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The role and future of social housing - Three PhD projects approaching the challenges

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‘The role and future of social housing in Europe’

Three Ph.D. projects approaching Danish social housing challenges from different perspectives

Gellerup as an area of transit under change - tipping points and moving patterns

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Wary Optimism – Residents' hopes and disappointments in an estate under architectural and infrastructural transformation (Gellerup-Toveshøj, Denmark)

SETTING THE STAGE

On the western outskirts of Aarhus, the tallest tenements of the Gellerup-Toveshøj estate rise abruptly from the ground. The tall concrete buildings were built, along with the rest of the estate, in the late 1960's and early 70's on what was formerly farming fields, as the small city was growing and the old tenements in the city centre were being renovated or demolished, to be replaced by more modern and more expensive housing. The estate was built according to the vision of architect Knud Blach Petersen, who was renowned for his modernist concrete buildings and had designed other trademark buildings in Aarhus. The vision was to create an estate where you could spend your entire life, from cradle to grave, and was planned to have been twice the size of what was actually completed. The apartments were light, the windows facing east/west, the materials modern, the bathrooms spacious. In some apartments, there were even two bathrooms. Many of the apartments in the tenements in the city centre did not have private bathrooms at this time (and a few still don't today). Gellerup-Toveshøj was state of the art in 1974.



40 years later, in 2014, the demolitions began. The estate was facing a massive architectural and infrastructural transformation, along with numerous social initiatives. The estate featured prominently on the "ghetto-list" from the Danish Ministry of Housing and suffered from high unemployment levels, high levels of youth crime and vandalism, and had become an oft-used example of places where integration had failed. A "ghetto" with 80 different nationalities, where bleak concrete tenements became the symbol of the failings of both the Danish welfare state of the 70's, 80's and 90's, but also of modernist architecture.

Something, or many things, had gone wrong. The residents were not the architects and officials of the housing association had expected, due to, among other factors, attractive opportunities to take loans to buy houses in the 70's and housing policy and the distribution of disadvantaged citizens. And something, it was agreed between the housing association, the municipality and the resident representatives, had to be done. "From disadvantaged residential area to an attractive urban district"

In the 2000's many different courses of action were discussed and a number of projects and initiatives aimed at strengthening the civil society, improving the unemployment and education rates, and attracting new residents with higher socio-economic status. To little or no avail, among other reasons because some of the people who found employment moved when they had the chance and were replaced quite often by residents who were not employed. In the end, an ambitious master plan was designed for the estate, to change it from "a disadvantaged residential area to an attractive urban district", as it is stated on the municipal website of the project. "The master plan is the first of its kind in Denmark, combining major physical changes with jobs, businesses, culture, social efforts and initiatives to ensure a safer district". The master plan aims to change the estate through many different types of efforts, though the physical transformations are the most apparent, and most expensive. The aim is to break with the modernist logic of the estate, opening up for traffic from the outside and mixing up the social housing units with privately owned and creating new zones in the estate that are not residential, but lively in different ways.



HOPES, DREAMS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS

Though there have been several involvement workshops with residents and other stakeholders, and the residential boards of the two departments (Gellerup and Toveshøj) are respectively department 4 and department 5 in Brabrand Boligforening and each have their own residential board. It is a huge task to keep the residents informed of and engaged in the ongoing projects. Architectural and infrastructural transformations can be a nuisance, as there is mud and dust everywhere at times, paths and roads disappear or are closed off, new roads, energy, trees and bushes are cut down, and playgrounds are levelled. The hopes for the future can turn into disappointment. In major projects, like the master plan for Gellerup-Toveshøj, there is a before, that which needed to be changed, and an after, that which it will change into. This is also evident in large billboards on the gables of some of the tenements in Gellerup and Toveshøj, where the architects' illustrations of the future of the estate appear glittery and shiny. But there is also an in-between, where new roads are still nothing more than dirt tracks, where tenements are demolished and people have to move, where playgrounds are levelled and bushes and trees cut down, paths disappear, and the future city park is nothing more than heaps of earth and rubble. Trust and mistrust – collapsing futures?

