responsibility of the individual and how she forms different assemblages that incorporate for example shame associated with climate-related decision-making and how responsibility is somewhat shifting between humans and non-humans.

Primarily on social media such as Instagram and Facebook, environmental activists in Sweden have introduced the phenomenon of *flygskam*, which translates from Swedish to flight shame (Larsson, 2019; Mkono, 2019). It is an initiative aiming to make an individual feel ashamed for their habits associated with a cer-

tain, more affluent lifestyle. In response to this, many Instagram users chose to show off their holiday travels by train instead.

Even if there is a risk of misinformation on both sides of the climate change debate, a tension is embodied in the social media and media coverage of activist Greta Thunberg (Jung, Petkanic, Nan, & Hyun Kim, 2020), via whom a rising awareness of the general public has developed. The knowledge that drastic changes need to be made quickly to meet the requirements to lower CO_2 emissions globally according to the Paris Agreement can cause 'eco-anxiety,' a high level of stress in the individual (Mkono, 2019). It emerges as a consequence of the clash between doomsday scenarios on the one hand and the unwillingness in some people to inform oneself on the other.

Within the debate on flight shame, it has been suggested that the ones that really should reconsider their lifestyle concerning climate change did not seem to care or understand their part. People tend to be optimistic and unaware of what part their individual lives play in the big picture. This aligns with the so-called 'optimism bias,' which means that we are less likely to believe that something bad will happen to ourselves than to someone else (Sharot, 2011). In some situations, this is helpful, but in this case, it complicates the understanding of our responsibility towards climate change. On the one end, there is the idea that every individual needs to act and change now and, on the other, there are the ones who feel that it does not matter at all what they do and that the responsibility lies elsewhere. The latter, expressed by an agitated participant in my survey, who also pointed to the very important point that everyone has different circumstances in their life that play important roles in everyday decision-making.

The responsibility to change rests on various shoulders: the individual, society, politicians, culture and so on, and it is, however, an ethical dilemma that links to care. Peg Rawes, drawing on Spinoza's writings on the 'common,' an aesthetic of care and wellbeing that he sees in shared patterns of human relations, describes how achieving a sense of wellbeing is not just a job for the individual citizen but also a greater concern for the larger group (Rawes, 2013, p. 51). Rawes studies the works of conceptual artist Agnes Denes who, for example, planted the *Wheatfield: A Confrontation* in Battery Park New York in the early 1970s as a critique and commentary on capitalist construction (Rawes, 2013, p. 41). Rawes sees a need, especially in urban environments, for mental as well as physical aspects of architecture to be addressed to achieve more general welfare in society (Rawes, 2013). To take care of one's own decision-making or one's dwelling can be motivated by how others take care of theirs. Maria Puig de la Bellacasa explains two important elements in care, the first is the aspect of an emotional connection to something and the second is the work associated with taking care of something (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017, p. 42). The aspects of care are relevant both to decision-making itself and the potential affects that drive it.

In the questionnaires that I handed out, half of the respondents state that they have made transportation decisions prompted by climate shame and that their resolution to that problem has been firstly, to try as much as possible to use public transportation and secondly, to try to be clever when they use the car: pick up kids, do some shopping, and run errands so that they are efficient and minimise the frequency of car use. Why is it then that 9 out of 10 state that the car is the most used transportation means in their everyday life and that only 5 out of 14 are happy about that decision? Figure 2 depicts a vehicle situation for a resident of the part of Stångby built in the 1960s.

4. The Bike Lane

To somewhat set the scene, let me describe a typical bike ride based on a route to work that one of the respondents recorded in the maps, a route that shared many similarities with the other bicycle commuters. It departs from the home and the destination is the workplace. When the commute begins, it passes through a residential area where the traffic is shared, an occasional car will appear, pedestrians of different ages walk by, its rhythm varies due to traffic lights, a tunnel, speed bumps, and so on. Upon arrival at the actual bike lane, the speed increases and consideration needs to be shown mainly to other cyclists, the bike lane runs parallel to the railroad, and a passing train might make a brief follower on the journey. Approaching the denser urban area, the bike lane narrows and the mix of modes of transportation presents itself anew. The bike lane continues for a bit, though narrower and with interruptions like pedestrian crossings and road crossings. The final stretch of the journey to work is on a street, through a park, crossing a major road with cars and public transport, and finally arriving at the bike stand next to the entrance to the workplace.

The trajectory described is accounted for in Figure 3 where the respondents' Wednesday routes are marked out superimposing one another. This example presents a problem-free day, where the choice to cycle is easily taken. Still, what are the circumstances that make the car such a common means of transportation? In the questionnaires and the comments in the margins of the maps, different problems were explained as reasons, such as the weather, temporal aspects, traffic problems, safety and issues related to the private economy. In the south of Sweden, where this study was conducted, the main obstacle given by the weather is wind, cold and rain, but some years, snow and ice may also cause problems for cyclists. The intention to cycle was a choice that would decrease one's carbon footprint, but it was hindered by the discomfort due to the climate. It is often argued that with the right attire, the weather is not an obstacle, but for many people it still is, and the weather has

Figure 2. Cars in a driveway in the part of Stångby that was built in the 1960s. Source: Author.

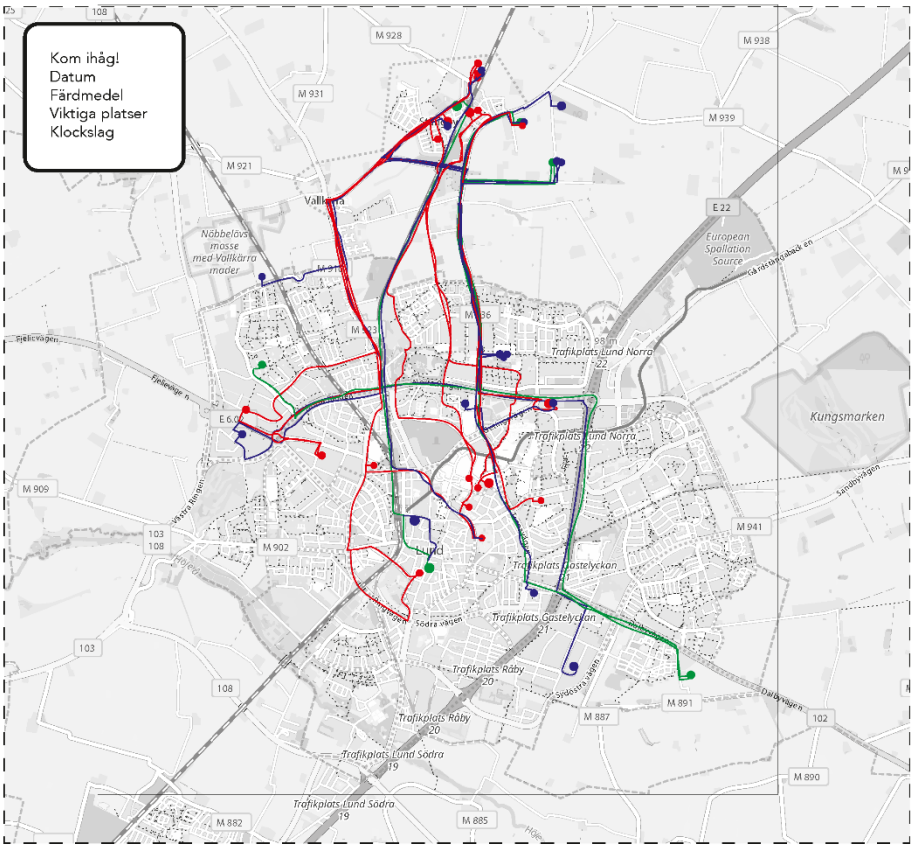

Figure 3. One of the maps from Wednesday, tracking the various routes of the respondents. Source: Author.

always been challenging occasionally. The weather is a contingent and complicating factor in everyday decision-making, the choice to bike was taken from a place of care, for the planet and fellow inhabitants, both human and non-human. Where does the responsibility land here? One could say that it lands, at least to a certain extent, on designers and planners. There are microclimatic adjustments to be made in the built environment. However, many people will choose the car before the bicycle anyway, at least on a windy day with temperatures below 10 degrees.

Another aspect that affects choices made concerning daily transportation is time; it has most frequently come up in the respondents' answers as rush hours, evening/night, weekends and as a shortage of time/perceived stress. It was a dominant factor in decision-making related to public transport versus the car, where issues of public transport timetables, cancellations and crowdedness surfaced. Temporal aspects concerning riding the bike mainly addressed questions of security, of feeling unsafe riding in the dark and in deserted places at night or having to bike on shared roads with heavy traffic during rush hours. In this example, the responsibility is somewhat clearer, it is possible for policymakers, designers, planners, employers to work towards greater comfort by using means such as prioritisation, budgeting, working with lighting, scheduling, etc. These adjustments would benefit from looking at the built environment and its spaces concerning typical temporal situations such as rush hours. Puig de la Bellacasa writes: "Personal lives are both affected by what a world values and considers relevant *and* transformable through collective action. Thinking of practices of everyday care as a necessary activity to the maintenance of every world makes them a collective affair" (2017, p. 160). Along the lines of Puig de la Bellacasa, one could argue that choosing the bike is not only a personal preference but that if biking is fought for and made space for, it is also an act of environmental care.

5. The Bike Ride That Did Not Happen

There are some challenges to the daily transportation planning that is executed in the home. Traffic problems, especially for cars and public transport, contribute to decision making. In this case, the bike ride might be an alternative to the car or public transport. A recurring theme from informants is that they decide to choose something other than their preferred means of transportation due to fear of, for example, running late to a meeting or missing out on pick-up from school. This theme could couple with the temporal and is an example of moving responsibility, originating in the individual decision which is based on the fact that a bike lane exists and makes the ride possible. To use the terminology of Actor Network Theory, the built environment prescribes a certain mode of transportation via its material design, in relation to the climate change debate, even a moral mode of transport (Yaneva, 2009, p. 277). But at the same time, through its lack of certain elements, in the case of public transport punctuality or in the case of bike riding safety, it negates its own prescription and destabilises as a network (Latour, 1997, p. 176). The bike lane is not used for cycling even if it still exists as a material entity because it is perceived as unsafe.

The delegation of responsibility moves from the built world to actors such as policymakers, designers, planners and employers. The issue of safety was touched upon in relation to temporal aspects in some of the questionnaire's answers, though it does not present itself as the decisive force. Even if there is an ambition to choose alternatives to the car, if there is no bike lane and the road is narrow and densely trafficked, riding a bike or walking is not even an option. Again, the responsibility lies with the municipality and with designers. However, for them to even know the problem exists or that there is a wish for a bike lane to be built, civil organisations, activists, citizens and design-user-dialogues play important roles. In some cases, one is limited by expenses, the cost of public transport, of switching to a low-emission car, of buying an electric bicycle. One could argue that the responsibility is on the individual or politicians, on the municipality, large companies, or on employers. What becomes apparent in this situation is how limiting the network around the individual can be, and how this is the point where questions of social justice concerning new climate-friendly lifestyles are difficult to dodge. Who benefits from what we build and what resources does the individual need to make use of it? There is ethical potential in mapping the spatiotemporal assemblages that are shaped in relation to the cyclist because they show deficits in the designscapes of everyday transportation and social equality, what Rawes would call 'difference-relations' (Rawes, 2013, p. 52). Figure 4 shows a house from the old part of Stångby, dating back to the early 1900s with bicycles parked outside the entrance.

All these obstacles to decision making produce a different affect. Shame and guilt are important, shame focuses more on the self and pushes us towards feeling bad whereas guilt is the notion of not being good in relation to other people; it pushes us to act morally. In some of the above examples, the individual is left with a sense of disempowerment, both towards the self but also in relation to other people. A dissonance emerges in the decision-making process as feelings of empowerment, good intentions and control are swayed by uncertainties in the context.

In the book *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* Judith Butler (2016) connects guilt and the fears related to survivability. She wonders which decisions and actions we allow ourselves when our lives are threatened. She writes: "If guilt poses a question for the human subject, it is not first and foremost a question of whether one is leading the good life, but of whether life will be liveable at all" (Butler, 2016, p. 45). It accounts for a pro-

Figure 4. Bicycles parked outside a house in the old part of Stångby. Source: Author.

cess of moralisation. If one experiences guilt when faced with the possibility of ruining the lives of the ones with whom/which one is bounded, it is because of the instinct to protect one's own life. In the event of destruction of the life of the other, the one that my survival depends on, my destructive behaviour destroys not only someone else's but also my own chances to survive.

Guilt appears to incite a desire to self-help rather than a moral attitude towards the other. Even if feelings are activated towards fellow inhabitants, guilt appears deeply connected to the self (Butler, 2016). War operates on shorter timespans than climate change. However, the moral dilemma is shared between the problem realms. If I, coming from a place of discomfort or fear, act hastily and, for example, decide to preserve my lifestyle, I might cause harm somewhere else and over the years this harm will potentially come back to me.

The built environment is an important actor in the process, as it might just as well underscore a decision as it might make a decision completely impossible to carry out. In most cases, it provides both possibilities and problems. Let us stay with the bike lane. For example, in the situation with the bad weather, the bike lane lies there so the built environment complies with the decision to ride a bike. However, the icy wind makes the journey so unpleasant that the plan is discarded. It is possible for design elements and technological advancement to make the experience nicer, but a major issue of the built fabric might be distance; the length of the commute is decisive as to whether or not one will endure the climate or not. So, it is a question of how things are built, but foremost of how they are laid out in relation to one another and how creative the individual can be in terms of adjusting the day to, for example, work closer to the home or not. For example, the opportunity to be flexible and work from home on days with harsh weather can then form part of the bike riding program and the choice to cycle as a moral act for the future of the planet can be sustained. Albena Yaneva writes:

> Design makes us gain access to the social, but it is a molecularised social, discovered in individual objects, users, designers and inventors. If many individual users like me do not repeat what design has implied, nothing remains of the social. (Yaneva, 2009, p. 282)

For the bike order to be socially upheld, the network relations between the material elements of the bike ride and its repeated use needs to incorporate flexibility. The responsibility slides away from the individual who might be shameful for not choosing the bike, even if most of us are rather powerless when faced with some of the circumstances.

According to answers in questionnaires and comments written on the maps, the time-related hinders to using the bike lane are connected to the individual and

are more likely to invoke guilt considering how these choices are usually made in relation to oneself and based on perhaps fear of the dark, discomfort in crowds, the stress of having a busy life with many activities and so on. Even though there is a bike lane, the bike remains unused in the stand. Numerous urban design strategies could enable a more climate-friendly decision regarding transportation, for example, to work with lighting, openness, a mix of activities but this example also shows how intricate the relationship between the built environment and the responsibility of for example policy and employers is. Flexibility and autonomy are important to be able to make the best use of the bike lane in relation to these problems. Traffic problems were reported to cause a lot of stress in everyday life, the discomfort of being in a tight situation and the fear of not making it in time for meetings for example. However, in the answers, this is mentioned mostly concerning cars and public transport and can therefore be the element that pushes towards taking the bicycle instead, depending on how far your day-to-day destination is.

The response with less embedded dissonance that came up several times was safety. If an option is better for the climate but means risking your life, it does not chafe very much, 'I could make a choice, but I am not able to execute it.' Cycling or walking is not an alternative if there is no safe way. The last example that was mentioned in the questionnaires is about the private economy in the responses expressed as 'I would prefer to choose differently but I cannot afford it.' A structural and common problem especially in everyday ethical consumption decisions (Hall, 2011) is that even if the built environment matches the preferred mode of transport, the individual is left feeling disempowered and perhaps shameful.

These examples show that shame can make pushes towards moral decisions and that the built environment plays an important role in the possibility to make changes in everyday transportation. To make changes in your life might require a time of mourning for the past while welcoming the present, a sense of loss that becomes necessary for transformation to take place (Butler, 2004, p. 21). An asphalted stretch of road gives information about the interconnections between material architectural elements and the small and large networks that our daily lives are made up of. Shame can push us towards trying something new and guilt reminds us of the difficulties that occur on the path between the choice to change and the final execution of the new plan.

6. Ethical Responsibility

This brings us to a discussion on the responsibility of the individual, the role of a built element such as the bike lane and the possibility for an architecture of care. The individual has responsibility for everyday life decisions but there needs to be a framework around her to enable change. In social media, the flight shaming movement has taken place, advocating new social norms in relation to one's personal carbon footprint (Gössling, Humpe, & Bausch, 2020). Examples of initiatives to lifestyle changes taken by individuals have appeared in the local newspaper with examples of how one can adjust something small like changing the speed at which you drive your car on the freeway to reduce your overall CO_2 emissions. There have also been different examples of downshifters (Juniu, 2017) who proclaim the need to place value on time rather than on commodities. Affect such as shame and guilt may be strong means to induce transition but there has to be possibilities for them to work and to not be destructive.

One way towards a common commitment to align our everyday lives in a more climate-friendly manner is to recognise that no one can escape the precarity that comes with social life, it may be considered our shared *non-foundation* (Butler, 2011, p. 21). One can push people in different directions but also need to provide possibilities for them to make changes: The relations between individuals, the built environment, and policy are intricate. This is illustrated in the different ways the bike lane mediates agency to the user and also conveyed in Figure 5 with the driveway suggesting that its owner buys a car. The media reports on wildfires, hurricanes, melting ice and plastic agglomeration can be terrifying. Butler describes it, drawing on Susan Sontag, as a way to make faraway suffering close and what is proximate far away, the images of distant suffering impose an ethical interrogation on us as viewers that compels us to treat questions of proximity. Do I contribute to the occurrence of this suffering? She means that ethical obligations span across time and space (Butler, 2016, pp. 68–69). Shifting our everyday means of transportation might be a more sustainable lifestyle for us but it can also be an act of care for the rest of the world and all its inhabitants.

By caring for someone or something, we work in relation to a larger collective, thereby adding an ethical dimension to our everyday lives (Puig de la Bellacasa, 2017, p. 160). Ethical dilemmas may arise out of the ordinary (La Cecla & Zanini, 2013), in this study via a sample of weeks of someone's daily transportation routes. Whether one acknowledges it or not, there is a moral bond between human beings, the ones that exist in close physical proximity and the ones that are far away. It is tempting to use a broad-brushed 'we' here but let us try to resist it and remain focused for the concluding part of the text. Judith Butler argues that the precondition for the 'we' is to find out how we are interconnected as fellow humans (Butler, 2004, p. 49). For me to understand who you are and to get to know you, I must lose myself and rebuild myself in relation to the other, this process takes place repeatedly throughout life. The city is described similarly by Albena Yaneva (2017, p. 91) as multiple realities that are reproduced in different contexts over and over again.

As citizens, we need to understand the connections that we take part in on different levels, different spa-

Figure 5. Single-family housing in the part of Stångby built in the 1960s, where every single unit has a driveway to park the car. Source: Author.

tialities and different temporalities. This article suggests that we may start with what is right in front of us: the bike lane. My actions have many different effects simultaneously; what I decide to do in my everyday life is inevitably a part of someone else's life, my decisions form a boundary for me and at the same time an adjacency to the other (Butler, 2011). It is important to understand this in decision-making processes. How I articulate myself as a subject becomes important in relation to the world around me (Butler, 2004, p. 44) and thereby my actions and their effects on the close and distant world. Shame can be a functional tool to raise awareness of my role in larger processes but can also underscore a sense of powerlessness if it is difficult to carry out a transformation. There appears to sometimes be a dissonance between the level of knowledge about the role that I have acquired concerning climate change and the space in my everyday life to change.

7. Concluding Remarks

With Covid-19, the beginning of 2020 has interestingly shown how fast a large transition can be made once the policy is in place. Possibilities open up for employers and individuals to adjust their everyday routines and facilitate changes that can be climate-friendly such as avoiding frequent long-distance travelling, flexibility to work from home and to learning new ways to be social. Nevertheless, the planning, design and construction of roads, bike lanes, parking lots, bus lanes, stations, benches, and so on need to be synchronised with larger systems for citizens to be able to make climate-friendly transportation decisions in their everyday life.

Although the sample in the empirical study was relatively small, some aspects turned out to be more important than others in relation to the specific suburb that I have studied. For the majority of participants who responded, transportation possibilities had been a parameter upon deciding to move there. Access to public transportation and the relatively short distance to Lund were crucial points. Most of the respondents had both the means and strong ambitions in terms of reducing their ecological footprint through transportation but still many felt that for different reasons such as synchronisation of activities, costs or security, that they were highly dependent on the car. Another somewhat banal, but still very important, result is that in the absence of a bike lane, most of the respondents did not ride a bike even if they would have liked to. However, as this discussion has shown, the bike lane moves in and out of different socio-material assemblages over time. Even if cycling was the main mode of transport, it would not be the only means of transport in the respondents' everyday. Daily transportation has here presented itself not as a mere

spatial problem but also a temporal one and it appears as if there is need for a synchronised arsenal of accessible climate-friendly options to transport. In total, there are improvements to be made for the residents of Stångby and other similar places.

One aspect that seems interesting to investigate further concerning future ethical living spaces might be time-planning. Time-planning was introduced to address problems within the complex urban landscape such as crowding, gridlocks, accessibility and so on (Fernandes et al., 2015; Mareggi, 2002). My study suggests that these kinds of initiatives could perhaps be put to use more explicitly also when it comes to everyday life choices relating to sustainable development and a way of living that addresses the gap that arises between climate-friendly intentions on the one hand and everyday life hindrances on the other. Working with temporal aspects would facilitate flexibility. The view that time is inseparable from architecture (Till, 2009, p. 116) is a way to understand how transition is not necessarily about tearing something down and replacing it with something new but rather about acknowledging how it, for example, is and can be used differently over time, shifting throughout the day, the week, a month, a year and so on. Thus, planning must be complemented with a focus on material design. In Sweden, safety issues have, for example, made it into planning but have also affected urban design on quite detailed levels, discussing both problems that spring from asymmetric power relations (Listerborn, 2002, 2015), and connecting these to practical directives including maintenance of shrubbery, light design, etc. Something similar might be necessary if we would like to address the ethical concerns regarding everyday decision-making brought up in this article. Different entities of the built environment, including paving materials, shelters for the wind, etc., are important actors if we want to stabilise the bike trip as a recurrent event. This cannot be left to planning to handle but needs to be materialised and designed on different scale levels.

An architecture of care (Rawes, 2013, p. 52) should be designed departing from individuals' and society's needs and, when in place, it holds a pedagogical potential to show possibilities concerning how to structure everyday life. The back and forth movement between use and planning is important for design not to give way solely to nudging (French, 2011). Urban design can play a role by being discussed contextually. The bike lane has shown how the relationship between the user and the built environment is not a one-way affair, rather, it gives and takes and materialises repeatedly. A possible climate friendly path regarding ethical everyday interactions between the built environment and its users is inspired by the notion of 'care,' a creative togetherness, something that needs to be investigated further. The assemblages that form and vary over time, that one moves in and out of, shows that there is a shared and moving responsibility between material elements and users.

