

Aarhus School of Architecture // Design School Kolding // Royal Danish Academy

Learning inclusion in action

Kajita, Masashi

Published in:
Universal Design 2019

Publication date:
2019

Document Version:
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

[Link to publication](#)

Citation for pulished version (APA):

Kajita, M. (2019). Learning inclusion in action: Teaching UD in Danish architectural and design education. In *Universal Design 2019: Proceedings for the 7th International Conference for Universal Design* (pp. 67-76)

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Learning Inclusion in Action: Teaching UD in Danish Architectural and Design Education

Masashi Kajita

*School of Architecture, The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts,
School of Architecture, Design and Conservation
Philip de Langes Allé 10, DK-1435 København K*

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a framework within which Universal Design (UD) is taught at the Institute of Architecture and Design (IBD), the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture, Design and Conservation (KADK). At the IBD, the theme UD is not only integrated into course modules, but also offered as special lectures, seminars and workshops across the institute which champion the importance of people-centred approaches in design. Two courses given to students for studying master's degrees at the IBD – *Material Includes* and *Different Bodies* – are described in this paper. Using these examples, the paper underscores the important role of users' knowledge in design processes and describes how students – future architects and designers – mobilise gained knowledge and develop new knowledge while engaging with design tasks given. The analysis made in this paper is based on two theoretical distinctions between: context-dependent and context-independent knowledge on the one hand; and imagined space of architects and lived space of users on the other. The developed analytical model based on these distinctions articulates how students have learned and used knowledge in design process, upon which this paper conclusively champions the importance of UD education that is situated in contexts where design is not only used but also made.

Keywords

Architecture; accessibility; inclusion; design education; context-dependent knowledge.

INTRODUCTION

Universal Design (UD) was broadly introduced to a Danish context with the ratification of the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (UNCRPD) in 2009. Devoted to its origin as introduced by Ronald Mace, UD is defined in UNCRPD as “the design of products, environments, programmes and services to be usable by all people, to the greatest extent possible, without the need for adaptation or specialized design” (United Nations, 2007). UD promotes designed environments which are more responsive to and sensitised with different personal conditions and circumstances. This holistic approach has increased the recognition of the unequal and unjust position of disabled people in society amongst the design community, industrial sector and user organisations. UD has now secured an increasingly prominent position. In Denmark, UD has found its way into accessibility codes and design guidelines. In the Nordic Region, it is in the process of institutionalisations shaped by the rationale of administrative functions, and in part, by the language of the industrial sector and values of consumerism.

Numerous courses on accessibility and UD have been offered over the past decades in the Nordic Region. Most of those are offered as a short course often integrated into a semester module. However, there are exceptions. Some courses are offered as a comprehensive Master course that challenges to integrate UD into the design discourse and practice rather than treat it as a separate and specialised field of knowledge. For example, a course: Master in Universal Design offered at Aalborg University in Copenhagen, where UD is taught as a foundation for nurturing a professional value and a responsibility, educates future decision makers to promote inclusion in the built environment (Ryhl and Frandsen, 2016). And yet, there is a shared concern on the current state of the subject still being perceived as an isolated not integrated, regulatory and prescriptive before creative, as well as solution-focused rather than inventive and resourceful. This reflects the fact that many courses in UD focus on specific and pre-defined problems around disabled persons and aim to find solutions through utilising hard data, interpreting existing rules and guidelines, or even developing new tools based on quantifiable data sets.

Among many things, this points to a need and opportunity for seeking an alternative approach for teaching UD in the field of architecture and design. The existing courses often support technical and functional solutions that incorporate systematised experiences of users – certain selected types of impairments such as wheelchair users and visually impaired – into design process and outcomes. This approach represents lived life of persons in static and quantifiable ways, and is therefore based on knowledge that looks for universal rationality. This is despite the fact that UD fundamentally starts from diverse bodily differences and situations, upon which it challenges to achieve inclusive society by promoting social interactions and participation. In what follows, the paper describes a framework within which UD is taught at the level of master's degrees in the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture, Design and Conservation (KADK). KADK challenges common categorisations of *abled* and *disabled* and explores what starting from difference brings to design. One essential question is what kind of knowledge – with special focus on the aspect of *use* and *user* – should architecture and design students gain in order to design inclusive environments? In this regard, KADK champions the importance of context-dependent knowledge. Accordingly, the paper argues that UD must be taught and practiced with respect to differences that exist between each person, but also in relation to contexts where design is produced and used.

