

Synopsis

This report conveys the results of a photo elicitation study carried out with three women studying and living in Aalborg, Denmark, but originating from another country. The main conceptual framework for this study is 'sense of place' which discusses how meaning is given to places. The photo elicitation study investigates how the participants give meaning to their home and the adjoined surrounding area. By capturing their homes in photographs and then interpreting the pictures in in-depth interviews, allow the participants actively to take part in the inquiry. In this way, the photo elicitation studies often elicit a deeper understanding of the participants' daily practices than word-based interview and still this method is not applied frequently in urban planning. This report investigates if photo elicitation is a useful method to provide insight in the participants 'sense of home' and if it offers insight into planning questions.

The combination of photo elicitation and a focus on subjective meaning offers insights into how the three women create a sense of home. The women relate to curtain objects, such as their cup, chair or lamp and these physical elements are all inside their apartments. They see their 'home' as a collection of objects that all are meaningful in their own right. The participants have embedded emotions, memories feelings, etc. in the objects all of which are personal and therefore subjective. Furthermore, their home seem to be secluded and in that way set apart from the outside world, as if the participants have to cocoon themselves in their apartment to call it home. In relation to planning questions, this report also offers further perspectives, for using photo elicitation to access and involve group's citizens that normally are not given a voice in the planning debate (teenagers, homeless, immigrants, etc.). Moreover, this method might even make it a fun experience to participate.

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Preface

This master thesis was written from February to October 2009 in the final semester of the master program in Urban Planning and Management, Aalborg University. The theme of the report was chosen and developed by the author and focuses on photographic methods in relation to sense of place, the physical home and urban planning methodologies.

The literature references in this report are created using the APA standard. All of the citations in the report cross-reference to the bibliography in the back of the report, showing the detailed sources. The figures and photographs, listed with the photographer, are numbered throughout the report.

Inspiration for this report comes from different sources related to my education and personal background. Throughout the education as a planner and geographer, 'soft issues' in spatial processes have interested me, namely actor's roles and interests, communication, and individual meaning and views. Different sources and discussions with fellow students and friends provided useful input throughout the process of this project. My personal preferences for the visual and creative however have been shaped at an early age and I thank my mother for that. The question where and what home is not novel. Perhaps because it is never entirely answerable, I consider the question an interesting and challenging one for further investigation.

For their direct contribution to this report, I would like to mention a few persons. I am sincerely grateful for the cooperation with the participants in the photo elicitation study. Ana, Eva and Taru were willing to involve themselves in the study. It is a privilege to be allowed into someone's home like that. Additionally, I express thanks to Arne Juul for his insights on methods applied in planning practice. For testing and thus helping to develop the study, I thank Helen and Gisela. Furthermore, I thank Kristian Bundgaard for helping with the translation of Danish documents and correspondences. For creative input and final assistance, I thank Nina Vogel, Morten Skou Nikolaisen and Per Bruun Madsen.

I would sincerely thank my supervisor Henrik Gutzon Larsen for his constructive inputs to make this, as he calls it, 'slightly more adventurous project' possible. His encouragement throughout the project was exceptional, even tough it was not always clear where I was heading. That being said, all remaining errors and omissions are solely my own.

Finally, a special thanks goes to those far away, but close to me for their patience and support.

Anna Alice Wust

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Zooming in on home

1 SET UP

Set up – In this first chapter, I introduce the focus and the aims of this report. The first section explains what a participant of the photo elicitation study called 'homework' and describes the focus of the report. Then, the second section describes four central terms in this report: photo elicitation, sense of home, immediate home and making space. The research questions are presented in the second section as well. Finally, the third section illustrates and gives detail about the research design and the delimitations.

1.1 Photographic 'homework'

Before you read further, have a look at the cover page. What do you see in the photos?

The three photos are results from the photo elicitation study conducted for this report. The photographers were three women living and studying in Aalborg, Denmark, but coming from another country. I asked the three participants to photograph their home, and gave instructions to capture what was specific, what they liked and disliked in their Danish residences and the close-by surrounding area. The participants had to make sense of these vague instructions and actually start photographing – one woman called this exercise fittingly 'homework'. In a following interview, the participants explained the meaning of the photographs related to their Danish homes and revealed broader insights into what home means to them. This project is zooming in on subjective meaning of home by applying a collaborative photographic method borrowed from sociology and anthropology. Therefore, I am interested if photo elicitation could provide a useful method for planners investigating how people give meaning to particular places.

By experimenting with photo elicitation, I am 'borrowing' a method from visual sociology and anthropology. Moreover, with the focus on meaning of home and subjective experience I am perhaps moving away from established urban planning questions for instance related to economic growth, land use, transport and environmental quality. Nevertheless, I argue that it is good to think in new directions and to experiment with tools from different disciplines. By choosing photo elicitation to investigate meanings of home, I am examining 'soft issues' (Campbell & Fainstein, 2003). 'Soft issues' such as diversity, communication, everyday life, home and gender have mostly been investigated by female planning researchers (such as Jane Jacobs, Patsy Healy, Leonie Sandercock, June Manning Thomas, Dolores Hayden), but lack wider appreciation. The focus of this report is to explore the possibilities of investigating a sense of home with photo elicitation. This can be understood as a contribution to investigating the soft, cultural fringe of urban issues (Sandercock, 2003). Sandercock advocates for a planning emphasizing social diversity as well as a diversity of places and I share her view to the extent that planning should be open for new insights and methods and thus not narrowly focus on functional planning for economic growth, land use, and environmental quality. However, by following a broad understanding of planning (Perry, 2003), diversity is only one component for 'making space'. What 'making space' and other central terms in this report imply shall be described in the next subsection.

1.2 Gaining home insights and evaluating photo elicitation

This report has an apparent methodological focus on photo elicitation. However, I also draw on different concepts from different academic disciplines. Therefore, I use a specific terminology in this report and it is helpful to briefly explain the central terms here.

Four central terms for this report

The first term is the method itself. Photo elicitation is a method with "the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview" (Harper, 2002, p. 13) to allow a different interview communication than word-only interviews. As a research-driven photographic method, the photographing forms an active part within the inquiry and the photographs serve the purpose of the study. Often, photo elicitation takes a collaborative form, where the interviewees, and not the researchers become the photographers, as it is also the case for my study. Photo elicitation studies investigate questions related to the participants' experience and meaning, and it is assumed that the photographs can support the communication about such complex matters and also allow the participant a greater level of self-expression. Photo elicitation is applied mostly in social disciplines such as anthropology and sociology and there are also examples from human geography. However, examples of this method in planning studies can to the best of my knowledge be counted on one hand. Therefore, I am interested if photo elicitation could provide a useful method for planners investigating how people assert meaning to particular places.

The second central term is sense of home. Sense of home is related to sense of place theory originating in humanistic geography and having also impact in place quality investigations in urban design, but perhaps less directly in urban planning studies. Sense of place is constructed, which means that through experience (Tuan, 1977) or activity(Relph, 1976) physical space turns into meaningful place, the very sense of place. The home serves frequently as the primary example of a meaningful place. With the photo elicitation study I aim to investigate how the special meaning of home, in other words the sense of home, is created.

Drawing on different sources, it can be stated that sense of home is subjective and thus thorny to conceptualize. Therefore, to investigate the creation of a sense of home, a relatively narrow focus was chosen on the immediate home. I introduce the immediate home as the third main term in this report. The immediate home embodies two primary spatial aspects. Firstly, immediate home bounds the spatial setting of the participants' physical residence and the close-by surrounding physical area. Secondly, immediate home is indicating the possibility of another, more distant or abstract home. Since the participants for this study are international students, the distant home can relate to the participants' country of origin, and the immediate home is linked to where they live in Aalborg. Such a narrow focus is however not suggesting that home should be put on a level of residence. Home is a special kind of place that can include more than the place where one lives. However, for this project the immediate home forms a starting point for investigating how a sense of home can be created.

The fourth central term for this report is gerundic space making, introduced by planning theorist David Perry (2003) and discussed in further detail in the next. For Perry, traditional planning has narrowly focused on the physical and abstract space and has thus 'made plans' instead of 'making space'. Making space is understood as the 'traveling between' lived and abstract space. For Perry, the lived space is physical concrete, temporal immediate and socially lived. Contrary to the lived space, the abstract space is constructed and temporally situated in the past and future, such as society, imagined, memorized and planned space. Perry's approach is central for this report, because photo elicitation might allow such a 'traveling between' the lived space of the immediate home and the

abstract sense of home. Furthermore, the 'traveling between' can also be related sense of place concepts and visual research that travel in some respects between lived and abstract space. After providing the four central terms of this report, I will now present the aims of this report in the following section.

Research questions

This report has a methodological focal point. The first aim is to apply photo elicitation to zoom in on subjective meaning of home. This aim is related to the photo elicitation study conducted for this report. The second aim is the evaluation of the photo elicitation method considering further sense of place investigations. The second aim is related to the reflection on the applied photo elicitation method and is drawing in theory of visual research as well as sense of place. In order to accomplish these two aims, the report is exploring the two following research question:

- 1. Which insights into the creation of a sense of home can photo elicitation provide?
- 2. Is photo elicitation a useful method to investigate planning questions related to sense of place?

To answer these two research questions, the report follows a research design as shown in figure 1 consisting of four levels that will be explained in the following section.

1.3 Research design

On a metalevel of the research design, planning is understood in line with Perry's gerundic space making. His understanding is a call for a planning that is 'traveling between' lived and abstract space (Perry, 2003). In chapter 2, Perry's approach is discussed in further detail.

Perry's approach can be linked to the next level illustrating the sense of place concept. The concept of sense of place approach will be discussed in depth in chapter 2. The sense of place concept can be understood as a way of traveling between physical space and sense of place. On one side, there is the physical space, which forms one element of the lived space. The lived space is more than the physical space, because it also includes the temporal immediate element and the element of the lived social relations. These two elements can, however, be linked to what sense of place proponents call experience (Tuan, 1977) or activity (Relph, 1976). Sense of place can be understood as a construct of a meaningful place and a form of an abstract space in Perry's understanding.

The third and fourth level of the research design shows the particular focus of the photo elicitation study in this report. The conceptual focus on the sense of home is illustrated on the third level. The conceptual focus is closely linked to the conceptual level. Therefore, mirroring the construction of a sense of place, the creation of a sense of home takes place through homely experience or activity and I am interested in an investigation of how such homely experiences or activities take place to create a sense of home. To narrow sense of home down to a setting that seemed possible as a starting point for the photo elicitation study, I chose the physical setting of the immediate home. How I investigate the creation of a sense of home is the core for this project. I do it by applying photo elicitation, as can be seen on the fourth level of the research design. Photo elicitation seems particularly suited to investigate the creation of a sense of home because of several reasons that are discussed in detail in chapter 3. Right now, it is just important to mention that photo elicitation seems to provide a way to investigate subjective experience and meaning. By focusing on investigating the immediate home by using photo elicitation, I aim to shed light on understanding how a sense of home is created.

Moreover, I am interested in what a sense of home is for the participants of my study. In this way, I am orientating this investigation on a small scale of personal meaning and subjective experience.

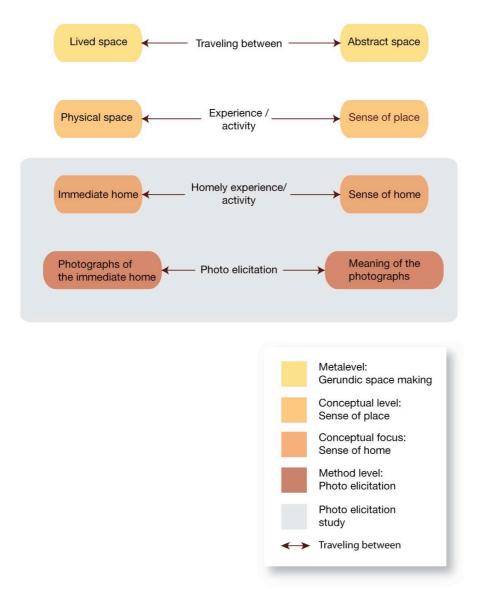


Figure 1: Research design

The photographs are images of aspects of the immediate home and form, together with the interview data, the empirical basis for the analysis presented in chapter 5. As an initial analytical step I will therefore investigate which aspects of the immediate home the photographs show. As a second step, the results from the photo elicitation study are further analyzed to find out how the participants describe the meaning of the photographs. Also, aspects of a sense of home that are only verbally expressed in the interview and thus not related to the photographs, are included. As a third step of the analysis, the meanings of the photographs are interpreted to draw a link to the creation of a sense of home. This is the logic for answering the first research question.

A large part of this project is also related to the development, the testing and the actual applying of the photo elicitation study itself. The implementation is therefore described in chapter 4. The reflection on the method forms an important part of this report, and is described in chapter 6. The reflections are following Rose's (2007) suggestion for a critical approach to the visual methods, where careful

handling and reflection of the researcher-researched relationship are important. Furthermore, the reflections are including the participant's feedback on the method as well as an expert interview about the possibility of similar methods for planning practice. Together, the implementation of the photo elicitation study, the results and the reflection form a basis for answering the second research question.

Delimitation

Given the report's focuses on photo elicitation as a way to investigate the creation of a sense of home and on the use of photo elicitation as a possible method investigating sense of place, further aspects related to the photo elicitation study were not included in this report, but shall be mentioned here.

Firstly, the focus on an in-depth investigation of subjective meaning meant that other possible foci were abandoned. One of the reasons for choosing the participants was due to the habitual connection broadly discussed in feminist theory (e.g. Hayden, 2003), however gender questions were not discussed in further depth. The choice of these participants had actually further reasons: was also due to their similar background to me - women who were living in Denmark, but coming from another country - and I thus assumed that approaching and communicating with them could be more straight-forward. Other reasons for choosing these participants are described in chapter 4. It could be argued that by choosing soft issues (see1.1) I have a gender influenced research interest. However, I do not see this report as a contribution to the feministic discussion in planning, because I have not conducted the photo elicitation study to investigate gender roles, but rather, to investigate subjective meaning of place. The focus on subjective meaning and a qualitative method also meant that I took a small sample of three participants and aimed thus for results representing their subjective meaning rather than representing a broad spectrum of actors or a social group. It could also be argued that the participants are immigrants, because they come from another country and live and study in Denmark. However, because of the narrow focus on the subjective meaning and the ambiguous understanding of who an immigrant is, I chose not to approach the participants as immigrants, but rather as individual persons.

Secondly, by focusing on the immediate home as the setting for the photo elicitation study, the dichotomy or blurring between private and public place was not discussed in further depth. However, I argue that planning discussions can be grouped in 'a private sense of place' and 'a public sense of place' (see 2.2), the latter concerned with public place and receiving respectable attention in urban design circles (e.g. Gehl, 2006). By taking the immediate home as a setting for the photo elicitation study, I am investigating a private place. Therefore a sense of home can be understood as belonging to a broader private sense of place.