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Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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About the Author

Paulina Prieto de la Fuente has an MA in Architecture and is currently a Postdoc at the Department of Architecture and Built Environment, Lund University. Her research started in 2010 as an Assistant in a project about consumption, shopping centres, and public space. She continued with her PhD project that focused on formlessness and chronopolitics in what she calls rhythm architecture which she studied in a public square in Malmö, a city in the south of Sweden. Prieto's current research revolves around the relationship between the built environment and climate ethics.

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Article

Exploring the Potential for Just Urban Transformations in Light of Eco-Modernist Imaginaries of Sustainability

Pernilla Hagbert [1,*], Josefin Wangel [2] and Loove Broms [3,4]

[1] Department of Urban Planning and Environment, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, 100 44 Stockholm, Sweden; E-Mail: pernha@kth.se
[2] Department of Urban and Rural Development, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences, 756 51 Uppsala, Sweden; E-Mail: josefin.wangel@slu.se
[3] Department of Sustainable Development, Environmental Science and Engineering, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, 100 44 Stockholm, Sweden; E-Mail: loove@kth.se
[4] Department of Design, Interior Architecture and Visual Communication, Konstfack University of Arts, Crafts and Design, 126 26 Stockholm, Sweden

* Corresponding author

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Abstract
This article approaches urban ethics through critically examining the production and reproduction of an eco-modern socio-technical imaginary of sustainable urban development in Sweden, and the conditions and obstacles this poses for a just transformation. We see that notions of ecological modernization re-present problems of urban sustainability in ways that do not challenge the predominant regime, but rather uphold unjust power relations. More particularly, through an approach inspired by critical discourse analysis, we uncover what these problem representations entail, deconstructing what we find as three cornerstones of an eco-modern imaginary that obstruct the emergence of a more ethically-engaged understanding of urban sustainability. The first concerns which scales and system boundaries are constructed as relevant, and how this results in some modes and places of production and consumption being constructed as more efficient—and sustainable—than others. The second cornerstone has to do with what resources and ways of using them (including mediating technologies) are foregrounded and constructed as more important in relation to sustainability than others. The third cornerstone concerns the construction of subjectivities, through which some types of people and practices are put forth as more efficient—and sustainable—than others. Utilizing a critical speculative design approach, we explore a selection of alternative problem representations, and finally discuss these in relation to the possibility of affording a more ethical urban design and planning practice.

Keywords
eco-modern; efficiency; design; sustainability; urban transformation

Issue
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1. Introduction

Increasing attention has been given to the political and ethical implications of sustainability transformations (Agyeman & Evans, 2004; Avelino, Grin, Pel, & Jhagroe, 2016; Bradley, 2009). Already the Brundtland report (WCED, 1987) pointed to the interdependencies between social and environmental systems, emphasizing that development needs to comply with planetary boundaries, as well as consider issues of social and environmental justice. What the report failed to do, however, was to discuss to what extent such a development

is possible within the frames of a capitalist economic system. On the contrary, continued economic growth is presented as a prerequisite for sustainable development, rendering ecological modernization the only possible way forward: "It [sustainable development] requires a change in the content of growth, to make it less material and energy-intensive and more equitable in its impact" (WCED, 1987, Chapter 2, §36).

Today, more than 30 years has passed since the publication of the Brundtland report, and we now know, all too well, that ecological modernization is not sufficient. The ecology of crises (Woroniecki, 2020), including crises in ecological, social, economic, and political systems, calls for a radical transformation of society. The major societal shifts needed entail reconfiguring or completely overhauling key socio-material systems that today afford the reproduction of unsustainable modes of production and consumption (Geels, 2010; Markard, Raven, & Truffer, 2012). This includes challenging power regimes and imaginaries of what constitutes development, for whom, and in what ways (Avelino et al., 2016; Kenis, Bono, & Mathijs, 2016). It also includes challenging what Jasanoff (2018) describes as contradictory stories of prosperity and sustainability, calling attention to how disparities and social injustices within our unequal societies demand differentiated solutions for just transitions.

In spite of this, sustainability as a concept and practice continues to be characterized by what has been described as a "post-political condition" (Swyngedouw, 2007). For urban sustainability, the post-political condition entails a tendency to depoliticize the implications of upholding certain production and consumption flows in urban areas (Bradley, 2009; Hult, 2015). Another implication is an avoidance of questions regarding how resources are distributed in cities, something that has been a wide concern in urban research, not the least in the framing of urban justice and the production (and reproduction) of space and place (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2012; Fainstein, 2010; Harvey, 1973).

Previous research has underlined the need to critically examine and address the prevalent discursive structures that shape contemporary building and planning, including assumptions of continuous growth and individualized consumption (Hagbert, Mangold, & Femenías, 2013; Næss & Vogel, 2012). In this article, we build on this research and set out to examine the contemporary discourse and practice of sustainable urban development in Sweden, and how this upholds certain socio-technical imaginaries over others. The article contributes to the discussion of urban ethics as an 'ethics of urban sustainability' by showing why the problem representation of urban sustainability needs to be renegotiated and suggesting ways to do so. We here approach a critical articulation of 'just urban transformations' as a re-politicized notion of urban sustainability that is not only adaptive and inclusive, but that actively seeks to reconfigure resource flows and power relations, and that in turn demands a more ethical and reflective—rather than merely compliant—engagement with sustainable urban development.

With inspiration from critical policy analysis (Bacchi, 2009) we seek to identify and characterize what problems are represented today in sustainable urban development in Sweden, often portrayed as an international forerunner in urban sustainability. We uncover what discursive and material relations these problem representations reproduce, as well as the discursive, material and lived effects this has. Findings are synthesized into three 'cornerstones' of contemporary urban sustainability. Based on these and utilizing a critical speculative design approach to illustrate the materialization of the cornerstones in everyday life, we explore a selection of alternative problem representations, and finally discuss these in relation to the possibility of affording a more ethical urban design and planning practice.

2. Theoretical Framing

2.1. Socio-Technical Imaginaries

Originating in science and technology studies, 'socio-technical imaginaries' is a concept developed to support the analysis of how ideas of desired futures tap into the present. Jasanoff (2015, p. 4) defines socio-technical imaginaries as "collectively held, institutionally stabilized, and publicly performed visions of desirable futures, animated by shared understandings of forms of social life and social order attainable through, and supportive of, advances in science and technology."

Here we expand this perspective to a socio-*material* understanding, thus also including urban design and other materialities not typically considered 'technology' in our analysis. As part of this, we explore how the design and use of artefacts and built living environments are part of creating and recreating sense-making not only in the present, but also in relation to visions of the future. This adds to previous research on urban futures and socio-technical imaginaries, such as in the exploration and problematization of storylines of urban carbon governance (Tozer & Klenk, 2018), the notion of 'smartness' (Sadowski & Bendor, 2018), and visions of urban modernization, including the "ways in which past technologies come to shape desired urban futures" (Molden & Meehan, 2018).

2.2. A Socio-Material and Relational Understanding of the Built Environment

We thus take a socio-material and relational understanding of the built environment, seeing 'the material' (e.g., technologies, infrastructures, buildings and their spatial distribution) as an expression of discourse and social and material relations. In other words, worldviews, ideals, and systems of production and consumption shape the type of materialities we develop. To understand why fossil fuels, cars, malls, and smartphones became such ubiquitous parts of modern (urban) life, it does not suffice to

look at the technological conditions for such innovations to appear; rather, we need to consider the role they play in reproducing specific social and material relations. This takes a number of different expressions, one being that the design of urban living environments affords certain ways of being and acting in the everyday.

Murdoch (2005, p. 197) describes the need for a relational spatial understanding of what he calls "ecological actions" and the "social and spatial arrangements that will be required if such [ecological] ways of being are to be established in practice." Following a relational materialist approach, different elements of urban development need to be seen as interlinked and understood as heterogeneous, encompassing politico-economic factors and technological assumptions, as well as subjective or normative discursive perspectives. Central to our argument of urban ethics made here, we understand that what is seen as the right thing to do and the right way of doing it is a matter of cultural norms and social negotiations, adhering to or contesting established imaginaries and regimes.

Another expression of these socio-material entanglements is path-dependency (Garud, Kumaraswamy, & Karnøe, 2010), where some ways of developing a city seem to make more sense than others because they align with existing social and material relations. This path-dependency also steers how we assess what measures in the built environment are deemed relevant or not. Ultimately, this results in a self-reinforcing bias and contributes to the formation of hegemonic stories about, for example, what constitutes 'sustainable living' and 'appropriate' development (Hagbert & Bradley, 2017). The role of cities in relation to sustainability transformations also raises questions of contextualization, recognizing the diversity in spatial and institutional conditions and the networks, actors, and resources available in different geographies (Coenen, Benneworth, & Truffer, 2012).

2.3. An Ethical Approach?

As we explore in this article, assumptions of sustainable urban development are neither a given nor neutral, but constitute a matter of ethical consideration in need of further scrutiny. Jasanoff (2018, p. 13) points to the vulnerability of relying on science and technology to provide sustainability solutions, which tends to downplay the fact that "the problems we face are as much ethical and political." It also fails to recognize the institutional conditions and power relations implied and upheld in current socio-technical regimes (Avelino et al., 2016).

When it comes to defining what is considered just, it is moreover important to acknowledge the varying ontological understandings that frame different ethical approaches. As argued by van Staveren (2007), positivist economic assumptions of efficiency as a 'value-neutral' concept, for example, tend to reject all distributive concerns as 'normative'—leading to a common trade-off between efficiency and equity. Utilitarian and libertarian ethics (such as implied in conventional economic theories) do not necessarily result in the most efficient use of society's resources. What is measured (and sought after) is sub-optimal total utility maximization, and not minimizing resource use (van Staveren, 2007). Such sub-optimized interpretations also emerge in sustainable urban development projects (Hagbert et al., 2013), with a discourse on efficiency that fails to take a more holistic perspective on what should be sustained, for whom, and what is to be developed. Critiques of a growth-centered interpretation of sustainability also challenge whether this type of economic sub-optimization can ever be compatible with the socio-ecological transformations needed (Asara, Otero, Demaria, & Corbera, 2015).

Engaging with aspects of justice needs to furthermore consider both a distributional and procedural dimension, and take into consideration the values which underlie a given system of justice (Deutsch, 1975) and how these are reproduced in both the imaginaries created and in practice. This on one hand entails examining who bears the consequences of, versus who is ascribed responsibility for, current unsustainable practices and privileges. On the other hand, discussing what constitutes 'just' in urban transformations also means looking at who and what is assumed to change, as well as how and in what forms that change is conceived to happen.

Already in the framing of wicked problems, Rittel and Webber (1973) argued the insufficiency of a positivist rationale of planning providing top-down solutions to complex societal issues. Instead, planning needs to handle uncertainties and shifting understandings of societal problems as political and scientific paradigms change. Yet, a previously predominantly techno-centered notion of sustainability in housing and urban development has shaped the discourse for several decades (Hagbert et al., 2013; Jensen, Jørgensen, Elle, & Lauridsen, 2012), and continues to limit the perceived scope of action (Hagbert & Malmqvist, 2019), particularly with regards to social sustainability goals of ensuring a just distribution of power, resources, and opportunities.

For urban planning and design practices to be able to contribute to just urban transformations, we here make the point that the formulation and materialization of urban sustainability need to be renegotiated in order to acknowledge relational and ethical sensitivities. This includes addressing how to approach an ethically-engaged practice that is reflexive and critical of its own assumptions, as well as the friction points that emerge between different interests and imaginaries (Flyvbjerg, 2004; Fridlund, 2017).

3. Research Approach

3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

The research presented in this article is issue-driven (Robinson, 2008) and combines critical discourse analysis with speculative critical design. The critical discourse

analysis draws on the WPR approach ("What is the problem represented to be?" see Bacchi, 2009), and is used to identify and analyze problem representations in contemporary sustainable urban development in Sweden. WPR is developed to analyze problem representations through existing policy proposals. While a WPR of urban policy-making (as exemplified in Swedish building regulations) would reveal one layer of problem representation, here we will read urban development as policy-in-practice. This means that we see urban planners as part of the policy-making process, in line with what Tewdwr-Jones (2003) calls the "planning polity."

Here we take an approach inspired by critical discourse analysis, yet it should be understood primarily as an explorative, non-exhaustive reading of, and search for, the socio-technical imaginaries expressed in contemporary Swedish sustainable urban development. The reason for including socio-technical imaginaries in the WPR analysis is our hunch that the problem representations in sustainable urban development projects cannot solely be derived from existing policy—these projects tend to go beyond what is demanded to also suggest a notion of what is imagined, or in essence, planned for. The socio-technical imaginary can be identified primarily in visions guiding the development of new or refurbished areas, but also in how Swedish urban sustainable development is showcased in an international market. A Swedish 'brand' of urban sustainability is often seen as an international forerunner, and promoted to be exported all over the world, not least to China (Hult, 2015). Hence, critically examining the main claims of this development provides relevant insights not only for the Swedish planning context per se, but indirectly also as part of an increasingly global urban sustainability discourse and practice.

Looking at how the design of urban living environments is regulated, there are a number of targets, regulations, and recommendations to consider at local, regional, and national levels of governance. Sustainability programs for urban development projects typically also include their own sets of targets. In addition to this, the socio-technical imaginary can also be identified in calls for research and innovation projects aimed at supporting sustainable urban development at a national or local level, as well as those reproduced in planning conferences and professional networks. The empirical basis for the discourse analysis conducted here is a combination of primary and secondary data. The former primarily consists of our study of documents from ongoing urban development projects and urban policies in Sweden in the form of plans, programs, and municipal policy documents, while the latter primarily comes from previous research outlining discursive structures that re-emerge across cases in different geographical contexts. Through this reading of documents and previous research, we identify recurring themes that we then categorize into what we call three cornerstones of an eco-modern imaginary of urban sustainability.

Examples of projects and policies analyzed include what are considered 'showcase developments' of Swedish urban sustainability located in the three largest cities—Stockholm, Gothenburg and Malmö—derived from our own and other primarily qualitative research on urban development and discourses on sustainability in these contexts (Bradley, Hult, & Cars, 2013; Hagbert & Femenías, 2016; Hagbert et al., 2013; Isaksson & Heikkinen, 2018; Tahvilzadeh, Montin, & Cullberg, 2017; Wangel, 2013). These include the developments of Hammarby Sjöstad and the Royal Seaport in Stockholm, Västra Hamnen and Hyllie in Malmö, and Kvillebäcken and the larger RiverCity development in Gothenburg—representing some of the largest urban development projects in Northern Europe. Yet previous research also includes case studies of mid-sized cities that tend to echo the same type of developments, albeit often with a more limited financial range (Storbjörk & Hjerpe, 2014; Storbjörk, Hjerpe, & Isaksson, 2018). This, in addition to previous overarching research on the prerequisites for sustainability transitions in Swedish housing development, planning, and policy (Hagbert & Malmqvist, 2019; Isaksson & Hagbert, 2020), provides a broad basis for our reading of imaginaries of urban sustainability in Sweden.

3.2. Critical Speculative Design

In order to critically examine how historical and contemporary norms have shaped urban development, as well as to re-imagine and materialize alternatives, we have used—in addition to the critical discourse analysis approach outlined above—a design-driven research methodology commonly referred to as research-through-design (Frayling, 1993; Seago & Dunne, 1999). Central to a design-driven approach is the making of artefacts, through which general and abstract phenomena can be translated to the particular and everyday, and vice versa. For this article we used a specific type of design-driven research, namely critical speculative design, which is an approach in which design is used as an explorative and problem-probing tool, rather than as a tool for problem-solving (Dunne & Raby, 2013). Through critical speculative design, traditions and ideals that have become normalized to the extent of becoming 'invisible' can be brought to the surface and called into question. Here, the development of artefacts is central, since it is by being confronted with a 'novum' that productive cognitive dissonance can be reached—what Debaise and Stengers (2017) discuss as increased friction in the present. By materializing ideals and assumptions, the design speculations act as mediators and amplifiers of these, affording critical engagement and reappraisal of ideas and relations previously taken for granted (Koskinen, Zimmerman, Binder, Redström, & Wensveen, 2011).

For this article, we have used speculative design as a vehicle for deconstructing and reconstructing urban sustainability. To exemplify what an alternative understanding of urban sustainability could entail, we use ex-

amples from two critical speculative design projects—Sensing Energy (Broms, Wangel, & Andersson, 2017) and Beyond Efficiency. These projects are situated in the contemporary sustainable urban development discourse in Sweden, and particularly address different urban typologies within what is understood as different conditions for transformation.

4. Three Cornerstones of an Eco-Modern Imaginary of Urban Sustainability

4.1. An Eco-Modern Imaginary

The sustainable urban development discourse in Sweden, as it comes across in our study of ongoing urban developments in major Swedish cities, underlines what previous research has identified as an institutionalization of ecological modernization ideas in Swedish policy and planning (Lidskog & Elander, 2012; Lundqvist, 2004). Sweden here comes across as a prime example of the institutionalization of ecological modernization ideas, characterized by the promotion of efficient or 'green' technology and urban densification, and by the foregrounding of financial and market-based incentives as drivers for sustainability (Isaksson & Heikkinen, 2018). When looking at some of the largest projects, including the Royal Seaport in Stockholm and RiverCity in Gothenburg, the imaginaries of urban sustainability are already made explicit in the early visions, and are then unfolded in the subsequent development of programs and plans, as well as in the formulation of specific policies to enable development in line with these ideas. This includes setting environmental targets but also shaping the story of urban renewal, modernization, and prosperity.

Through a critical discourse analysis approach, we can identify a number of recurring problem representations that fit within this storyline of eco-modernization. Several of these incorporate the notion of efficiency, which appears as a prevailing theme throughout different urban development and renewal projects, and in a multitude of policies. First of all, a lack of efficiency is represented as a problem in relation to the use of (urban) space, in building performance, in the way inhabitants use buildings and the urban environment, and in the planning process per se. Supported by indicators, partly to support desirable outcomes, but also to allow for benchmarking to ensure measurable and comparable outcomes and definitions, the notion of efficiency is then used to guide decision-making and investments in public and private organizations alike.

Another problem representation is the conflation of development, innovation, and commercialization, aligning governance and industry interests in the marketing of 'Swedish Sustainability' (Hult, 2015). In such 'entrepreneurial urbanism' (Franzén, Hertting, & Thörn, 2016), the role of urban planning becomes to provide new commodities and/or increased land values, and thus construct planners and urban designers as providing services to entrepreneurs, rather than being bureaucrats or advocates (Fridlund, 2017).

Yet another problem representation relates to ideas of 'the urban' and to urbanization. 'Urbanity' is increasingly framed as central to 'sustainability,' with density (of buildings and population) being seen as key for resource efficiency, social interaction, creativity, and innovation (Glaeser, 2011). Urbanization is seen as uncontrollable and inevitable (Syssner, 2018). The UN's New Urban Agenda as well as the global Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) further underline a deterministic assumption of urban growth. If the future is urban, and we want our future to be sustainable, then the only option is to make the urban sustainable, and conversely, sustainability must become urban—paradoxically positioning cities as both the nexus of ecological crises and as a precondition for their solutions (Brenner & Schmid, 2015).

These problem representations are not exhaustive, in the sense that multiple other representations exist in parallel and as subsets of the ones identified here, and could be labeled and categorized in different ways. However, from the main problem representations that we see emerge both in our own empirical material and in previous research, we can further order these as a scaffold for our exploration of how an eco-modern imaginary plays out in urban sustainability. In the following, we flesh out these problem representations in the form of three cornerstones—aspects that we see as central to the upholding of certain imaginaries and practices of sustainable urban development. In relation to these cornerstones, we also present a selection of alternative problem representations, developed through critical speculative design.

4.2. Scales and System Boundaries

The first cornerstone concerns which scales and system boundaries are constructed as relevant, and how this results in some modes and places of production and consumption being constructed as more efficient—and sustainable—than others.

Urban sustainability is often perceived primarily as an issue of sustainability *in* the city, rather than *of* the city. This 'internal' sustainability focus implies a territorial system boundary that only considers environmental (and social) impacts that take place within the urban area—such as local emissions from cars—and disregards environmental and social ramifications of urban consumption that plays out in other places. The assumption of an available hinterland beyond city limits depends on extractivist practices located in other parts of the world, or in a national or even regional periphery. New urban districts are portrayed as eco-rational islands, disconnected from their territorial context (Brenner & Schmid, 2015). Moreover, mainstream urban sustainability projects typically take the form of spatially delimited and project-based interventions, creating enclaves in an otherwise unchanged urban fabric.

Besides constructing new flagship areas, sustainable urban development in Sweden today also involves transforming other, existing urban typologies through technical improvements in building performance, densification and re-branding—effectively reproducing contemporary norms of what constitutes 'sustainable' and 'urban' both materially and discursively. Neighborhoods exposed to 'renewal' projects are typically found in modernist areas that were planned with plenty of green space between the buildings, open or semi-open courtyards, and traffic separation. In light of the idea of a sustainable and proper city being characterized by a dense 'city-like' urban environment, many of these characteristics are now represented as problems, such as an inefficient use of urban space, and are blamed for driving segregation. Yet, upholding a sense of core and periphery spurs geographical inequalities between what is considered urban and what is represented as suburban or rural (Ericsson, Molina, & Ristilammi, 2002; Jansson, 2013).

The idea of the dense city is based on the notion of optimizing systems of provision, where efficiency of scale is considered essential. Large-scale infrastructures have been very effective in providing a 'convenience revolution' (Pettersson, 2008), bringing sanitation, electricity, and communication to the masses, but it has also locked us into linear resource flows, made us dependent on fast and far-reaching mobility, and put the power over these systems and flows into the hands of just a few actors (see, e.g., Mitchell, 2011). At the same time, these large-scale infrastructures can also be seen as vulnerable to everything from system failures and external shocks, to institutional shortcomings.

One example is waste management. Today, many municipalities in Sweden have implemented systems for collecting and taking care of organic waste. With a few exceptions, these systems tend to be based on ideas of efficiency of scale. Organic waste is collected, transported to large-scale treatment facilities, and then transported off again. As illustrated in Figure 1a, the everyday interfaces of this system—i.e., where inhabitants meet and engage with the system—are reduced to inlets. This is especially the case for the increasingly popular domestic waste vacuum systems being implemented in new 'green' districts, where inhabitants do not even get to see a truck picking the waste up. The consequence of this admittedly-convenient system is that ecological and social conditions and impacts of waste management are obscured, as they happen outside the 'horizon of the everyday.' This horizon is not necessarily only a matter of geographical distance (as in far-away treatment facilities) but is also a result of panels and covers that hide local processes.