TEACHING UNIVERSAL DESIGN AT KADK

Founded in 1754, the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture, Design and Conservation (KADK) now hosts three of the leading schools in architecture, design and conservation. KADK employs 200 academic staff including architects, designers, conservators, technical specialists, artists, historians, chemists and engineers and has currently enrolled 1500 PhD, graduate and undergraduate students. The Institute of Architecture and Design (IBD), where the author is affiliated, is one of six institutes across the schools and works at the intersection of architecture and design in an interdisciplinary environment. IBD offers Architecture and Design, Craft – Glass and Ceramics and Product Plus at the level of bachelor's degrees. At the level of master's degrees, IBD offers Fashion Design, Furniture and Object, Spatial Design, Strategic Design and Entrepreneurship. KADK is in the process of restructuring and at IBD the following programmes will be phase out over next couple of years and therefore no longer accept new students. Those are Fashion Design, Furniture Design, Industrial Design and Ceramic Form, Spatial Design and Textile Design at the bachelor's level; and Ceramic Design, Industrial Design and Textile Design at the master's level.

In 2016, KADK received funding from the Bevica Foundation to create a positive impact for people with mobility disabilities through collaboration with other institutions and organisations

including Disabled People's Organisations Denmark. This generous funding runs over a seven-year period; and supports research and research-based teaching activities at KADK. The challenge of this project is to lay the groundwork for the knowledge of inclusion, which enables/supports future practitioners to make responsible decisions in their design process. KADK is now in the process of implementing UD teaching into its new structure; but under two conditions. First, UD teaching needs to be applied onto established design teaching programmes rather than providing it as separate courses. An intension is to integrate knowledge gained through UD teaching into the design process to avoid design solutions to be *add-on* which can be discriminatory and socially exclusive. Second, UD teaching has to balance between knowledge on: 1) established design tools and information such as hard data, rules and guidelines which provide essential point of references; and 2) people-centred practice that aim to avoid objectifying the people nor seeing them as useful in validating design ideas and decisions; but instead, encourage designers to work directly with individuals to gain a greater perspective on the challenges and opportunities that exist in their conduct of everyday life.

KNOLWDGE FIELDS IN DESIGN

Danish scholar Kirkeby in her paper "Accessible Knowledge – Knowledge on Accessibility" (2015) discussed what kind of knowledge architects make use of when designing. In her paper drawing on Flyvbjerg (2004), she emphasises the importance of context-dependent knowledge in opposition to a general scientific ideal of context-independent knowledge. Context-dependent knowledge corresponds to the concept of *phronesis* from Aristotle's description of *praxis*. Quoting Kirkeby (2015), *phronesis* is a form of "knowledge which enables the practitioner to make responsible choices". In this paper, responsible choices are interpreted as choices for realising inclusive architecture and design. Context-dependent knowledge is practical knowledge learned and used through the act of designing. It is very different from quantifiable data sets and other rule-based knowledge that represent rationality and universality: and those are therefore context-independent. On the contrary, context-dependent knowledge is a type of knowledge that people learn through their experience in reflective practice, as Schön (1983) describes – "reflection-in-action".

Another important distinction is made in-between the imagined space of architects and the lived space of users. This paper recognises that the experience of users that architects and designers imagine when designing and the actual experience of users are never the same. The act of designing demands an ability of architects and designers to imagine how others may use and experience designed buildings, products and services. No matter how actively one participates to make understanding of situations, the design process involves designers' personal interpretation of gained understandings. Moreover, when designing, architects and designers tend to conceptualise the human body as a biological object, which often has average dimensions and ideal proportions (Imrie, 2003). This reductive conception of the human bodies turns persons who use building, products and services into an abstraction as *user* (Lefebvre, 1991). This abstraction suppresses the differences of which human bodies possess and could simplify the complexity of bodily interactions with objects, buildings and their surrounding environments. Correspondingly, many architectural theorists and practitioners have challenged functionalist and modernist notions of *users* of the built environment, looking at more active role of users in occupying and producing space (Hill, 1998).