Zooming in on home

2 LENS - SPACE MAKING, SENSE OF PLACE AND SENSE OF HOME

There is no place like home. Home sweet home. Home is where the heart is. My home is my castle. Many proverbs describe home as a place with a special meaning. How meaning is assigned to physical space is explored by sense of place researchers and forms a central concept of this report. This chapter looks through the conceptual lens and discusses sense of place and home. The chapter starts with explaining the meta-level approach followed in this approach, drawing on understanding planning as 'making space'. The second section lays out sense of place, which can be understood as the emotional bonds and the meanings people develop in relation to places and can be grouped in physical, subjective, social, contextual and abstract elements. Then I explain how sense-of-place questions are explored in planning theory and practice. In relation to sense of place research, home is often mentioned as a primary example; accordingly a link can be drawn from a private sense of place to a sense of home. The third section sheds light on sense of home. Concepts of home are diverse and ambiguous and will only be briefly touched upon from a humanistic geography and sociological perspective, and then home is discussed in relation to sense of place. Sense of home can be understood as what home means to people and how they feel about it. Then, the conceptual setting for this report is introduced, the immediate home, describing the physical residence of the study participants. Moreover, I will describe how homely experiences can be expressed and thus investigated. Then, sense of home is looked at from a planning perspective. Finally, the fourth section summarizes the discussions of this chapter and visualizes the conceptual focus with figure 6.

2.1 Positioning: planning as making space

In this section, I will explore Perry's concept of gerundic making space and explain further why I position this report in the line with Perry's concept. Perry's approach calls for planning to 'travel between' the lived and the abstract space.

The practice of planning must be considered a dialectic one, always traveling between the lived space and the abstract space of society. It is this travel that is at once most bothersome to planners and critics and the most important feature of practice (Perry, 2003, p. 152).

The understanding of planning in this report is based on David C. Perry's gerundic making of space. Perry suggests an understanding of planning as "making space", instead of "making plans". He thereby suggests a shift to planning as a spatial practice instead of the traditional planning focus on physical or abstract space. In doing so, he proposes a spatial and strategic planning practice, rather than a science or knowledge of space. Perry's space making is drawing on theories of the production of space by Michel de Certeau and Henri Lefebvre. Lefebvre (1991) emphasizes the social production of space. De Certeau highlights spatial practice and reveals how the practice of everyday life transforms or produces space (1988). For de Certeau, everyday use can re-interpret existing urban space, even if only in partial, momentary or private ways. Everyday spatial practice, for instance urban cultures of graffiti and skateboarding, transforms or just ignores official meanings and uses.

In line with de Certeau's and Lefebvre's spatial theories, a detour to other theories of making space can be made. A broad framework is provided by Fran Tonkiss (2005), who reviews three different thinkers of making space, namely Michel Foucault, Roland Barthes and Michel de Certeau. Since I

have discussed de Certeau's focus on spatial tactics and urban cultures in the previous paragraph, I will only mention the two other thinkers in this paragraph. Foucault's' concept of heterotopias (1986) is a critical view on the 'otherness' of certain places, for instance hospitals, carnival or brothel. Such places stand outside a conventional order and are able to organize behavior and put into place an alternative rationality of space. Another spatial concept is Barthes' semiology discussion on 'speaking' the city (Barthes, 1977). For Barthes, subjects create space for themselves. Space can therefore be read and interpreted in different ways and thus creates a level of uncertainty about the meaning of space. Such an uncertainty is opening up for pleasures in the unfamiliar and untamed that Barthes calls erotic dimensions of space. Tonkiss' review is helpful for understanding the broader framework or space making in social theory concerned, however, I will not draw specifically on Foucault's' and Barthes' view of space making, because I chose to focus on Perry's view of space making.

Perry states that from the beginning of planning theories there was no clear or single definition of planning. He thus refuses taking a side in the various planning debates (such as comprehensive, incremental, advocacy planning etc.) Instead he suggests a broader definition of planning, including various approaches as components of an overall task of making space. Considering planning as a spatial practice implies breaking down space in abstract space of society and the lived or everyday space. Perry introduces the notion of gerundic space making:

As such the space of planning is best represented as a gerund – a verb-noun – both fixed in the social and physical relations (space) of the moment and changing in relation to both the past and the future (time). This means that planning is always more than one thing – it is both the planned and the unplanned, engaging the future (direction or goals) and the present, the distant and visionary, and the proximative and labyrinthine (Perry, 2003, p. 151).

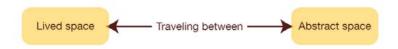


Figure 2: Gerundic making of space

The spatial practice of planning is thus the gerundic making of space or "traveling the dialectic distance between abstract and concrete space" (Perry, 2003, p. 161) and this is illustrated in figure 3. The gerundic understanding of planning offered by Perry is valuable for this report, since I am investigating abstract as well as concrete space (or 'place', as I will discuss in chapter 2). With the photo elicitation study, I investigate characteristics of 'a sense of home' in the physical setting of 'immediate home'. Thereby I, and perhaps also the participants of the study and the readers of this report might become travelers between abstract and concrete space.

2.2 Sense of place

Sense of place is a term to describe how people experience and attach to place. This section looks through the conceptual lens and sheds light on sense of place theories. Firstly, the broader framework of the sense of place discussion, drawing on phenomenology and humanistic geography is touched upon. Secondly, sense of place is laid out that can be understood as consisting of five elements: the

physical, subjective, social, contextual and abstract element. These five elements are helpful for a further analysis; however, they do not exist isolated, because all combined provide an overall sense of place. Humanistic geographers and sociologists, who relate experience and habitus to sense of place, have thoroughly researched sense of place. Secondly, I discuss how sense-of-place questions have been explored in planning theory and practice. I introduce 'a public sense of place' describing how place meaning is given to public place. This is opposed to 'a private sense of place' describing the sense of private place. The investigation of 'a private sense of place' is important for the further notion of 'a sense of home', which forms the conceptual focus of this report. Compared to a private sense of place, urban planning has been mostly concerned with investigating a public sense of place. Related to sense of place home is often mentioned as a primary example; consequently a link can be drawn from a private sense of place to a sense of home.

2.2.1 Insights from phenomenology and humanistic geography

Humanistic geographers, who were drawing on phenomenology, emphasized the experiences of place and human-place interactions. Insights from phenomenology and humanistic geography serve therefore as a broader framework for the sense of place discussion and will be covered in this subsection. Phenomenology offers a broader framework for approaching human-place interactions. Humanistic geography draws frequently on phenomenology by investigating how place is experienced. Phenomenology and humanistic geography forms therefore a background for the focus on the photo elicitation study that investigates how participants create a sense of home in their immediate home. Humanistic geographers (Tuan, 1977; Relph, 1976) were drawing on phenomenology by focusing on peoples' experiences in particular places and the meanings given to these places. Tim Cresswell (2004) provides a good overview of how humanistic geographers were drawing on phenomenology and this paragraph is mostly drawing on his explanation. Nineteenth century philosophers Franz Brentano, Edmund Husserl and Martin Heidegger laid the philosophy of science foundations for phenomenology. Phenomenology argues that the world is perceived and experienced through phenomena. Phenomena include "seeing, hearing and other sensitive relations, but also imaginations, memories, feelings, estimations and practical handling" (Delanty & Strydom, 2003, p. 29). Through experience of phenomena consciousness is constructed, which is the relation between the self and the world. Through experience, people can intentionally construct an understanding of the world. Phenomenologists are emphasizing individual experience and meaning and focusing on subjectivity, value and the relationships between persons, thereby rejecting the empirical-analytical tradition, which is characterized by a clear subject-object relation, value freedom and the separation of facts and values (Delanty & Strydom, 2003). Because of the focus on individual experiences, phenomenology is often a broader framework for investigations of everyday experiences. Humanistic geographers (Tuan, 1977; Relph, 1976) were drawing on phenomenology when they introduced a distinction between abstract space on one end and experienced or constructed place on the other. Humanistic geographers argue for the significance of experienced place to human life and prioritize place over space:

"[T]o be human is to be 'in place'. To the humanist ontological priority was given to the human immersion in place rather than the abstractions of geometric space" (Cresswell, 2004, p. 23).

Another central task for phenomenologists is the discovery of essence, of what makes something what it is. Heidegger describes *dasein* or being-in-place as the very essence of humans. Dasein can be approximately understood as 'dwelling', which is "a spiritual and philosophical endeavor that unites

the natural and human worlds" (Cresswell, 2004, p. 22). Therefore, phenomenology offers a broad context for understanding homely experiences (Case, 1996). Homely experiences and sense of home form central parts of this report; therefore phenomenology and humanistic geography offer a basis for on the photo elicitation study. For phenomenological investigations, subjective meaning and sensual experiences of being-in-place are central. From a planning perspective, drawing on phenomenology can allow a stronger focus on individual meaning, relationships between people as well as cultural difference and identity (Larsen, 2007). However, because I position myself in line with Perry's spatial practice of planning as I argued earlier in this subsection, and thus traveling between abstract and concrete space, I am perhaps not prioritizing the humanistic version of place over space. Rather, with this report I focus on 'traveling between' a sense of home and the immediate home. Photography can be understood "as a way of seeing and knowing the world" (Schwartz & Ryan, 2003, p. 3). The photo elicitation method is therefore the means of transportation between the abstract and the concrete space.

Place concepts: Place versus space?

Sense of place is a concept describing emotional ties between people and place. Before discussing sense of place further, it is helpful to clarify place concepts. The concept of place and place attachment is central to human geography: "human attachment to 'home' is of great significance to the relationships between people and 'their' places" (Holloway & Hubbard, 2001, p. 87). Sense-ofplace investigations root in place concepts used in geography, sociology and psychology. These place concepts understand place as more than the physical setting and activities within those settings, referring also to the meanings and emotions people associate with settings (Davenport & Anderson, 2005). The place concepts developed first in humanistic geography during the 1970s to distinguish from positivist geography focusing mainly on describing physical space (Duncan, 2000). Humanistic geographers (e.g. Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1977) understood space and place as contrasts and saw themselves as deeply committed to the understanding of the intricate human nature (Tuan, 1977). Space was seen as a universal and abstract phenomenon. Place, on the other hand, was understood as particular and more subjectively defined. For Tuan, a place is perceived and experienced and can exist at many scales: "At one extreme a favorite armchair is a place, at the other extreme the whole earth" (Tuan, 1977, p. 149). The place concepts drew upon phenomenology and were thus concerned with people' experiences in particular places and the meanings given to these places (phenomenological implications for place concepts are discussed in 1.4.2). During the 1980s and 1990s, the interest for place began to grow outside humanistic geography. Researchers, informed by Marxism, feminism and cultural studies explored place in different and often critical ways, pointing out how places were socially constructed in contexts of unequal power relations (Cresswell, 2004). Some contributors were concerned with political-economic questions related to place, for instance David Harvey (1989) argued that the significance of place has increased under the conditions of flexible accumulation, postmodernity and time-space compression. Others were concerned with place-related social and cultural conflicts, investigating issues of race, class, gender and sexuality(Cresswell, 2004). The humanistic strand continued investigating place, for instance Robert Sack (1992) examines place and morality, arguing that in the postmodern world, consumption form often the primary relationships to place. Since the turn of the century, environmental psychologists have been investigating sense of place in relation to environmental attitudes and behaviors (Davenport & Anderson, 2005).

The distinction between space and place is contested and not as clear as the paragraph above might indicate(Cloke & Johnston, 2005). Some view space and place even as a basic dualism that is to some extent confused by the idea of social space or socially produced space (Lefebvre, 1991; Smith,

1991), which plays often the same role as place(Cresswell, 2004). However, for this report, place is understood in line with the humanistic geographers, implying that I am not particularly interested in the physical spatial attributes or the social forces involved in the construction of particular places. Rather I am interested in the meanings and emotions related to place. From this perspective, and drawing on Maurice Merlau-Ponty and Michel de Certeau, space is "geometrical", whereas place is a representation of space and is "anthropological" in the sense that place is made meaningful and contextualized by social practices(Leach, 2002). Thus, space can be understood as an abstract entity, whereas place is a lived entity and in my understanding drawing on Perry (introduced in 1.4), planning is travelling between lived place and abstract space. The relationship between space and place can be understood such that place is a contextualization of space. As Cresswell (2004) describes it, a phenomenological approach to place (as discussed in 1.4.2) expressed by humanistic geographers is interested in place as a center of meaning and a field of care forming the basis for human interaction. Such an approach is concerned with the way we experience the world, through and in place. After discussing place concepts, I will now address sense of place in further depth.

2.2.2 Sense of place

Sense of place is a concept to understand the emotional ties between people and place (Kyle & Chick, 2007). The concept suggests that people experience space beyond its physical or sensory properties and thereby create an attachment to a specific place. Different academic disciplines have been investigating sense of place and similar concepts (e.g. place attachment, place identification and rootedness) at the forefront of human geography and environmental psychology (Duncan, 2000). Nevertheless, the sense of place theory can largely be grouped in two branches (Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck, & Watson, 1992). The first, humanistic geography branch is associating sense of place with the emotional bonds between a person and a particular place (e.g., Tuan, 1977). The second branch, which is followed by human geographers, environmental psychologists, community sociologists and urban planners, is investigating place attachment associated largely with home, neighborhood, and community. Before describing these two branches further, I will clarify how sense of place is established according to central contributors to sense-of-place discussion. These contributions can be seen in line with these two branches; on one hand there is a humanistic geography approach, on the other a sociological approach to sense of place. Then, by drawing on a range of literature, I describe five sense of place elements.

Sense of place and experience

One of the key contributions to the sense of place discussion is Yi-Fu Tuan's *Space and place: The perspective of experience* (1977). Tuan emphasizes that people have the emotional need to establish familiar places or feeling 'in place', In his understanding, feeling 'in place' can mean feeling 'at home', but feeling 'at home' does not necessarily translate into being 'in place'. Tuan states that the sense of place is established through three primary practices: through repeated experiences (sounds, smells, sights and sensations), through behavioral routines (e.g. the journey to work), and through ties of spirituality and kinship (e.g. religious and family traditions). Although mentioning these three practices, experience is the primary practice in order to create a sense of place for Tuan. This creation of a sense of place is visualized in figure 3. The notion of sensual experiences in relation to a development of a sense of place is particularly interesting for the photo elicitation study, because with photographs, visual experiences are put in foreground. I will return to explaining visual experiences in the next chapter (chapter 3).



Figure 3: Sense of place

Another central contribution to the sense of place argument is Edward Relph's *Place and Placelessness*. (1976). In a similar line of reasoning with Tuan, Relph understands place as a construct of lived experience, however, he is referring rather to activity than experience as can be seen in figure 3. By giving them meaning, people change space into place. One of Relph's central arguments is that physical setting; activities and meaning are important elements in creating a sense of place. Compared to Tuan, Relph puts more emphasis on the psychological aspects of place experience and introduces a concept of inside-outside. 'Inside' can be understood as the creation of personal, exclusive domains to distinguish the self from others that are 'outside'. Furthermore, Relph introduced the term placelessness to describe the "causal eradication of distinctive places and the making of standardised landscapes" (Relph, 1976, p. ii). Placelessness is therefore an absence or loss of meaning. Moving on from describing these central contributions from early humanistic geographers, I will now discuss an approach to sense of place taken on by sociologists.