That large-scale waste management systems can be constructed to be efficient (and sustainable) is very much a matter of what system boundaries are used, what time horizons are considered, and what sustainability aspects are recognized. Juxtaposing the eco-modern idea of efficiency suggests an alternative problem representation that revolves around the super-local and small-scaled, and where resource flows are within the horizon of the everyday. Translating this to material form resulted in the compost bench (Molander, 2018; see Figure 1b), designed to resemble a radiator that can easily be moved around. The composting process serves several purposes, the most obvious being the transformation of leftovers into soil that can be used for growing new food locally. This process however also generates heat (up to 75 °C)—a resource that in Swedish urban areas is typically produced through incinerating waste. This design speculation thus affords a much more direct relation to waste—heating and soil for householders—helping to shift the perceived value of certain resource flows and what is considered waste.

Figure 1a. A vacuum system for waste management in Kvillebäcken, Gothenburg. Photo credits: Pernilla Hagbert. **1b.** Super Local Heating. Photo credits: David Molander.

4.3. Resources and Technologies

The second cornerstone has to do with what resources and ways of using resources (including mediating technologies) are foregrounded and constructed as more important than others in relation to sustainability.

In sustainable urban development in Sweden, there is a clear emphasis on environmental sustainability, in the development of both new and refurbished areas. This can also be seen in how Swedish urban sustainability is showcased abroad. The foregrounding of environmental aspects can be found in targets, regulations, and recommendations for the design of living environments, as well as in sustainability programs for urban development projects, and takes place both through environmental aspects having more specific targets and indicators than social sustainability, and by being regulated through demands rather than recommendations.

The bias towards environmental sustainability can also be seen in socio-technical imaginaries identified in calls for research and innovation projects aimed at supporting sustainable urban development. Here energy and climate are framed as dominating issues, and in ways that make it possible to 'solve' them through different types of 'greentech.' Projects such as Hammarby Sjöstad and the Royal Seaport in Stockholm, Västra Hamnen in Malmö, and Kvillebäcken (as part of the larger RiverCity development) in Gothenburg, have all emphasized the integration of technological solutions, with an emphasis on low-energy and 'smart' buildings, and low-carbon mobility systems that challenge car-dependent urban development. Issues related to ecosystem services are increasingly taken into consideration, but have so far been less highlighted in the branding of new districts, and are also typically addressed through 'greentech' (as opposed to just 'green'): green roofs and other 'nature-based solutions.' The term 'green bling' or 'eco-bling' has been used in this context to signify such add-on solutions that sometimes appear more cosmetic rather than fundamentally challenging systems of provision or building concepts themselves (Liddell, 2013).

'Inefficient' behaviors are also to be addressed through technology. In the home, this means an increased number of 'smart' devices which deliver commodities with the press of a button (or even better, with no button at all—hence the smartness). An eco-modern imaginary seeks to make the machinery more efficient without questioning the socio-material fabric. If any involvement is encouraged, it is through the distributed management of technology aimed towards the 'resource man,' an incarnation of the eco-modern ideal, controlling and making optimal decisions through smart apps (Strengers, 2014).

One example of this eco-modernist understanding of resource flows and mediating technology is the approach to drinking water. As with waste, the resource flow of water lies outside the horizon of the everyday for most urban dwellers in Sweden; the origin of the water is largely unknown, as is the amount of water used and where it goes afterwards. However, in contrast to waste management, which is often considered a key issue for sustainable urban development in Sweden, water is very rarely addressed as an issue at all. The mediating technology, the tap (Figure 2a), is an archaic form undergoing only minor cosmetic changes, while the inner workings of a water-saving faucet might offer the same pressure but with lower water demand. A touchless sensor faucet further minimizes the actual engagement with the technology, while providing the same—or improved—comfort and convenience.

An alternative problem representation would be to address not the efficiency of the tap, but rather the engagement with the resource (water) altogether. One way in which this could take material form is the design speculation illustrated in Figure 2b. This design speculation suggests an alternative infrastructure for collecting, managing and distributing water. Both the technology of cleaning the water (filtering) and the amount of water available is clearly visible. The filtering process utilizes materials that often can be retrieved locally (such as gravel, sand, and biochar), and the collected raw water is cleaned in a two-stage process: the first fraction being suitable for household chores while the last fraction produces drinking water. Apart from problematizing the amount of water used (limiting household use to a daily ration rather than a seemingly unlimited supply), this design speculation thus also challenges the notion of using clean drinking water for all household functions, which is standard in Sweden today.

4.4. Subjectivities

The third cornerstone concerns the construction of subjectivities. This includes how inhabitants are addressed in sustainable urban development—including what type of agency they are and are not supposed to have—as well as what types of subject positions (primarily related to class, gender, and ethnicity) are constructed as being in line with eco-modernist ideals.

An eco-modernist understanding of sustainability foregrounds subject positions that embrace the basic tenets of this discourse: green-tech, market-based financial incentives, and an interest in 'green' consumption. The previously introduced 'resource man' (Strengers, 2014) is one such example which highlights the intersection of eco-modernism and masculinity norms (Hultman & Pulé, 2018). In contemporary sustainable urban development in Sweden, there is a dominance of problem representations characterized by an emphasis on subject positions in which inhabitants are seen as unwilling and/or unaware in regard to changing their lifestyles to more sustainable ways of life. Thus, automation, persuasion, and nudging are needed, by means of which it is made 'easy to do the right thing.'

Looking at problem representations in relation to social sustainability shows that this is primarily represented

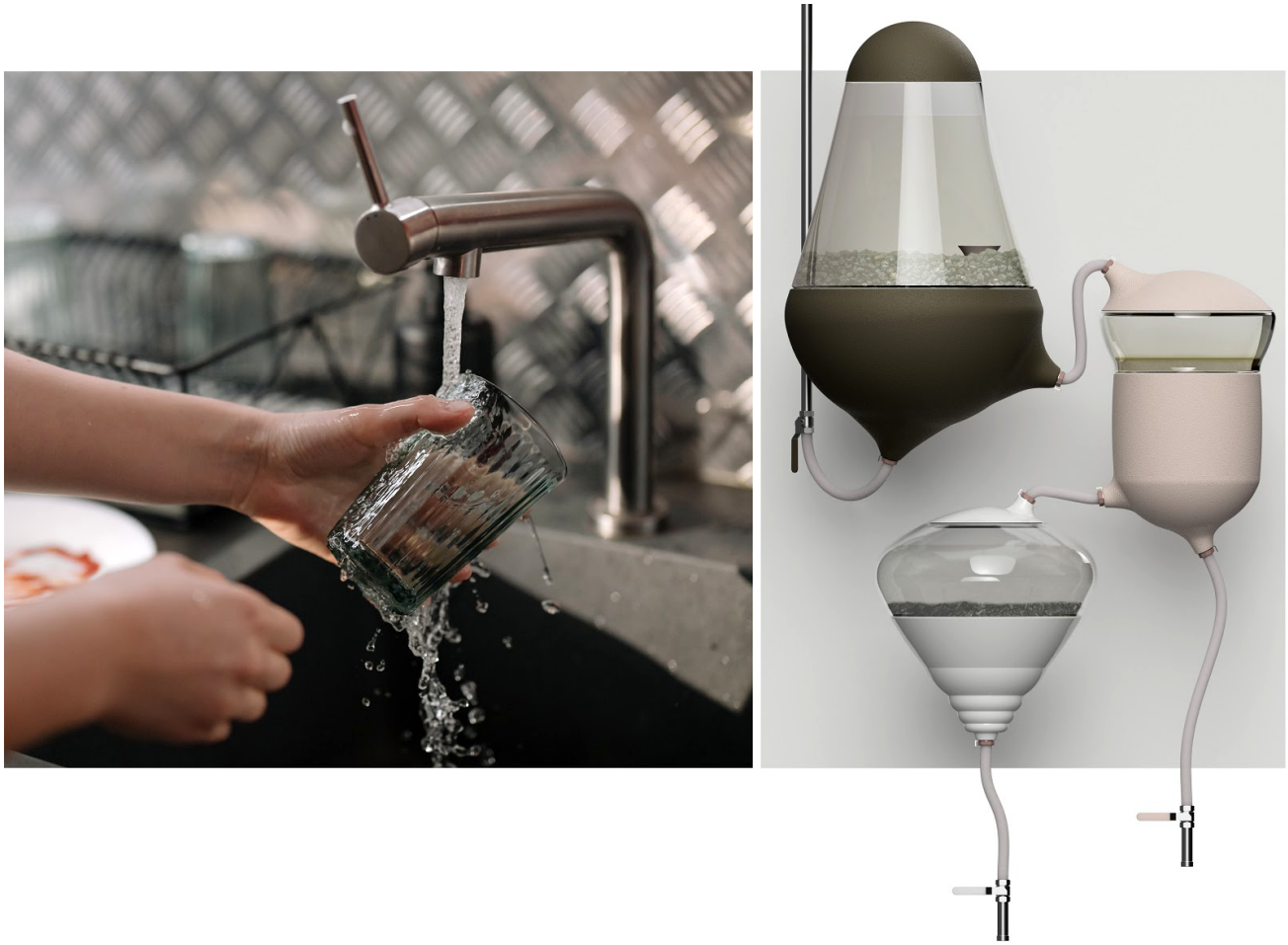

Figure 2a. The abundance of water as experienced in a conventional water tap. Image credits: cottonbro. **2b.** Household Water Fraction System. Image credits: David Molander.

as matters of livability, social interaction, and attractiveness as opposed to tackling questions of justice. For example, the notion of home life portrayed in 'green' new urban districts is one of convenience and comfort, rather than addressing the human right to adequate housing or a distributive justice perspective on limiting consumption (Hagbert, 2016).

Central to both of these problem representations is the construction of an individualized subject position, for which the main agency lies in being a conscious and active consumer, expected to 'vote with one's wallet.' Together with the fact that newly built 'green' neighborhoods tend to be expensive, this means that a certain income is needed in order to occupy the subject position of a 'green' and 'conscious' consumer—effectively making the possibility to live 'sustainably' a matter of social class. However, contrary to this, several studies point to income as a key indicator of ecological footprint (Andersson, Nässén, Larsson, & Holmberg, 2014; Newton & Meyer, 2012).

Meanwhile, those with more limited means, and thus generally smaller footprints, are more often subject to environmental education programs, 'green' renewal projects or 'renoviction' (Gustavsson & Elander, 2017; Mangold, Österbring, Wallbaum, Thuvander, & Femenias, 2016). Notions of environmental awareness and being able to act in line with certain subject positions create a framing that at the same time exposes the 'other' as non-compliant (Bradley, 2009). Thus, it is not only the neighborhoods targeted in such programs that are said to be inefficient, but also their inhabitants.

The idea of the 'green,' conscious, and active consumer is a key element in upholding the eco-modern understanding of urban sustainability. Thus, by suggesting other subjectivities as legitimate, including outliers and forerunner lifestyles, the understanding of urban sustainability can also be challenged and pluralized. One example of such an alternative subject position is to replace the individualist focus with a communal one.

Taking cleanliness as example, there exists today an abundance of smart shower technologies that either limit or distribute water in different ways or encourage changed behavior through 'smart feedback' (Figure 3a). This way of making cleanliness more efficient makes a lot of sense from an eco-modernist subject position. However, an even more efficient solution (from a resource perspective) would be to have shared bathing facilities, instead of every home having their

Figure 3a. A 'smart' shower application ready for an informed user. Image credits: Loove Broms. **3b.** A communal bathing facility. Image credits: Patrik Rosén.

own. Emphasizing communal subject positions over individual ones, this speculative design presents a communal bath house (Figure 3b). The building caters to several rituals connecting to water and cleaning that are social rather than individualized. The structure and interiors are designed to reduce water consumption but also to enrich the experience of maintaining cleanliness.

5. Concluding Discussion

In this article we have explored contemporary sustainable urban development in Sweden. The analysis was carried out by identifying and examining problem representations in both policy-in-practice and in socio-technical imaginaries related to urban sustainability. Based on our analysis, we can conclude that contemporary Swedish sustainable urban development is characterized by an eco-modernist discourse—seen primarily in the promotion of 'green' technology, the reliance on market-based incentives, the emphasis on 'green' consumption, and in the foregrounding of efficiency.

That Swedish (sustainable) urban development is characterized by eco-modernism is in itself not a new finding, having been previously indicated by several scholars (Bradley, 2009; Hult, 2015; Isaksson & Heikkinen, 2018). Apart from confirming this, our study contributes to this body of research in two ways: by fleshing out this eco-modernist discourse and its dynamics in more detail, and by suggesting ways of breaking through the impasse, both of which we believe are essential to strengthen the ability of urban planning and design practice to engage actively with issues of ethics relating to just urban transformations.

In order to flesh out the discourse and its dynamics, we identified three cornerstones—characteristics of eco-modernist representations of sustainable urban development. Looking closer at these cornerstones allowed us to see—and show—that it is neither efficiency, green technology, nor green consumption per se that characterizes eco-modernism, but rather the specific interpretations of what this all means—the fine print of the eco-modernist promise, so to speak. This fine print includes, for example, the construction of scales and system boundaries needed for an urban development project to come across as sustainable, and the mediating technologies that are assumed to uphold this. It also includes the construction of people as consumers rather than as citizens. Exposing this fine print and revealing the obscured and often unproblematized side of eco-modern urban sustainability is essential for the possibility of developing an urban ethics, because it allows for de-stabilizing the false consciousness of what sustainable urban development is—and what it could and should be.

Taking a critical approach to the mainstream sustainability discourse in urban development is essential if we are to acknowledge the ethical implications of urban planning and design in socio-material transformations. An eco-modern understanding of efficiency is often portrayed as a 'value-neutral' concept, where distributive concerns are dismissed as 'normative.' The question is what type of ethics (or lack thereof) an eco-modern framing then brings. What is implied is often a relative improvement—more efficient than what?—rather than an absolute understanding of what would define a 'sustainable' system. There is a need for a re-politicized notion of urban sustainability that goes beyond simply adapting to current system logics or 'including' perspectives that are currently excluded without really challenging current power hierarchies (what Arnstein, 1969, described as the lower rungs of the ladder of participation). A just urban transformation instead entails completely reconfiguring power relations, which demands an active ethical debate and continuous reflexive engagement among planners and urban designers, beyond mere compliancy with certifications and established norms.

To shed even further light on the dynamics of the eco-modernist discourse and practice, we juxtaposed eco-

modernist 'solutions' within the three cornerstones with a selection of critical speculative design explorations. These design speculations also serve another aim: to reveal the scope of action available should 'urban sustainability' be re-negotiated. They point toward the need to envision new imaginaries that break with preconceived socio-material conditions and sub-optimizations, in order to afford new ways of being and doing.

Engaging in just transformations as an urban ethics thus also includes recognizing the competences and knowledge claims being foregrounded, and seeing which actors and issues are or are not allowed at the table. We here wish to make the point that unless we engage in a fundamental discussion about how we conceive a sustainable future society and the role of cities in this, efficiency measures will continue to take the present situation as their starting point, rather than where we 'ought to' or 'want to' be going. We recognize that this is only a rough first analysis, revealing the discourse on urban sustainability as it plays out in relation to the identified problem representations, and that further research—and developments in professional practice—are needed. Particularly when addressing the power dynamics behind the identified discourses, we see the need for an expanded debate on the ethical considerations of all actors involved in order to inform a situated engagement with a critical analysis of the assumptions and objectives in sustainable urban development.

Eventually, this all comes down to the urban planning and design practice. But rather than blaming the practice or practitioners per se, we need to understand what conditions there are for urban planning and design to engage in (more) just and sustainable urban transformations. While a false consciousness regarding urban sustainability can certainly be found amongst urban practitioners, there are also many practitioners who are well aware of the shortcomings of their practice and who are actively looking for ways to interrupt the reproduction of (eco)modernist socio-material relations. To support the development of an urban ethics, both as a socio-technical imaginary and planning polity, we need to identify where and how this false consciousness has become institutionalized. This includes critically examining what interests and power structures shape the material practice, upholding the eco-modern myth of progress and efficiency, and thus stand in the way of an urban ethics that can approach distributive justice and differentiated solutions to just transformations.

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Conflict of Interests

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About the Authors

Pernilla Hagbert holds a PhD in Architecture and currently works as a researcher in Urban and Regional Studies at the Department of Urban Planning and Environment at KTH Royal Institute of Technology. Pernilla's research critically examines interpretations (and paradoxes) of sustainability in housing and urban development, and explores norm-critical, alternative ways of doing and living as part of transitions to a low-impact society.

Josefin Wangel is an undisciplined researcher based at the Department of Urban and Rural Development at the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU). Her current research focuses on urban sustainability, which she explores through an eclectic mix of discourse analysis, critical speculation, and political frustration. Josefin holds a PhD in Planning and Decision Analysis and has a background in Environmental Sciences.

Loove Broms is an interaction designer, educator and researcher. He has a PhD in Interaction Design and holds a position as associate professor in interaction design at Konstfack, and as a researcher at KTH. Loove does research in design and sustainability with a particular interest in discursive artefacts, narratives and meaning-making. Using an experimental design research approach, the intention is to problematize present consumer culture and urban development through speculative and critical design.

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Article

Big Science, Ethics, and the Scalar Effects of Urban Planning

Sandra Kopljar

Department of Architecture and Built Environment, Lund University, 221 00 Lund, Sweden;
E-Mail: sandra.kopljar@arkitektur.lth.se

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Abstract
The urban expansion currently under development around the two materials science facilities MAX IV and European Spallation Source in Lund, Sweden, surrounds two meticulously designed research facilities steered by global demands. The new urban area, together with the research facilities dedicated to science and the development of knowledge, expands the city of Lund onto high-quality agricultural land. In doing so, the municipal planning is attempting to align contemporary ideas of sustainable urban development with large-scale scientific infrastructure. This actualizes an ethical dilemma as the urban expansion onto productive agricultural land overrides previous decisions taken by the municipality regarding land use. It can also be understood as going against national land use policy which states that development on productive agricultural land should be avoided. As the planning stands today, the research facilities heavily push local urban development into the area while the intended research outcomes primarily relate to a global research community tied to international scientific demands for materials science. Although the Brunnshög area is realized through a neutralizing planning strategy, thought to balance and compensate for the development on farmland, the effects of the counterbalancing acts are primarily played out at a local urban level in terms of diverse, exciting, and locally sustainable neighbourhoods. The land use protection policies meant to secure national food production rather operates on a national scale. The argument made in this text is that sustainable development, and the intended balancing acts it involves, ought to be carefully considered in terms of scalar effects. Sustainable planning effects' *scalar extent* should be taken into account through careful assessment of the step between good intentions and expected outcomes.

Keywords
big science; planning ethics; planning scale; scalar effect; scalar intention; scale; sustainability; sustainable urban planning

Issue
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1. Big Science in a Small Town

In the small university town of Lund in southern Sweden local urban materialities develop as consequences of global scientific initiatives. Brunnshög, a former agrarian area outside the city, recently renamed to the more internationally sounding Lund Northeast Brunnshög, is currently under development. When completed, it will include two large-scale research facilities for state of the art materials research, a supporting science village located between the facilities, and a whole new urban district—all built on high-quality farmland (see Figure 1). This text aims to discuss various scales, and balancing strategies, related to the goals of sustainable urban planning. Scale configurations in urban planning and the expected realization of planning are investigated here, not through the problematization of existing urban environments, but through a range of planning *intentions* connected to the ongoing development of the Brunnshög area.

The OECD and the European Science Foundation, as early as 1998, predicted the approaching decline of neutron scattering capability throughout the world. As a consequence of this threat to neutron science, the two international organizations recommended Europe, America, and Asia to each develop neutron sources to secure fu-

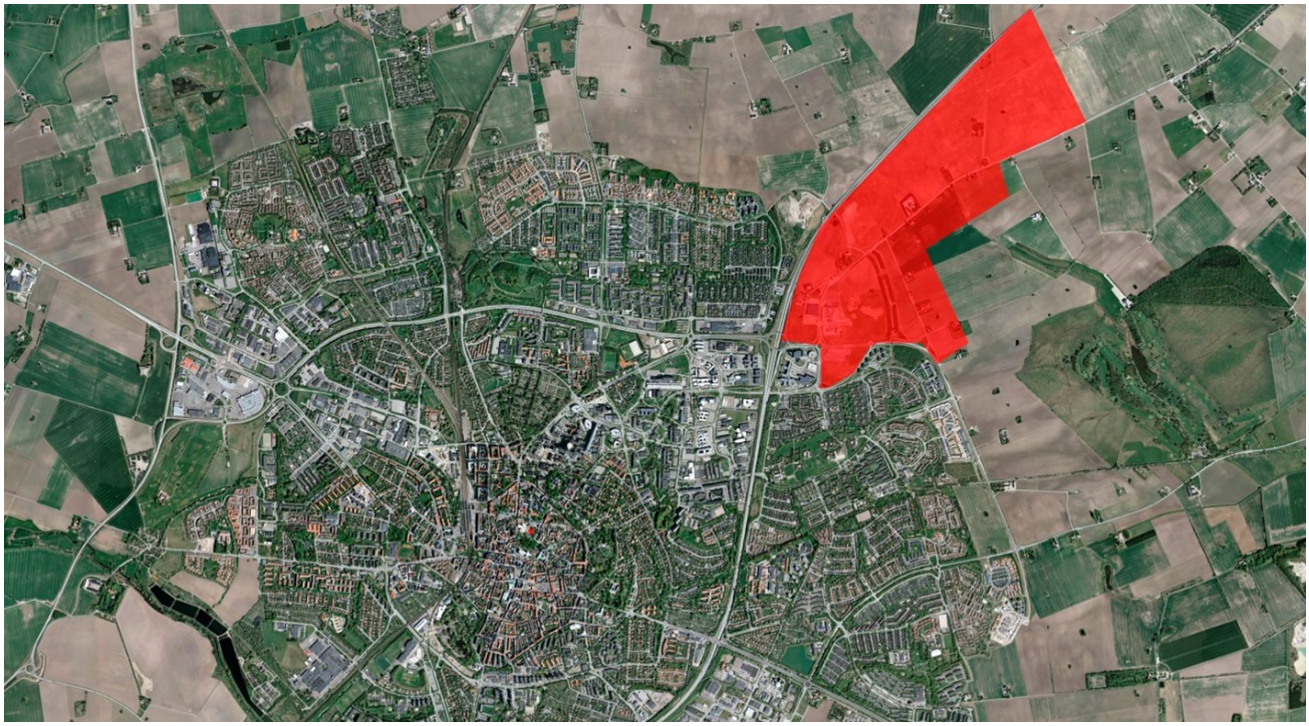

Figure 1. Map of Brunnshög (marked in red) and Lund City. Source: Courtesy of Lunds kommun.

ture research on condensed matter (Richter & Springer, 1998, p. 38). After several years of national and international negotiation, Lund was in 2009 agreed upon by a majority of the expected member countries as the candidate for European Spallation Source (ESS), although a formal decision about the funding would demand another five years of negotiation with the solution presented in 2014 (Hallonsten, 2018, p. 26). ESS is scheduled to be opened in 2023 and will have the world's most powerful linear proton accelerator (ESS, n.d.). It is an international collaboration between 13 European nations, including the host nations Sweden and Denmark. In parallel to the ESS negotiations, the first steps were taken towards a new synchrotron laboratory that would constitute the fourth generation of laboratories devoted to synchrotron research at Lund University. In 2009, Lund University together with the Skåne Regional Council, supported by the Swedish funding agencies, the National Swedish Agency for Innovation Systems (Vinnova) and the Swedish Research Council, agreed to build MAX IV (Ek, 2009). MAX IV was inaugurated in 2016 and includes the worlds brightest x-ray source (MAX IV, n.d.-a). The combined budgets of MAX IV and ESS are estimated at 2,44 billion Euros (Lunds universitet, 2020).