Previous experiences and expectations, that were disappointed, influence the attitudes of some residents. Following Morten Nielsen's (2014) concept of "collapsed futures", taken from his fieldwork in Maputo, Mozambique, Nielsen recounts how his interlocutors "make their lives by gazing backwards from an imagined future moment", "unhinged" from their fixed temporal location on a linear scale (...), they constitute retrograde and mobile moments of origin that fasten the present to a trajectory that will never reach its destination" (ibid:215). They "manage a present that is the after-effect of futures that will never be realized" (ibid:223).

Likewise some of my interlocutors feel disappointed and are sure they will also be in the future – they take their starting point in a hoped-for future that seems to never come to pass, and it shapes their experience of the present, where mud and dust is everywhere, and the immediate past. The case of the Mosque, that so far has not come to be, might be an illustrative case in this respect. During the initial talks about the future Master plan, several years back, many residents and local religious associations advocated for the allocation of a plot in or near the estate for a new mosque, that would bring together the already existent mosques in Western Aarhus under one roof, in a building that was actually constructed to be a mosque, and not an old warehouse or something similar, where most mosques are currently found. The municipality and housing association officials participating in the public meetings expressed hope and optimism about the

chances of this happening, but in the end, due to, among other issues, political discussions and a changing perception of Muslims in Denmark, with more and more politicians voicing criticism of Islamic practices in Denmark and Muslims and immigrants as a burden on Danish society in general, nothing has happened to bring the construction of a mosque near Gellerup-Toveshøj closer, at least to this day. Along with other political cases, like the recent case about women's swimming in the Gellerup public swimming pool that unfolded in 2016 and the early months of 2017, this is perceived by many in Gellerup-Toveshøj, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, to be a politically motivated discrimination based on religion.

Whereas the cases of the mosque that did not come to be, and the case of women's swimming were certainly the talk of the town at times, a more recurrent issue was that of stories of either self-experienced or family members or friends' bad experiences with the housing association, in one form or another. Some would complain about the rent, and the rises in rent in recent years, while others would tell stories about how they knew people who had had to pay large sums in recompense after they had moved out of their apartments, crippling them financially. Others would talk about the high on-account payments for heating or water, and some would recount how they could wait for days for washing machines or taps to be fixed, or that the renovation system did not work for months on end. "Why," one interlocutor asked, "can they ask me to pay full rent, while I can't expect things to work properly?" And now, they experienced that construction work was progressing slowly, that they did not know when it would finish, that it seemed to be going faster in other parts of the city, and so on. One interlocutor complained that it had cost him 2000 kr. to have his car fixed, because the roads had been dug up and he had to drive through gravel and pebbles to get to his building. One of my main interlocutors would never wash his car, because, he said, it would get dirty right away. It simply, to many of my interlocutors, did not seem fair that there was seemingly no recompense for the annoyances they experienced and not enough information. This sense of things not being fair, also affected how the residents experienced time, and how they employed hope.

Residents tend to be more skeptical and less positively hopeful when they do not see themselves in the projected future plans for the estate or when they do not place much trust in the municipality and housing association due to past experiences.

But even though residents might see their futures as "collapsed" (Nielsen 2014) they might still be able to imagine other outcomes. Conceptions of past and future will flow together and intermingle with the present, at least sometimes, like the childhood memories of a young informant, Deniz, that he felt were being destroyed, making him more pessimistic toward the transformation. Trust in the "partner", in this case the housing association and the municipality, is important for the residents, if they are to allow themselves to hope for a better future with a place for them in it. If it is hardly surprising that an architectural transformation on the scale of the one taking place in Gellerup-Toveshøj can be draining for the residents living through it, and my interlocutors often do recognize that it must, to some extent, be so. But on the other hand, several of them also feel that they are sometimes in the dark concerning what is actually going on, and why, and rumours often surface about underlying, undisclosed causes for what is being done. For instance there is a persistent rumour about the new roads being made for the benefit of the police.