The above-mentioned distinctions between context-dependent and context-independent knowledge, as well as the imagined space of architects and the lived space of users form an analytical model presented in Fig.1. This model adopts Kirkeby's analytical model that describes the understanding of knowledge used in the making of architecture (Kirkeby, 2009), and further developed in order to describe a systematic understanding of knowledge

learned and used in inclusive design processes. *South-east quadrant (SE)* is an area where embodied experiences of individual users are situated. *North-east quadrant (NE)* is an area where users' experiences are translated into resources. This field corresponds with the rationality of science, representing in the type of knowledge such as a data sets that quantify human experience and behaviour. *North-west quadrant (NW)* is an area that available knowledge of users is translated and organised so that architects and designers can directly work with. These can be in the form of rules and guidelines; explicit answers to problem raising in the design process – what is the minimum width of doors for a person on wheelchair to pass. This field can be established via different routes. For examples, user's subjective experience in *SE* can be translated either directly from *SE* or from data sets developed in *NE*.

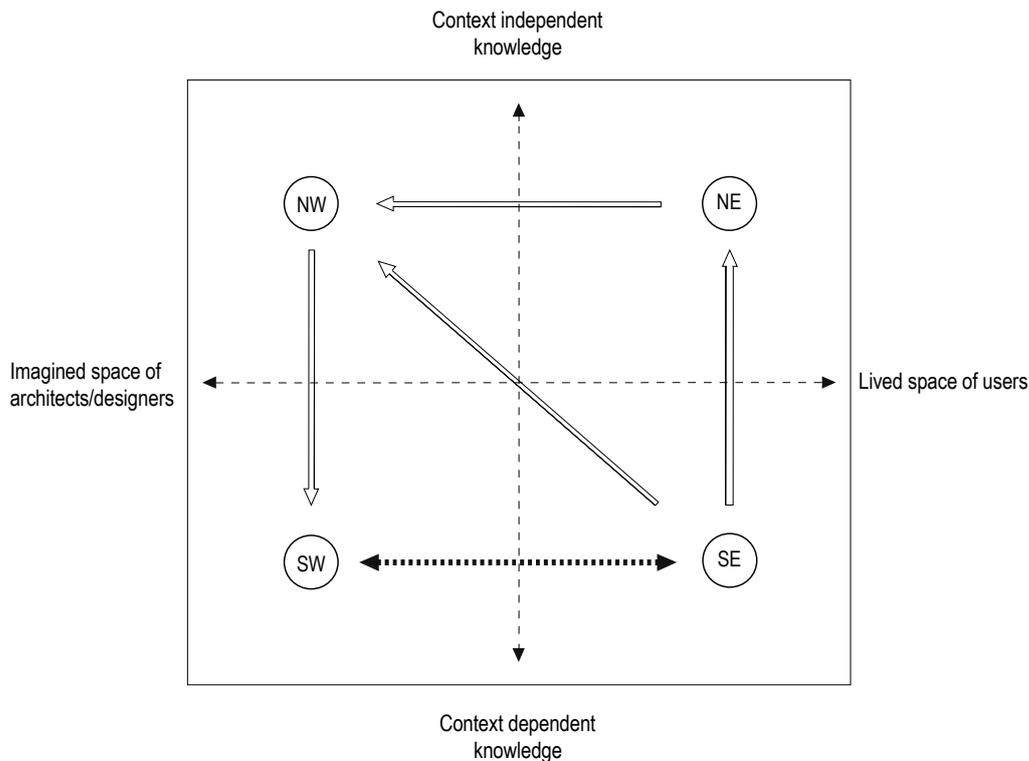


Figure 1. A plane of knowledge that architects and designers make use of when designing.