2. Local and Regional Expectations of Big Science

Globalization can be considered to generally result in unbalanced social and geographical effects (Dicken, 2004, p. 5) and also such globalization that includes global transactions of knowledge goods on an international research arena has uneven material- and planning-related consequences. Someone, somewhere, has to make space, in the Brunnshög case, for the large-scale infrastructure needed for the operations of accelerators used in materials science. This responsibility is considered a privilege from a national, regional, and local political perspective in the case of Lund, Sweden, and benefits are expected to create economic prosperity as well as status and fame for the knowledge environment of a small university town on Europe's outskirts. The over 350-year-old university, cutting-edge research, and the medieval city centre feature in promotional material from the university and municipality summarized under the slogan which describes Lund as 'a city of contrasts.' A 'double optimism' has been present throughout the process of establishing ESS in Lund (Hallonsten, 2012, pp. 13–14): From the start of the process around 2002, Lund has been advocated as the location for an ESS, and "[c]onversely, the ESS has been forcefully promoted as a kind of perfect megaproject for Lund" (Hallonsten, 2012, p. 13).

Lund University, regional policymakers, and local politicians have in unison claimed Lund to be the optimal location for MAX IV and ESS (Hallonsten, 2012 p. 13). Initiatives to strengthen the existing knowledge environment in Lund are backed up by national planning policy: The Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning recognizes higher education environments to be of great importance for regional growth in Sweden (Boverket, 2012, p. 63) and for southern Sweden and the Öresund Region to be, in the future, the greatest of the four multiple core regions in Sweden (Boverket, 2012, p. 33). Local, regional, and national actors collabo-

rate to secure the offshoot of the unprecedented investment, in a Swedish context, in research infrastructure. Early on the Skåne Regional Council, the city of Lund and Lund University joined forces to safeguard land use for future development through the company Lundamark (Swedish for Lund land). In 2013 Lundamark was turned into Science Village Scandinavia AB, owned by the same stakeholders (Science Village Scandinavia, 2013), possibly for the sake of changing the associations from land use towards a more international and science-oriented content. The regional mobilization includes a number of initiatives to secure the expected benefits from the research facilities in terms of corporate and labour-market returns. The vision- and strategy-oriented consortium 'ESS MAX IV in Southern Sweden—TITA' was managed by the Skåne Regional Council during 2010–2012 and had as an aim to identify potential benefits in the region. Besides corporate associations, it included all of the County of Scania's municipalities, Lund University and other institutions of higher education in the region, as well as the site-specific ESS AB. The goal with the consortium was to safeguard "growth and employment opportunities as a result of the establishment of the research facilities" (ESS MAX IV i regionen—TITA, 2010; OECD, 2012, p. 107).

The expectations connected to MAX IV and ESS are held together by a coherent metanarrative, or a discourse coalition, that has allowed actors to reproduce statements and maintain a stakeholder network (Tahvilzadeh, Montin, & Cullberg, 2017). The narrative has functioned as a vehicular idea in political phrases and slogans to move the process forward. In discussions about the research facilities' spin-offs, for example in such contexts as TITA, the benefits of increased job opportunities and growing small businesses were primarily mentioned in economic terms; the content of those jobs and the local conditions for the future workers were not discussed in further detail (for example at a TITA Partnership Meeting on June 15, 2011, and at the Foresight Feast "How to Create a Dynamic and Innovative Research Environment?" on January 13, 2012).

These jobs seem to be seen as a service entirely conditioned by the main goal of the establishment—the research. In this perspective, the facilities are thought of as dominant, and the facilities are what primarily matters in the narrative about the area. Hopes of global scientific success is paired with expectations of an ecomodernization that is seen as a combination of innovation and sustainable thinking that will help solve environmental problems within existing economical systems (Kaijser, 2016, p. 77).

3. Expansion of Knowledge Environments

For Lund University the current development has created an opportunity to extend the urban development beyond the Brunnshög area and develop what is conceptualized as a 'Science Road.' The Science Road is a path along which the university's departments and institutions, as well as knowledge-producing businesses connected to the university, are clustered. It begins in the city centre and continues along a route to which 30,000 students commute daily and where 25,000 workplaces are located. The distance includes Lund University Hospital, the campus of the Faculty of Engineering at Lund University, and Ideon Science Park, which also has a close connection to the university. Supported by Lund Municipality's Structural Plan acting as a platform, the main actors in the Science Road undertaking are the Skåne Regional Council, Lund University, Akademiska Hus (a major real estate company that manages the university's real estate) and the research centre Medicon Village. The municipality has stated that the anticipated benefits of the Science Road on an urban scale include "[i]nnovative energy solutions, densification of the university campus, sustainable mobility focusing on people's needs, a green city, and a new sustainable meeting place" (Lunds kommun, 2017). The Science Road corresponds to the extent of the new tramway, to be inaugurated in 2020, that runs all the way to ESS. The Science Road and the tramway have, despite the optimism among stakeholders, caused heated debate both in local media and within a Swedish academic context: Ethical concerns include the university depopulating the city centre and leaving its current locations in favour of the Science Road (Kärrholm & Yaneva, in press; Nebel, 2014). The uniform theme, and the concentration of activity to certain times of the day and year, have been pointed out as other potential problems (Kärrholm, 2014, p. 56).

The strategy communicated by the city of Lund regarding the planned expansion projects is to strive for a leading position among the world's knowledge environments by generating Swedish world-class sustainable planning at the local level in Lund (Lunds kommun, 2012a, p. 3). The municipality of Lund has ambitious plans, and, throughout the planning process, the goal has been to create an area with strong connections to the older parts of Lund, for example by the Science Road and tramway. Other research environments such as CERN in Switzerland (which is currently the world's largest particle physics laboratory and placed outside urban areas) were discussed at early stages as being bad examples, for example by the former, founding CEO, Colin Carlile at a lecture on a sustainable ESS. Visions of "Scandinavian elegancy and modesty" (C. Carlile, November 29, 2011) in combination with good working environments were imagined for the new facilities. The architectural and urban designs have, besides the municipality's planning, been developed through engaging high-profile architecture firms during the early 2000s. The science village between MAX IV and ESS is intended to have supporting functions for the facilities and provide service to researchers, as well as promote and inform the public about scientific activities and achievements on site. The specific architectural design of key buildings in Science

Village Scandinavia were chosen through international architectural competitions. As a result, Fojab arkitekter (Sweden) designed the building for MAX IV and Snøhetta (Norway) did the landscaping. The ESS facility was designed by Henning Larsen Architects (Denmark), while the architecture firm COBE (Denmark) won the competition to design the Lund Science Centre, a symbolically important building for communication and public access to science. Arguments for openness, and a sense of proximity to the scientific activities in the area, have pushed the architectural expressions towards transparent and accessible appearances in order to, at least figuratively, welcome the public and stimulate interest in science and knowledge production. The science centre, to be completed in 2024, is described as a "public knowledge and experience centre where mostly interactive solutions show how nature works, where new research findings and innovations are presented, and where facts are put into context" (Lunds kommun, 2019, my translation). At the same time, safety measures are taken to prevent the public from coming too close to the actual science being performed, for example through ha-ha walls preventing public access to the ESS facility.

4. Attracting the International Visitor

In its planning, the Lund municipality has targeted the visiting researcher as likely to be attracted by "the world's prime research and innovation environment" (Lunds kommun, 2012a; Region Skåne, 2012; Science Village Scandinavia, 2013, my translation) as well as by Lund's and Lund University's "general scientific attractiveness, status, and prestige" (Granberg, 2012, p. 113). The arguments often emphasize the necessity to attract an international group of visitors—researchers who can take Lund into the future—and make them stay in the area. Much like a 'creative class,' the researchers are believed to be attracted by environments that are dynamic, diverse, and open (Florida, 2003, p. 27). The researchers are understood as helping to boost the economy, and spontaneous contacts and interaction are thought to move knowledge and ideas without cost in an "urban environment that opens up for business development and contacts, culture, research, everyday life, play, and innovation" (Lunds kommun, 2012a, p. 5), as well as being thought to result in an "exciting environment for people with different backgrounds, interests and professions" (Lunds kommun, 2012b, p. 5). In contrast to the above, following contacts with researchers and individuals close to the day-to-day operations at MAX IV and at the future ESS, one can detect a certain discrepancy between the municipality's expectations of a lingering researcher's prolonged visit, bringing family to Sweden as a result of the attractive urban environment, and the streamlined time schedules of assigned beam time which result in intense shift work at the research facilities. Those targeted as future users in the municipal planning actualize an ethical dilemma of whose needs are considered and what the arguments behind those decisions are (cf. Chan, 2018, p. 2). The focus on materials science researchers can mean that the less time you are expected to spend in the area, the more you become a target in the urban visions drafted for the area's future public life (Kopljar, 2016, pp. 101–102).

5. Sustainable Planning On-Site

Ecological and social sustainability is incorporated into every project design and strategical material mentioned above. The shift in Sweden from seeing sustainable development as a problem in nature to regarding sustainability as a societal issue aligns with the case in Lund, in that the emphasis is not only on ecological factors but also on ethical choices for socially sustainable environments embracing inclusiveness, equality, and well-being (cf. Isaksson, 2006, p. 107). This is confirmed by the local planning developed by the City Planning Office in Lund where local arguments for building the new area include societal benefits beyond mere scientific achievement. The plan is that the urban development will add 40,000 inhabitants active in work or studies to Lund's current population of 125,000. The anticipated success and prosperity have been communicated to the local community and visual material of a future Brunnshög has been used as an illustration of Lund's future in general, for example in advertisements for election debates in the local paper ("Framtidens Lund," 2014). Effort is put in designing an urban environment that encourages meeting points and interaction between residents and visitors in order to enhance the social sustainability of the area (Lunds kommun, 2018a, 2020). Besides meeting places, climate impact and land use, together with sustainable design of waste management, energy consumption, and transport are the main sustainability factors discussed in the planning documents from the City Planning Office in Lund (Lunds kommun, 2018a). The area is promoted as an example of local sustainability at the forefront combined with the picture of Sweden as a secure and modern country leading to the opportunity of a comfortable lifestyle based on a mix of sustainable, ethical, and lifestyle choices through the prospects of "a stimulating urban environment [including] a good quality of life, well-developed service functions, forward-looking sustainability solutions and interesting innovations" (Lunds kommun, 2018a, p. 5). The foundational principles for the work with sustainability on site are to *minimize* the impact on global climate change, to *balance* the building on fertile soil and to *maximize* city life and sensory perceptions (Lunds kommun, 2012a, p. 17, 2012b, pp. 10–11). It is thought that the area will help the city of Lund cut carbon dioxide emissions and become an energy generator for both buildings and transport by prioritizing renewable energy sources such as wind and solar (Lunds kommun, 2012b, p. 23). These achievements are intended to help the municipality adhere to the UN's Sustainable Development Goals that are part of the 2030

Agenda for Sustainable Development (Lunds kommun, 2018a, p. 7; United Nations, 2015).

The sustainability goals have been set high also at the building level. The ESS facility has a zero-impact vision with, e.g., systems designed for the facility's treatment of polluted stormwater which lead water back to natural streams. A report on ESS's energy consumption declares that not only will ESS be a world-leading research facility, it will also be "the first large-scale research facility that will be environmentally sustainable" (ESS, 2013, p. 3). MAX IV has a system for the reuse and recycling of heat from the cooling systems used for the Linear Accelerator as well as solar panels on the office roof to produce renewable energy. Steps have been taken to keep, and use, excavation masses from the building process on-site and a vibration-absorbing hilly landscape have been laid out around the MAX IV buildings. MAX IV has been certified as a Green Building by the Sweden Green Building Council in accordance with environmental guidelines (MAX IV, n.d.-b).

6. Contested Land Use

Regardless of the options for financial payback to the local community and region, for scientific outcomes, or the lofty goals of sustainability, the establishment of such large-scale structures as MAX IV and ESS actualize concrete land use problems. The whole city of Lund covers 2,652 hectares and the larger urban district of Brunnshög, including the research facilities and Science Village Scandinavia, will add 225 hectares. The combined size of the facilities and their supporting functions make it impossible to fit the development in an existing urban context—MAX IV's ring takes up the same space as the Colosseum in Rome, with a 528-metre circumference. However, the decision to build on Sweden's best farmland is controversial as the soil quality is of the highest productivity class (9–10; Carlie & Lagergren, 2012, p. 14) and the land use question has been one of the most highly debated matters regarding the development. The urban expansion partly overturns Lund City Council's directives in 2010's Master Plan:

> The City Council has adopted terms of reference prior to the work of the Master Plan. These terms state that '*The Comprehensive Plan will help coordinate the objectives of social, economic, ecological, and cultural sustainability. The ecological dimension provides a framework and the necessary prerequisite for all other development.*' It is therefore important to conserve the land, especially high-quality farmland, and to locate new development mainly along public transport routes with existing and planned rail transportation. (Lunds kommun, 2010, p. 3, original emphasis, my translation)

In cases where sustainability objectives are compromised, a *balancing principle* in the policy documents, e.g., in the Master plan from 2010 (Lunds kommun, 2010), indicates that procedures that have a negative effect on nature and recreational values should be compensated. The aim is to avoid negative effects, and if such effects cannot be avoided to minimize their impact. If this is not possible, the strategy is to equalize the effect in a broader functional context. The last step in the balancing principle ladder is to replace functions and qualities that have been removed as a consequence of planning initiatives (Lunds kommun, 2018b, p. 65). At a national level, the Swedish National Board of Housing, Building and Planning states that according to The Swedish Environmental Code "agricultural land that is worthy of use can only be used for development purposes if the building/facility is of significant interest to society and other land cannot be used" (Boverket, 2012, p. 103, my translation).

The land use at Brunnshög, the investments in research infrastructure by national funding agencies, as well as the buildings themselves have for the last decade been scrutinized, and often criticized, in the media as well as in debates within the academic community in Sweden. This has possibly contributed to the MAX IV and ESS administrations' thorough communication of building processes, safety measures taken, and environmental concerns (cf. Kaijser, 2016) during the building phase as well as in an operational stage. The research facilities, and their budgets, are big enough to handle extensive sustainability assessment procedures, and the ambitious handling of soil that has been excavated on-site, biodiversity plans, quality of work environment, and the renewable and reusable energy solutions are communicated on their homepages. Although many of the Agenda 2030's sustainability goals, such as ensuring sustainable energy, fostering innovation, or making cities inclusive and resilient are included in the Brunnshög plans it is hard to ignore such a large expansion onto farmland. Questions regarding land are essential in sustainable development. Concretization of political mottos and formulations is expected to be recognized in the realization of the built environment and land use—examples from the planning practice demonstrate the actual result of general sustainability goals (Isaksson, 2006, p. 108). Furthermore, land management is a particularly important matter in a Scanian context, and when it comes to ethically sustainable design choices, the extensive land use can be considered to be one of the toughest compromises of the Brunnshög development. Half of Sweden's food industry is located in Scania and half of the food produced in Sweden is produced in Scania (Region Skåne, 2018). Sweden's national food production has been increasingly debated in light of the current Covid-19 pandemic. Trends among the Swedish population to stock up on food as a result of the fear that the food supply chain could be disturbed by closed borders have resulted in demands to increase Sweden's self-sufficiency. The southwest part of Scania (and the western part of the Lund municipality) has the highest quality of soil

for agricultural use in Sweden; only a few kilometres to the east within the municipality the soil quality decreases (Holmer, 2013). The location of large-scale research facilities on less fertile soil would probably have been possible still within the vicinity of the city of Lund, maybe even within the municipal borders—such a location would perhaps be less practical but it would also reduce the radiation risk connected to the ESS facility (Kaijser, 2016, p. 87).

7. On Scale Intentions and Ethicality

Scale in architecture is under-theorized (Lahoud, 2014, p. 300) and although "every scale always exists as a multiplicity, which binds small and large together" (Lahoud, 2014, p. 300), the scale discussion within the field of architecture could benefit from looking beyond its own discourse. Contemporary human geography offers a scale discussion that investigates space as 'scalar' and explores how spatial scales are expressed and interrelated (Latham & McCormack, 2012, p. 53) which is relevant for an urban discourse. Human geography handles a variety of positions: Regarding whether globalization is a productive concept, Dicken (2004) challenges the idea that the concept of globalization alone can explain causality of happenings in the world and that it is rather used to package contemporary trends without differentiation of causes or consequences (Strange, 1995, p. 293). Various interrogations of scale made in relation to the urban, transnational or global are developed through the contested scale of the urban fabric (Brenner, 2019), in the abandonment of scale as a concept entirely (Marston, Jones III, & Woodward, 2005) "into multiple sites of practices, relations, events and processes which are both situated in place and extended through space" (Jonas, 2006, p. 399), or in the flattening of scale in favour of networks (Latham & McCormack, 2012). Massey explores the connection of the local to the global through 'articulated moments' (DeLyser, Herbert, Aitken, Crang, & McDowell, 2009; Massey, 1993) and Peter J. Taylor—sometimes considered the founder of scale-based urban geography—contributes with a "Vertical Division by Scale" into the trio 'World Economy/Nation-State/Urban' and a "Horizontal Division by Area" into 'Periphery/Semi-periphery/Core' (Taylor, 1982, p. 25) in the sub-disciplinary field of political geography.

Future effects of *scalar intentions* are the result of looking into and imagining a desired future—ungraspable still—but nevertheless used as a rhetorical vehicle to move sustainable arguments forward and create a raison d'être for large-scale urban expansion. In discussions about the theme of globalization, "economic geography has prioritized the understanding of *processes* over the evaluation of *outcomes*" (Bridge, 2002, p. 361, original emphasis). Similarly, I want to turn the attention to the outcomes of planning processes and their significance as *environmental effects with scalar extent*. The argument made here is not favouring one scale over another—it is not (only) a plea for being more attentive to local outcomes of powerful global initiatives (cf. Dicken, 2004, p. 9). It is a request that we attend to the discussion of scale in urban sustainable development and that the consequences of global and national initiatives be intentionally targeted by an ethically founded urban planning practice.

The planning of the Brunnshög area relates to multiple scales when welcoming and expecting the best international participants in the scientific production on-site, promoting research through the view of the world as global, and recognizing Brunnshög as a "significant part of that globality" (cf. Latham & McCormack, 2012, p. 61). Nevertheless, the relationship between the *scale of a sustainability problem* and *the scale of the proposed remedy* for that particular problem is a question that needs to be more closely attended to. There are ever-changing interrelations between scales, but as illustrated in the examples above, sustainability-oriented arguments are used to drive and argue for urban expansion and therefore their ethical motivations need to be scrutinized in relation to their scalar outcomes.

This text does not principally aim to criticize power patterns or hierarchical structures—it is perhaps understandable that economic forces at the national and international level, and global research agendas and initiatives would influence small-town local planning, and in the Lund case, we can identify a strong university and upsurge of a knowledge environment tied to the local planning. Even if sustainable development can at times be considered to have been taken hostage by "the interests of the entrepreneurial supportive state and its institutions" (Gunder, 2006, p. 209), the problem that is dealt with in this text is how the local planners deal with the power and tools they *do* have by acknowledging what they aim to handle and what they do not.

> Planning is a normative endeavor entailing choices between alternative courses of action and sets of foreseen outcomes. Associated with these choices are ethical issues, which range from procedural questions such as conflicts of interest to substantive questions such as whether planners should advocate the rights of minority groups. These and related issues require planners to make decisions that conform, implicitly or explicitly, to established perspectives of what constitutes ethical behavior. (Hendler, 1991, p. 99)

When choosing between different paths the planning practice must take into account evaluations of proposed plans—the planning is always planning for *something* that does *something in a particular setting*. My request is to consider this particular setting through a deepened scalar inquiry. The planning practice obviously cannot practice a one-to-one strategy of problem solving—one less acre of agricultural land perhaps cannot be compensated for within the municipal borders. While exact measurements of traffic flow, energy consumption,

or the amount of hard surface are evident elements to discuss in relation to planning ethics and sustainability, scalar effects of planning proposals are less problematized. According to Fisher, philosophical ethicists categorize behaviour as having "good or bad consequences or as brought about by good or bad intentions" (Fisher, 2000, p. 170). It is precisely in between good intentions and, to put it in a simplified way, good or bad scalar consequences, that the planning discussion about scalar effects is needed. If we accept that "the approach to the built environment of tomorrow requires abandoning the ambition of a generally valid spatial model in favor of generally valid ethical approaches to its conception" (Basta & Moroni, 2013, p. viii), then we need to support the introduction of critical concepts for an evaluation to be done by the planning practice itself. This text aims to support planning's understanding of what it needs to be critical of (in terms of wider scalar implications) where a notion of scalar intention can be used as a critical concept for such a discussion.

The sustainable planning efforts related to the Brunnshög development are handled at the local municipal level when relating to global and national sustainability policies, with three main scales being used in the description and preparation of the urban area's future. The globally-oriented point of departure is the worldwide scale which targets the international science community as well as acting as a motor for the total urban development. At the regional scale, the Öresund Region and southern Sweden are recognized as an expansive region. At the local scale, that directly experienced by residents and visitors, the consequences of the research facilities are handled practically through the City Planning Office's activities, while keeping grand visions such as diversity, integration, and transparency of knowledge and research in the forefront (Kopljar, 2016). The municipality declares that the intention is to "match the realization of the [research] facilities in such a way that the gain for Lund and the region becomes as large as possible" (Lunds kommun, 2012c, p. 5) with the additional goal of developing knowledge also in the field of sustainable development (Lunds kommun, 2012c). An effort in sustainable planning "might increase one aspect of sustainability on one scale…while decreasing it on another" (Kärrholm, 2011, p. 98). In planning, sustainability arguments might be contradictory and also used primarily to push a process that does not relate to immediate urban environments but rather to the status of a knowledge environment, or effects on a global research market, as in the case of Brunnshög. Lahoud (2014, p. 300) points out that design projects must be treated as "composites in which contradictory and often paradoxical forms of rationality sit side-by-side." Such an acceptance of every design intention's multi-scalar complexity is of course fundamental. Nevertheless, I want to point to ethical dilemmas of using a multiscalar (that risks becoming non-scalar) rhetoric as an argument for sustainable design choices. In other words: The planning has to explicitly address what the planning aims to regulate. Scale impact may be produced on contingent scales but planning intentions need to target actual sustainability problems. Such inconsistency in the handling of scales points to a need for an increased scalar awareness in urban planning and attention to various scalar effects.