Sense of place and habitus

Another standpoint to understanding sense of place can be taken by drawing on the notion of habitus introduced by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Habitus can be understood as a sense of one's place and role in the world of one's lived environment (Hillier & Rooksby, 2002). Bourdieu describes habitus as something similar to the social construct of 'character'.

Habitus is very similar to what was traditionally called character, but with a very important difference: the habitus, as the Latin indicates, is something *non natural*, a set of *acquired* characteristics, which are the product of social conditions (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 29).

Furthermore, habitus provides a link between what Bourdieu calls a participatory and a synoptic view. The participatory view regards dynamic practices and activities from a participants' perspective, whereas the synoptic view describes representations of what is taking or has taken place. Thus, the participatory view can be understood as an embodied sense of place, whereas the synoptic view can be comprehended as a cognitive sense of place (Hillier & Rooksby, 2002). Relating habitus to Perry's understanding of planning (see 2.1), the embodied sense of place can be understood as lived place whereas the cognitive sense of place can be comprehended as abstract space and planning is travelling between these two. Senses of place in itself is an abstract entity and in Bourdieu's terms synoptic, as it is an abstraction of the feeling people get in a certain place. The feeling itself is embodied, concrete and lived and momentary. The 'sense of place' then, is the abstraction and representation of such a feeling. After discussing these central contributions to the discussion of sense of place, I will now describe five elements of sense of place.

Five elements of sense of place

Drawing on different literature (Kyle & Chick, 2007; Davenport & Anderson, 2005; Stedman, 2003; Cresswell, 2004) sense of place consists of five elements: the physical, the subjective, the social, the contextual and the abstract element (figure 4). These elements are useful for categorizing and

investigating sense of place. However, it has to be emphasized that they should not be seen as discrete sets since as there are overlapping and all combined provide an overall sense of place.

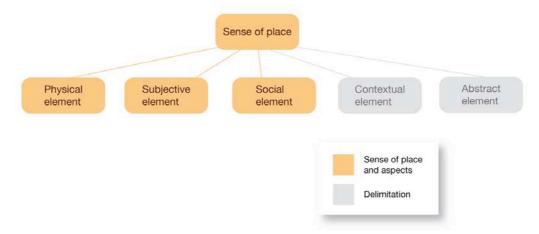


Figure 4: Sense of place elements

For the further development of this report it is important to note that the photo elicitation study will mainly focus on the first physical, subjective and social elements, and is visualized in figure 4 by a grey tone for the contextual and abstract element. This focus on the three elements is because they seem to be particularly interesting related to using photographs and interviewing the participants. This will be further elucidated in chapter 3 and 4. I will now turn to clarify the five elements:

- The physical element expresses how physical and symbolic characteristics of a specific setting, for instance a memorial place, can manifest a sense of place (Duncan, 2000; Stedman, 2003). In planning, the physical element can refer to the built environment (Cresswell, 2004).
- The subjective element describes how personal sensing and emotions are related to a place, for instance feeling unsafe in a dark underpass. Additionally, the person's experiences and identity are influencing the subjective sense of place (Massey & Patt, 1995). The subjective element can induce attitudes and behaviors within those places (Davenport & Anderson, 2005).
- 3. The social element explains how 'significant others', which can be family or community relations, and social behavior form how people relate to place (e.g. Hay, 1998; Entrikin, 1991)
- 4. The contextual element depicts the cultural, historical and economic context influencing sense of place. This last element is a collective and perhaps approximate element, but since this report focuses on the first three elements, a further splitting and explanation of the fourth element is not necessary.
- 5. The abstract element describes human place making. Place is a way of seeing, knowing and understanding the world (Cresswell, 2004) or in other words of being-in-the-world. Some philosophers would even argue that place is the center of human existence (Relph, 1976).

Considering the two branches in the sense of place theory, it can be suggested that the humanistic geography branch takes the subjective element as a starting point, whereas the second branch associating home, neighborhood, and community to sense of place take the physical and social elements as a starting point.

To sum up, the sense of place concept is exploring the emotional ties between people and place and is rooted in broader place concepts understanding place with physical elements, as well as the associated meanings and emotions. Drawing on different sociologists, place can be understood as a

representation and contextualization of space. Place, in this understanding, is concrete, embodied and lived, whereas space is abstract and cognitive. My understanding of planning is drawing on Perry's 'gerundic making space' (see2.1) and "traveling the dialectic distance" between abstract space and concrete place. Different literature suggests elements of sense of place, and for the photo elicitation study for this report, I will focus on the physical, subjective and social elements since they seem to be particularly interesting related to using photographs and interviewing the participants (this will be further explained in chapter 3). The sense of place theory can be grouped in two branches. The first branch is followed by humanistic geographers, who take the individual element of sense of place as a starting point. The second branch followed by human geographers, environmental psychologists, community sociologists and urban planners focus rather on physical and social elements of sense of place associated to home, neighborhood and community. After presenting the concept of sense of place, I will now zoom in on sense of place from a planning perspective by introducing the distinction between a public and a private sense of place.

2.2.3 Public and private sense of place in urban planning

What is the matter of importance of sense of place for urban planning? Davenport and Anderson give one possible answer and understand planning as a communication platform for place meanings: "Place meanings are maintained, challenged, and negotiated in natural resource management and planning" (2005, p. 630). For Tuan, the leading character of the sense of place theory, planners would like to evoke a sense of place (1977, p. 3) but tend to fall short with their urgent need to act and the complexity of understanding place:

In the large literature on environmental quality, relatively few works attempt to understand how people feel about space and place, to take into account the different modes of experience (sensomotoric, tactile, visual, conceptual), and to interpret space and place as images of complex–often ambivalent–feelings. Professional planners, with their urgent need to act, move too quickly to models and inventories (Tuan, 1977, p. 7).

Relph's notion of placelessness (described in the 2.1.1) has lead to a recent discussion of contemporary forms of placelessness related to wider socio-economic processes such as globalisation, mass culture and the loss of attachment of local value. One example is the architect and urban planner Nenad Lipovac, who states that planning often prioritizes economic growth and thus ignores the importance of place, which can lead to placelessness. Similarly, Cresswell (2004) describes placelessness as a twenty-first century concern in Western societies about the loss of sense of place as the forces of globalization erode local place attributes and produce homogenized global places. Additionally, related to shifts to communication and transport towards a more 'mobile society', the importance of the attachment to place has been questioned (Crang, 1998). In this subsection, I would like to look at sense of place investigations from planning studies and practice, which are perhaps contrary to Tuan's criminative view on planning and the concern of placelessness and the questioning if place still matters in a mobile society. The first part of the sub-section takes up Healy's theoretical focus on place quality. From this, I will then move on to discussing sense of place investigations in planning studies and practice, and introduce the two terms 'a private sense of place' and 'a public sense of place'.

Place quality and sense of place

The negotiation and distribution of access to place quality became a focus of social movements in planning in the late twentieth century, particularly those linked to feministic and socio-cultural diversity, as Patsy Healy (2007) points out. She suggests that place quality can affect people's quality of life,

environmental relations and economic activity. Accordingly, Healy argues for a strategic focus in planning on "the dynamics that sustain, create and change qualities of urban places" (p. 282). Additionally, she links place quality to place attachment and to people's identity. In conflicting planning projects where place quality is threatened, citizens are prepared to mobilize: "The emotive feelings people have for place qualities lie behind many episodes of conflict between residents, developers and government (Healy, 2007, p. 6). What Healy calls here 'emotive feelings people have for place qualities' is another description of sense of place. This means, that a threat of a sense of place can lead to possible conflicts in planning practice. Therefore, exploring and understanding sense of place could be useful to learn about these conflicts as well as possibly avoiding similar conflicts in the future. Nevertheless, sense of place is not only important to explore in order to avoid or deal with planning conflicts. Sense of place is created, sustained and changes in the same way that place quality is. Developing an understanding of sense of place can lead to an understanding of what matters for people within this place, and this in turn could lead to better planning according to these matters. From these insights about place quality from a planning theory viewpoint, I will now move on to investigations of sense of place in planning practice.

Private sense of place versus public sense of place

Investigating sense of place is of interest for urban planning to understand why, how and to which extent people attribute meaning and thus identify with and use a certain place. Within planning practice, the sense of place discussion has been taken on board especially in connection to quality of public place (e.g. Gehl, 2006), and to a smaller extent in connection with private place. Examples for public places are squares, streets, public buildings, parks and recreational areas, whereas private places are usually apart from the public world, relating to subjective meaning and expressing individuality, and represented often by what can be called home (Lipovac, 1997). Home is thus the primary example of a private place. Nevertheless, private place can also take different possible forms. Another example of private place separated from public place and related to subjective meaning and expressing individuality is a personal work desk. For the further development of this report, I will, however focus on the private place of home. I introduce two terms: the first, 'a public sense of place' describes a sense of place in relation to public places and the second term, 'a private sense of place' refers to sense of place created, sustained and changed in private places. The latter is important for this report, because a private sense of place is the big brother of a sense of home, which is at core of the photo elicitation study investigating the immediate home, but this will described further in section 2.2. For now, it is important to understand these two different and contrasting terms. A public sense of place describes how and why visitors like or dislike public places. A private sense of place, on the other hand, describes for instance how and why people feel at home in their residences.

The distinction with these two terms can provide a possible link to a broader planning discussion of public place and private place and to which extent they are separable or overlapping. On a broader level, the public-private dichotomy can even be related to economic-domestic, communal-individual, formal-informal, male-female, production-consumption differences (Bondi & Domosh, 1998). However, within this report, the discussion about private and public place will be brought up merely limited in chapter 6 and 7. The reason for this delimitation is because the methodological focus of this report lies in the photo elicitation study and its implication for planning methodologies and including the theoretical planning discussions about public and private place thoroughly would have gone beyond the scope. After describing these two relatively abstract terms, I will now turn to illustrate 'a public sense of place' and 'a private sense of place' with related investigations from planning studies and practice.

Public sense of place investigations

There is a range of examples from planning practice concerned with a public sense of place, and I will look into two major contributions. One of the main contributors to quality of public place is the Danish architect and urban designer Jan Gehl with his renowned Life between buildings (2006). When his book was first published in the 1970s it pointed out the shortcomings of the functionalistic architecture and planning of that time, and over the years, its original pledge for humanistic planning (Gehl, 2006, p. 7) continued to be influential for planning of public places especially in Englishspeaking and Scandinavian countries. Gehl's book describes hands-on, for instance with spatial dimensions of an ideal public square, how quality of public places within a city or a residential area can be planned and realized. Another public sense of place researcher is urban planner Kevin Lynch. In his classic The image of the city (1960) he explores how urban design can support people' perception and navigation in a city and lead to a good city form. His explorations have been influential in urban design throughout the western world. Along with Gehl's and Lynch's influential urban design explorations related to public place, there are also studies relating public place to questions of neighborhood and community development, drawing on a broad environmental psychology literature field relating sense of place to community participation in urban planning and design efforts (Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck, & Watson, 1992; Manzo & Perkins, 2006), however, this lies not in the scope of this report and will thus not be discussed further. From this brief side trip explaining public sense of place investigations, I will now turn to exploring private sense of place investigations in planning.

Private sense of place investigations

In comparison to public sense of place investigations concerned with urban design qualities and questions of neighborhood and community, there are relatively few investigations about a private sense of place within the planning literature. In their article, Lynne Manzo and Douglas Perkins (2006) review planning literature concerned with place attachment. They conclude that planning literature of the last thirty years has for the most part neglected exploring place attachment, "particularly how place meaning and attachment can play a pivotal role in planning processes" (p. 336). Manzo and Perkins state that there seems to be a paradox: few planners would argue that place attachment is unimportant, however, it has not played an important role within planning research and practice. In their view, one of the reasons for this paradox lies in the lack of interdisciplinary collaboration between planners and environmental psychologists, geographers and sociologists exploring place relationships. Another reason they mention is related to planning practice.

Another challenge is a common perception among practitioners that research-especially social science research on place meanings and other psychosocial dynamics-is a luxury they cannot afford (Manzo & Perkins, 2006, p. 347).

I agree with Manzo's and Perkins' reasoning why place attachment and sense of place has been neglected in planning research and practice and that sense of place is of particular importance for planning. However, I do not agree that planning has been frequently neglected investigating sense of place during the last decades. As I mentioned in the previous paragraph, I would argue that planning research and practice has mostly been focusing on a public sense of place, and on the other hand there are only few examples concerned with a private sense of place.

The examples that can be found are related to what a private sense of place in homes and housing (e.g. Leavitt, 1992; Leavitt & Saegert, 1988; Bendiner-Viani & Saegert, 2007; Hayden, 2003) and will thus be further explained in the next section (2.2.4). I will just note here that these examples are concerned with housing policy and topics such as deprived social housing, community building, gender roles and socially marginalized groups. The focus of this report is slightly different, because I

see the photo elicitation study not in line with these examples. Rather than investigating a social problem related to housing, I am interested in how a sense of home is created, expressed and reflected upon. Sense of home can be described as what home means to people and how they feel about it. My focus lies on the methodological possibilities of photo elicitation to explore how a sense of home is created. Aspects of studies investigating home and housing are therefore interesting for me in relation to the methods that were applied, and this will be further discussed in the next chapter (chapter 3). By analyzing the results of the photo elicitation study, I explore how the participants create, sustain and change quality of their immediate home and thus create a sense of home. Private place is distinct from public place and can be associated to what is called home (Lipovac, 1997). After providing an insight in the sense of place theory and how they relates to planning in this subsection, I will now turn to clarifying the concept of home in the next subsection.

2.3 Home

Where do you feel at home? Understanding what 'home' means is a challenging task, and even more confusing because, at first sight, 'home' appears to be obvious and common-sense. Home is both simple and complicated. It is simple, because everyone has ideas about what home is or should be, and complicated when the task is to analyze the characteristics and specifities of home. This sections starts by briefly reviewing sociological and humanistic geographic literature concerned with concepts of home and then moves on to discussing sense of home. Sense of home is created through homely experiences, or what Tuan (1977) calls intimate experiences of place, which can be expressed and thus explored. Sense of home is a term for what home means to people and how they feel about it. Such a sense of home can be understood closely related to the understanding of sense of place and accordingly illustrated by similar figures (figure 3 and 4) and the same five elements. Furthermore, the immediate home is introduced for describing the physical residence of the study participants. The immediate home forms the conceptual setting for this report. Finally, sense of home is looked at from a planning perspective.

2.3.1 Home is a special kind of place

Home is a special kind of place. Home concepts have been researched broadly in disciplines as different as sociology, human geography, anthropology, and psychology, housing studies, architecture and philosophy. Since these disciplines vary vastly in their methods and foci, there exists also a multitude of understandings of home. In order to theoretically ground a sense of home for this report, it is necessary to draw upon different understandings of home, however I see my understanding of home mostly in line with the approaches taken by sociologists and humanistic geographers. Therefore, I will now clarify approaches to understanding home from these two disciplines.