Though both housing association and municipality officials strive to inform the residents as thoroughly as possible, many residents still feel uncertain about it all. This does not have an easily applicable solution. It will, like the architectural transformation, not just happen with a snap of the fingers.

OVERVIEW

The research project is conducted in a collaboration between Brabrand Boligforening and the Department of Anthropology, Aarhus University, and is funded by Landsbyggefonden, the Danish National Building Foundation. I have conducted fieldwork and interviews in the estate in the period autumn 2015 to summer 2017, aided by two student assistants. The PhD-dissertation is due in the fall of 2018.

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The planned and the lived suburb

- An architectural-anthropological search for exchange between the enclaves of the suburbs

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Counteracting segregation through suburban public spaces

ABSTRACT

This article aims at explaining the design experiment: "A place called...". The experiment is part of the Ph.D. project Place Making Makers, which is a collaboration between the Municipality in the Danish town, Kolding, and Design School Kolding.

The industrial PhD project focuses on potentials for "bridge-building" across the suburban enclaves and is carried out through a combined architectural-anthropological mapping of public spaces in a Danish suburb to Vejle, where the researcher lived in a social housing area with her family for almost a year, to comprehend the everyday life, the people of the suburb and to gain a perspective from the inside of a social housing area. The preliminary results shows that suburban spaces with a potential for supporting the segregated enclaves do exist, but that among other things, focus on spatial design is needed before actual public domains creating the basis for exchange are achieved. Especially design is worth looking closer into in relation to suburban development, as the empirical data of the project indicate, that "a language of the suburb" is missing.

INTRODUCTION

During the latest decades major Danish cities and suburbs have become still more segregated, preventing social life to unfold across social, economic and cultural borders. In the suburbs this tendency is particularly evident, partly due to the functional separation into zones and the pronounced divisions between the various types of housing areas, i.e. single-family housing areas and social housing areas. Therefore, Danish architects and city planners want to do away with the split-up city as life in the suburbs is in danger of taking place in a parallel society with people living side by side without interacting (Bech-Danielsen, 2013).

PUBLIC DOMAINS AS THE BRIDGE-BUILDER OF THE SUBURB?

In the attempt of the PhD project to expose the character of the public spaces and their ability to create a frame for meeting across the suburban enclaves Højer & Rejndorff's definition of public domains and the term exchange are used (Højer & Rejndorff, 2001, p. 24). These terms are introduced with relation to public suburban spaces and used in the analyses to study if, and if so, how the public spaces create a frame for cultural exchange between the residents of the different enclaves.

Højer & Rejndorff describes the difference between a public space and a public domain: A public space is freely accessible for all, public is the opposite of private. But a public domain demands more than free access – it is a place where cultural exchange is possible and, in fact, also takes place. It demands a strong attachment of a group, exchange between different social groups, and a positive appreciation of it as a place of common experience by people from different social groups. And, not the least, that you have an experience of othersness enabling your own view of reality to be challenged and the lifestyles of other people. And according to Rejndorff public domains get the chance to emerge where different enclaves meet at a crossroad or overlap each other, but also emphasizes that the siting of the enclaves in the urban fabric is important. He stresses that the greatest potential for the public domains to crop up is where the proximity of those enclaves is high, measured either by distance or by time (Rejndorff, 2015). This has been kept in mind when the suburban spaces are observed in the mapping of the PhD-project, as it is particularly interesting in a suburban context due to the divided physical structure. For instance main roads, big parking lots, fences, noise preventing banks and belts of plantation are examples of barriers creating a physical distance between the enclaves, all of them places with mainly one purpose or function.