Knowledge on users could also come directly from *SE* to *south-west quadrant (SW)*. In the design process, architects and designers operate in both fields of *NW* and *SW*. *SW* is the primal area where design methods and design thinking are employed in their creative process. In this field, architects and designers coordinate gained knowledge but also develop new knowledge in the act of designing. In *SW*, gained understanding of users' challenges and opportunities that exist in their everyday life can be integrated into design; so, design can progress through a reflective conversation with the situation where accumulated knowledge of designers from previous and current tasks as well as spatial experience of users could be integrated. This situatedness in contexts during knowledge production (Flyvbjerg, 2004) and learning process (Lawson, 2004; Cross, 2006) gives an opportunity for architects and designers to avoid objectifying the people. It allows architects and designers to gain knowledge of users by *doing* projects together not confronting them as oppositions, nor seeing them as useful in validating design ideas and decisions. This approach aligns with

a number of user-led design methods that challenge to promote environments that are more responsive to the manifold complexities of peoples' experience in situations.

DESCRIBING COURSES

In this section, two courses given to students for studying master's degrees at the IBD are described as follows – *Material Includes* and *Different Bodies*.

Material Includes

Material Includes was a six-week collaborative project between Petersen Brick and master course Spatial Design. The project was developed as a part of Embassy of Switzerland in Denmark's *Architecture in Residence* programme, which invites Swiss and Danish schools of architecture and design, craftspeople, industrial partners and other stakeholders to exchange knowledge and ideas. In spring semester 2017, 16 students from the course designed and constructed a floor and fireplace in the garden of the embassy in Copenhagen as a place for gathering. *Material Includes* was their design response to the concept of *Open Embassy* that attempts to combine traditional practice of diplomacy with event-based cultural exchange between Swiss and Danish groups of interest. The project was intended to function as a backdrop to this *Open Embassy* activities. The process started from making of almost 800 Kolumba bricks at Petersen Brick. Central to this special brick, students questioned the role of materials in constructing and re-constructing spatial experience of users but also of themselves as designers and makers. This collaborative project aimed to contribute, with this material construction of a floor and fireplace, to the making of inclusive places.

Design address only one part of challenges towards a more inclusive world for all people, regardless of age, ability and many more possible limitations. And yet, design can contribute to solve immediate problems of those with difficulties, and moreover it can increase opportunities and motivate pleasure. Such a speculative motivation for seeing inclusivity as a creative potential was the point of departure for approaching eight disabled and/or older persons. Students communicated and interviewed those persons in order to get insight in their use of space. The focus was to gain an understanding of how formal, tactile and visual qualities of material – brick in this case – may increase pleasure in their experience. Their responses informed and inspired the design throughout, making students question how texture, patterns, colour contrasts, edge treatments might enrich their experience to be more inclusive and pleasurable. This led the design of a piece to have clearly defined edges to include visually impaired people, and room for wheelchair users where the sea view is best enjoyed. The project, through these processes, saw inclusion not only as a vision for democratic space but also for delightful space.

Another form of inclusion in this project was taking the idea of inclusion as a method for practicing. Inclusion does not only describe the quality of the work made but also the processes to bring it about. Whereas most design processes typically start with giving forms by drawing or modelling, this project started from extending the professional boundary of architects and designers. Students made bricks and were directly involved with possible users, as well listened and reflected on the voice of all involved in the project. The weight of clay, drying, burning and cooling of material, colours and textures of burned bricks as well as insights gained from possible users influence the design and construction. In this project, narratives developed around the bricks set a clear design strategy which defined a common understanding of detailing and ways of construction. The outcome has a simple form, a slightly raised rectangular floor with an inset fireplace, and yet carefully considered how details contribute to producing inclusive space.



Figure 2. Erna and Torben visited a piece in the embassy's garden during an event called *Design Picnic* during *3 Days of Design* in June 2017.