The sociologist Hazel Easthope (2004) conducted a literature review on the concept of home and its relevance to housing and sociological research. She warns against a rigid definition of home, since it is important to see how home is understood in different contexts and by different people. Still, she views the literature on the concept as relevant, offering a selection of ideas regarding the meaning of home. She concludes with the following broad understanding of home:

One's home, then, can be understood as a particularly significant kind of place with which, and within which, we experience strong social, psychological and emotive attachments. The

home is also understood as an open place, maintained and developed through the social relations that stretch beyond it (Easthope, 2004, p. 136).

For humanistic geographers, home is perhaps more than a special kind of place – home is a central place, where experience is particularly intense (Cresswell, 2004). The humanistic understanding of home can be seen in line with Martin Heidegger's notion of 'dwelling' as an ideal and authentic existence (1971) and on Gaston Bachelard's view considering the home as the primal place framing the understanding of all other places (1994). Humanistic geographer Tuan (1991) argues that the making of places at different scales can be understood as the production of homeliness. Home in his view is an exemplary kind of place where people feel a sense of attachment and rootedness. Feminist geographers, for instance Gillian Rose (1993), have questioned humanistic geographer's idea of home as a fundamental place. She is pointing out that for many women, home is not related to the rosy view of a warm and caring place, but related to places of drudgery, abuse and neglect. In her understanding, humanistic geographers fail to acknowledge that there is difference between how people relate to home. Since I view the investigation of a sense of home mostly in line with humanistic geographers, this critique is important to remember for the further investigation of homely experience. After briefly discussing a sociological and a humanistic geography understanding of home, I will continue to clarify 'a sense of home' by explaining the five elements of a sense of home.

2.3.2 Five elements of sense of home

Even from the constrained literature review, it becomes clear that home is a rather complex concept. Sense of home is describing the meaning people make of home, which is created by homely experience. In other words, sense of home is about what home means to people and how they feel about it. Accordingly, for this report and closely related to the understanding of sense of place described in the previous subsection (2.2), sense of home can be grouped in five different elements: the physical, the subjective, the social, the contextual and the abstract element (figure 5). The five elements mirror the elements of sense of place (see figure 4). The specific focus of this report has been narrowed down to encompass three of these elements: the physical, the subjective and the social. Although the contextual and the abstract elements may be relevant, the scope of the report could not contain them adequately. The focus on the physical, subjective and social element was chosen, because they seemed to be particularly interesting related to using a photographic method. The delimitation is indicated in figure 5 by a grey tone for the fourth and fifth element. It is important to keep in mind that the five elements are useful for an understanding or analyzing of sense of home, but they do not exist in isolation. The five elements are intertwined and combine to provide an overall sense of home. I will now describe and illustrate each element by drawing on different literature about home.

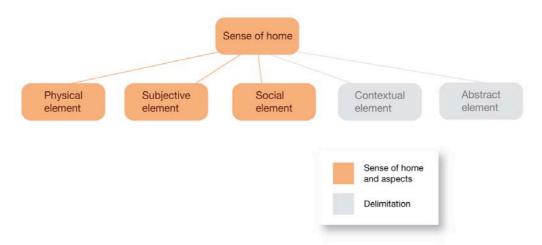


Figure 5: Sense of home elements

The five elements of sense of home are:

- 1. The physical element expresses physical and symbolic home settings. The physical element can take different forms: from objects within home (for example family photographs), domestic architecture and design, a single housing unit, to different geographical locations (for example a neighborhood, a city, a country) (Case, Contributions of journeys away to the definition of home: An empirical study of a dialectical process, 1996). Different geographical scales are part of the physical element: on the micro-scale is the space surrounding the self including favorite home objects, on the meso-scale is the interior home environment and the close-by neighborhood and outdoor settings; and on the macro level is the region or community (Cloutier-Fisher & Harvey, 2009) Additionally, as Tuan (1977) states, a home has a symbolic meaning as a home base, since it is a place to pause, recover and satisfy certain biological needs (sleeping, eating, household activities) and thus a place for everyday activities and routines.
- 2. The subjective element can be related to home-feelings, identification and privacy. In psychology, the mutual relationship between home and identification has been debated and theorized broadly. Home feelings may contribute to the formation, maintenance, and preservation of the identity of a person, group, or culture (Altman & Low, 1992). In other words, "home becomes a symbol for self, a place from which one gains identity" (Case, Contributions of journeys away to the definition of home: An empirical study of a dialectical process, 1996, p. 2) and where you can be yourself. Although sentiments related to home are generally viewed positive, there might also be personal experiences such as abuse or neglect leading to negative home feelings (Moore, 1984). Sociologists have furthermore discussed home feelings in relation to privacy (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981) where people withdraw from the outside world. Connected to privacy, home is also a place where only certain people belonging, distinct to 'others' that might be segregated or separated.
- 3. The social element is related to the social embeddings of home, meaning that home is a central site in social organization and socialization. Sociologists such as Irene Cieraad, who suggests that home is where space becomes place, examine the social element. For such researchers, the home is where family relations, gendered and class identities are negotiated. The home is thus an active moment in both time and space in the creation of individual identity, social relations, and collective meaning (Cieraad, 1999). Social aspects are also included in Tuan's understanding of sense of home, stating that "For most people

- possessions and ideas are important, but other human beings remain the focus of value and the source of meaning" (Tuan, 1977, p. 138-139).
- 4. The contextual element is connected to cultural, economical and historical contexts influencing an understanding of home. As Easthope (2004) mentions, it is crucial to see how home is understood differently depending on the context. Geographers often refer to the spatial-temporal context and global processes such as globalization and localization (e.g. Black, 2002) influencing the understanding of home. This contextual element of home is a collective and perhaps approximate element, however, since this report focuses on the first three elements, a further explanation is omitted.
- 5. The abstract element is referring to ideas and images of home as well as to philosophical considerations related to the creation of home. Ideas and images of home are often idealized, mythical and nostalgic (Morley & Robins, 1995). Different philosophers have addressed the human need to make or create a home, or in other words the human-made transformation from nature into culture. Related to this is the place-making approach from different geographers: "Home can be made, re-made, imagined, remembered or desired; it can refer as much to beliefs, customs or traditions as physical places or buildings" (Black, 2002, p. 126). Moreover, a measure of time or permanence seems to be important related to an idea of home (Tuan, 1977). The abstract element of home is only briefly mentioned here, and lies not in the further scope of this report.

In this subsection, I have discussed sociological and humanistic geographic home concepts followed by a discussion of a sense of home. I have provided the five elements of a sense of home, which are closely related to the elements of a sense of place. In the following subsection, I will turn to the lived space of the immediate home, which forms the conceptual setting of the photo elicitation study.

2.3.3 Immediate home

The immediate home is a term I introduced in this report to describe the conceptual setting of the photo elicitation study. The immediate home is the spatial setting of the participants' residences and the adjoined surrounding area in Aalborg, Denmark. The immediate home is a part of the physical element of sense of home. The immediate home can take forms of home objects, domestic architecture and design, the housing unit itself as well as the close-by surrounding neighborhood and outdoor-settings within walking distance. The immediate home does include the micro-scale as the space surrounding the self and favorite home objects, and the meso-scale as the interior home environment and the close-by physical settings as the surrounding area in walking distance, whereas the macro level which is the region or community (Cloutier-Fisher & Harvey, 2009) is excluded. In regards to the participants of the study, three female international students who have been living in Denmark between two and four years it is important to note that an understanding for them is quite possibly related to their respective countries of origin, as one participant calls it 'the home home'. This was a topic of the interview in the photo elicitation study. However, it was not a subject that I asked the participants to express by taking photographs. This containment to the immediate home was necessary because of the nature of the photographic method which is not, or not as straight-forward in any case, able to capture larger geographic areas. Additionally, by using photo elicitation I had to provide some guidance for the participants about what to photograph, and after I had carried out a pilot study, it seemed reasonable and understandable to ask the study participants to take photos of their physical homes and the surrounding area. Further description of the photo elicitation method and the implications for the study are laid out in chapter 3 and 4. In Perry's view of gerundic space making (see 2.1), the immediate home can be understood as the participant's lived space and the sense of home can be understood as the abstract space. From introducing the immediate home to describing the participants' residence and the close-by surrounding, I will now explore how homely experiences can be expressed an thus investigated.

Expressing homely experiences

With the photo elicitation study, I am investigating how homely experiences are expressed in order to deduct how a sense of place is created. By using photography I make an effort to dealing with the challenge of expressing a homely experience, or similarly qualities of place as pointed out by Tuan:

Intimate experiences [...] are difficult to make public. Apt words are elusive; pictures and diagrams seldom seem adequate. [...] We can point to it and take a picture so that it stays with us as a permanent and public record of what has happened. But the qualities of the place and of our particular encounter are not thus captured: that must induce what we see out of the corner of our eye [...] (1977, p. 147).

Tuan (1977) continues that however difficult experiences are not impossible to express, since human beings everywhere are concerned with home and have thematised intimate experiences of place in poetry and prose. Often it is only in reflection that we recognize the value of intimate experiences, creating a paradox: "thought creates distance and destroys the immediacy of direct experience, yet it is by thoughtful reflection that the elusive moments of the past draw near to us in present reality and gain a measure of permanence" (Tuan, 1977, p. 148). I do not agree that with Tuan that this is a paradox, but rather that the immediate experience and the reflection are mutually connected. Returning to Perry once more, by reflecting upon and thinking of space, humans, and thereby also planners, are able to travel between a lived space and an abstract space. Sense of home is a term the process of meaning-creation of 'home' created through homely experience. In other words, sense of home is describing what home means to people and how they feel about it. In the following subsection, I will shed light on how sense of home has been investigated in urban planning and why such investigations could be of interest.

2.3.4 Sense of home and urban planning

Home is not commonly investigated in planning practice or theory. Generally, planning focuses rather on larger scaled investigations and on community development than investigating smaller units like homes.

[H]ome is usually excluded from planning because it is too small and not easily represented in the abstract political relations of professional planning (Perry, 2003, p. 154)

A few examples in planning literature investigate home related to housing policy and topics such as deprived social housing, community building, gender roles and integration of socially marginalized groups. Perry (2003) mentions two examples related to housing policy that I bring up here. One example is Jacqueline Leavitt and Susan Saegert's response to housing abandonment in New York city (1988) promoting a 'community-household model' to integrate homely experiences into housing policies. The second example is Leavitt's project for the Nickerson Gardens, a large deprived public housing complex in Los Angeles (1992). What started as a three-month study with traditional survey methods to explore housing conditions, changed over time into a long-term project where the researchers spend long periods in the Nickerson housing units to meet and discuss with the residents in their homes. Over a period of years, this helped to facilitate a shift to improved living conditions for the residents. This is consequently in Perry's understanding a successful example of a spatial planning practice that was able to reduce the distance and travel from the abstract planning space to the lived

space of the householder tenants (Perry, 2003). Next to these two examples that Perry (2003) mentions, a third example of social housing studies is the exploration of Gabrielle Bendiner-Viani and Susan Saegert (2007). The study explored how two progressive social housing developments in New York provided more than simple economic commodities, as they were able to carry forward the creation of home to low-income families. As a fourth example, with a focus on gender roles, Dolores Hayden (2003) examines connections between household work and historical structures of American neighborhoods. She argues that the traditional suburban model is no longer appropriate for contemporary families. Hayden advocates instead for a community strategy where household work is cooperatively organized and where women are empowered. The first three examples I mentioned are concerned with improving deprived social housing, whereas the fourth example is concerned with improving women's household roles on a neighborhood scale. These examples investigate thus specific problems in relation to homes and housing and can be described as being in line with advocacy or equity planning scholars (e.g. Davidoff, 1965; Krumholz, 1999) promoting social equity and addressing urban inequalities by advocating the interests of the disenfranchised.

Compared to the four examples, the focus of this report is slightly different. First of all, the understanding of planning is different. By drawing on Perry's understanding of planning as a spatial practice traveling (2003) between abstract and lived space (see 2.1), this approach refuses to take a side in the different planning debates. Instead a broader approach to planning as a spatial practice can include different approaches as components – accordingly also the advocacy-equity approach. Such a broader approach has the overall task of understanding planning as a spatial practice, and thus traveling between abstract and lived space. Secondly, compared to the four examples mentioned in the paragraph above, I do not take a specific problem related to home and housing as a starting point for my investigation. Rather, I am interested how the participants express and reflect homely experience through photographs and the subsequent interview. This is then analyzed and related to the participants' creation of a sense of home. Furthermore, I am greatly interested in the methodology of photo elicitation as such and how photo elicitation is able to investigate how the participants create, sustain and change quality of their immediate home and thus create a sense of home. The primary focus for this report lies therefore on the photo elicitation study and elicitation method investigating a sense of home.

Can planning create a sense of home?

That is a rhetorical question. Planning cannot create a sense of home; because sense of place is created by experiences and meanings people attributes to home. It lies not in the scope of a planner, because ultimately, people create sense of home. Returning to the five elements to a sense of home, planning can facilitate the physical element of a sense of home and perhaps also positively contribute to social elements of a sense of home. Examples are planning projects facilitating improved living conditions in deprived social housing areas (e.g. Leavitt & Saegert, 1988; Leavitt, 1992) and planning projects intended to strengthening community life (e.g. Hayden, 2003). Nevertheless, all five elements are not entirely in the reach of planners. The social, contextual and abstract elements are embedded in larger society processes. The restricted influence of planning is perhaps clearest in relation to the subjective element, because how and when a person feels at home is subjective. Tuan (1977) points out the difficulty of planning for the social element of a sense of home. Planning might provide a stage for human encounters, but its use cannot be predicted, because human encounters are unplanned and depend on chance: "One can no more deliberately design such places than one can plan, with any guarantee of success, the occasions of genuine human exchange" (Tuan, 1977, p. 141).

Planning cannot create a sense of home or a private sense of place after all. It is oversimplifying and wishful thinking that planners are able to create good homes that add up to a good city. Nevertheless, investigating how a private sense of place is created, expressed and reflected upon, can create a deeper understanding of what the essence, to use a phenomenological term, of private sense of place is. Thus, by understanding a private sense of place, insights are provided for instance how private it is and what makes it private. Furthermore, the dialogue between 'creators' of a sense of home and planners can provide an insight in understanding what a private sense of place is. Such insights do not provide a planner with a tool of how to create a good home, but rather a sensitivity and understanding for what a private sense of place can be. Such a sensitivity and understanding could be useful 'provide stages' (Tuan, 1977) for the creation of a sense of home in relation to planning of housing, social aspects of planning and the planning of public places. In other words, such an understanding could perhaps increase the potential that people will consider the built environment a significant and meaningful place by creating their own sense of home. Returning to Perry and his understanding of planning as making space (see 2.1), a planner is urged to travel between abstract plans and the lived space:

The goal of planning today is to make/remake space in all its complexity. This includes the physical and relational sites of individual and collective experience: the home, work, neighborhood, city or region, nation, or globe. This is not to argue that the goal of the spatial practice of planning should be to produce "the nation" or "the home", for example. Rather than make products like housing plans, a planning practice that makes space links the policy to the everyday user of the housing unit and makes not the policy but a workable and working space – at once lived (in) and well-designed, build, financed and regulated (Perry, 2003, p. 153).