8. Conclusion

This text treats ethical questions tied to various scales of sustainable urban planning through the case of Brunnshög, an area currently under development in Lund, Sweden. The case concerns a multiscalar process initially set in motion by the planning, and development of, the large-scale research facilities MAX IV and ESS. The facilities are built as answers to globally identified scientific needs, with both national and international initiatives activating and supporting the process. The consequences of the local planning relate to a range of scales where the municipality of Lund's balancing strategy is used as a guideline for handling local trade-offs within sustainable urban planning. The research outcomes of the facilities operate on an international research arena while the establishment of the facilities in the urban, or currently non-urban, environment becomes a strong local and regional driver for research and urban development. In this process, several overlapping and interconnecting planning scales exist in parallel as exemplified by the introduction of a Science Road, the focus on visiting international researchers, the locals' interest in science, and by international architecture firms who shape the environment and buildings and aim to produce world-class sustainable planning. The overall goals of the area thus mix local, regional, and global effects as they express visions of the "world's best research facilities," of a "European example of sustainable urban development" and a "regional destination for science, culture, and recreation" (Lunds kommun, 2012c, p. 5).

The expectations and realization of the research facilities are undisputable prerequisites that have moved the development and discussions forward, sometimes faster than actual political decisions were being made or finances for the projects secured. In this process, the municipal planners adhere to some of their own policies and go against others, while the global research community, big budgets and status of Lund University push the research infrastructural argument forward. At the same time, the planning and building of the area has an underlying compensating aspect as it tries to make up for the loss of productive agricultural farmland to scientific infrastructure and urban expansion, and for the climate impact of both the urban expansion and creation of large-scale research facilities. Global sustainability goals are comprehensive and several relate to people's basic needs, such as the aim of eliminating poverty and hunger or securing access to water (United Nations, 2015). The sustainability aims for Brunnshög are explicitly declared as relating to the UN's 17 goals for sustainable develop-

ment (Lunds kommun, 2018a) and several key elements that should guarantee that the urban district is sustainable are incorporated into the planning: water infrastructure, easy access to public transport, and reduced car dependency. It is hard to make a definite prediction of whether an area will be sustainable as underlying sustainability goals can turn out to conflict with each other (Kärrholm, 2011, p. 98). The goal connected primarily to the production of knowledge by the research facilities, which relates to goal 9 of the UN's 17 goals, to foster innovation, at Brunnshög stands in conflict with the goal about preserving high-quality farmland (goal 2 about promoting sustainable agriculture through increased productivity). In the same way, it is difficult to determine how to ethically navigate when cutting-edge research, which may lead to more sustainable material production or more sustainable energy use, is put against the need for ecological and local land use and food production.

The concept of scale is not primarily used in this text to describe the interconnectedness of scalar systems, but rather with the intention that it functions as a conceptual tool for the investigation of intentions and outcomes in urban planning. The Agenda 2030's goals of innovation or land use or social sustainability goals of inclusive and diverse environments relate to a range of intersecting scales—in the Brunnshög development exemplified in scales ranging from the local urban neighbourhood scale to global expectations of scientific results. While compromise is at the heart of the urban planners' daily activities, I want to encourage a scale awareness when trade-offs in sustainable urban planning are being made—sustainability aims cannot be set against each other without careful considerations of potential outcomes on various scales. Intentions at the municipal planning level, i.e., close to the actual building of urban environments should problematize the scales relating to the envisioned outcome in order to make it possible to scrutinize consequences and recognize unaligned compromises. As it happens in this case, the particular soil quality at Brunnshög, and the Scanian domination of food production in Sweden, make land use a national issue. This results in the compensatory strategy formulated for the development at Brunnshög being in danger of missing its target. The compensation for lost agricultural land through implementation of energy efficiency, diverse neighbourhoods, and destinations for the communication of science, tries to compensate for a loss at a *national* scale with actions that influence mainly an urban development at a *local* scale. Scale-related consequences of planning and legislation need to be addressed openly by problematizing not only general, ethical, sustainability matters but also a *scalar sustainability* and ethicality in formulated plans. The reflections in this text use somewhat crude scales—local, regional, national—that go hand in hand with legislation and realization of urban development in Sweden, a similar evenness and proportionality of scales, although at a lower level, as in Taylor's (1982) early division mentioned above. Despite the chunkiness of these scales, I suggest that discrepancies in planning intentions can be initially discussed through such a basic scale division as it makes it possible to identify where planning intentions do not match, and where *a bad thing* is simply counterbalanced with *a good thing* without considering the further scalar impact.

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Conflict of Interests

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About the Author

Sandra Kopljar is an Architect and Associate Senior Lecturer at the Department of Architecture and Built Environment, LTH-Lund University. Kopljar's research interest revolves around urban development and design processes connected to design professionals' methodology and pedagogy. These themes are investigated in relation to design, in artistic research that explores architecture methodology, and in research about the handling of everyday actions and strategies in relation to the built environment.

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Article

Lack of Participatory Effort: On the Ethics of Communicating Urban Planning

Gunnar Sandin

Department of Architecture and Built Environment, Lund University, 22100 Lund, Sweden;
E-Mail: gunnar.sandin@arkitektur.lth.se

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Abstract
In all planning processes, including those we label participatory, there are neglected parties. Even when co-produced decisions, equity objectives, or common initiatives are at hand, some actors are likely to be less listened to, or they are never even recognised, hence, 'perfect' participation does not exist. Nevertheless, participatory objectives continue to be an important resilience factor in attempts to make—and architectonically shape—new built environments, based as much in concerned parties' wishes and knowledge of local circumstances, as in the repertoire of traditional professional solutions and political or profit-driven exploitation. This article makes a sample survey on land-use oriented planning and its capacity to include concerned parties, ranging from total neglect of residents to formalised government-steered participation and more spontaneous or insurgent community-driven attempts to communicate a wish. Two basic questions with ethical implications are here raised concerning how planning communication is grounded: Who is invited into dialogue, and what kind of flaws in the establishment of communicational links can be found? These questions are discussed here as examples of ethical dilemmas in planning concerning previously analysed cases in Sweden with an initial reflection also on known cases in India, Germany and Australia. Communicational mechanisms such as 'dialogic reciprocity' and 'successive translational steps' are especially discussed as areas of possible improvement in participatory practices.

Keywords
architecture; citizen participation; dialogic communication; land use; public consultation

Issue
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1. The Ethics of Citizen Participation: An Issue of Democracy and Communication

Related to modes of participation, ethical issues have been raised as part of the planning discourse at least since Arnstein (1969) presented explicit modalities of the possibilities for real involvement of citizens in planning. The ethical issues have in recent decades concerned, for instance, equity, as a main factor of urban justice, in some cases prioritised (Fainstein & Fainstein, 2013) before two other fundamental societal principles, namely diversity and democracy. While 'equity' is primarily grounded in an economical world view, another road can be seen as based primarily on diversity, or rather, on the public production of identity (Butler, 2011). When it comes explicitly to urban planning, stakeholder (or participant) authority has been part of the ethics of communicational relations with citizens (Hillier, 2007) ever since dialogue became more significant for strategic planning to acknowledge (Healey, 1992). A basic issue in the domain we call citizen participation is authorisation, or the mechanisms deciding who can actually contribute to the plan-making and the realisation of built environment. This issue has been historically linked to early pragmatist declarations on, and critique of, democracy models that require some "omnicompetence" (Lippman, 1925) of the individual citizen, as well as to later architectural theory, addressing the notion of "expertise" as what not only architects and planners possess, but what citizens know from experience about the situated renewal of

cities and buildings (Till, 2009). In a broad democratic view on who has the right to have a voice, and in legalised forms of public reviews, a resident does not, of course, have to claim to be an expert to be able to express a right to the place where one lives. However, as a remedy to one-sided presentation and organisation of ideas to build or alter environments, basic democratic ideals need to be actualised, sometimes even when there are good intentions concerning the involvement of citizens. In consideration of the informalities that appear in all organisations (Roy, 2009), and the often inexorable still invisible economical global forces that affect all parts of the world on a daily basis, we could, in defence of certain basic ethical decency, at least try and detect flaws in what is normally believed to be, or accepted as, sound enough planning. In a broad geopolitical and historical perspective, the most common attitude towards local residents or concerned citizens is perhaps not that they are actively overruled or fought against, or considered as insurgent troublemakers, but that they, or their homes, are simply regarded as irrelevant in the lines of production, systematically ignored as "unintended" (Sen, 2007) or "unrecognised" (Sassen, 2002).

Planning, as well as the architectural part of it, thus presents a basic ethical dilemma since it is mostly done by someone for someone else, and therefore contains a judgment both of the part who is supposed to receive the result of the planning but also indirectly of those not thought of as recipients. To state plans or architectures for a future is by default an uneven communicational relation, in itself a process that raises ethical issues related to the risk of producing unwanted otherness (Butler, 2011) or subalterity (Spivak, 1988).

Lead democratic virtues, such as 'openness' and 'transparency,' are generally seen as qualities worth striving for in dialogue, not least in the demanding practice and slack pace of practised planning dialogue, but even those virtues can at times be hard to defend as ethically correct in the sense that they can be used offensively and cynically by strong actors (Žižek, 2006), and that there is no guarantee that the following of these virtues will not, in the end, hurt others—people(s), places, organisms. Such paradoxes can be part of the ethical complexity of the contexts of ordinary planning processes, not least when it comes to the acts of communication in planning and about who, and how, to include in dialogue. Since the practice of communicating future ideas, and ideals, is an inevitable element in all land-use proposals, a particular focus is here devoted to mechanisms and flaws in planning dialogue. This is done by briefly addressing a series of cases with varying types of citizen involvement, and lack thereof, while reflecting on the communicational ingredients and flaws that appear.

1.1. Participation and Models of Democracy

In cases where citizens do have an influence—ranging from the legal rights to have a say in different formalised stages of alterations, to the co-design projects where citizens are actively invited to express a wish, but also in cases when they take activist or deliberative initiatives on their own terms—participation becomes an issue strongly related to the fundaments of democratic processes. The differences in belief regarding how much people can actually participate is an old debate, linked for example to the early modern attempts at forming democratic ideals and systems. In *The Phantom Public*, Walter Lippman (1925) saw a problem with the then prevailing democratic models in the sense that he feared that they brought an overestimation of individuals' agentic possibilities as political beings, and he related this problem to three flaws in the idealistic image of citizens' opportunities: lack of omnicompetence; lack of time; and lack of operational structure. These flaws are still to a significant degree valid in contemporary planning, where citizens cannot always be expected to have the capacity to take an active part (Parker, 2014).

More than Lippman (1925), his contemporary John Dewey (both of them historically regarded as pragmatists) saw in *The Public and Its Problems* (Dewey, 1925) the enabling of education and common decision-making as a possible way forward. This more idealist and supposedly 'altruist' pragmatic view is also still pertaining to certain models of democracy, some of which are nationally situated, like the so-called 'Swedish model' of social democracy (Rojas, 1991). Sweden and the other Scandinavian countries have been acknowledged for having maintained a certain stability as regards the relation between government, private capital and citizens, thus establishing a 'third way' of solidarity and democratic commonness that has gained recognition as important in inclusive modes of planning (Fainstein & Fainstein, 2013, p. 45) and for direct citizen involvement in planning and design (Albrechts, 2004; Gregory, 2003). The democratic instruments and trust-building of this tradition can, however, be disputed (Åström, 2020; Kraff, 2018), partly as a consequence, as we will see here, of how communicational aspects are not sufficiently considered.

1.2. On the Communicational Pragmatics of Participatory Planning

In today's urban planning, roughly three decades after what Healey (1992) recognised as a communicative and collaborative turn in planning and planning theory, we see—albeit only partially if we judge from the large scale and uniform type of buildings that are being erected all over the world—a larger acceptance among architects of the increased political complexity, or the messier reality, that constitutes contemporary societies. Even if participation itself is often still considered a threat to designing firms, politicians and financiers alike, and their freedom to realise projects within reasonable time frames or pursue complex and spatially intriguing architectural results (Miessen, 2010), a recent shift into acknowledging more social factors and lived environments comes in a way

also as a late, but straightforward 'response' to Lippman, namely that omnicompetence, or expertise, is not necessarily the same as disciplinary skill, or all-round education, but a "situated knowledge" (Haraway, 1988). Awan, Schneider, and Till (2011) present a vast range of built projects illustrating the feature of architectural professionalism (pp. 43–51) that acknowledges residents, local users and clients, as the ones that possess much of the straightforward knowledge and situated expertise needed.

At times, shortcomings in participation, reminding of the Lippmanian flaws of democracy, namely that citizens would not be competent or willing enough to participate, can be used inversely to fuel projects aiming at pursuing expertise-training activities (Claesson, 2014), projects that might need 'protected arenas' (Cameron & Grant-Smith, 2005) to strengthen the agency of locals as preparation before formalised processes to come.

Recent decades, not least in Sweden (Tahvilzadeh, 2015), have shown a proliferation of official and semi-official (partly private) participatory initiatives, such as so-called participatory governance arrangements, as part of municipalities' will to increase communities' or districts' influence in politics, often with elements of situated design initiatives, some of which do activate communities in new ways, but some being pursued more cynically with an upholding of already established power relations, making no essential difference in the local context (Tahvilzadeh, 2015; Taylor, 2007). However, there are also recent examples of participatory arrangements of co-design, where a certain self-criticism is made on the initiating part (Björgvinsson & Keshavarz, 2020), raising overarching questions about the political consequences of relation-building between initiating and part-taking subjects (Sandström, 2019). Expectations on participatory projects can at times be quite high but are not seldom lowered in the end, pragmatically reduced to, for instance, recognition of mutual learning about a situation (Lenskjold & Olander, 2020), or perhaps to detecting previously unknown creative potential (Sandercock & Attili, 2014).

2. Urban Planning and the Negligence of Concerned Citizens: A Review of Seven Cases

In what follows, seven briefly reviewed cases will highlight the ethical issue of recognition of citizens in planning. The range of cases covers varying existential urgency in different parts of the world and different types of governmental involvement. Four of the cases are located in Malmö, in the southern part of Sweden, thus representing a Swedish 'culture' of citizen involvement. A particular focus in the following reflections on the seven cases is kept on communicational flaws or unevenness.

2.1. Informal Planning: Not on the Map in Calcutta

When the architect, activist and social theorist Jai Sen started to take an interest in the developments of East Calcutta in 1975, he found that settlers in an area of nearly two million people would be affected by massive redevelopment (Sen, 2007) and the people he happened to meet there as a professional advisor of residents and service organisations, had "not even heard of" the larger redevelopment project (Sen, 2007, p. 19). As a response to this situation, Sen initiated the Unintended City Project, which developed into a five-year-long undertaking of research and public education, intending to make communities that were threatened by eviction speak for their rights regarding sanitation services, ration cards, postal delivery, voting rights, etc. At the time, ration cards served, besides giving access to food and daily necessities, as an address index, issued and acknowledged by the government, thus having the additional effects of both being an identity document for its beholder, and providing the possibility to receive postal letters. Sen coined the term "unintended city" to name those areas of a habitat that did not exist at all on formal maps, using the epithet 'unintended' also for the communities and people in Calcutta whose existence and labour was "used by formal economic, planning and governance structures…that had no real place for them" (Sen, 2007, p. 17).

Sen's mapping of these areas, which took several years to execute by his group Unnyan (consisting of voluntary planners and architects), had some impact on local politics and policy, in the sense that for a limited period (1984–1989) "the incidence of evictions decreased, the incidence of militant resistance increased, and there was some dialogue" (Sen, 2007, p. 22). The dialogic channel for the population living along the bodies of water in the area slowly emerged, due to the spontaneously emerged spokesperson agency initiated by Sen, enabling certain recognition, and helped to facilitate connections to new roads, etc. The remaining effect was however limited, according to Sen (2007) himself, who regrets in retrospect that he did not pursue a type of mapping engaging more deeply with the people, suggesting that such interaction would have strengthened a vocabulary of their own, and stand a possibility to live on through memory and culture, in ways that the mapping effort by Sen and his group in itself could not do. What the Unnyan project—and other similar voluntary, activist or insurgent practices in the world—indicates, is the endurance needed to uphold a resilient communicational culture, and that the creation of channels of communication through a mutually understood language (such as the visual language of maps) is needed if any actual results of change are to be expected. The case also shows that acts of communication implicate acts of 'successive translation,' in the sense that there are several stages in translational acts (Sonesson, 2014) and when such acts include more than one semiotic resource (like writing and maps) the dialogic chains will include mechanisms like translation/presentation/re-translation/interpretation, etc., i.e., chains, each part of which deserves attention.

The lack of communication from the authorities, as reported by Sen, corresponds with how Ananya Roy (2009) describes the governmentalist informalities in the planning of Calcutta, and elsewhere in India, extending in principal to a global context as well. Roy (2004b, 2009) attributes informal planning not, as often is the case, only to alternativist initiatives, but to the official planning authorities that give themselves the right to act without a formal anchoring in transparent or legally grounded procedures.

2.2. Critical Participation and Tactical Media: The Renewal of Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin

After the closing of the airport area Tempelhofer Feld in Berlin 2008, possibilities opened up to new ideas for the future of this vast and centrally located land. Apart from the suggestions and competitions for the area launched by the governmental body (Berlin Senate Department of Development and the Environment) proposing urban housing, there were also several local ideas about letting this area remain more or less an open green area, with the addition of locally-run urban farming, leisure-oriented activities and small service-oriented businesses (Schalk, Šušteršič, & Sandin, 2018). In this case, traditional instruments of planning were mixed with informal participatory processes, but also insurgent initiatives criticising the governmentally sanctioned forms of participation for being used strategically to reach already-decided objectives. Temporary activities and businesses were established before this area suddenly became objected to hold up to 7,000 of the large incoming group (80,000) of Syrian refugees to Berlin in 2015, demanded by Berlin Senate (Schalk et al., 2018, p. 305). At most, the old hangar hosted 2,500 refugees in a very large open indoor space, with a poor sound environment, etc. The unhealthy conditions led to the partial relocation of refugees to other (temporary or more stable) residential units (Beck, Noack, & Sohyun Lee, 2018). The larger Tempelhofer Park green area project has established itself as protected from further exploitation close to the borders, as a result of a direct democracy vote in 2014. Some of the spontaneously emerged critical groups then engaged in alternative participatory formats, pursuing education about the area, and teaching visitors about Nazi crime history, through "walks, lectures, readings and open conversations with former forced labourers and eyewitnesses" (Schalk et al., 2018, p. 308). That way, some of the originally insurgent movements could find a working model in the renewed environment in what Schalk et al. (2018) call "historical reworking" (p. 313) as a particular mode of critical participation. The original engagement in land use as protection of recreational qualities thus turned into a continuous running of new modes of service-oriented communicational channels.

2.3. Ignorance of Culture by Development of Land: Hindmarsh Island and the Difficulty to Speak

Another example of planning authorities' disregard of residents' grounds is that of Kumarangk or Hindmarsh Island in Australia. Starting as a proposal to connect an island with a bridge to provide further development, the case transformed by the turn of the century into a seminal example in the history of Aboriginal rights to land vs official federal law's statements regarding property rights (van Krieken, 2011). As a consequence of the planning decisions taken, the case through the years came to include vast additional legal processes, ending with the approval of the official plan to let the bridge be built. The case caused a rift of opinion in Australia, and the depriving of land use for Indigenous people, especially that of Ngarrindjeri women. Accusations (to a significant extent held in court) were made about people fabricating grounds for their rights, and officials taking a side in the conflict were accused, and convicted, for violating the rules of management of these affairs (Hillier, 2007, pp. 88–89; van Krieken, 2011). The dialogue, or rather flaws in the basic dialogic contract that surrounded the case, led to reconsiderations of laws and procedural matters regarding land rights, while also triggering research on the solidity of administrative law to protect or align with interests in land and land use (van Krieken, 2011). Jean Hillier (2007) took in *Stretching Beyond the Horizon* this geopolitical case of planning, and part of recent Australian land-use history, to reflect on some of the philosophical and practical fundaments of planning as well as on the communicational contract that regulates planning. Hillier (2007) states that what "counted as 'legitimate' knowledge," in this case represented by official planning authorities and legal procedures "excluded competing truth claims as deviant" (p. 85), and van Krieken (2011) points out that: "Rules governing considerations [of the interests of Aboriginals] based on a presumption of equality in social, political, and economic relations, rather than from the reality of settler-colonial inequality" (p. 145) tend to produce ineffective legislative attempts, and "Australian law is likely to remain 'whitefella law,' despite the courts' best intention" (p. 146).

Participation, or lack thereof, in this case became a legal court matter and the ethical ground evoked by this example is that the stating of people as 'equal before law' may in certain communicative realities turn out to not even be possible. The dilemma of equality, and equity, here also becomes a matter of the communicational and cultural ground, since what "the power of the 'establishment' has defined…as 'legitimate knowledge'" is partly rooted in the authorities' language and ontological comprehension of 'time' as a linear logic of succession, a logic that supports "capitalist relations of production, where time is money" (Hillier, 2007, p. 85). Hillier's reasoning points out that communication in planning, hence participation in planning that depends on the sharing of communicational codes, suffers from not sufficiently

considering that cultural differences require a reciprocal building of common code that grounds the participatory negotiations.

2.4. Participatory Shortcomings in Official Planning in Malmö, Sweden

The three cases so far rendered, from different cultures in different parts of the world, have actualised ethical dilemmas grounded in what is required of telling and listening, virtually as soon as any planning is at stake. Well aware that some of these cases are directly linked to extreme situations, including brute colonialist and migration effects, we can now, when turning to more democratically negotiated rituals of planning, nevertheless see that communicational acts, and flaws in their realisation, have some common factors bridging such existential gaps (cf. Roy, 2004b). A difference between the Swedish cases that follow, and the previously reviewed Indian, German and Australian examples, is that we now (still only briefly) turn to examples where ethical issues arise more as part of (omitted) legal rights to participate. This turn towards less extreme situations and more into the everyday business of official planning does however not, as we shall see, exclude cases of direct ethical concern, such as the eviction of people, or prohibition from established cultural habits. So even if the discussion of these four following cases is in a way reflecting less severe conflictual situations if seen in a global perspective, they show general elements of controversy and neglect of cultures and perspectives (Roy, 2004b). Another reason for bringing this totality of cases together in one study is to at least indicate through examples that today we cannot avoid a global connection between political forces on earth, where migration and ecological issues are of common concern and Sweden or Scandinavia are, of course, no exception here, struggling as other regions with acknowledging its position in current states of global affairs.