Different Bodies

Different Bodies was two-week project for new master students who started at IBD in Autumn semester 2018. It involved 142 students across 6 different teaching programmes which are: 1) Spatial Design, 2) Furniture and Object, 3) Strategic Design and Entrepreneurship, 4) Fashion Design, 5) Industrial Design, and 6) Ceramic Design. The project introduced a number of approaches to engage with people, so-called people-centred methods. But more so, it was an introduction or affirmation of a position which celebrates the diversity of human bodies. The project reflects KADK's current interest for the realisation of inclusive society which responds to United Nations' *17 Sustainable Development Goals* (United Nations, 2015). The project faces one of the existing discriminations, *disablism* – amongst others including ageism, sexism and racism – by starting from exploring what *difference* can brings to design. It questions how architects and designers can embrace collective experience with respect to the differences that our bodies possess.

In this project, students were asked to create collective experiences that celebrate different bodies and their manifold interactions with material and immaterial environments, which were presented at the end of the project in the format of act, performance or exhibition that can be commonly experienced. For practical reasons, 142 students were divided into 14 groups of almost 10 students each. The group work in an interdisciplinary setting embraced the project's focus on *difference*, through which students were asked to consider the role of individuals within multiple-layered networks of relations. Accordingly, the project celebrated 142 different professional skills and competences but also their different bodily abilities, preferences, gender, coping style and another socio-political, cultural backgrounds. It was an opportunity to learn from variations of human perception, ability and preference of persons including themselves as architects and designers – rather than categorising, ignoring or marginalising those differences. With those as a background, students started the project with a workshop which involved disabled artists.

Three artists from *The DisOrdinary Architecture Project*, UK were invited to hold this workshop. They are those who can turn what others might consider as disadvantages into their strength, and express themselves through artworks. Artists prepared various creative

exercises for students, through which students gained understandings about specific conditions of disabilities while immediately utilising and translating those conditions into their design works. This was supported by other activities including: live drawing sessions with models with physical impairments; discussions and a social event with persons with notable bodily conditions such as neuromuscular disorders; and simulating disabilities such as blindfolding, covering one's ears and using a manual wheelchair. Organisations involved in this workshop include *Sammenslutningen af Unge Med Handicap* – an umbrella organisation comprised of and made for young disabled people in Denmark and *Muskelsvindfonden* – Danish non-profit organization that strives to find a cure for neuromuscular disorders. Numerous activities for students took place during this workshop. However, importantly, those exercises were always conducted *with* those who have specific bodily conditions, which led students to avoid becoming passive recipients of information. For this reason, it appears that students smoothly translated their experiences into their design tasks.

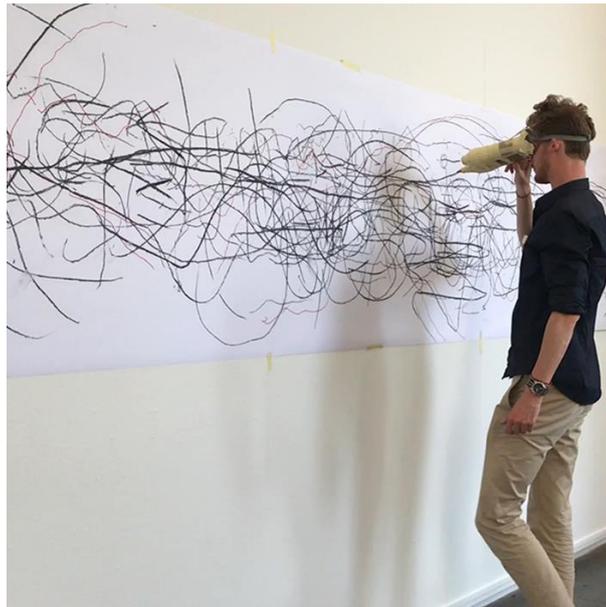


Figure 3. Workshop with the DisOrdinary Architecture Project: a student challenging to gain understanding of the loss of peripheral vision while experimenting with drawing techniques.