A public domain is thus described as a "space of cultural exchange" and in relation to the functional division of the suburbs where the different enclaves may differ in content but isolated from each other and towards orientated (Sieverts, 2005). It is relevant to map out a series of public suburban spaces to study if these promote cultural exchange between the enclaves. Keeping the previously mentioned challenges about segregation in mind one of our theses is that some (not all) of the public spaces of the suburb must promote cultural exchange and bridge-building.

METHODS

ANALYSES OF SUBURBAN PUBLIC SPACES AND REGISTRATION OF URBAN LIFE
The suburban spaces of the project have been mapped out through architectural analyses and registrations of urban life for the purpose of exploring the design (the planned suburb) and everyday life (the lived life of the suburb). The collected data present a picture of how the suburban spaces function, how the actual patterns of use are, and, not the least, an indication of the difference between suburb and city.

7 cases have been selected in the light of the fieldwork carried out in Søndermarken in 2015 and from qualitative interviews with 31 residents in the various housing areas in Søndermarken. In the interviews the suburban spaces below were mentioned as important meeting places in the suburb, and what they have all in common is that they are described as places in Søndermarken where the residents actually meet across the enclaves: Public spaces where the residents are crossing borders and meet across the single-family housing areas and the social housing area. They are places where the different worlds of the residents meet, and spaces with positive public awareness whether they are used or not. For instance the beautiful river valleys are mentioned as important public spaces, while the mapping shows that these spaces are not used nearly as often as for instance the area around the supermarket (which certainly contains a very specific everyday activity, namely shopping).

The architectural analyses generally show that the visibility of the public spaces and their placing in the fabric of the suburb are important to their possible development into public domains. This is particularly evident when the registrations of urban life are seen together with the architectural analyses, and where the community house and the supermarket actually fulfill all the parameters apart from focus on the spatial design, the spatial design consequently playing a decisive role. Through the architectural analyses and the analyses of urban life we also found that the suburban spaces have another scale, another and less critical mass of users, another pace, and, not the least, another flow of people than in the classical urban spaces as we know them from the city centers.

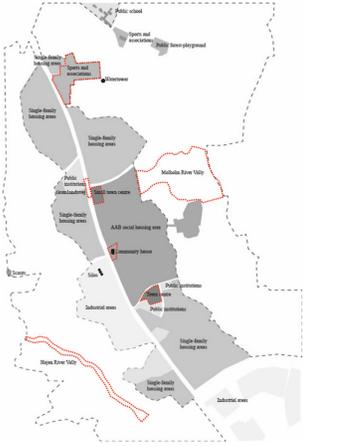


Figure 1. Selected suburban public spaces in Søndermarken, Vejle

ANTHROPOLOGICAL FIELDWORK

The methodological apparatus applied in the PhD-project has an interdisciplinary architectural-anthropological approach. Its purpose is, firstly, to map out spaces and movements in a specific suburb by way of architectural and urban life analyses, and, secondly, to study social relations by way of anthropological fieldwork in order to gain a greater understanding of the spaces to be mapped out and the people living in the suburb. This interplay between methods makes it possible to examine the research question of the PhD-project: how do the public spaces influence the social relations in the suburb, and the approach opens up a new way of discovering unexplored potentials among the residents of the suburb and in the subject of the suburb.

From the world of anthropology qualitative interviews, situational interviews and fieldwork of a long period of time have been applied, including, among other things, participant observation, informal interviews, and a diary method based on visual ethnographies. This was carried out by the PhD-student who, for nine months together with her family, moved into an apartment in the selected suburb, Søndermarken in Vejle. From here the family observed and took part in life as it evolved in Søndermarken. The participant observation of a long period was carried out by participating in activities in the new community center of the area, broad meetings, local council work, and social arrangements. Besides, the family did daily rounds in the suburb when the children were taken to or picked up at the local day care center, when shopping, when it was time for playing in the playground or a walk in nature, when bicycling to work in the city (4 kilometers from the area), and other everyday activities in the public spaces. The participant observation was thereby given a chance to register nuances of everyday life in the suburb at close quarters.