After elucidating sense of home from a planning, humanistic geography and sociological perspective in this section, I will now turn to summarizing the conceptual focus.

2.4 Traveling between a sense of home and the immediate home

According to Perry's understanding of planning as a spatial practice (Perry, 2003; see 1.4), this report intends to travel between the sense of home and the immediate home. This section summarizes the discussions of sense of place and home of this chapter and visualizes the conceptual focus in figure 6.



Figure 6: Conceptual focus

Sense of place is a describing the emotional bonds between people and place and is related to how people experience place (Tuan, 1977). Sense of place investigations from a planning perspective have mostly focused on 'a public sense of place' describing how place meaning is given to public place. This is opposed to 'a private sense of place' created in private place, and has only received little attention in planning. 'A private sense of place' is important for this report, because it can be understood as the big brother of 'a sense of home' and home is frequently the primary example of a meaningful private place.

Home in this report is thus closely linked to sense of place. Therefore, sense of home is grouped in the same elements as sense of place: the physical, subjective, social, contextual and abstract elements (see figure 3 and 4). For the scope of this report, I will focus on the physical, subjective and social elements. The physical element describes the physical setting of the home, and can include objects as well as the residence and other geographical scales in relation to the residence. The subjective element describes one person's 'feeling at home', whereas the social element is incorporating social encounters taking place at home. It is important to keep in mind, that these elements are not seen as a rigid segmentation, but as a useful way of analyzing and understanding sense of place. Combined, the five elements provide an overall sense of home of what home means to people and how they feel about it. For the photo elicitation study, the physical element is narrowed down to the immediate home. The immediate home is the physical residence of the study participants. The immediate home forms the conceptual setting of the report and can be understood as a lived space in Perry's understanding (2003). It is the purpose of this report to travel between a sense of home and the immediate home. The vehicle for this travel is the photo elicitation method.

Previous planning studies have investigated home related to specific social problems in relation to home and housing and can be understood in line with advocacy or equity planning. This report differs from these studies because of two reasons. First of all, I adapt Perry's approach of gerundic planning (2003). This approach (see 2.1) refuses to take a specific stand for a planning debates such as advocacy or equity planning. Instead a broader approach to planning can include different approaches as components - therefore also the advocacy-equity approach. The core of such a gerundic planning approach is an understanding of planning as a spatial practice traveling between abstract and lived space. Adapted for this report, a gerundic approach means focusing on how photo elicitation can allow a travelling between a sense of home and the immediate home. Planning cannot create a sense of home. Nevertheless, investigating how a sense of home is created can create a deeper understanding of what sense of home is. Such insights could be useful for planners to 'provide stages' (Tuan, 1977) for the creation of a sense of home in relation to housing, social aspects of planning as well as the planning of public places. Secondly, compared to previous examples investigating home from a planning perspective, the starting point for this report is different and lies on methodology. I am not taking a specific problem as a starting point, but am more interested in the photo elicitation method that could enable to travel between a sense of home and the immediate home. I am interested how immediate home is experienced and how such an experience can be expressed and reflected upon with the use of photo elicitation method. In other words, the photo elicitation study explores how the participants create, sustain and change quality of their immediate home and thus create a sense of home. Embedded in wider discussions about visual research, the next chapter will describe the photo elicitation method adapted for this report.

3 GEAR AND ACCESSORIES - PHOTO ELICITATION METHOD

A picture is worth a thousand words. This is essentially the case for any kind of image and photo. But how is it that a picture conveys instantly a thousand words? And how can visual methods make use of this? And what are assets and drawbacks of using visual methods? What does this imply for the use of photo elicitation to investigate a sense of home for this report? This chapter is coming to terms with these questions by discussing visual methods and specifically photo elicitation. Early visual research can be traced back to the invention of visual recording technologies. Therefore, this chapter begins with a short historical outline of visual research. In social disciplines, namely sociology and anthropology, visual research received much attention compared to spatial disciplines such as geography and planning studies. Then the key concern of visual research, understanding how meaning is given to images, is laid out. The second section covers methodological considerations of photo elicitation, which is the method chosen for investigating a sense of home for this report. Photo elicitation will be carried out research-driven and collaboratively and therefore ethical considerations and a critical approach are important. Finally, the inquiry for this report includes semi-structured interviews and literature review, which are explained in the third section.

3.1 Reasoning for visual research

Visual research and visual methods have longer history in social disciplines such as anthropology and sociology. This section lines the historical and academical development out. Contrary to social disciplines, visual research only received little attention in geography and planning, where images have been mostly used to illustrate and describe spatial aspects. Just very recently planning and geography have been adapting or borrowing visual methods from social disciplines. The key concern of visual research is how meaning is given to images. However, such meaning can also be misleading and manipulative. Therefore, a careful approach to visual methods is essential.

3.1.1 Understanding where visual research comes from

Since visual technologies such as photography, film, video, and television cameras were invented in the late nineteenth and into the twentieth century, their use became increasingly important for researchers. Early visual methods were mainly used for observation and recording. It has been argued that during the modern¹ area, the visual became increasingly important in Western societies, and some would even accentuate that seeing would equal knowing. As Jenks puts it: "The modern world is very much a "seen" phenomenon" (1995, p. 2). Later in the century, as a consequence of the development of postmodernism², photographic and filmic recordings became more contested and

¹ Modernity is referring to the post-Enlightenment era in the nineteenth and twentieth century. Economic, social and political shifts such as industrialization, capitalism, imperialism and globalization marked the modern area. Modernism describes the philosophical and academic movement of the modern area that emphasized novelty, change and progress (Gregory, 2000, pp. 512-516).

² Postmodernity can be described as the historic period starting in the 1960s, marked by social and economic processes such as conspicuous consumption, specialized information, the image society as well as different democratic and welfare state movements. Postmodernism describes changes in philosophy, the arts and social sciences which can be characterized by skepticism towards modernism and a pluralism of different perspectives such as post-structuralism, post-colonialism, and feminism (Ley, 2000, pp. 620-623).

were considered subjective and limited. The visual did not lose its importance, but the relations between seeing and knowing were broken. A postmodernist would understand an image as a construction producing and reproducing power relations (Baudrillard, 1988; Harraway, 1991). With the cultural turn in social sciences in the 1960's, the focus shifted to how knowledge is conceived, constructed and communicated through images and representations (Schwartz & Ryan, 2003, p. 3).

More recently, since the 1980's, social research increasingly focused on reflexivity and subjectivity, and therefore participatory and collaborative visual methods gained interest. In the last decade since the turn of the twenty-first century, there has been a large expansion of visual research across different academic disciplines. This recent research movement focuses mainly on institutional and contextual meanings embedded in images, the conventions that inform their production, and the role of situated human agents as viewers and interpreters of images (Pink, 2008, pp. 131-133). Visual methodologies are in line with hermeneutic approaches, which comprehend the world as a system of experience, construction and interpretation (Flick, 2004). From this brief overview of the historical background influencing the development of visual research, I will now turn to how visual research developed in different academic fields.

Visual research in sociology and anthropology: focus on social and cultural embeddings

Visual research has a longer history in social sciences, namely in sociology and anthropology. Understanding the roots of visual methods in sociology and anthropology is important for this report, because by using a visual method, I am borrowing from these disciplines. Sociology and anthropology disciplines are concerned with social and cultural processes. When investigating images, both disciplines share the understanding that images frequently represent their social and cultural embeddings and thus cannot be fully understood without them. Visual sociology and visual anthropology developed as main branches of visual research and their characteristics will be discussed in the following two paragraphs.

Visual sociology is concerned with the social effects and meanings of mostly found or already existing images. Visual sociology is relatively young, but has quickly developed since the 1980s. A good example of visual sociology is John Berger's book *Ways of Seeing* (1972), which explores the genre of female nude painting in Western art. Another major contribution to visual sociology is Gillian Rose's *Visual Methodologies* (2007), which I will refer to throughout this chapter. Rose mentions that generalizing about visual sociology is difficult, since there is such a wide and diverse range of studies. Nevertheless, she identifies five main aspects for considering social effect of images (Rose, 2007, pp. 7-12). Firstly, images visualize or render invisible, and thereby produce and reproduce social difference, social relations, and power relations such as class, gender, race and sexuality. Secondly, images mobilize a certain way of seeing, of how the viewer or spectator looks at the image. Thirdly, images are embedded in a wider social culture and this culture influences who is able to see what, how, and with what effects. Fourthly, visual 'audiences' bring their own interpretations and visualities to the viewing of images. And fifthly, images have their own agency and are often multimodal, meaning that they make only sense in relation to other modes, for instance a text.

Visual anthropology is also a relatively young movement. The movement advocates for a fuller role of visual methods of research and representation in anthropology. Most of the visual anthropologists don't strive for a purely observational approach, but for a collaborative and participatory approach where the informants or subjects are involved to different degrees with the visual practice. These collaborations "are a vehicle through which knowledge, understanding and visual representations are produced" (Pink, László, & Afonso, 2004, p. 5). One of the major contributors to visual anthropology, Sarah Pink outlines three main aspects for methods in visual anthropology (Pink, 2008, p. 131). Firstly,

Pink mentions the social and cultural embeddings of images and argues that both the researcher's and the research subjects' uses of visual methods and visual media are socially and culturally embedded. In any research project, these embeddings need to be reflectively unpacked. Secondly, for comprehending the visual, we have to understand what vision is and what its relationship is to other sensory modalities. This is because no experience is ever purely visual. Thirdly, Pink highlights the importance of the relationship between image and text.

Visual sociology and visual anthropology examine similar concepts: the social and cultural embeddings produced and reproduced by images, and the relationship between vision and other sensory experiences, which are mostly often drawn from texts. The differences seem to lie in that visual sociology is rather analytical, where visual anthropology is rather methodology oriented. That means that visual sociology is rather concerned with how an image is viewed and interpreted by visual 'audiences', where visual anthropology is more interested in the collaborative and participatory possibilities offered by applying a visual methodology. As I will describe later in this chapter, I am using photo elicitation in a collaborative way. Generally, sense of place investigations come from a humanistic geography perspective (see 2.1), which can be seen in line with disciplines such as sociology and anthropology. Therefore, this report that is investigating the experience of a sense of home can be seen in line with social disciplines. Furthermore, this report has a methodological focus and therefore, insights from disciplines having implicated visual methods can be useful. By using photo elicitation I am borrowing and drawing upon visual sociology and anthropology, because photo elicitation is not a method that is commonly used in planning or geography studies. The role of visual research will be put across in the next paragraph.

Visual research in geography and planning studies: focus on spatial aspects

Visual research within geography has been heavily influenced by sociological and anthropological visual research and has become a focus in geography over the last two decades. Geography shares an interest in the social contexts and embeddings of images along with sociology and anthropology. However, geography has an additional focus on spatial aspects of images and how geographical knowledge is conceived, constructed and communicated through images. An image can be can be seen as a dynamic form of geographical image making, constructing landscape and identity at different scales (Schwartz & Ryan, 2003, p. 5). Geographical knowledge is often visually conveyed with a wide range of visual technologies such as maps, aerial photos and GIS (Geographical Information Systems), but their critical examination has only begun recently, for example by feminist geographers (Rose, 1993).

Rose (2008) explores three different ways of approaching photography within human geography. First of all, photographs can be used as illustrations in order to describe and give information about a certain place or field site. As Rose points out, using photographs for illustration and description is fairly common and conventional, but therefore perhaps also wrongly unquestioned or even taken for granted. Secondly, photographs can be understood as representation of cultural meanings and social power relations. This second way of approaching photography is closely related to visual sociology and anthropology. Thirdly, photographs can be understood as a manifestation of material culture. This means that photographs are objects and can therefore contribute to the production of spaces and places.

Within urban design and planning practice, visualization of planned projects plays an important role. These illustrations have generally the intention to show spatial, architectural and design aspects of planned projects. Another way of using images is urban design projects that follow the urban songline method formulated first by Gitte Marling (2003). With this method, participants are involved in

storytelling and taking photographs about their use of everyday places, and this is analyzed and displayed as 'songlines' on a city map.

However, the use of images in planning studies can be of secondary importance compared to methods based on texts, verbal or statistical data. Common approaches in planning studies are analyzing data from interviews, questionnaires and documents or analyzing statistical data. If images in planning studies are used, then they are typically employed in a secondary role to illustrate and describe. The images typically accompany a text, illustrate a written-down argument or describe an area, for instance with an aerial photo. Images do not seem to provide an active means of collecting information about topics in planning studies. Exceptions are planning research projects investigating public sense of place, for example the viewfinder project in Sheffield, where immigrants' perception of public parks was investigated (Finney & Rishbeth, 2006).

In sum, it can be said that both geography and urban planning have used images to illustrate spatial aspects or to describe textual and/or statistical analyses. The use of images as an active means of collecting information has only recently started. As Denise Bijoux and Jason Myers (2006) state, photographic methods can provide useful insights for investigating experiences of place, but have received little attention in geography literature. From the literature review for this report, I would say that the same is true for planning literature. After discussing the development of visual research and visual methods in disciplines as different as sociology, anthropology, geography and planning studies, I will now turn to what visual research is all about.

3.1.2Investigating meaning of images: key concern of visual research

A picture is worth a thousand words. How can visual research thus investigate and make use of images? The answer given in this subsection is that visual research examines and thus tries to understand meanings of images. Images can be photographs, films, commercials, drawings, paintings, street signs and maps. In the following sub-section I will cover two concerns of visual research and its investigations of meanings of images. Firstly, vision and visuality are introduced to distinguish between the ability to see and the meaning people attribute to images. Secondly, meaning of images can also be manipulative and misleading as has been examined by different researchers.

Vision and visuality

To understand visual research, it is useful to distinguish between vision and visuality (Rose, 2007, p. 2). Vision is the ability of the human eye to see. For visual research, it is important to consider that vision is frequently related to other sensual experiences. The second term, visuality, describes the process how people attribute meaning to images.

Vision is describing our visual sense, and some would even argue that it is the most fundamental one. What is special about the visual sense is the instant transmission of information. But how is it that 'a picture is worth a thousand words'? There are different explanations. One cause is that images evoke, reveal and stimulate emotions. Another cause is the visual impact of a picture itself, which is stronger than the impact of reading a word or a sentence. Images are able to communicate and express on other levels than words. As a result, by using an image within visual research, we can create a different kind of understanding than other research methods would do. As Douglas Harper (2002) notes for photo elicitation: "photo elicitation mine deeper shafts into a different part of human consciousness than do words-alone interviews" (p. 23). Rose describes detailed how meaning of an image is created and introduced the terms sites and modalities (Rose, 2007, pp. 17-26). Sites describe where the meaning of an image is made: at the site of production, the site of the image itself

and the site where audiences see the image. Modalities describe the technological, compositional and social aspects that influence *how* the meaning of an image is made. Rose also states that many of the debates in visual research can be understood as disagreements over which of these sites and modalities are most important.