REFLECTIONS

The below discussions were made through the author's observation as an organiser and teacher, which is supported by reflective conversations with colleagues at KADK. But also, they reflect ten short conversations with students; four from the project *Material Includes* and eight from the project *Different Bodies*. Conversations took a form of semi-structured qualitative interviews. Conversations were left open-ended, however, within the framework of the pre-defined structure. First, the students were asked to explain what they had learned in which processes of the project. Then they were asked to give some example of how they made use of gained knowledge in their creative process. And yet, they were encouraged to tell their own stories and describe their experiences. These conversations were to gain first-hand knowledge on the learning process of inclusion; accordingly, the author acknowledge the need for further investigations.

Both projects asked students to make creative outputs: the act of designing was core to the projects. Therefore, students situated themselves and utilised knowledge in *SW* from the

beginning of the projects. It is different from receiving lectures or reading books on accessibility and UD, in which students receive knowledge situated in *NW*. In *Different Bodies*, students started the project by receiving a number of small exercises to gain the understanding of specific conditions of disabilities. New knowledge was gained through experiencing those specific conditions by themselves. This was supported by conversations with disabled artists and others involved, which helped the students bringing knowledge from *SE* into *SW* more fluently. Some information, including stereotyped narratives of the specific condition of disabilities, can also be brought from *NE* into *SW*. Importantly, students' own experiences made the movement of knowledge from *SE* and *NE* into their field of creation in *SW* much smoother. This was further enhanced by the fact that students were simultaneously developing their design while processing the gained knowledge. In this project, *SW* as an anchoring field, students mobilised knowledge freely between *NE*, *SE* and *SW*.

In *Material Includes*, words and gestures of eight persons who students engaged with informed the design throughout. The students accumulated gained information from those eight persons by making a portrait of each person. This process made it easy for students to reflect what they had observed and discovered in their design process. The students mobilised knowledge from *SE* to *SW* while they were developing the project. Importantly, this oscillation between *SE* and *SW* had raised a number of design questions, which lead students to seek information from *NW*. The students consulted the building regulations and other design guidelines while they were drawing and modelling. The students firstly faced the tangible issues of real persons, and then sought knowledge from rules and guidelines. This order of engaging knowledge in *SE* and then *NW*, not starting directly from *NW*, is important, since this first part – the oscillation between *SE* and *SW* – allows students to form questions such as *why* should the turning space of 1.5m x 1.5m be maintained; is this turning circle for wheelchair users appropriate in size and proportion in relation to material narratives and imagined uses of designed space? The students learned to critically assess and qualify information in *NW* while imagining how design could be.

Students dwelled in *SW* through the courses of both projects. From this field of creation, they reached out to *NW*, *NE* and *SE* through a reflective dialogue with design process and the context of the projects as well as users. The Students gained knowledge from *NW*, *NE* and *SE*, while developing new knowledge in *SW*. In *SW*, the earlier experiences of students themselves as an architect or designer, but also as a user were integrated into the analysis and development of design tasks. Notably, students shift their positions between designer and user. This oscillation between *SE* and *SW*, in other words, the subjective understanding of experiences both as designer and user made the design process of students much more reflective. In this way, students become more tentative and gain valuable insights of other persons' lives, which were put together with carried knowledge from their previous tasks and accumulated knowledge from their current tasks. User's experiences were integrated into the design process as one of – amongst others – design generating parameters; not as special considerations that might lead towards generic and *add-on* design solutions.

CONCLUSION

The paper has presented how UD is taught at KADK, using the examples of two courses given to master's degrees students in IBD. Based on the distinction between context-dependent and context-independent knowledge, the creative processes of students' projects were analysed, with which the effectiveness of situated learning in UD education was discussed. The examples underlined the importance of "reflection-in-action": leaning while designing. The paper also discussed the importance of gaining understanding of experiences both as the designer and user. This subjective understandings of circumstances and conditions allowed students to situate critical potential in their practice. They reached out to

gain different types of knowledge in order to qualify their design. The core of this process was to gain a deeper understanding of users' experiences. Methods of engaging with users while developing design – frequent oscillation between SW and SE – proved to be effective. For some students, it was a challenge, since engaging with persons can take time; hence be seen as a detour. However, once they engaged, the students carried through those established dialogues throughout the projects. It supported the students to develop empathy.