Figure 2. Situations from the everyday life in Søndermarken

PRELIMINARY RESULTS

One of the purposes of the PhD project has been to study the framework for exchange in the suburb, and the architectural mapping shows that some of the public spaces have potentials as public domains and some may have the precise opposite potential: the open landscape making the suburb and not a city – and contain the original suburban qualities: light, air and landscape that are still attractive and cherished values. In the study of seven selected public areas in a typical Danish suburb we have found mostly public spaces, but also two public places that by a few interventions may develop into public domains. The two suburban spaces are the areas around the community house in the social housing area and the supermarket alongside the main road in the suburb. These are characterized by fulfilling most of Højer & Rejndorff's parameters: a visible, accessible and central placing in the suburban fabric as well as a distinctive function combined with the social parameters; attachment and diversity. What we have found as still missing is a focus on the spatial design.

Cultural exchange is particularly central in relation to bridge-building between the suburban enclaves, but at the same time the field work gives an insight into which of the original qualities of the suburb are important for everyday life in a suburb of today. Both in the single-family housing areas and in the social housing areas several informants explain that closeness to the beautiful nature is one of their most important reasons for settling in this suburb.

The collected mapping leads to recommending a subtle balance between consolidation of the prioritized public domains and spaces for air, light and landscape qualities, so that urban qualities do not overtake the basic values when suburban spaces are to be developed and transformed. The development of the suburbs must take place as a concentration of spots where public domains can emerge so we can reduce the distance between the suburban enclaves. But the development must not take place on the terms of the city. It has to be based on the premises of the suburb, where, to a large extent, function, placing, and design must be taken into consideration when the suburban public domains are to be developed.

Place Making Makers

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A Place called...

FRAMING DESIGN EXPERIMENT 1 'A PLACE CALLED...'
This poster presentation aims at explaining the design experiment: "A place called...". The experiment is part of the Ph.D. project Place Making Makers, which is a collaboration between the Municipality in the Danish town, Kolding, and Design School Kolding.

The Ph.D. is researching pivotal design parameters when we are designing and developing public urban places with the aim of supporting social life and interaction between people across a city. The specific field of research is deprived social housing areas and their cohesion and connection to the surrounding city. The project is combining five different approaches of methods for collection of empirical data:

- Scoping of cases during the last ten years in Denmark, which had the aim of designing collective urban places as an approach to support a stronger cohesion between a deprived social housing area and the surrounding city and a more in-depth case study of the Public Park Superkilen, through the use of observations and interviews.
- 12 songlines interviews with 14 inhabitants in the social housing neighbourhood Skovparken/Skovvejen in Kolding.
- Observations and filming on a Day about the "experienced Safety" (Safety Day) held for the inhabitants in the neighbourhood Skovparken/Skovvejen.
- Design experiment 1: "A place called...", the Method Site-Writing is used as a way of engaging, collaborative, creative writing, and visualisation to analyse a place.
- Design experiment 2: "Words upon a place" a development of interactive benches which are telling stories from different places told by citizens as a way of further study the narrative as a design parameter by use of a Research Through Design approach.

Collection of Empirical data



EXPLAINING DESIGN EXPERIMENT 1

Site-Writing is a way of engaging with a site and through that engagement develop a critique of a site. In this specific case, the site is a collective urban place in front of a local shopping centre in the social housing neighbourhood, Skovparken/Skovvejen. The Site-Writing is analysing how much people's experiences and stories about a place is influencing on a place identity. It was the previous collected data, which showed the direction and created the urge to dig deeper into the importance of stories and experiences from a place and how they are affecting the place to the point where the stories become pivotal co-creators of the place identity.