Vision and visual media has become increasingly important in the contemporary Western world, and much of the communication involves the use of images. Therefore it seems appropriate that images are being researched and that researchers learn about how the visual represents human experience, knowledge and meaning (Pink, 2008, p. 133). Vision is connected to visual knowledge, which is, next to verbal and tactile, a way of making sense of the world (Crang, Qualitative methods: There is nothing outside the text?, 2005). Nevertheless, the contemporary importance of the visual has not been reflected adequately in academia, since there seems to be a dominance of investigating textual, verbal or statistical data rather than visual data in research. Visual research might be an attempt to counterbalance the dominance of verbal-based research and thus contribute to a broader understanding of how we make sense of the world.

Visuality is the second and perhaps most central term for visual research, and is describing the "social processes of meaning-making at work in the production and interpretation of an image" (Rose, 2007, p. 893). Visuality is pictured in figure 7. Visuality is a term for the visual practices, which structure what is visible and invisible and how we make meaning of an image. Visuality is at work in two ways: on one hand in the visual content of an image or what it shows, on the other hand in its visual and spatial organization of how it shows it and what position that may invite an audience to take in relation to it (Rose, 2007).



Figure 7: Visuality

Images interpret the world and help us make sense of it. As Rose puts it: "Images are never transparent windows onto the world. They interpret the world; they display it in particular ways" (Rose, 2007, p. 2) related. As humanistic geographer and one of the main contributors of the sense of place theory (see 2.1), Yi-Fu Tuan states, visuality creates distance between a person and an object:

Seeing has the effect of putting a distance between the self and object. What we see is always "out there". [...] Seeing, like thought, is evaluative, judgmental, and conducive to fantasy (1977, p. 146).

The two descriptions of visuality provided by Rose and Tuan both stress how the interpretation of images is related and formed by whom we are. In other words, visuality is socially constructed meaning of an image. Another term closely related to visuality, and sometimes used similarly, is representation. Representation is "a set of practices by which meanings are constituted and communicated" (Duncan, 2000, p. 703). Representations can, however be not only be images, but also texts, language, material culture and images. Visuality as a key term of visual research is the process of how people make meaning of an image. The meaning of an image can thus be understood

as an abstract construct. Meanings of images can be powerful in a positive sense as well as an in negative sense, and therefore, I will now turn to briefly discuss manipulative powers of images.

Power and misleading meaning of images

Within social science in recent years, different researchers from different disciplines have been concerned with the misleading and manipulative power of images. As Rose expresses it for photographs:

Photographs are intimately involved in social power relations. Photos then carry particular ways of seeing the world that reflect and support certain visions of social relations (Rose, 2008, p. 153).

One line of argument is that images can produce and reproduce negative social relations such as social hierarchies of class, race, and sexuality. Donna Harraway (1991), for example, describes the proliferation of visualizing technologies, which lead to a capital, colonial and patriarchal visuality. In addition, the partiality of photographic evidence has been thematised, for instance by Brian (1998). He argues that the opportunities of manipulation are too great – and even greater with digital photography - to allow photographs to stand alone as evidence of the external world. Therefore, photographs can only be considered as evidence of the real world in limited and complex ways. What the camera captures depends on the manipulations and interventions of the photographer. These concerns about the use of images and particularly photographs demonstrate the need for a careful approach when investigating the visual. Adapting a critical visual methodology, as Rose proposes (see 3.2.), could be an attempt for it. In this section, I have looked at the broad field of visual research, starting with a historical and academic outline. Then, I have presented visuality as the core of visual research describing the process of how people attribute meaning to images. Meanings of images can be manipulative and therefore, a critical approach to visual research is needed. From this broad discussion of visual research, I will now turn to elucidate photo elicitation, the photographic method applied for this report.

3.2 Applying photo elicitation

'Zooming in on home' is the title of this report. The method for 'zooming in on home' is photo elicitation and this section elucidates therefore methodological consideration in depth. Photo elicitation is a method where photographs are inserted in a research interview to elicit a deeper understanding of the participant's everyday life. To start with, this section describes different photographic methods actively used within research and the reasoning for it. Secondly, the specific method for this report, photo elicitation is described thoroughly by highlighting assets and ethical considerations. There are also possible limits that show the need for a critical approach to photo elicitation, as is describe thirdly. What such a critical approach implies is discussed in this section. Finally, the last subsection presents a summary of the relevant characteristics of photo elicitation for this project.

3.2.1 Research-driven photographic methods

Photography is a specific temporal and spatial capture (Wolcott, 1999) and photographic methods make use of this special characteristic of photography. When referring to photographic methods in this report, I am referring to research-driven photographic methods and they are explained shortly in this subsection before clarifying photo elicitation in further detail in the following subsection. For research-driven photographic methods, the photographs are taken within a research project and thus

serve more or less exclusively the purpose of the research. Examples are photo elicitation, photo documentation, photo diaries and photo essays that are frequently applied by visual sociologists and visual anthropologists (see 3.1). Such photographic methods are to be distinguished from methods investigating photographs that already existed before the research, for instance photos in archives and family albums. Common for all kinds of photographic method is that they explore a range of relationships embedded in photographs

between representation and reality; between representation and expectation; between author and audience; between intention and impact; between content, context and text" (Schwartz & Ryan, 2003, p. 11).

Generally, photographic methods investigate how emotions evade verbal or written expression (Rose, 2007). Research-driven photographic methods are mostly used alongside other research methods such as interviews or ethnographic fieldwork. The photos that are taken within a research project can be either made by the researcher or by the researched themselves. The latter is called a collaborative photographic method and will be further explained in relation to photo elicitation in the next subsection.

3.2.2 Photo elicitation

In this subsection, I will shed light on the possible advantages and limits of the photo elicitation method and mention how data from a photo elicitation study could be analyzed. First of all, however, I will explain what photo elicitation is. Photo elicitation can be understood as "the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview" (Harper, 2002, p. 13). That means that photographs are shown to the participants and questions relevant to the research topic are asked in the course of a research interview. As mentioned in the previous sub-section, photo elicitation is a research-driven method, which means that the photographing is an active part of the research project. The photos can also be taken by the researcher, however, more often a collaborative approach is chosen where the researched become the photographers themselves. This is also the case for the study of this report and therefore, by mentioning photo elicitation in the further development of this report, I imply that it is collaborative and this is also important when exploring the different advantages and limits of photo elicitation. Photo elicitation is frequently applied to explore concepts about the participant's culture and social life (Banks, 2001) and thus often researches sociological and anthropological questions. In the following figure 8, photo elicitation is visualized, showing the different steps in a photo elicitation study. First the photographs are taken, as mentioned previously, most often by the researched themselves. Then, as indicated with arrows, at the core of a photo elicitation investigation, there is an interview where the participants are asked to describe the meaning of the photographs in order to elicit a deeper understanding about the participants' everyday life and practices. Recalling the previously mentioned visuality (see 3.1), which describes the processes of how meaning is made of an image, photo elicitation can be understood as a way of investigating visuality.



Figure 8: Photo elicitation

Photo elicitation can have four kind of advantages: it can support the interview communication about abstract and complex matters, allow the participant a level of self-expression, shift the power relationship in the research project, and be an experimental method allowing unexpected outcomes. I will now explain these four advantages by drawing on literature describing photo elicitation as well as other collaborative photographic methods.

As a first possible advantage, photo elicitation can contribute to a richer interview communication due to the ability photographs have to visually convey abstract matters. This advantage can work in two ways: from the researcher perspective, abstract research questions or concepts can be conveyed in a way the participant can possibly easier relate to (Harper, 2002). On the other hand, the participant can be supported to communicate and reflect on complex meanings particular experiences through photographing (Stedman, Beckley, Wallace, & Ambard, 2004; Rose, 2007). Furthermore, photographic methods can provide researchers with opportunities to share experiences similar with the participant and thus form a deeper understanding of the political, economic, social and cultural contexts of the participant (Pink, 2008). This first possible advantage offered by photo elicitation is particularly central for this report, because homely experiences as well as research questions investigating what home are possibly complicated to convey (see 2.2). It has to be noted, however that certainly not any abstract matter can be conveyed visually. Secondly, photo elicitation can enhance the participant's ability to express her or his viewpoint and active involvement, which can lead to empowerment (Rose, 2007). This possible benefit of the participant's self-expression is frequently a central reason for applying photo elicitation to explore views of marginalized groups and to overcome language barriers. There exist for instance different examples of photo elicitation studies investigating the viewpoints of children (e.g. Clark-Ibáñez, 2004). However, the possibilities are not only interesting in relation to marginalized groups, but also to subjective meaning. With my photo elicitation study, I am not investigating the interests of a marginalized groups to make a contribution to advocacy planning (see 2.1), but rather, I am interested in the participant's particular way of creating a sense of home. As a third possible opportunity, and closely related to the second advantage, a collaborative photographic method such as photo elicitation might help to shift the power dynamic in the research process towards the participant, and thus reduce researcher bias (Finney & Rishbeth, 2006). I acknowledge this possibility, however, a reflection on the researcher's role in the process is still important (see 3.2.3). Finally, the fourth possible advantage is that photo elicitation can open up the possibility of an experimental method, where unexpected outcomes and even pleasure can result (Finney & Rishbeth, 2006). I think this last point is also of importance for the photo elicitation study investigating the immediate home. The development of the study can be seen as an experimental method in itself, and the results only will show if surprises and pleasure could be supported (see chapter 5). Nevertheless, applying a method that is rarely used to investigate similar sense of place questions (see 3.3) the whole photo elicitation study has an experimental character to it. All in all, these four possible advantages of photo elicitation seem to provide a possibility for 'seeing' and 'telling' about the creation of a sense of home.

Like any collaborative method, photo elicitation has to take ethical considerations into account. Important ethical considerations according to Banks (2001) are concerning misleading agency and concerning permission related to photographs of people (Banks, 2001). Misleading agency describes the risk of the researcher's subjective influence upon the participant when using photographic methods (Banks, 2001). To avoid misleading agency, careful handling of photographic methods is important as well as explanation of the research to the subjects:

By creating images of persons and their actions, the social researcher is intervening in the lives of those she works with, forging representations in which they have a variable degree of

interest and over which they may have little control. Her exercise of agency is more obvious – literally so as she lifts a camera to her eye – and, as with all social research, she should take steps to ensure that people understand what she is doing and why (Banks, 2001, p. 113).

For the photo elicitation study, I addressed ethical considerations by reflecting on my own role as a researcher (chapter 6), by carefully explaining the research project to the participants, and by asking for permission to use the photographs, the participants' names and interview data before the photographs were taken and the interviews were conducted. I also offered the participants the possibility to review how I analyzed and developed the data. A further detailed description of the study implications will be provided in chapter 4. The different ethical considerations show that a critical approach is needed for applying photo elicitation. A critical approach is also needed in relation to different further limits of photographic methods.

3.2.3 The need for a critical approach to photo elicitation

Snapshots – the special effect of photographs is their spontaneity of capturing a glimpse of an instant. However, as Rose (2007) notes, the spontaneity is only apparent, as it the truthfulness conveyed, because a photo only reveals a cutout and might have been posed or edited. Therefore, Rose puts an emphasis on a critical approach to photographic methods. There are different limits to photographic methods in general, that are not directly connected to collaborative photographic methods. Possible limits are connected to an unsuitable subject of the research, an overly narrow focus on the image itself or misleading characteristics of the photographs. Furthermore photographic methods are challenging and unpredictable to use and therefore there is a danger of carelessly applying these methods. There can also be a danger to either focus on the photographic data or the interview data without considering the other. Finally, the analysis of photographic data can be problematic. Because of these possible limits and the ethical considerations mentioned in the previous sub-section, a careful and critical approach to photo elicitation is needed. What such a critical approach implies is described by Rose (2007) and will be presenting after describing the different limits in further detail.

Not every type of subject matter is suited to investigation by means of photographic methods. Images and visual aspects have to be predominant. For instance, subject matters concerning commuters transport preferences might be better approached with surveys, data analysis or questionnaires, because it is not primarily visual in nature. On the other hand, a study of how commuters map out their daily pathways might be better suited to investigation with photographic methods. Additionally, an overly narrow focus on the image itself can be a possible limit of photographic methods. As Jon Wagner (2002) points out, theoretical and analytical aspects can be neglected by narrowly focusing on the image itself and its aesthetical, illustrative and documentary features. This is in similar line with the danger of misleading characteristics of the content of photographs (Flick, 2004). Such misleading characteristics can be inauthentic (e.g. contrived or deliberatively aesthetic), selective (which detail is photographed) and unreliable (e.g. influenced through the photographer). Moreover, the use of photographic methods can be unpredictable and challenging (Rose, 2007) and therefore there is a danger for their careless application. Wagner (2002) states that by applying photographic methods carelessly, researchers might move too far away from their research subjects. He concludes that images are neither more nor less reliable than other social scientific tools. Therefore, a careful handling is important as well as developing a "disciplined approach to inquiry, one in which intellectual purpose and technical means are well matched" (Wagner, 2002, p. 170). Finally, there are different possible drawbacks related to the analysis of photo elicitation data (seechapter 4 for more information) and a danger of either focusing on the photographic data or the interview data for the further analysis without considering the other. Altogether these different possible limits show that a careful handling and reflection of the method is needed. What such a careful handling implies shall be described in the following paragraph.

Reflection reveals how data and findings were produced. Furthermore, reflection is a consistent and careful awareness of what the researcher is doing, why, and with which possible consequences related to power relations between researchers and researched (Rose, 2007). Because of the different limits of photographic methods, Rose (2007) proposes adapting a critical visual methodology consisting of three steps. Firstly, the researcher should take images seriously and look very carefully, because images are not entirely reducible to their context and visual representations have their own effects. Secondly, the researcher should think about the social conditions and effects of visual objects, for instance social inclusion and exclusion, practices, cultural meanings and effects. Thirdly, the researcher should consider his or her way of looking at images and be reflective. For the photo elicitation study, I intend to follow Rose's critical approach to visual methods and will therefore return to these considerations throughout the development of the photo elicitation study. Also, I reflect upon the limits of using a photographic method for the investigation of a sense of home (see chapter 6).

3.2.4 Possibilities of using photo elicitation to investigate place meanings

Photo elicitation is a method where photographs are used in the course of a semi-structured interview to elicit a deeper understanding about the participants' everyday life and practices than word-based interview could do. Photo elicitation can provide four possible advantages. Firstly, photo elicitation can support the interview communication about complex questions through the ability of photographs to visually convey abstract matters. Secondly, photo elicitation can allow active participant selfexpression and involvement and thirdly shift the power relationship between the researcher and the researched and thus possibly reduce researcher bias. Fourthly, photo elicitation is an experimental method allowing a certain level of pleasure and also unexpected outcomes. These four possible benefits are important for the reasoning of applying photo elicitation to investigate the creation of a sense of home, because the study is investigating complex questions and with the involvement of the participants' their self-expression about how they make meaning to their immediate home is supported. By using photo elicitation it was furthermore assumed to have a positive effect on researcher bias and last but not least, allow a level of pleasure and experimenting. All together, photo elicitation seemed to be possibility of 'seeing' and 'telling' about the creation of a sense of home. Such insights could be useful for planners to 'provide stages' (Tuan, 1977) for the creation of a sense of home for instance in relation to housing and social aspects of planning.