People-centred techniques developed in UD provide deeper understanding of users' experience, as opposed to broad knowledge gained from statistics or other quantifiable data. These practices aim to avoid objectifying the people and encourage designers to work directly with individuals. Knowledge obtained in this way brings designers valuable insights; but less of comprehensive understanding of every aspects of a person's life. It produces understandings that are subject-dependent, but therefore deeply embedded into designers' creatively in practice. Two examples demonstrated that this situatedness in design practice becomes an essential foothold for further knowledge production in the given design tasks. There is no single answer and/or solution that can live up to a variety of needs, demands, and preferences put forth by diverse individuals. Rules and standards, as well as people-centred techniques are useful tools; but are not ultimate. Hence, the achievement of inclusive environments depends largely on the capability of architects and designers who can utilise those tools effectively, however, by acknowledging their limits.

The learning-in-action method appears to increase the mobility of knowledge in the practice of architects and designers. And yet, how to enhance continuous knowledge production and transfer knowledge gained from one project to the next must be investigated. Accordingly, it would be interesting to follow how KADK will continue to provide space for leaning of inclusion contextualised in the act of designing.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank you for our collaborations and productive conversations with those involved in the two projects described in this paper. For *Material includes*, Petersen Tegl, the Embassy of Switzerland, Vedbæk Byg, SuperForm Lab of KADK, and not least two teaching partners of Peter Wedell-Wedellsborg and Heidi Svenningsen Kajita for our fine collaboration. For *Different Bodies*, Bevica Fonden, Sammenslutningen af Unge Med Handicap (SUMH), Muskelsvindfonden, Rama Gheerawo, Jos Boys and artists from The DisOrdinary architecture project – David Dixon, Noemi Lakmaier and Raquel Mesequer. I also thank the tutors who participated, and not least co-organisers of the project – Grethe Weber and Nanna Kirstine Brøndsted as well as the head of our institute (IBD) Irene Alma Lønne.

REFERENCES

Frandsen, A.K., Kirkeby, I.M., Ryhl, C. and Pedersen, L.S. 2012. *Bygningsreglementets tilgængelighedsbestemmelser set i forhold til processen* [The accessibility requirements in the Danish building regulations and the building process; a mapping of compliance and barriers]. Danish Building Research Institute, Aalborg University.

Cross, N. 2006. *Designerly Ways of Knowing*. Springer, London.

Flyvbjerg, B. 2011. "Case Study". In *the Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Sage, Thousand Oaks.

- Flyvbjerg, B. 2004. "Phronetic Planning Research: Theoretical and Methodological Reflections". *Planning Theory and Practice* 5(3) 283-306.
- Gheerawo, R. 2016. "Socially inclusive design: A people-centred perspective". In *the Routledge Companion to Design Studies*. Routledge, New York.
- Hill, J. (ed.). 1998. *Occupying Architecture*. Routledge, London.
- Imrie, R. 2003. "Architect's Conception of the Human Body". *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 21(1) 47-65.
- Kajita, M and Kajita, H.S. (eds.). 2017. *Material Includes*. The Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture, Design and Conservation, Copenhagen.
- Kirkeby, I.M. 2009. "Knowledge in the making". *Architectural Research Quarterly* 13 (3-4) 307-313.
- Kirkeby, I.M. 2015. "Accessible knowledge – knowledge on accessibility". *Journal of Civil Engineering and Architecture* 9 534-546.
- Lawson, B.R. 2004. *How Designers know*. Architectural Press, Oxford.
- Lawson, B.R. 2006. *How Designers Think*. Architectural Press, Oxford.
- Lefebvre, H. 1991. *The Production of Space*. Blackwell Publishing, Malden.
- Ryhl, C. and Frandsen, A.K. 2016. "A New Professional Master in Universal Design in the Built Environment". *Nordic Journal of Architectural Research* 2016(2) 163-181.
- Schön, D.1983. *The Reflective Practitioner: How professionals think in action*. Basic Books, New York.
- United Nations, General Assembly. 2007. *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities and Optional Protocol*. United Nations, New York.
- United Nations, 2015. *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development*. United Nations, New York.