The Site-Writing contained several steps: Firstly all the stories and experiences which were gathered through the project's previous studies and newspaper articles about the place were collected into one long document. Secondly, as a tool for working with the many stories, a conceptual layer was added. The tool was developed from a study about how and why people name things and the many thoughts and approaches behind the naming of things. The study led to the conviction that by naming things, we put forward the essence and 'signature' of the thing we are naming. By creating a name for each story, which captured the essence of the story, I created a 'signature' for each, which could be used to create a map of the 'experienced' place. Thirdly, a workshop was set up on the specific location. The aim of the workshop was to engage directly with the site, with the specific goal of discussing place identity through the lens of naming and using naming as a tool for talking to the inhabitants about place identity. A spot on the site was decorated as a workshop area, where passing by inhabitants came up with suggestions for names for the place. The last step was to connect all the ingredients; the thoughts about naming, the many collected stories, the map, and the material from the workshop into one complete writing 'of' the place. The completed Site-Writing are designed as a newspaper. The newspaper format is a comment to the previous real newspaper articles about the place, which has all over time supported the creation of a bad reputation about the place.

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FINDINGS THROUGH SITE WRITING

The many stories show an overweight of negative associations and experiences from this place. It shows many stories which deal with some division, blame and resentment towards another group of people than themselves, for example, the immigrants, the noisy children, the alcoholics or the Faltaboys. Gathering the many stories into one document and the process of naming the stories by using the essence of the story to create a name, shows very clearly how a group of boys, named, by the many storytellers, 'The Faktaboys' are having a huge influence the place identity and the atmosphere.

The positive stories are about the different shopkeepers who give people positive memories from the place, and the other aspects, which are mentioned in several stories and the convenience of having a local shopping center. These two facts are the main positive things. The workshop added new and important knowledge to the study. It showed that none of the names, the inhabitants came up with, were negative or pointing at the challenges. There seem to be a shared approach among the inhabitants; the names were all focusing on positive interpretations of the place, trying to capture the unique qualities about the places, for example, the fact that it is a multicultural neighbourhood or were pointing forward towards a future wish for the place.

The study, therefore, showed that there is a big difference between the names belonging to the 'experienced' place based on memories, and the names given by the inhabitants, which are revealing the story they wish to tell about the place and their focus towards the future. Creating the map using all the stories, works as a tool for capturing the atmosphere and showing the story of the 'experienced' place more than the physical place, that a regular map is doing. The map is also a way of visualising both the barriers and the potentials of the site.

THEORY OF SITE-WRITING

Site-Writing is a method invented by Professor Jane Rendell (Rendell, 2010). It has evolved as an interdisciplinary meeting point between her background as an architectural designer followed by research in architectural history and teaching public art – feminist theory and architectural history, conceptual art practice and architectural design, and finally art criticism. The method is focusing on the site between critic and work and contains an inherited awareness of the relation between subject and object and the writer's own situated knowledge (Haraway, 1988). Founded on art criticism Site-Writing is a way of creating the critique of a site through an active and inherently spatial role with the site. A site can be an art piece, a piece of text, a physical place or others that one will analyse through engagement, and the Site-Writing is engaging with the site spatial and critical with an awareness of situated knowledge and the relationship between the site piece, the performers, and the viewers. Creating a critique is not a judgment, it is to be understood as a way of analysing or understanding a site through the engagement, and using writing as part of the engagement, which enables the writer to shift position by shifting preposition for example by writing 'to', 'about', or 'as' the site.

The engagement with the site through the workshop is highly inspired by the article 'Site-Seeing: Constructing the Creative Survey' by Carolyn Butterworth and Sam Vardy (2008) where they are arguing for a more creative approach among architects and designers when they are doing site mappings. Butterworth and Vardy are arguing that the regular site analysis done by architects and designers are only mapping static elements and their effects on the place. By doing that they are not challenging themselves by using more creative ways of engaging with the lived, and changeable life, which they are arguing are having just as much influence on a place as the static elements.