Geographic studies have just recently been adapting comparable photographic methods because photographs are able to investigate sense of place effectively. According to Rose (2007), photo-based approaches offer benefits for investigating the 'texture' of place. Photographs are capable of conveying complex place meanings, since they can represent multilayered experiences, settings and social domains simultaneously. Additionally, photographs are "placed" in ways not easily captured in survey research, because a photo is necessarily taken in a specific locale, which allows more setting specificity than asking people to provide general assessments of places. Furthermore photographic methods can supports a learning effect about the specific places to which people are attached. According to Rose, when it comes to describing and investigating, photographs have the ability to investigate sense of place effectively:

This is partly because photos can carry so much visual information; they can show us details in a moment that it would take pages of writing to describe. Photographs can also show us things that are hard to describe in writing at all. Geographers have long been interested in the elusive qualities that define sense of place, and some are now using photography deliberately to convey it (2007, p. 247).

In a similar line to Rose, it has been stated that photographic collaborative methods seem positioned to make a strong contribution to investigating how we identify with our physical surroundings, however their use in geographic and planning studies are marginal (Stedman, Beckley, Wallace, & Ambard, 2004). The common use of photographs within these studies is to support and illustrate other data.

The methodological possibilities of using photo elicitation for investigating further planning questions in relation to sense of place are explored. I thereby acknowledge that I am taking an optimistically biased stand for the possibilities of photo elicitation, rather than exploring reasons why planners should not apply photo elicitation. I argue that photo elicitation can provide planners with a suitable tool to investigate place meanings. Firstly, place meanings are complex matters that can be expressed visually. Urban planners engaging with and analyzing photographs taken by participants can unfold and get a better understanding of the participants' sense of place. Secondly, because photo elicitation can allow active participant involvement and visual self-expression, restrictions of verbal methods can be overcome. The participants can express their place-meanings possibly better through photographs. This also means that photo elicitation can be empowering and engaging, and this can be interesting to reach out to and involve marginalized groups in urban planning practice and research, but also to investigate subjective meanings and viewpoints. This possibility could be interesting for collaboration and enhanced participation within a planning process. The active participant involvement is also changing and possibly enhancing the collaboration between the researcher and the researched towards a holistic approach. Thirdly, by using photo elicitation, urban planners get the possibility of cross-disciplinary learning. Sociologists and anthropologists frequently apply photo elicitation, contrary to urban planners, who most frequently work with methods analyzing verbal and statistical data, documents, maps and visualizations. Using photo elicitation means therefore experimenting with a photographic method that is perhaps not part of the traditional toolbox of urban planners. Photo-based collaborative methods within urban planning studies and practice are marginal, even tough they seem positioned to make a strong contribution to investigating complex phenomena such as sense of place (Stedman et al, 2004, p. 584). If urban planning studies are to be open to new approaches and methods, then this could be one creative and experimental attempt.

3.2.5 Summing up the characteristics of photo elicitation

The table in this subsection (table 1) sums the characteristics of photo elicitations that are relevant for this report. It is therefore a review of the description of photo elicitation in this section, as well as the specific possibilities of using photo elicitation to investigate sense of place (see 1.3) and the considerations of analyzing photo elicitation data (see chapter 4).

Summing up the characteristics of photo elicitation	
Method description	Photographs about everyday situations of the interviewees are inserted in the course of a research interview to elicit information about the photographs in the first place and then about the interviewees everyday life in a second step
	Photo elicitation is a research-driven photographic method where the photographs serve the purpose of the research and did not exist beforehand. Photo elicitation is frequently collaborative ³ , meaning that the photographs are taken by the researched
	The photographs can serve as independent data or mainly to support the research interview
zSuitable research areas for photo elicitation	Everyday life and living conditions and their meanings Events or objects and their meanings
	Subjective meaning and perception Perception and meaning of different social groups
General possible advantages of photo elicitation	Support the interview communication about complex matters, because through photographs abstract matters can be conveyed in an easier way than just through words
	Self-expression of the participants through becoming the photographers
	Shift the power relationship in the research project towards the participant and thus reduce researcher bias
	As an experimental method photo elicitation can bring unexpected outcomes and pleasure
Specific possible advantages of photo elicitation to investigate sense of place	Possible benefits for investigating sense of place and identification with place, because photographs can convey complex place meanings easier than words
	Photographs allow more specificity about place, because photographs are necessarily taken in a specific spatial setting and capture spatial details and visual information not easily captured with other methods
	Photo elicitation can support a learning effect about the specific places to which people are attached
Possible disadvantages of photo elicitation	Unsuitable research subject for photographic method
	Overly narrow focus on the image itself

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³ The researcher can also take the photographs, however a collaborative method is more frequently applied and also the case for the study applied for this report. Therefore, I imply collaborative photo elicitation when referring to photo elicitation throughout the report.

	Misleading characteristics related to the content of the photograph: Authenticity, photographic selectivity and reliability of photographs
	Photographic methods are challenging and unpredictable to use, therefore there is a danger for careless application
	Difficulties related to the analysis of the photographic data and a danger to either focus on the photographic data or the interview data without considering the other
	Ethical considerations in relation to collaboration (misleading agency and permissions)
Suggestions for a critical and reflective approach to photo elicitation	Reflection of the researcher-researched relationship
	Reveal and explain how data and findings are produced
	Critical visual methodology (Rose, 2007): Careful handling of the image, considering social conditions and effects of the image, considering the researcher's own way of looking at images
Analysis	Generally there seems to be no clear understanding about how to carry out the analysis
	Some researchers analyze the photos as texts and closely in relation to the interview data
	Other researchers use coding techniques to analyze the photos
Theoretical background	Hermeneutics
Academic disciplines frequently applying photo elicitation	Visual sociology and anthropology

Table 1: Summary of the characteristics of photo elicitation

This section has clarified the assets and drawbacks of applying photo elicitation and has argued that a critical approach is needed in line with Rose's critical visual methodology. Then a table presented a summary of the characteristics of photo elicitation. From this perspective on photo elicitation and collaborative photographic methods, I will now move on to describing the further methods applied in this project.

3.3 Accessories: Semi-structured interviews and literature review

This section describes the remaining methods applied in this report. Semi-structured interviews and literature review are more conventional methods in planning studies and can thus describe rather briefly.

An interview is a professional conversation with a structure and an aim to collect descriptions of the interview participant's reality in preparation for interpretation of meanings (Kvale, 1996). For this report, two kinds of interviews were conducted: participant interviews and an expert interview that will be described in this section. Both kinds of interviews were semi-structured, open-ended, and face-to-face interviews. The interview guides and transcripts can be found in the appendix. For the analysis of the participant and the expert interview I used qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis is used in social sciences for studying the content of communication. It can be understood as the study of different communication forms mainly interview data and text, but also other types of communication for instance websites, images and laws (Babbie, 2001) Researchers in the social sciences use content analyze commonly for recorded transcripts of interviews. In this report, the

content of the participant interviews were analyzed in relation to the photos of the photo elicitation study and I developed an analytical framework that is presented in the next chapter.

Participant interviews

The participant interviews served an important purpose for this project to give a better understanding of the participants' rationales for photographing as well as for investigating their understandings of home. The participant interviews conducted for this report were semi-structured, giving the participants certain guidance but allowing for flexibility in the topics covered. To introduce the participants and give some guidance, a short interview took first place that lasted between ten and thirty minutes. These short interviews took already place in the immediate homes of the participants. The second interview was more in-depth to understand the participants reasoning for taking the photographs and also to comprehend how the participants understood home apart from the photographs. These second interviews lasted between forty-five minutes and two hours and took also part in the participants' immediate homes. All participants were open and accommodating. The interviews were conducted in English and were recorded after asking for permission. Afterwards, the interviews were transcribed and the content is analyzed and presented in chapter 5. The reasoning for choosing these participants is described in the next chapter.

Expert interview

An expert is someone who has deep knowledge about a specific topic (Flick, Qualitative Sozialforschung: Eine Einführung, 2004). An expert interview can be understood as an interview focusing on processes, strategies and facts according to Kvale (1996). The expert interview was carried out to provide a feedback about the possibilities of photo elicitation for planning practice from an expert with knowledge about planning practice and methods. Furthermore, the expert interview is gathering information and insight about similar or comparable applied methods. The expert interviewed is a planning consultant from one of the larger Danish planning consultancies and was chosen as an expert because he is amongst other things an expert regarding social housing and the preparation of overall municipal plans (in Danish: helhedsplaner). Furthermore, the expert is a representative of a larger group of planning consultants working with public participation and social housing. It is acknowledged that there might be personal values as well as influence by the interviewer and the way the interview took place affecting his arguments. Therefore, in order to validate the results according to Flyvbjerg (1998) the expert's comments and the feedback on the outcome was provided.

By asking the consultant where he would like the interview to take place, which was a café, I was letting him choose a place where he felt comfortable to meet me. Furthermore, I let him choose that the interview would be in Danish. The expert interview had two parts, starting with the expert's experiences with social housing and innovative planning tools and methods used by Niras Konsulenterne. Then, in the second part, we discussed opportunities and challenges for using photo elicitation within planning practice. To record the expert interviews I used digital voice recorders after asking for his permission. Afterwards, the interview was transcribed and translated and the content is analyzed and presented in chapter 6.

Literature review

A literature review was conducted to develop a clearer understanding of the topic at hand on both a theoretical and a practical level. On a more practical level the literature review was used to place photo elicitation methods in the context of visual methods and to understand how researchers in different academic fields such as anthropology, sociology, geography and planning apply similar

methods. Additionally, this practical level of the literature review was concerned with possible advantages and disadvantages of collaborative methods and their use in particular in relation to investigating sense of place. A literature review was also the primary method used for gaining a theoretical understanding of both sense of place concepts (e.g. Tuan, 1977; Relph, 1976) and research approaches to home. Furthermore, planning theory and studies were reviewed in relation to the soft issues I investigate in this report (e.g. Healy, 2007; Sandercock, 2003) and to provide a framework for understanding planning on a metalevel (Perry, 2003). After describing the different methods of the photo elicitation study in this chapter, I will now turn to explain how I implemented photo elicitation in the next chapter.

Zooming in on home

4 DEPRESSING THE SHUTTER - IMPLEMENTING PHOTO ELICITATION

This chapter presents the implementation of the photo elicitation study. The first section describes the study context in regards to the immediate home as the study setting and the participants. How photo elicitation was applied for the study is described in the second section. How the resulting data will be analyzed in chapter 5 is presented in line with the analytical framework in the third section. This last section introduces also the reflection on the photo elicitation method covered in chapter 6.

4.1 The study setting and the participants

This section describes the study context related to the participants and the setting of the immediate home. Furthermore I lay out the reasoning of choosing the three women as the study participants and how I addressed them. The section starts with discussing the reasons for choosing photo elicitation for this study.

The research was carried out in the context of the participants' immediate home. To recall, the immediate home is the physical space of the participants' Danish residences with the adjoined surrounding area in walking distance (see 1.2 and 2.3). All three residences are apartments and located in Aalborg, Denmark. More specifically two of them are located in the eastern outskirts of the city, close to the university. These two are flats provided for university students and located in an area that can be described as a quiet residential area where mostly students live. I assume that the complex of buildings was built together with the university in the 1970s. Contrary, the third flat is privately owned and located in a mixed commercial and residential area in the center of Aalborg. The block of buildings the third flat is located in is about hundred years old according to the participant. Two of the participants share their apartments with their partners, and one of the women is living by herself.

One of the reasons for these particular participants is related to the habitual connection between home and women discussed in feminist theory (e.g. Hayden, 2003). However, choosing these women had further reasons not related to their gender. Generally I did not investigate the gender roles in my research (see 1.3) but rather focused on the participants' subjective meaning. A second reason was that all three participants originally come from another country and I assumed being a foreigner and due to the experience of having to settle in a new surrounding these women reflected already in a way what home could mean for them. Since they are from a different country, I expected them to have reflected what home is in a perhaps deeper way. The immediate home is indicating the possibility of another, distant or abstract home. Related to the participants, the obvious distant home could be the home where they grew up in their countries of origin. The three women come from Finland, Hungary and Brazil and have been living and studying in Denmark for three to four years.

As Rose (2008) mentions, a careful groundwork and an establishment of a relationship between researcher and participants before the photographic method is introduced can possibly improve the quality of the study. Therefore, a personal relationship to the respondents is relevant for a collaborative photographic method. The participants were chosen in relation to the Danish language course I am taking part in. In one of these courses, I pronounced that I was looking for female participants for my thesis who were willing to participate in a photographic method investigating home. Seven women

were willing to be a part of the project; however, because of time constraints only three could be part of the research. Addressing possible participants in this way seemed reasonable, because I already had a connection to them, but not an in-depth relationship and assumed that this would be helpful for talking about something as personal as the own home. In other words, it was helpful to know the participants briefly but not too personally. It could also be argued that the participants are immigrants and investigate immigration topics in further depth but that was not a main focus of this report and the immigrant term is to a certain extent contested. Furthermore, since the participants were living and studying in Denmark, but coming from different countries, I assumed that they had perhaps a different understanding of home in relation to a Danish home and the home in the country of origin. Such culturally different background could be influencing in my research. It was not a deliberative choice that the three women who participated were university students since the Danish class consists of a diverse mixture concerning age, work, education or family status. However, the three women that did end up as my participants were university students between twenty and thirty years old. Because of their educations, the participants belong to an academical group in society. Because of this, they are perhaps more accustomed to academic research projects. Nevertheless because of a similar background, it can be assumed that approaching and communicating with the participant could be more straightforward. Additionally, there was also a practical reason for approaching possible participants in the Danish class, because it was more certain that I would be able to conduct the interviews in English rather than in Danish.

4.2 Putting photo elicitation into practice

This section comes to terms with how photo elicitation was adapted and applied for the study. I present the methodological framework that is showing how I intend to investigate the immediate home. Then, I describe how the photo elicitation method was developed and applied. The considerations in regards to the photo elicitation method are described in further detail in chapter 3.

Different practical and analytical decisions influenced the design of the photo elicitation study. Amongst other things, such decisions are concerned with the topic of the photograph, the question who photographs and how the photographic and interview data is analyzed. For this photo elicitation study, the topic of the photographs is the immediate home, the participants are the photographers and the data from the study is analyzed further according to an analytical framework drawing on the sense of home elements discussed in chapter 2.