The way communicational acts are prepared, constructed and pursued in several and unpredictable steps, is of crucial importance in any type of citizen inclusion act. Such acts include successive translation of ideas from one context to another, and at times from one media to another, which implies that the dialogue requires a double act of translation: from the initiating party's thoughts to a relevant presentation, and from that presentation to interpreting parties. Hence, 'communication' does not only mean what Healey (1992) once saw as a general 'turn' in the practices and discipline of planning (and planning theory) but in a more direct semiotic sense addresses the mechanisms that define the everyday apparatus of what ought to be part of the dialogue. As we now turn to a contemporary Swedish context, participation is (again) reflected through examining forces of decision-making and the presence of informality in official planning procedures and how they tie to the intended right for citizens to have a voice. The examples brought up in what follows are four planning cases in Malmö, a city located in the southernmost region of Sweden, connected to Denmark via a bridge (Figure 1).

2.4.1. Malmö Hyllie

The City of Malmö officially announced in 2002 that 2.5 million SEK would be invested to evaluate the possibility of establishing an amusement park with the theme 'Scandinavia' (Sandin, 2019). Three American consultants specialising in themed experience design in large-scale urban format were invited to work in conjunction with local initiators and visionaries who saw a theme park as a well-found future item of development in this Scandinavian region. The park was planned to be located on agrarian soil close to the Öresund transnational Bridge leading to Copenhagen in Denmark (Figure 1).

The park was estimated to open in 2014. A rough visual rendering of the planned area appeared in the local public newspaper *Sydsvenskan* (2008) showing an amusement area located south of the dense part of the city, carrying a set of attractions in a style reminiscent of cartoonist fantasy worlds (Sandin, 2019). The years went by, and as the financing and management of the future park remained an unresolved issue, the project had to be terminated in 2013 and disappeared from Malmö's official planning agenda.

The visionaries and politicians that were involved became the only clear local stakeholders throughout the 10 years of the project's duration, developing what Metzger (2013) calls 'stakeholderness,' by which a stakeholder is successively created, educated and solidified. Here, in this case, stakeholderness was developed in secret discussions between Swedish visionaries and American consultants (Sandin, 2019), winding up presenting Scandinavia in concept documents mainly through clichés of ancient Nordic history and mythology, but also through the consultants' model of market-oriented 'visitor education' and conventional adventure park aesthetics (Malmö Stad, 2002). The plans were not deliberated or productively tested in conjunction with possible concerned local publics and parties. Consequently, living cultural (Scandinavian) values were ignored, not least in the visionary design production, values that could have more concretely provided the sought-after educational and popular content (Sandin, 2019). This unfortunate authoritarian and "biased" (Healey, 2007) mode of planning became not only an act of prioritising commercial rules before the experiences of people, but one of ignoring the values of local culture. The extreme confinement of interpretational minds became a weakness of the project as a whole that struck back, possibly contributing to the failure in the end (Sandin, 2019).

2.4.2. Malmö Slussplan

In 2012, a new 12-storey building was erected as part of the renewal of a square in Malmö, Sweden. During the

Figure 1. The location of four planning cases in Malmö. Source: Adapted from Google Maps (n.d.).

slow progression of this renewal, from the first presentation of ideas in 2002 until the erection of the building, there was a lack of interest from the major authorisers in listening to what types of place-specific needs and activities could have contributed to this act of urban renewal (Sandin, 2015). An unusually large number of answers, 330 in all, expressed various reactions: to the height of the building, its location concerning traffic, and its function as turning a public place into a house with private ownership of apartments. Occupiers of the only remaining one-storey building were evicted from the area, some of these groups (an Iranian association) left on request, others (homeless) were evicted with police assistance (Sandin, 2015).

The large number of written protests reveals that several protesters came from a solid economical group, owners or renters of neighbouring apartments, the values of which they assumingly wanted to protect. These citizens were speaking with a certain measure of authority, capable of formulating quite elaborate reflections, referring for example to EU law. But there were also protesters less familiar with how to raise a voice, and some of these could join temporally formed associations writing straight-forward responses in the public review. Finally, some homeless people resided in the area without formal address, people that had no voice at all, left unrecognised by authorities as well as neighbours, and in the end, faced with eviction.

In the phase when the building contractor expected a building permit, the only existing single-story brick building was demolished. Thereafter, the square was fenced off in various ways, for example, to protect an occasional soil-quality test, or to accommodate containers filled with equipment for future grounding of the new building. The fenced protection of the area, lasting for approximately four years, was made through spatial and material obstruction, communicating to the public that this is no longer their local area. This long-lasting obstruction was in practice maintained through occasional digging activities, through containers placed in the square for significant periods, or through repelling enclosures with signposts and boards showing the names of constructors, excavation firms and building consultants (Sandin, 2015). In one end of the area, a well-used shortcut was physically obstructed by large blocks of stone. These examples of materials possessing delegated agency (Latour, 2005), in connection with the strategic use of delays caused by waiting for decisions and economical solutions, had the effect that protests slowly faded away, and after a couple of years, the municipality could also pursue a break of the original promise and plan to provide rentable apartments, changing them instead into condominiums (Sandin, 2015). The visual renderings of the area showed in the first phases of the project a low enough building to be accepted, while in the second part, after the permission to build, the building's height was instead emphasised in the images to give the impression of an urban landmark, a high-rise offering apartments with a view (Sandin, 2018, p. 324).

In planning procedures like these, where the municipality and individual civil servants have the authorised and delegated right to read and summarise voices, there is room for selective manoeuvres in various directions. Despite a quite elaborate public response procedure, the totality of voices could be treated in the public response either as a unified group or as scattered citizens, depend-

ing on what type of issue, simply by officials responding to commenters together or one after another. This means that opinions, such as about the height of the building in the Slussplan case, were treated as quite scattered, which disenabled the neighbouring population to "build equivalence" (Purcell, 2008, p. 175) enough as one clear voice. Such a grouped, or ungrouped, selection of addressees escapes the legal frame for what a municipality is obliged to do in terms of communication.

2.4.3. Malmö Spillepeng

The third case in Malmö concerns a waste dump area located right at the northern border of Malmö (see Figure 1). This artificially constructed peninsula stretching into the Öresund sea between Sweden and Denmark, was at the time of its realisation, in 1987, subjected to the legally stated public consultation of a detailed plan (see Lomma Kommun, 2008), a plan that was never fully realised, nor did the plan or its revisions cause any public debate (Qviström, 2008). There were initial concerns stated by an environment protection association and also by a neighbouring petroleum-industry that this sudden appearance of a new peninsula would affect wildlife and shore conditions along the coastal line. When a remaking of the original detailed plan was suggested in 2010, the obligatory public consultation review took place. However, this review also silently passed the broad official debate. Such silence is not unusual, especially when the reviews concern regional rather than singular municipal interests (Bjärstig et al., 2017). The general tendency in official participatory planning, namely that people get more concerned the spatially closer the subject matter is, could perhaps today be questioned if we regard later years' raised global environmental awareness, but still, in regional planning procedures, the allocation of resources is not the same for citizen communication as in municipal planning.

The waste material that builds up this landfill is delivered regularly from 14 regionally close municipalities that share ownership in the waste processing facility, a large and technologically advanced incineration plant, named SYSAV. Waste material is imported also from other parts of Sweden and abroad, on a more occasional contractual basis, which means that this facility can also claim to be a facility of national interest, which in itself makes it harder to adjust this area based on local needs. The original detailed plan from 1987 stated a reorientation of land use, to be executed after fulfilled construction of the peninsula, and to be turned into a recreation area, with a marina including sand beaches, harbours for small boats, walking and cycling paths, etc., however, after a period of delays (Sandin, 2008) and later revisions of the plan (Burlöv Kommun, 2011) none of this has actually happened. In the parts closest to the original coastline, some space continued to be allocated to small animal-breeding associations, and a shooting range, with a certain amount of simple landscaping added for recreation. Instead, Spillepeng continued to function as a major regional dumping ground, with ever more refined end products from incineration. The mechanisms of public participation, in this case, can be characterised as essentially non-existent, since the consultations were handled as communication mainly with other official bodies (Burlöv Kommun, 2011). The collectively owned SYSAV has an on-going obligation to keep the land in shape, and serves also as a 'public window' for the area of Spillepeng and offers rest products for sale. This quite large landscape area constitutes in itself a significant influence in the process of reshaping, which means that scale, rather than people's opinions, becomes a main decisive actor. In the case of Spillepeng, the long omission of the promised recreation area for several of the region's citizens indicates informal handling of formal processes (cf. Roy, 2004a, 2009), partly enforced through the County Administrative Board giving its a signature confirming the pursued review acts. Not only can "a democratically accountable and trusted planning agency…persuade recognised actors in society that change is desirable" (Bjärstig et al., 2017, p. 40), but also support the stance that deviating from a convenient state of affairs is not desirable (Grange, 2017). This case points to the difficulty of establishing a communicational base in inter-municipal circumstances, but also to the ethical dilemma of wanting or not wanting to break the status quo of a stabilised circumstance, suiting some but not others.

2.4.4. Malmö Rosengård

The last Malmö-based case is a co-design initiative, made during a period of renewal in Rosengård, a renewal that included a new local train station and the idea of a spectacular high-rise building, but also with the intention of the municipality leadership to engage more in a marginalised part of the city. This district has been stigmatised for a long time, in official and social media in Sweden and elsewhere, as a "ghetto-like area" (Sernhede, 2007, p. 229) emblematic of violence and criminality. A large part of the population are immigrants, and as the assimilation into cultural acknowledgement in Sweden can be quite hard to handle. The district, suffering from a high rate of unemployment, and low medium income, has seldom been taken into account as an area where creative initiatives exist. A co-design project was therefore launched, aimed at improving the mediational facilities for local musicians and music-producers rooted here. This particular co-design project, among others, was run by researchers from Malmö University in cooperation with a media company, with connections also to the City of Malmö, "centred on supporting knowledge-based entrepreneurial work" (Björgvinsson & Keshavarz, 2020, p. 257). The project also involved Swedish Television and Swedish Radio, the traditional national state-supported broadcasting companies. The project's original intentions were to support young groups from Rosengård to gain

larger arenas and powerful branch partners. However, in some of the decisive meetings about how to proceed in the project, the researchers and the media company failed to include enough representative mass from the area, which revealed an ontological position where the addressed participants were seen as a unified group in need of participatory support. This omission of real circumstances led to "a rupture in the social fabric of the [already existing music-producing] organisation" (Björgvinsson & Keshavarz, 2020, p. 256). Some of the initiators in retrospect admitted the presence of unrealistic ideas that led to a virtually non-functional communicational situation and only a superficial presence in the area. The mass and magnitude of this kind of participatory project in Sweden (Tahvilzadeh, 2015), of which Rosengård in Malmö is a typical case, led the media columnist Nabila Abdul Fattah to state that she was "tired of experiment-people who exploit the system for their own profit" (Abdul Fattah, 2014). What Abdul Fattah wished for was not external and artificially established participatory projects, but an inverted form for participation with direct contribution from granters, municipality councils and city districts that would instead support activities already anchored. The researchers Björgvinsson and Keshavarz (2020) suggest that the renowned late 20th century-born Scandinavian participatory design model (cf. Bødker, Grønbæk, & Kyng, 1993) that have been described as "striving for democracy [and] adopted [and] practised in North America and elsewhere since the mid-1980s" (Gregory, 2003, p. 62) need to reconsider participation, not as a one-sided democratic involvement of citizens, but instead as an active form of "part-taking" based on mutual acceptance of truly agentic parts, hence with contributors that possess more than just the "flat" role of participant (Björgvinsson & Keshavarz, 2020).

In reflection of the Rosengård example, just as in several of the cases above, we see that an initial communicational intention may get lost in the second phase of the successive translation of ideas, namely the phase where an open interpretation of an initially presented intention is at stake.

3. Negligence and Recognition of Communicative Mechanisms in Participation

The seven cases here rendered showed various types of omittance of citizens' voices in planning communication. The cases have ranged from the brute politics of colonialist planning to the daily matters of legally implemented acts of participation. The cases show consequences of, or indications of, what Healey (2007) regards as "communicative bias," or what Sandercock and Attili (2014) calls "reduction to dependency status." Even for the cases where participatory aspects follow the law, they may, as we have seen, have unwanted effects and can, from a working participation point of view, risk becoming nothing but counterproductive, either for (the community of) citizens or for the planning authority itself. We have seen how participation must be created and grounded in local engagement, often over several years, where the initiator represents a community through grounded work and adequate media (such as the maps to build local agency in Calcutta, and the public walks and history lectures as critical participation in Tempelhofer Feld, Berlin).

A less successful attempt at mediating local culture was made through the support of music production in Rosengård, Malmö) with not enough local anchoring. These media-related projects had to lower their original ambitions, and existed without any guarantee of success, but reached at least partial results as regards learning, acknowledgement and implementation. We have seen how the large-scale eviction of people led to activation (of established squatters in Calcutta, of representatives of regular cultural usage of land at Hindmarsh Island, and critical participatory actions in Tempelhofer Feld). These cases showed both persistent and enduring self-conducted participatory action concerning official bodies or as voluntary planning initiatives. In the cases of formally invited participation (Malmö-Slussplan, Malmö-Spillepeng, and as a co-design project, Malmö-Rosengård) we could see that fulfilling the invitations to public review or officially supported participation arrangements, does not guarantee actual involvement, but rather reveals problems that must be dealt with as regards the informal distribution of delegated planning (to civil servants), but also as regards the points in time when citizens are actually approached. Official authorities' negligence towards publicly transparency despite the legally established routines for that (as in Malmö-Hyllie and Malmö-Spillepeng) were seen as producing long-standing silence among people with a virtual, but not actual right to have a say concerning particularised representational interests, possibly also leading to inaction and nonfulfillment of plans.

In all of these cases, certain non-anchored, or "informal" (Roy, 2009) official values had priority, leading either to the forced raising of public awareness through affected groups and their representatives, or to spontaneously created critical participatory practices. In some cases, such informal handling simply led to unresolved protests or further unnoticed silence. Inter-cultural or financial agreements ignoring a locally anchored culture were seen as not constructive, causing ruptures in existing local communities, or contributing to the failure as projects. Taken together, these cases show that a recurrent challenge is that a participatory act is always based in establishing enough wide and enduring commonness, or 'code' in the communicational act, perhaps needing at least for some time, a closed-off learning space of its own. For participatory acts to have an impact that makes a difference as community building, and avoid being illusory or "manipulative" (Arnstein, 1969), they need to include actual, locally established governance mechanisms over time, in consecutive steps, applied on conditions of those it concerns, not of the initiators.

In relation to the range of flaws here presented—to be seen also as factors to be dealt with—the ethics of planning has appeared more specifically as reflected in two reappearing semiotic mechanisms, which can be seen as areas to improve in the communication that constitute large parts of participatory projects. They are here stated as recognition of interpretational steps in translational acts and as ensuring dialogic reciprocity with enough actors. One way to deal with both of these mechanisms in practical situations, which should be beneficiary for the planning results and their architectural presence, is to acknowledge and follow the chains of interpretation, for instance by ensuring a listening presence in later translational stages, where the dialogue is successively interpreted and articulated by different part-taking members.

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Conflict of Interests

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About the Author

Gunnar Sandin is Associate Professor at the Department of Architecture and Built Environment, Lund University. His research includes studies of architecture and urban development through theories of place, planning and semiotics of space. Publications include: “Democracy on the Margin” in *Architectural Theory Review* (Routledge, 2013); “Urbanity: The City as the Specifically Human Niche” in *Human Lifeworlds* (Peter Lang, 2016); and “The Making of ‘Scandinavia’ in the Visionary Design of a Theme Park” in *Reflecting Histories and Directing Futures* (NAF 2019–1).

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Article

Dialectical Design Dialogues: Negotiating Ethics in Participatory Planning by Building a Critical Design Atlas

Barbara Roosen [1], Liesbeth Huybrechts [1], Oswald Devisch [1] and Pieter Van den Broeck [2,*]

[1] Faculty of Architecture and Arts, University of Hasselt, 3590 Diepenbeek, Belgium;
E-Mails: barbara.roosen@uhasselt.be (B.R.), liesbeth.huybrechts@uhasselt.be (L.H.), oswald.devisch@uhasselt.be (O.D.)
[2] Department of Architecture, KU Leuven, 3000 Leuven, Belgium; E-Mail: pieter.vandenbroeck@kuleuven.be

* Corresponding author

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Abstract
This article explores 'dialectical design dialogues' as an approach to engage with ethics in everyday urban planning contexts. It starts from Paulo Freire's pedagogical view (1970/2017), in which dialogues imply the establishment of a horizontal relation between professionals and amateurs, in order to understand, question and imagine things in everyday reality, in this case, urban transformations, applied to participatory planning and enriched through David Harvey's (2000, 2009) dialectical approach. A dialectical approach to design dialogues acknowledges and renegotiates contrasts and convergences of ethical concerns specific to the reality of concrete daily life, rather than artificially presenting daily life as made of consensus or homogeneity. The article analyses an atlas as a tool to facilitate dialectical design dialogues in a case study of a low-density residential neighbourhood in the city of Genk, Belgium. It sees the production of the atlas as a collective endeavour during which planners, authorities and citizens reflect on possible futures starting from a confrontation of competing uses and perspectives of neighbourhood spaces. The article contributes to the state-of-the-art in participatory urban planning in two ways: (1) by reframing the theoretical discussion on ethics by arguing that not only the verbal discourses around designerly atlas techniques but also the techniques themselves can support urban planners in dealing more consciously with ethics (accountability, morality and authorship) throughout urban planning processes, (2) by offering a concrete practice-based example of producing an atlas that supports the participatory articulation and negotiation of dialectical inquiry of ethics through dialogues in a 'real-time' urban planning process.

Keywords
atlas; dialectics; dialogues; ethics; mapping; neighbourhoods; participatory urban planning

Issue
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1. The Ethics of Participatory Urban Planning

This article explores an approach to articulate and deal with ethical questioning in participatory urban planning practice and builds upon insights from participatory design, urban planning and mapping theory. It starts with the belief that the unpredictable nature of participatory urban planning processes requires an open approach that can deal with ethics 'in real-time' (Kelly, 2018) during the process.

Such an approach challenges the working relations among designers and planners by abolishing a single professional perspective to ethics in planning and making a shift to multiple, situated perspectives to ethics that are shaped through on-going processes of debate. When all actors are considered equally during the participatory process, (moral) responsibilities and ownership of design proposals are also being questioned. As such, as feminist scholars Barad (2007) and Suchman (2002) also demonstrate in their writings, questions of morality, authorship

and accountability become part and parcel of the negotiation process. Several authors in participatory design today suggest considering every meeting of human and non-human actors in a design process as an ethical encounter which needs to go hand in hand with recognising and negotiating the specific responsibilities that come with the role humans and non-humans have in a particular relation (e.g., Spiel, Brulé, Frauenberger, Bailley, & Fitzpatrick, 2020).

This article discusses an approach capable of dealing with these questions around morality, authorship and accountability in real-time throughout urban planning processes. It explores a concrete case study in which researchers-planners engaged in a low-profile planning context in the city of Genk, Belgium and co-produced an atlas as a participatory planning and design tool to address ethical questions throughout the process. Based upon this research experience, the article aims to contribute to the theoretical discussion on how to relate in real-time to ethical questions in participatory planning processes, as well as to gain insights for planning practice on the use of an atlas in situations where ethical questions impose themselves. To frame the case study elaborated in section two, the next sections first explore the key concepts of dialogues, dialectics and the atlas.

1.1. Dialogues

The growing focus on spatial planning for everyday life experience and how it is shaped by various dimensions of society brought about a necessary shift towards more collaborative planning practices (Healey, 1997). In this process, the dialogue became an important ingredient of planning practice to deal with the complexity and diversity of interests of actors in spatial transformation processes. However, when discussing the ethics of participatory planning processes, we need to pay close attention to how these dialogues are shaped. In order to consciously shape these dialogues while paying close attention to ethics, we found inspiration in Freire's (1970/2017) pedagogical view on dialogues. Starting from Marxist thinking, he defines dialogues as an emancipatory and creative act to enact transformations in a reciprocal relationship between teacher and student. When translated to the planning context, dialogues can be seen as conversations that can be steered by everyone in the process, within horizontal relations among all stakeholders based upon mutual respect and trust in which each member acknowledges and engages with the other (Freire, 1970/2017; Rule, 2011).

Freire's approach teaches us that dialogues can enable planning processes to become processes of horizontal and mutual learning. In his view, perceptions and experiences are shaped by everyday praxis and spaces. As such, the dialogues that planners enter into need to tap into concrete and recognizable situations by shaping a learning relationship with the people who inhabit, organise or maintain these spaces. This could trigger collective manoeuvre room for new thoughts, design, and new practices to emerge. Freire's work lies at the basis of many recent reflections on the role of dialogues in shaping the politics of participatory design and planning processes (Salazar, Zuljevic, & Huybrechts, 2018; Serpa, Portele, Costard, & Silva, 2020). In previous research, we aimed to enrich the knowledge of the particular qualities of these dialogues in a participatory urban planning context. By making an overview of different types of dialogues (and media) that occurred in two urban planning cases, we discovered differences in how designerly dialogues can build capacity among the actors involved, to explore, reflect, design and act together upon socio-spatial challenges. It became clear that too often the political role of design tools in entering and shaping a political space through dialogues, where roles are shifted and capabilities are built, is underestimated (Huybrechts, Dreessen, & Hagenaars, 2018; Huybrechts, Dreessen, Schepers, & Calderon Salazar, 2016; Huybrechts, Roosen, Verbakel, & Schreurs, 2019; Huybrechts, Teli, Zuljevic, & Bettega, 2020). In line with this research, in this article, we study more profoundly this political role of design tools and techniques to facilitate dialogues within participatory planning processes. More specifically, we aim to explore how planners can engage with the ethical questions that such dialogues generate, summarised earlier as questions of morality, authorship and accountability.

1.2. Dialectics

However, not all dialogues provide space for politics and ethical questioning. In current theoretical discussions on participatory planning, it has been argued that the focus on consensus in dialogues erases ethical questions. Indeed, the focus on consensus has been criticised for not being able to critically question existing power relations and avoiding the renegotiation of the position of dominant actors who suppress certain positions. In these theoretical approaches there is a call for more agonistic, adaptive and discursive perspectives to planning that focus on conflictuality, unequal power relations and uncertainty inherent to spatial transformation processes (Hillier, 2007, 2011; Metzger, Allmendinger, & Oosterlynck, 2014; Mostafavi, 2017; Swyngedouw, 2005; Van den Broeck, 2019). Many of these theories build upon the Marxist dialectical tradition that offers a critical and bottom-upward approach to incorporate complexity and multiple perspectives in urban transformation processes, seeking connection between reflection and action, particularities and generalities. This tradition pays close attention to uneven power relations across different scales and dimensions and to the emancipatory meaning of these processes to shed light on everyone's right to intervene in spatial transformation processes (Merrifield, 2002).