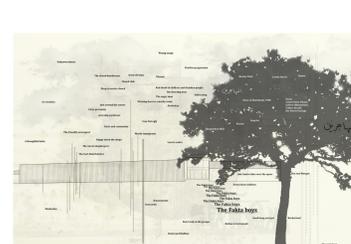
SITE-WRITING AS METHOD

Using Site-Writing as an approach for analysing a specific location has, in this case, turned out to be an efficient way of mapping and visualising site challenges and potentials. The method seems rewarding both for analysing and engaging with earlier collected data and also as an approach to the first physical engagement with the site. By creating a New Map, based on all the stories about the place, the place identity becomes very clear. It becomes clear that the Faktaboys (The group of young boys hanging out in front of the shopping centre) are having a huge influence on identity and atmosphere of the place. The added concept of naming things seems to be an efficient way of starting a dialog about hopes and wishes for the site and also about which characteristics the users wants to enhance. It is interesting how none of the 'namegivers' are coming up with names referring to any of the challenges on the site. The method does not reveal any directions towards how to deal with the problems and how to reach the future scenarios, but it shows us the problem the citizens have with the place, and in what direction, they would like to move. By building up an awareness: first of ones own situated knowledge and afterward about how different types of engagements with a site supplements each other, has sharpened my knowledge and broaden my horizon for how one as a researcher can engage with a subject.

CONCLUSION AND DESIGN EXPERIMENT 2

Engaging with a site through Site writing has been a useful tool for both engaging with the site and analysing data from earlier studies (The songline interviews and the observation on 'Safety Day'). The New Map is an essential part of the Site Writing and has worked as a strong visual tool in mapping the challenges on the site. The finding about the huge impact the Faktaboys has on the place identity combined with the insight in the power of stories, and how much stories about a place can influence a place, is fundamental for the Ph.D. project's second and last Design experiment. The second design experiment is called 'Words upon a place'. It is a development of four interactive benches, which start telling stories about you sit down on them. The stories are told by the citizens and are about the place where the benches are located. Two benches will be located in front of the local shopping centre in Skovparken/Skovvejen, where the Faktaboys are hanging out, and the two others will be placed in the center of the Kolding outside the Public Library. The experiment wishes to study the potential of using the whole city as a frame for dealing with local challenges and the potentials of using the narrative in collaboration with the physical as design parameters for working with the interaction between people and cohesion in a city.

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The National Building Foundation (Landsbyggefonden)
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About Landsbyggefonden

- It was founded in 1947
- It's an independent institution
- The use of funds is regulated by the state through legislation
- Managed by a board where the majority is from the sector
- All the funds come from rent paid by the tenants

Main purposes of Landsbyggefonden

- Co-financing of new non-profit housing
- Renovation of old buildings – both inside, outside and the outdoor areas – all in all aiming for improving "living between the buildings"
- Demolition of flats in peripheral regions or in socially vulnerable areas
- Regulating the rent when renovating buildings
- Supporting economically strained housing organizations'
- Social work – integration etc. (via a masterplan)

Many of the activities of Landsbyggefonden are contained within

- Physical masterplans (repairing building damages, modernizing flats, improving infrastructure – breaking isolation, improving outdoor areas)
- Social Master Plans (a local community development program, the funding goes to social projects – not to 'bricks & mortar') the Social Master Plan is a joint project between tenants, the housing organization(s) and the local municipality)

Where does the money come from?

- Unamortized loans – the tenants continue to pay 2/3 to The National Building Foundation – 1/3 to the local housing organization
- In 2017 this revenue is 2.6 billion d. kr. equivalent to 0.34 billion Euro
- This revenue is increasing to 3.4 billion d. kr. equivalent to 0.45 billion Euro in 2030



Jonas Bach
Gellerup as an area of transit under change – tipping points and moving patterns



Bente Melgaard
The planned and the lived suburb

Anne Corlin
Place Making Makers