Therefore, the concept of 'dialectics' is productive for planners who want to articulate ethics in the dialogues they enter into, because it seeks generative tensions,

contrasts and contradictions embedded in the everyday which uncover latent opportunities to develop capabilities among designers, planners, inhabitants and policymakers to understand and generate accountability to intervene in our living environment (Harvey, 2000, 2009; Loftus, 2012). Harvey (2009) focuses upon dialectical relations between (1) everyday life, (2) the kind of perceptions and ideas, (3) we build in relation to social ties between individuals, groups and institutions, (4) nature, (5) technology and (6) modes of production and labour. Only when conscious about contradictions and continuities between those six moments, can we "fight conceptually and intellectually over alternatives" (Harvey, 2009, p. 237). In this sense, when urban planning projects shape the dialogical exchange in a dialectical way, the negotiations between diverse types of knowledge and practices within these different moments become apparent as important moral choices. To further investigate the real-time ethical questioning in participatory urban planning processes, we, therefore, foreground the concept of 'dialectical design dialogues' which we define as mutual learning processes that initiate, continue and shift dialogues to reveal and acknowledge, articulate and negotiate dialectics between different ethical concerns in participatory planning, starting from concrete and recognizable situations in everyday life realities.

1.3. The Atlas

How can we now use the concepts of dialogue and dialectics to enable debates and practices around ethical questions that emerge during participatory planning processes? How can urban designers, researchers or planners create space for complexity, conflicts and dissenting opinions? In this article, we study dialectical design dialogues through urban planning practice via the atlas, a tool proper to the research and design language of planners. An atlas is basically a collection of maps, in which each map relates to other maps and as such becomes part of a broader and more complex story. By representing and describing the same space in multiple ways, an atlas is able "to approximate the rich complexity of a place" (Solnit, 2010, p. 1). Seeking confrontation and the interplay of maps enables atlas makers to create novel stories through critical investigation of well-established, often predefined atlas and mapping techniques (Cattoor & Perkins, 2014; Wood, 1987). This critical investigation is necessary for creating space for dialectical design dialogues, because, as Söderström (1996) points out, default mapping conventions tend to impede novel ways of reading, designing and managing the urban territory.

There are many different ways in which mapping can demonstrate tensions (Crampton & Krygier, 2006) and reveal ethical questions concerning urban transformation processes. In participatory planning practice, on the one hand, participatory and community mappings provide a political tool to open up urban planning to amateurs (Parker, 2006) in search of inclusion (of social and cultural groups and societal themes to avoid elite mapping productions), transparency (about goals, context and authorship in order to keep mapping accountable) and empowerment (of multiple actors involved to inform and inspire collective actions). On the other hand, there are designerly and analytical mappings "in which expert spatial knowledge operates" (Cattoor & Perkins, 2014, p. 167) with the ambition to "discover new worlds within the past and present ones; they inaugurate new grounds upon the hidden traces of a living context and actualize those potentials" (Corner, 1999, p. 214). Each of those two types of mapping set relationships between specific perspectives and agendas and as such create space to reveal dialectics between them. However, dialogues about tensions and relationships between these two different types of mapping and the knowledge that they produce in planning processes appear to be difficult and therefore particularly important to address. Therefore, this article particularly aims to further investigate the use of the atlas as a critical method of confronting maps, perspectives and knowledge, but then as a participatory and co-authored planning tool to negotiate ethical concerns together. Therefore, the article foregrounds the following question: What is the role of an atlas as a tool in unveiling the dialectics between and through different mappings in planning processes, enabling dialogue on ethical concerns that emerge from collecting, confronting and working with different forms of knowledge and involving both professionals and citizens?

To investigate this question, this article describes a case study of a low-density residential neighbourhood, Oud-Waterschei, in the former mining city of Genk, Belgium. We experimented with an atlas to facilitate dialectical design dialogues in order to engage with different agendas, claims, issues, viewpoints and ethical concerns triggered by future transformations of the neighbourhood. The article describes and discusses how we experimented with atlas and mapping techniques. In the next section, we will first talk about the specific planning context of the residential neighbourhood we worked in and then focus on one specific dialectical design dialogue to analyse how the unveiling of dialectics in the atlas helped to negotiate conflicting ethical concerns.

2. Dialogues in a Residential Neighbourhood

2.1. Case Study Context

The city of Genk originates from a grid of *cités* (neighbourhoods planned in line with the garden city model) and mining sites, imposed upon the landscape of agrarian hamlets in the marshy and fertile valley of the Stiemer creek in the beginning of the 20th century (Nolf, 2013), attracting Italian, Turkish and Polish immigrants to work for the coal mining companies. Its particular development resulted in a fragmented city with multiple cultural communities and a rather low population density of 755 inhabitants per km2. The district

of Oud-Waterschei, with a population density of only 429 inhabitants per km2, originates from one of the original hamlets and is separated from the former mining site and *cité* of Waterschei by a wide avenue and the Stiemer creek. After WWII, Oud-Waterschei urbanized in the form of plot-by-plot development of single-family detached houses, gradually taking in woods and pastures along its agricultural roads. Large perimeter low-density blocks emerged, subdivided into deep parcels leaving room for vegetable gardens, workhouses and internal wooded areas. Between 2017 and 2019 the research team engaged with the neighbourhood within the framework of academic research, a public assignment and an educational program that were mutually aligned: (1) The academic PhD research of the first author looks into the role of an atlas in revealing and debating the socio-spatial complexity of low-density residential neighbourhoods; (2) the three-year public assignment RoadWorks, commissioned by the city of Genk, aimed to develop a vision and policy recommendations for its soft connection network. The first two authors were part of the design team in collaboration with the NGO Trage Wegen (Soft Connections) and LUCA School of Arts; and (3) the urban design seminar organised by the three first authors during fall 2018, engaged seven Master in Architecture students in designerly research through dialogues and mapping with local actors in Oud-Waterschei.

All three processes were organized as a series of 'dialogical' activities. These included bilateral conversations with different departments of the city administration and the design team of RoadWorks, individual talks with passers-by, in-depth talks with key actors or co-design sessions with a mix of inhabitants, civil servants, ONGs, planners and architecture students. In all, around 50 dialogical activities were organized by three researchers and three students, involving around 50 inhabitants, 15 civil servants, 10 ONGs and 10 spatial professionals.

In each of these dialogical activities, the main researcher brought hard copies of parts of the atlas. These could both include maps summarizing previous activities or existing maps of the area, such as printouts of various analytical and policy maps (some of them produced digitally by the researchers). Both the researchers and students brought their own maps based on approximately—for each student—10 individual talks with passers-by of different ages and cultural backgrounds on location to assemble diverse perspectives and opinions on the role of soft connections in this low-density neighbourhood. These conversations started from concrete tensions (for example a path that would soon disappear) indicated on a map to which comments were manually added.

Most of the activities were held and documented live via a large paper-based neighbourhood map (2m $\times$ 2m), the main material of the atlas, accompanied with other printed visual material (produced digitally by the researchers). On this neighbourhood map, the researchers discussed the dialogues between the maps in four meetings of the steering group of the RoadsWorks project, during five in-depth dialogue sessions with key actors during the urban design seminar. In 11 co-design sessions held in the neighbourhood, we invited 3–5 participants. The choice of participants and topics was proposed by the researchers themselves, the city administration, and also by inhabitants at earlier activities.

In each of the activities, in-depth engagement with a small number of participants was preferred over superficial engagements with large numbers of people. Along the same line of thinking, we chose in this article not to present general fieldwork findings, but rather a detailed account of a particular dialectical design dialogue.

2.2. Dialectical Design Dialogue Triggered by an Atlas

One of our dialogues focussed on the Mispad grove, a soft connection enclosed by housing ribbons and one of the last remnants of the Stiemer creek landscape in Oud-Waterschei. The municipal project leader of the RoadWorks project disagreed with our focus and worried that it would disturb the realisation of the master plan which involved around sixty new houses in the Mispad grove, a project which was contested by surrounding homeowners because they would lose part of their private back gardens. The municipality's reaction revealed a socio-economic dialectic at play, but also an 'internal' inconsistency between the municipal housing plan and the municipal ambition to reinforce the creek valley landscape in the city. The researchers and project leader agreed to shift the focus of the neighbourhood dialogue to the adjacent enclosed Brentjes grove.

During a series of site visits to Brentjes grove, passers-by of various socio-cultural backgrounds described the grove as a forgotten space where they or their children played before but where now nature had taken over. The announcement of the construction of a new house meant that the remaining access to the area, across a private plot, would disappear. We decided to label this plot 'passage plot' and put it on a large 'neighbourhood map' (see Figure 1). Together with the maps showing the dialectics around the Mispad grove, this was the starting point of our first co-design session which we hoped would trigger critical reflection about individual property and building rights vis-à-vis common needs such as space for recreation, soft mobility, nature, biodiversity and water.

During the first co-design session, participants started, each from their own practice and experience, imagining tools and actions that might address these dialectics. A planning official started to consider technical possibilities to protect accessibility at strategic places including conditions of 'right of way' in building permits. The neighbourhood manager launched the idea to shed more light on the discussion, organising the annual neighbourhood walk across these forgotten groves. The researchers labelled this idea in the atlas the 'do-it-yourself path.' The director of the local school made the link to the school's location, also a site enclosed by hous-

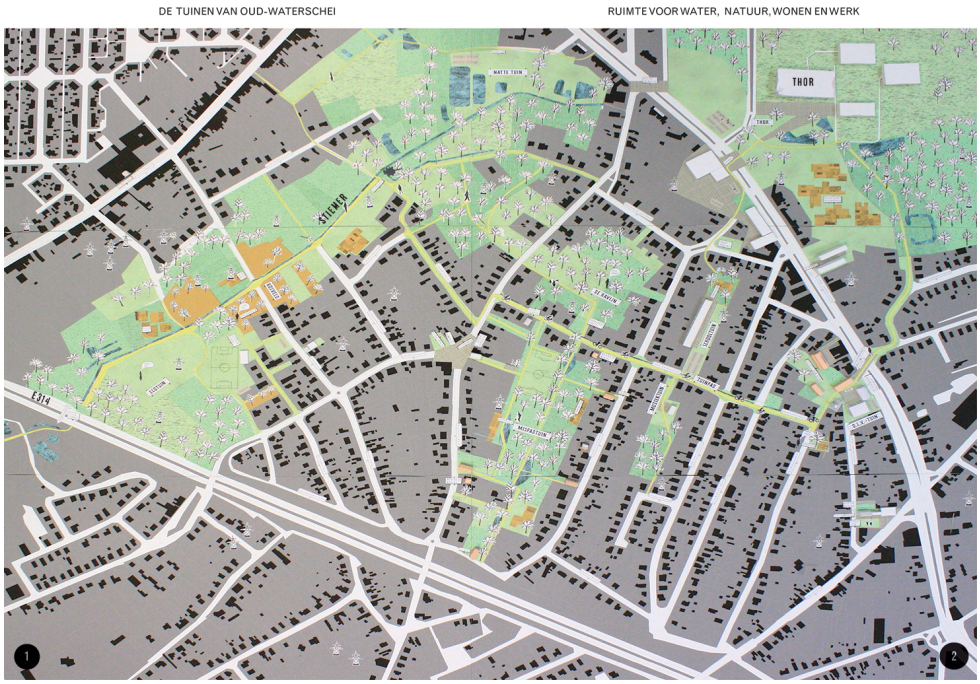

Figure 1. The neighbourhood map on a double page in the first section 'places' of the atlas. Source: Anse Arits, Laura Enkels, Julie Polus, Alexander Verlaak, and Barbara Roosen (based on the digital topographic map of Flanders, GRB 2018).

ing plots. He imagined a second pedestrian access to the school as a means to address its current mobility and parking issues. During these dialogues, more neighbourhood spaces were visualised on the neighbourhood map (including groves, bare land and public services such as the school), and links to other key actors, such as the municipal 'compost master,' were made (see Figure 2). In a later phase, a local organic farmer got involved as well, in search of fertile land in the city for extensive agro-forestry. We documented all inputs in the atlas and decided to label all open spaces as 'collective neighbourhood gardens.'

Figure 2. Double page from the atlas' first section 'places' with the 'neighbour compost network' and the 'passage plot.' Source: Anse Arits, Laura Enkels, Julie Polus, Alexander Verlaak, and Barbara Roosen (based on the digital topographic map of Flanders, GRB 2018).

During the second co-design session, the compost master together with two inhabitants and the neighbourhood priest reflected together on our labels and explored the idea of a 'compost school' as an extension of the existing compost network of the compost master. At the same time, the priest pointed at a new dialectic: Many neighbourhood gardens contain social facilities, but most of them are underused and neglected because policy focuses on more central locations in the city. In order to negotiate this dialectic in greater depth, we decided to make a map showing the state and occupancy rate of all the neighbourhood facilities.

We decided to present our atlas to the design team of the master plan of the Stiemer creek. The 'collective neighbourhood gardens' of Mispad and Brentjes triggered their interest as potential systems for local rainwater re-use and infiltration in the form of sustainable urban drainage solutions, wadis and rain gardens. To explore these latent possibilities with residents and local policymakers, we decided to visualize these systems in the atlas.

This became the starting point to re-initiate the dialogue about the Mispad garden, shifting focus from conflicting individual concerns of the municipality and property owners towards broader common concerns such as rainwater infiltration. To support these common concerns, the students explored alternative densification strategies based on existing housing practices in the neighbourhood, proposing a densification of the existing built-up parcels, as such minimizing extra mineralisation and maximizing rainwater infiltration. During the following co-design sessions, we learned that inhabitants were not so much concerned about these sustainability issues, but were interested in the affordable, collective and flexible housing models of the students as these would allow them to keep on living in their neighbourhood.

The above fragment of the dialectic design dialogues illustrates the horizontal and unpredictable character of the process where design choices both emanate from conversations between actors, practices and projects. Some of the dialogues only lasted as long as the dialogical activities, whereas others continued, working towards concrete projects, such as the compost school garden and the concept of passage plots that were both included in the municipal policy plan concerning soft mobility.

3. Shaping Dialectical Design Dialogues on Ethics through Atlas Techniques

Our atlas not only triggered dialogues that allowed for more dialectical interactions including opposition, discussions, conflict, and (partial) consensus building but also helped to address ethical concerns including morality, authorship and accountability. We will discuss how atlas techniques such as structuring, selecting, labelling, montage and referencing allowed us to collect, confront and work with different forms of knowledge and, as such, enabled the real-time making of ethical choices in dialogical, careful and conscious ways. Figure 3 illustrates how we designed atlas techniques to raise ethical concerns in the dialogue fragments analysed in Section 2.2 and how these helped unveiling dialectics which articulated ethical questions as part of the conversations. In what follows, we discuss five examples of how we used atlas techniques to steer our dialectical design dialogue in Oud-Waterschei.

3.1. Structuring the Atlas to Anticipate Dialogues

At the start of the process, we structured the atlas into two sections: 'places' and 'perspectives.' The first section 'places' consisted of a large neighbourhood map (see Figure 1). This map was used during all the co-design sessions and in-depth talks in order to collect stories about meaningful collective spaces of the past, present and future. The map visualized the neighbourhood's private built environment (in black underlay) concerning its collectively used spaces (in coloured paper), based upon the principle of the Nolli map to highlight spaces of collective use (Tice & Steiner, n.d.). Each of the stories on neighbourhood spaces discussed was documented in the atlas on a card with a title and explanatory text made by the researchers or students. The second section 'perspectives' assembled both existing maps of Oud-Waterschei and digital maps produced by the researchers or students: expert maps, policy maps, observational mappings and data visualisations.

When the first two sections gained body and depth, and participants started to imagine possible (design) actions, the researchers anticipated and added a third and fourth section: 'policy' and 'tools for action.' The third section aimed at presenting the institutional context, questioning potential synergies and conflicts between on-going policy processes and concrete collective neighbourhood spaces. Both the Stiemer creek master plan and a neighbourhood mobility plan in development were part of this section. The fourth and last section was aimed at collecting concrete 'tools for action,' which were introduced during the dialogue actions. Acknowledging that transformations require multiple pathways, both bottom-up and top-down, we considered a wide set of tools: Institutional, legal, technical, activist and design tools to claim space, raise awareness about particular spaces, to connect, organise or manage them in other ways. For example, 'the right of way' was categorized as a tool to claim space.

In hindsight, structuring the atlas into these four sections turned out to be a pragmatic translation of Harvey's 'method of moments' (2009) with which he argues that durable transformations require moments that relate everyday life with other fields such as technology, nature, modes of production, social relations and ideas from everyone involved. This is exactly what our atlas does: our first section focuses on everyday life experiences and was then confronted with the second section of maps, data vi-

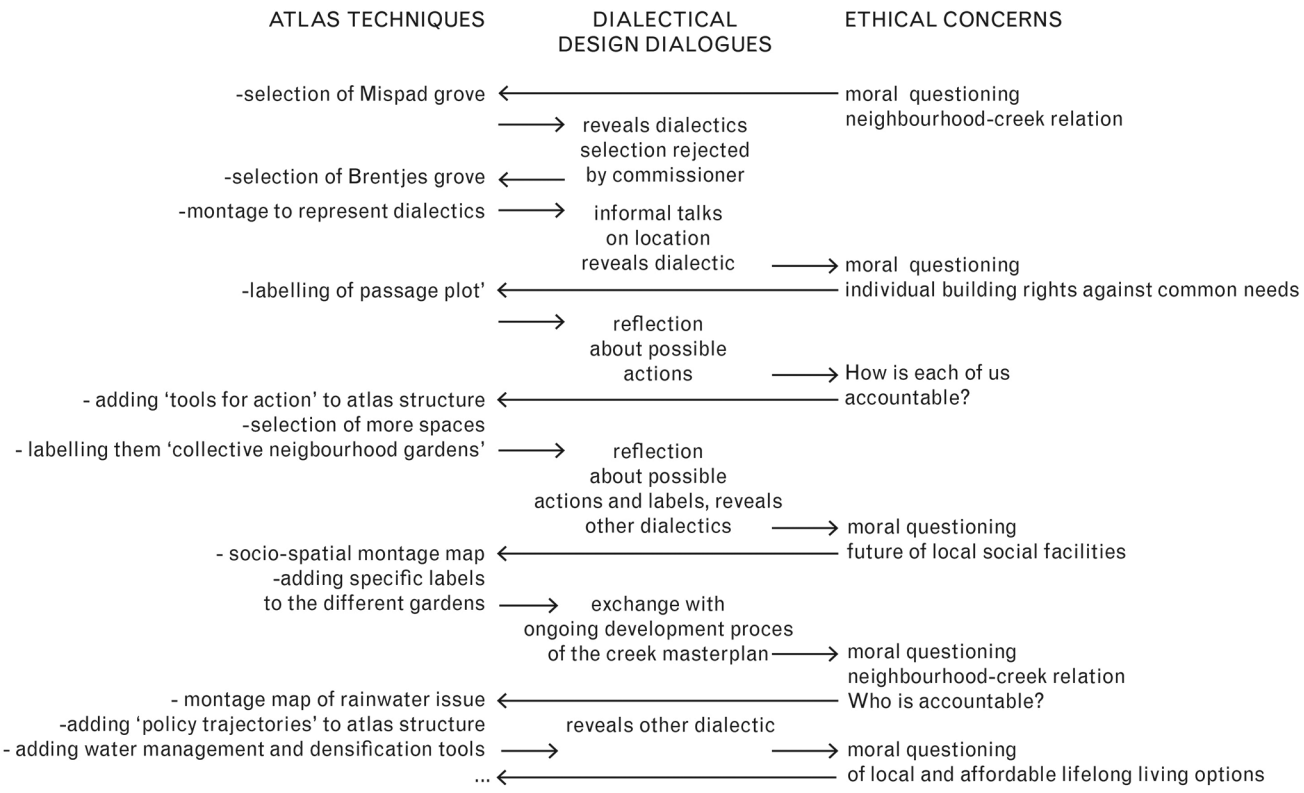

Figure 3. Interplay between atlas techniques and ethical questions within dialectical design dialogues. Source: Barbara Roosen.

sualisations, etc., generating dialectics with other ideas and perspectives. Realizing that transformation cannot derive from bottom-up and citizen-led actions alone, we introduced a third section to include dialogues with municipal and regional policy. Acknowledging the need to engage with multiple actions, we discussed a wide range of tools in Section 4 that might contribute to fundamental socio-environmental transformation.

3.2. Montage to Reveal (Hidden) Dialectics Together

The large neighbourhood map, part of the first section, was conceived as a 'montage' of physical and social dimensions: Coloured textures were used to detail material aspects (surfaces, buildings, plants, furniture, infrastructures, borders, water); printed figures were used to represent key actors and a set of labels was used to mention particular names or functions. Working with removable paper layers opened the map-making to all participants (both professionals and amateurs). For example, when the students imagined agro-forestry along the creek, the local organic farmer argued that the levelling of that specific terrain would obstruct organic agricultural use. He removed the patch of agricultural land and started a dialogue on alternative locations.

In the second section of the atlas, we started playing with the 'montage' of different maps and images in order to unveil (hidden) dialectics. For example, the map of the sewerage system (having overspill in the creek) was placed next to the map of the built-up and sealed surface in the neighbourhood, making the effect of sealed surface and housing upon the problematic local rainwater management more tangible (see Figure 4). This montage enabled both residents and civil servants to reflect upon alternative densification strategies at the edges of the Mispad garden.

3.3. Selecting (in) Dialogue

The decision to include a map in the atlas is never neutral and always entails a strategic and moral choice. With our selection of maps, we wanted to break down existing dichotomies between the valley landscape and the built environment of the neighbourhood and we wanted to make the diversity of interests visible. For instance, by carefully representing perspectives of groups that were reached in informal talks but that were difficult to involve during the co-design sessions (e.g., inhabitants of Turkish background discussing affordable housing) on the neighbourhood map, we were able to make these perspectives part of the design dialogues.

In the steering group and co-design sessions, participants discussed selections more directly to integrate and place their agendas in dialectical relations, or re-direct future dialogues. While in the beginning, selections were made to collect a large diversity of everyday knowledge, during the process we decided to also confront this situated subjective knowledge with additional selected 'ob-

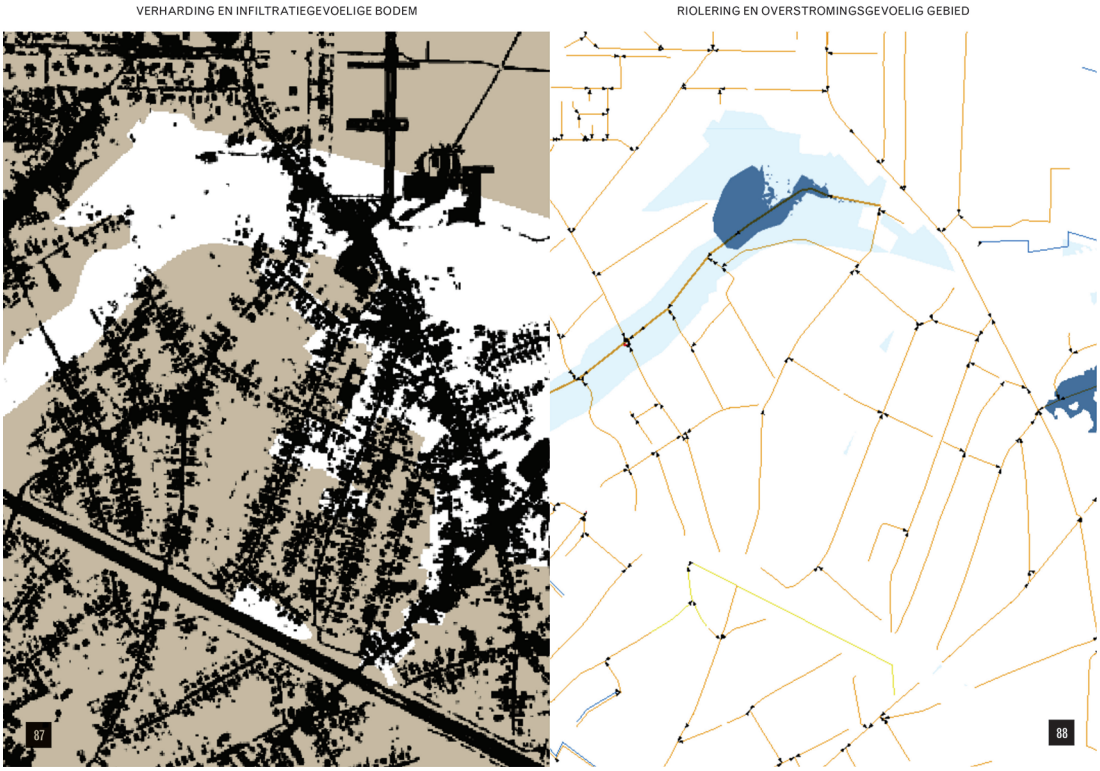

Figure 4. Double page from the second section 'perspectives' of the atlas showing the neighbourhood's sewerage system (orange) and flood zones (blue) on the right against the neighbourhood's mineralized surface (black) and soil suitable for infiltration (brown) on the left. Source: Anse Arits (based on the *watertoets* [water check] 2017 and sewerage database of Flanders 2018 [right map] and BAK 2015 [soil cover map of Flanders; left map]).

jective' data and professional expertise that was found for example in dialogue with the design professionals of the master plan of the Stiemer.

3.4. Labelling to Question, Reframe and Rethink

The participatory labelling of places, actors and tools generated a growing (critical) design vocabulary about neighbourhood spaces, both in local and in professional terms. This enabled the participants to collaboratively question the used words and visual signs and their meaning and at the same time resulted in a shared language that can support the exchange of knowledge and expertise between different actors involved. The labels were used to express the socio-spatial particularities of past, existing or imagined collective places, revealing their collective use and meaning. Labelling a private vacant plot as a 'passage plot' provides a good example, showing how it made the abstraction of the specific place, enabling the imagination of its possibilities in other locations. Another example, by identifying enclosed groves and bare land as gardens, we started to rethink and rework them into spaces of collective value. In line with Freire's (1970/2017) horizontal and transformative idea of dialogues, specifying each garden's name became a collective design act through which the garden's future on the neighbourhood map could be negotiated. As such, the 'Ravijn' (the canyon) was chosen to label the Brentjes grove. The place was known as such by inhabitants, referring to its rough terrain. Formalising the name on the neighbourhood map highlighted its ecological claim by inhabitants.

3.5. Referencing to Render Authorship More Transparent

After several dialogical actions, we started to notice that the multiple relations between the four sections of our atlas—places, perspectives, policies and tools—became very complex at the cost of clarity. During conversations with people who were not involved in the process, it was revealed that the relations between different sections were not always clear to them. Moreover, we noticed that co-authorship of the selection, labelling and mounting of the material was not transparent to outsiders. In response, we introduced a detailed referencing system that worked in two ways. First, we started to clearly document the origin and authorship of all the material (when and by whom it had become the subject of dialogues) to express the horizontal and creative course of the dialogues. Second, we began to articulate interrelationships between the different sections and maps by adding two schemes. At the beginning of the atlas, a large timeline (Figure 5) was added showing when and by whom material was added to the different atlas sections and how this changed the course of dialogues. In a second scheme

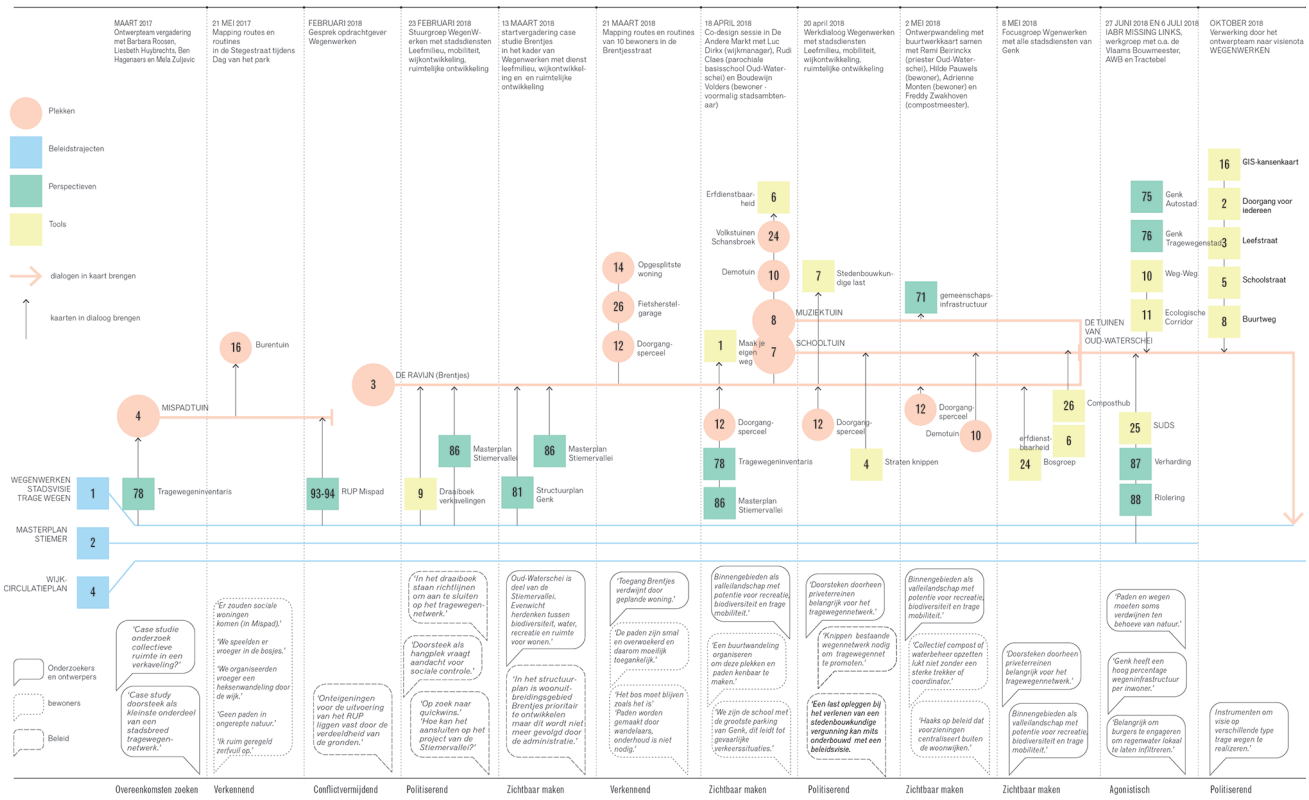

Figure 5. Timeline of the atlas-making. Source: Barbara Roosen.

(Figure 6), we started to connect the identified 'gardens' to other neighbourhood places in the atlas, also establishing links with perspectives, policies and tools that play a role in the realisation of the gardens. This scheme again created space for different types of knowledge to be discussed and to question potential synergies and conflicts between them. We realized that referencing, in the form of the two schemes, could have brought more clarity and transparency during the dialogues, not only visualizing the steps taken by different actors in the process, but also the objectives that triggered these steps.

When we left the dialectical design dialogue, the first section of the atlas told stories of 30 places on the participatory neighbourhood map, the second section included 17 dialectics between different perspectives visualised by maps produced digitally by the researchers and students, the third section discussed six policy trajectories with which the atlas went into dialogue, and the fourth section documented 26 tools that were mentioned during any of the dialogical activities.

4. Discussion: Ethical Questioning through Atlas Techniques

Our experience in Oud-Waterschei not only taught us how atlas techniques can help to guide a participatory planning process but also how to articulate and negotiate ethical questions that pop up during such processes to all stakeholders involved.

4.1. The Urgency of Ethically Conscious Atlas Practices in Urban Planning

Too often, we consider an atlas as the instrument of a professional to neutrally gather and share knowledge about a specific context, without considering its political potential. Also, if the political potential of the atlas is recognised, ethics are mostly discussed concerning the content of the participatory process and too little concerning the designerly production process of the tool—in this case, the atlas—itself (Huybrechts et al., 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020). There is a tradition within atlas-making (see for instance Cattoor & Perkins, 2014) which employs atlas techniques to articulate hidden local stories about the urban territory in order to "suggest possibilities, instead of limiting or constraining ways forward" (Cattoor & Perkins, 2014, p. 176). In this article, we stretch the political potential of atlases by employing these techniques actively in negotiating ethical concerns in participatory planning processes. The openness to diverse actors as co-designers of the atlas reveals the emancipatory potential of an atlas, offering a platform to collect and confront different perspectives on the same space and taking contradictions and synergies between them as a starting point to negotiate how, with whom and for whom to plan and design our living environment. Taking the diversity and complexity of everyday reality as a starting point to enter in dialectical dialogues on ethics, rather than to dwell upon conventional programmatic themes (based upon

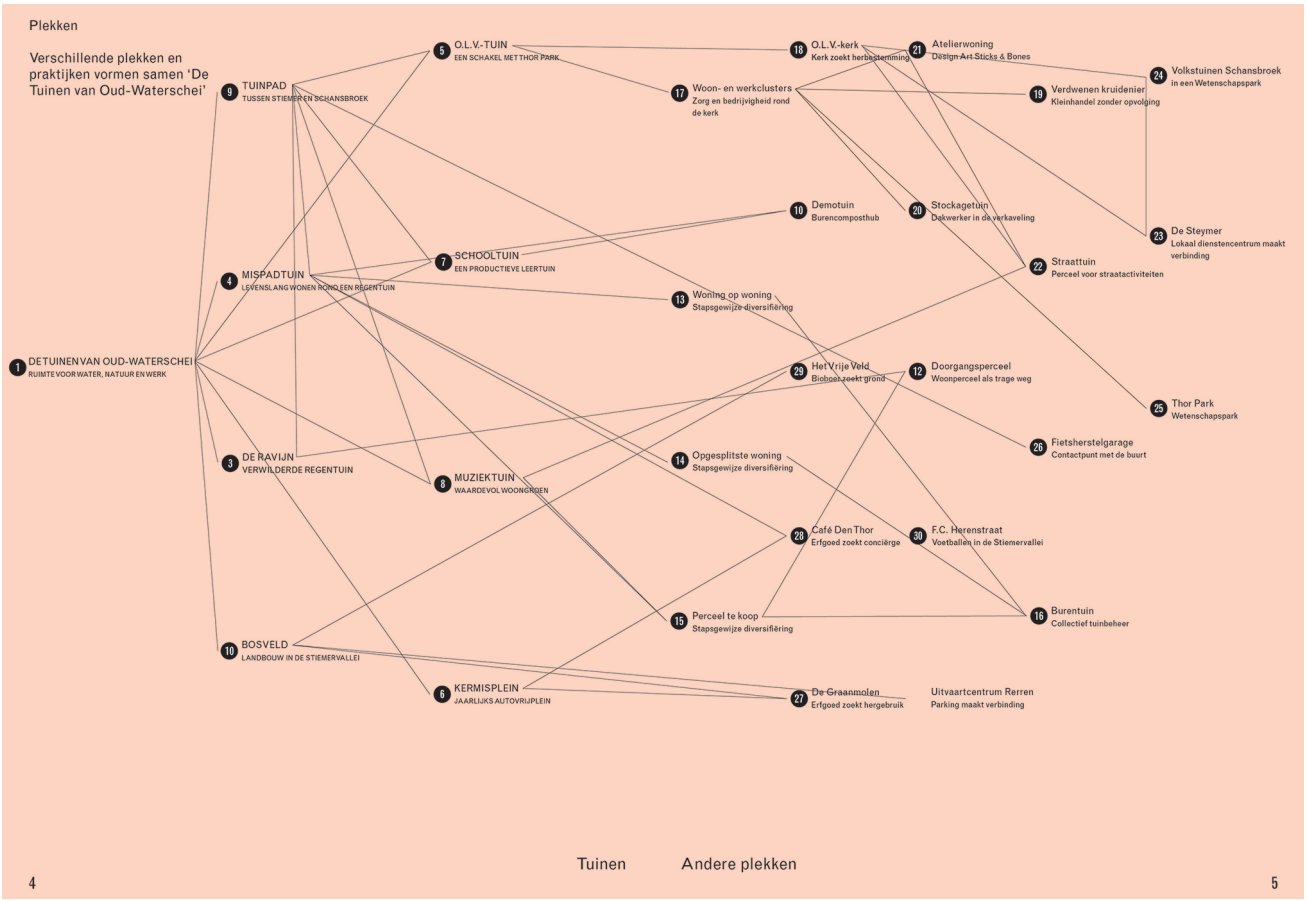

Figure 6. Scheme of relationships between different neighbourhood places in the first section 'places' of the atlas. Source: Barbara Roosen.

dominant agendas), offers a valuable contribution to the contemporary debate calling for agonistic, adaptive and discursive perspectives on planning into practice.

4.2. How Atlas Techniques Negotiate Ethical Questions

In this final discussion, we reflect on how the atlas techniques helped us to focus the dialectical dialogues on ethical questions. To structure this reflection, we will rely on the three ethical concepts that we discussed at the beginning of this article and which are thoroughly renegotiated in everyday urban planning practice, namely accountability, morality and authorship (see Figure 7).

Our first two techniques, structuring (Section 3.1) and making montages (Section 3.2), helped to reveal several dialectics in the dialogues among different actors: pointing at relationships within one map (between actors, practices and spaces) or between different atlas sections helped to make tensions, uncertainties, and inconsistencies between different perspectives explicit and tangible. Once revealed, these dialectics started to raise issues of accountability: who should take initiative? Who should be involved? The diversity and hands-on character of the atlas material were able to introduce a 'sense of urgency' in a context where most actors only felt accountable for their own property and stimulated each participant to imagine alternative tasks and roles for them to take up. The co-design sessions made clear what kinds of issues participants wanted to engage with, what they felt responsible for and what actions they were willing to reflect upon, or not. As such, the techniques of structuring and montage became tools for the participants to question (their own) interests, accountability and engagements, and to take that as a starting point to reflect on possible futures.

Our third and fourth techniques, namely selecting (Section 3.3) and labelling (Section 3.4), provided participants with a tool to speculate about what would be 'morally just' planning decisions. Selecting spaces, people and tools raised the question of who should be involved and what issues should be addressed. The labelling of the dialogue material helped to make clear when new perspectives or voices entered the conversation and when existing perspectives grew more or less dominant. Both techniques made it possible for participants to consciously insert other perspectives (such as the need for local life-long living options in the case study) or make new labels for places, thus offering concrete means to counterbalance the on-going dialogues. In this way, the atlas offered a design language for different forms of moral positions to be articulated and to meet.

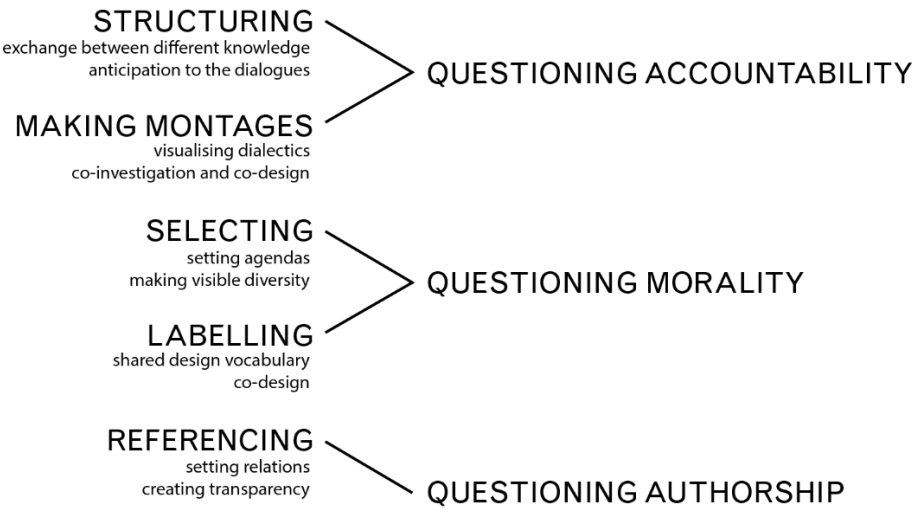

Figure 7. Overview of the interplay between atlas techniques and ethical questions. Source: Barbara Roosen.

Our fifth technique, referencing (Section 3.5), though at first neglected, later became an important tool to obtain transparency concerning lucidity of goals, context and authorship (see Barad, 2007; Suchman, 2002). In dialectical design dialogues, transparency of authorship (both regarding whom and when) is crucial in order to handle and maintain an effective dialogue between the large diversity of knowledge and actors. In our atlas, detailed referencing increased its readability, making the series of dialogues more open and accessible to new actors and enabling outsiders to step in more easily. In this way, transparency through referencing aimed at managing diversity. At the same time, we experienced that stimulating different actors to claim their role in imagining possible actions required both clarity about objectives and goals and that we did not show the planning process as a project with a clear beginning and end, but as a trajectory within a context with a long and diverse history and future.

4.3. Mutual Learning through the Atlas

In line with Freire (1970/2017), our case study focusing on how the design of the atlas facilitated a mutual learning process between planners, authorities and citizens that enabled articulating and addressing ethical concerns through what we called dialectical dialogues. This was stimulated by a thorough exploration of a tool common to urban planners, the atlas, which supported the destabilisation of existing viewpoints on neighbourhood spaces by confronting them with other ones through particular techniques, a dialogical process which enabled shifts in the perspectives and insights of planners, authorities and citizens involved. Particular learnings that different actors engaged in are of particular import in this final discussion.

First, the making of the atlas prompted us to adjust and enrich our design and research agenda throughout the process and made us increasingly acknowledge the authorship of other actors. The technique of referencing, which is a quite common academic practice but not often used among designers, proved very valuable in the building of the atlas. In our case, we only adopted it towards the end. Including it from the start though, would have allowed to continuously renegotiate participants' engagement and question power relations, while discussing ethics in relation to responsibilities, roles and authorship.

Second, expert participants (including, among others, policymakers) learned to appreciate the microscale dialogical activities facilitated by the detailed montage technique. The municipal administration of the city of Genk, for instance, at first was reluctant to accept our decision to focus on the neighbourhood of Oud-Waterschei. It was unclear for them what they could learn from the case except for gaining citizen support to their master plan for the adjacent Stiemer creek. However, by being part of the montage sessions of the atlas, they became interested in the stories (and dialectics) that came together during these sessions and which remained under the radar of planning policy. They started exploring ways to activate these stories in on-going policy projects and plans.

Third, inhabitants were mostly engaged through the collaborative montage and labelling techniques that enabled them to frame their own practices and agendas within a broader societal debate. They discovered how different concepts (such as sustainable urban drainage solutions) played a role in this debate and took part in relating them to their daily life experience while building a common vocabulary.

5. Conclusion

In this article, we explored how ethical questioning can take shape during the design research process, not only

through discussing the content of the research but also through the conscious use and production of design—in this case, atlas—tools and techniques. We brought together insights from the fields of urban planning, mapping and participatory design to answer the question on how to more consciously raise and address ethical questions through the production of design tools in participatory planning processes.

To answer this question, we explored the role of tools in shaping dialogues in Freire's sense (1970/2017), as a way to create horizontal relations between various actors. We expanded this concept by mobilizing Harvey's (2000, 2009) interpretation of dialectics and how they uncover latent opportunities, to address societal concerns embedded in the everyday. This led us to suggest that tools can contribute to shaping 'dialectic design dialogues,' a new concept we created to define a multifarious learning process in which various ethical concerns are dialectically negotiated. We then particularly explored how one of the main tools used by urban planners, the atlas, can co-create such dialectical design dialogues.

In the main body of our article, we discussed how we explored this concept in a concrete case via the co-design and co-production of an atlas in a low-density residential neighbourhood. This exploration showed that our atlas techniques were indeed not neutral and can be treated (and as such, should be designed) as political and ethical devices. We discovered the many implications of these techniques' roles in initiating, materialising and interpreting dialogues, an insight which is often underestimated in planning practice. As such, our research experience may inspire other designers, planners, local authorities and communities to design and employ the potential of atlas techniques to create dialectical design dialogues that allow for real-time dealing with ethics by truly acknowledging diversity and difference proper to everyday planning contexts. We showed that conscious use of the designerly language of atlas techniques supports the exchange of knowledge and perspectives between planners, citizens and authorities through map-making and renders ethical questioning more explicit and material in the planning process. In other words, our research showed that collective action for socio-environmentally just urbanism (Harvey, 2000) can be supported by more conscious approaches to what and—as we have shown—how we map.

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Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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About the Authors

Barbara Roosen is an Architect, Teaching Assistant and PhD Candidate at the Faculty of Architecture and Arts, University of Hasselt, Belgium. In her PhD research, she investigates relationships between dialogues and mapping, focussing on durable transformation processes in the specific context of Flemish low-density residential neighbourhoods. As part of the research Cluster Spatial Capacity Building, she is involved in several participatory research projects with particular focus on collectivity in suburban work and living environments.

Liesbeth Huybrechts is an Associate Professor and works in the areas of participatory design, design anthropology and spatial transformation processes in the research group Arck, University of Hasselt. She has developed a research interest in collectivity and commons in city and region-making which she explores in several research and educational projects. This had led for instance to the creation of the Living Lab De Andere Markt, a space that explores the future of work in the city.

Oswald Devisch is an Associate Professor in Urban Design at the Faculty of Architecture and Arts, University of Hasselt, Belgium. He is the Coordinator of the research cluster Spatial Capacity Building exploring themes such as collective learning, casual participation, autonomous transformation processes and the gamification of participation.

Pieter Van den Broeck is a Professor of Spatial Planning and Sustainable Development in the Department of Architecture at KU Leuven. From a critical institutionalist perspective and a methodological interest in transdisciplinary action research, he engages in research on spatial planning, territorial development and social innovation, governance of socio-ecological systems, and land dynamics and commons. He is the Coordinator of the Research Unit Planning and Development and the International Module in Spatial Development Planning.

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