Practical decisions were also made for the design of the study, in other words how the participants were approached and what they were asked to do. For the development of the photo elicitation study a pilot study was conducted with a woman who also attends the same Danish class as the other participants (for the pilot study guide and reflections see appendices 3 and 4). The pilot study followed Rose's (2007, p. 241) six general steps for photo elicitation:

- 1. Initial interview focusing on the questions that the photographs are going to contribute to
- 2. Give some guidance in regards of how to photograph (what sort of photographs, how many)
- 3. Photos are developed and interviewees may be asked to write something about the photos before they meet the researcher again, such a description can evoke reflection
- 4. Follow-up interview to discuss the photos in detail and clarify their meaning

- 5. Interview material and photographs are then interpreted using conventional social science techniques (e.g. thematic analysis)
- 6. The finished research tends to be presented in a way that the verbal data takes precedence over the photographic data, but there is reproduction of the photos

The pilot study revealed one challenge: How to stimulate the photographing but not lead too much? I asked the pilot participant to think about home in broad terms, anything that comes to her mind but then that was difficult for her in regards to decide what to photograph. She then decided to just photograph inside her flat. Reflecting the pilot study, I realized that I had to give clearer instructions on what to photograph, but try still to give instructions that would not lead too much. After the pilot study I adapted the questions so that the task of photographing 'home' was clearer, and in suspense to still leave enough room for them to play with the camera or the task itself. The participants were asked to photograph inside their apartments as well as in walking distance surrounding.

The photo elicitation I applied is also following Rose's (2007) six steps for photo elicitation in broad terms. Especially the distinction between an initial interview and a follow-up interview seemed useful because that would allow the participant to be by herself to take the photographs. This was another point where the pilot study was helpful: during the pilot study I was present while the study participant actually took the photos. The resulting atmosphere was a bit uncomfortable because it seemed as if the participant was waiting for my input what she should photograph. Therefore it seemed like a good idea to have two separate interview sessions and in the time between the participants' could take the photos.

The photo elicitation was therefore separated in two sessions. The first session was a short interview explaining the research project in broad terms and asking the three women to take the photos 'to show me what presents or contains home to you'. I also stressed that home can 'mean many things'. Furthermore, I explained that there will be the two sessions and asked for permission to use the photographs as well as the interview data. On a hand-out the participants were asked to take photographs about the following five topics: what is specific about their immediate home; what they like and dislike; and what they like and dislike about the surrounding area in walking distance. These specific topics about the photographs were given to investigate a sense of home. Additionally, after taking the photos, the participants were instructed to choose two photos for each of the five topics and describe the remaining ten photos on a prepared sheet. These descriptions aimed at evoking reflection, as Rose (2007) for her third step, but were not analyzed further.

In the second session, the participants described the ten photos in detail to the researcher. The aim was, as Rose (2007) describes in her fourth step, to discuss the photos in detail and clarify their meaning. The participants were also asked to describe what 'home' means to them perhaps not related to the photographs. Additionally, the participants were asked to give a feedback on the photo elicitation method. In the end of the interviews, the participants were asked to choose the three most significant photographs about their immediate home. These photographs are analyzed together with the interview data according to the analytical framework described in the next section.

4.3 Thematic analysis of the photo elicitation data

This section describes how the data gained from the photo elicitation study was analyzed and presents therefore the analytical framework.

Analyzing photographic data in qualitative research can be done in very different ways. On an ontological level, analyzing photographic data can be approached in two opposite ways: On the one hand are structuralist or semiotic approaches and on the other are hermeneutic or interpretative approaches. The structuralist or semiotic approaches drawing on Roland Barthes work concerned with signs and are predominately found in Europe. The central understanding is that photographs are 'texts' for analysis and interpretation and can indicate underlying cultural forces (Emmison & Smith, 2001). At the opposite end are more hermeneutic or interpretative approaches concerned with interpreting and understanding social actors. These approaches are more often found in North American research, for instance Collier (1967) who stresses an open and sensual approach to photographs in order to respond to their integral content.

Also on a more applied level, photographic research methods face challenges in regards to the large amount of data and the immense effort of analyzing this data (Hammersley & Atkison, 1983). Another challenge is that photographs are open to a range of interpretations (Schwartz & Ryan, 2003). There seems to be no general agreement on how to analyze and interpret this large amount of data. Some researchers regard photographs within a photo elicitation study merely as a support for the interviews, and thus the photographs might not even get analyzed further in the course of a research process (e.g. Emmison & Smith, 2001). Other researchers, however, pay close attention to analyzing the photographs and even allow the photographs some sort of agency (e.g. Rose, 2007). I chose a path that lies between these two approaches, because I investigate the photographs independently in an initial step, and then draw in the interview data. Because of the challenges regarding the large amount of data, the three photos each participant chose as the most significant one of her home formed the central focus of the analysis. The following paragraphs give details how the data from the photo elicitation study was analyzed.

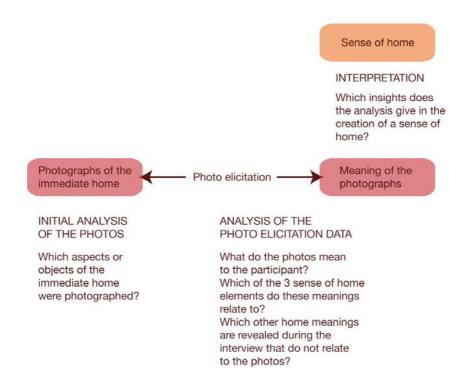


Figure 9: Analytical framework: Initial analysis, main analysis and interpretation

The first aim of this report is to gain insight into how a sense of home is created. The analytical framework (figure 9) describes how the photo elicitation data is investigated to gain such insights. The analysis is thematically related to the sense of home discussion in this report (see chapter 2) and iterative, since I also included new theoretical insights for the interpretation. Before the actual analysis, the participants selected step by step the three photos that were most significantly showing their immediate home according to them. This selection process can therefore also be understood as a part in the early analytical process.

The initial step of the analysis investigates the three most significant photographs each participant chose about their immediate home without including the interview data. This is according to Rose (2007) the first step of a critical visual methodology taking images seriously and looking very carefully at images, because they can have their own effects (see 3.2). The photographs are looked at and investigated according to which aspects or objects of the immediate home are represented and also, if these aspects or objects can be related to either the physical, individual or social element of a sense of home. In other words, the researcher analyzes the photos by their first impression to find out which aspects or object of the immediate home the photos indicate.

The three elements of a sense of home are described in further detail in chapter 2, but shall be briefly repeated here. The physical element describes the physical setting of the home, which can also include home objects; the subjective element describing one person's 'feeling at home'; and the social element incorporates social encounters taking place at home. The physical element expresses physical and symbolic home settings and can take different forms from objects within home, domestic architecture and design, a single housing unit, to different geographical locations and scales (for example a neighborhood, a city, a country) (Case, Contributions of journeys away to the definition of home: An empirical study of a dialectical process, 1996). Additionally, at home certain needs are met (sleeping, eating, household activities, rest) and everyday activities take place (Tuan, 1977). The subjective element describes positive as well as negative home-feelings, identification and privacy (Altman & Low, 1992; Moore, 1984; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1981). The social element is

referring to home as a central site in social organization and socialization (Cieraad, 1999). The focus on the three elements was chosen because they seemed to be particularly interesting related to using photo elicitation to investigate the immediate home. An assumption was made that the physical element could be captured particularly clear with photographs, for instance by photographing an entrance door. The subjective element is possibly difficult to reveal in the initial analytical step, but supposition can be made that the second session, where the participants' described the photographs in detail, would reveal the subjective element, for instance the cozy and relaxing feeling of being at home. The social element of a sense of home could be expected for photographs showing for instance the participant's living partners.

After the initial analysis, the second step of the analysis considers the data from the photo elicitation study, which would be the photographs and the interview data. The participant's descriptions of the photos and the interview data is investigated in relation to the three photos as well as the interview data by itself. Thereby the meanings the women give to the photographs are analyzed. The photographs and their descriptions are then thematically grouped according to the three sense of home elements. Furthermore, the interview data is investigated for supplementary aspects of a sense of home revealed only verbally. The final analytical step is the interpretation. The interpretation is aiming at providing insight in the creation of a sense of home related to the previous analysis. For the interpretation, I will draw in theoretical insight about material culture and the spatiality of consumption (Mansvelt, 2005). These concepts will be described and used in chapter 5.

The second aim of this report is to evaluate the use of photo elicitation as a possible methodology for further sense of place questions. Therefore, next to the thematic analysis of the data from the photo elicitation study the way in which photo elicitation was applied in the study evaluated. For such an evaluation, the participants' feedback is included. The participants were asked for a feedback on how the photographing, the selecting and the describing of the photographs were for them. Moreover, information gained in an expert interview with a planning consultant provides insights in the possibilities of using photo elicitation in planning practice. In order to evaluate the use of photo elicitation, a critical visual methodology as proposed by Rose (2007) was followed. Also the possible advantages of photo elicitation and photographic research methods mentioned in different sources (see 3.2) are reviewed according to the assets and drawbacks of photo elicitation for this method. The reflection on the methodology is presented in chapter 6.

5 DEVELOPING THE PHOTOS - PHOTO ELICITATION ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The analysis of the photo elicitation study is divided in three steps and investigates the data from the photo elicitation study according to the analytical framework laid out in the previous chapter. The initial step of the analysis, where the selected nine photographs are analyzed independently from and previous to the interview data, is covered in the first section. The second section conceals the second body of the analysis where the nine photographs are analyzed one by one in relation to the participants' description in the semi-structured interview. This part of the analysis is investigating the meaning the participants assert to the photographs. The analysis is thematically grouped according to the three sense of home elements and also considers only verbally transferred results from the interview. The final analytical step is the interpretation of the findings from the second analysis and is covered in the third section of this chapter. For the interpretation, theoretical groundings in material culture related to home provided a way to comprehend the participants' creation of a sense of home.

5.1 Initial analysis of the photographs

The initial step of the analysis investigates the nine photographs (presented in the table 1) independently, meaning without considering the interview data or further description provided by the participants. In other words, the researcher analyzes the photos by their first impression to find out which aspects or object of the immediate home they show. Furthermore the initial analysis investigates, if these aspects or objects can be related to either the physical, individual or social element of a sense of home.



















Table 2: The nine photographs (Photographers: Taru, Ana, Eva)

The initial analytical step follows Rose's (2007) proposal for a critical visual methodology, and of looking very carefully at images because they can have their own effects. The objective of the initial analytical step is to find out which aspect or objects of the immediate home were photographed and if these could be related to the physical, subjective or social element of a sense of home. The initial analysis reveals that eight out of nine photos can be understood as belonging to the physical element of a sense of home. Five of the photos pictured furniture (a chair, lamp, carpet, floor and sofa) whereas three photos showed mugs, a sewing box and posters that can be approximately described as home objects (e.g. Case, 1996). For the remaining photo, picturing a street, further descriptions from the participant were necessary in order to understand their content, because it could also have meant to photograph a place of social encounter than the street scene itself. Therefore, these two photos were not considered before the further analysis of the photo elicitation study where the interview data was included. To sum the first impression up, eight of the nine photographs showed home objects and furniture that can be related to the physical element of a sense of home. However, the initial analytical step is only a partial step of the whole analysis. For the in-depth understanding, the participants' explanation of the photographs has to be considered in the second analytical part that shall be presented in the following section.

5.2 Analysis of the photo elicitation data

In the photo elicitation study, the three participants were asked to take photographs about what is specific about their immediate home; what they like and dislike; and what they like and dislike about the surrounding in walking distance. These specific topics about the photographs were given to investigate the participant's perception of their immediate home. In the course of the semi-structured interview they described the photos in detail. In the end of the interviews, the participants were asked to choose the three most significant photographs about their immediate home. These photographs and the transcripts from the interview are analyzed according to the second step of the analysis (see chapter 4.3) in relation to the physical, subjective and social element of a sense of home.

The analysis of the photo elicitation data considers the photographs and the interview data from the photo elicitation study in relation the three sense of home elements. The aim of this second analytical step is to reveal the meanings the women assert to the photographs. Furthermore, the interview data is investigated for supplementary aspects related to the photos. The findings from the further analysis according to the three sense of home elements are presented in table 1. The analysis takes place according to the analytical framework described in chapter 4 and ends with a thematic grouping of

the photos. The detailed analysis can be found in appendix 3. A detailed description and analysis of the nine photographs was necessary to be able to compare common aspects and summarize the data from the photo elicitation study as presented in table 2.

Photo 10: Mumin mugs (Photographer: Taru)



Photo 11: Yellow lamp (Photographer: Taru)



Photo 12: Sewing box (Photographer: Taru)



Physical element: Kitchen object (mugs); Finish design indicating Taru's country of origin

Subjective element: Taru's taste preference for aesthetic objects and Danish design; childhood memories of watching Mumin cartoons

Physical element: Furniture (a lamp, drawer and mirror)

were gifts from family and friends

Subjective element: Taru's taste preference for furniture and 'bright colors' Social element: The lamp and the mirror

Physical element: Furniture (Sewing drawer), hobby activity taking place at home

Subjective element: Taru relates feelings of relaxation to the photo

Photo 13: Being comfortable at home (Photographer: Ana)



Photo 14: The white roomy floor (Photographer: Ana)



Photo 15: The lively surroundings of my home (Photographer: Ana)



Physical element: Furniture (chair), leisure activities

Subjective element: Ana mentions feelings such as comfort and pleasure to the photo

Social element: The chair was a family present

Physical element: Furniture (floor); relating Danish to Brazilian kind of varnishing

Subjective element: Taste preference for 'minimalistic design'

Social element: The taste preferences are shared by Ana and her partner

Physical element: The walking street in the center of Aalborg; easy access to meet daily needs

Subjective element: Ana mentions that she likes the lively surrounding contrary to many Danes. She relates the liveliness to feelings of pleasure and energy.

Social element: The street is a social meeting point

Photo 16: Black and white (Photographer: Eva)



Photo 17: The red carpet (Photographer: Eva)



Photo 18: The sofa (Photographer: Eva)



Physical element: Home object (posters)

Subjective element: Eva mentions her preference for the movie shown on the posters and the black and white aesthetic; Eva remembers how the posters were purchased

Social element: Eva purchased the posters together with her partner

Physical element: Furniture (carpet)
Subjective element: Eva mentions her aesthetic preferences for the red and white colors

Social element: The carpet is cleaned by Eva or her partner

Physical element: Furniture (sofa)
Subjective element: Aesthetic taste preferences for the colors

Social element: Eva relates the photo of the sofa to evenings spent there to relax and watch TV together with her partner

Table 3: Analysis from the photo elicitation

The initial step of the analysis revealed that eight out of nine photos could be related to physical element of a sense of home. To narrow it down even more, three photos showed home objects such as for instance furniture (a lamp, chair, carpet and sofa). One photo did not fit clearly in one of the three categories showed a street scene. For the second step of the analysis, the in-depth description of the photographs provided by the participants was considered. All nine photographs could clearly be related to the subjective element of a sense of home in the second step of the analysis. This is, however, not surprising and perhaps a precondition because I did ask the participants to take photos of what they liked and disliked and what was typical in their immediate home. Therefore, it is more interesting how the subjective element was related to the photographs. The subjective element was for this purpose redefined according to the second step of the analysis. One sub-category of the subjective element is called 'subjective taste preferences' and fits to seven of the nine photographs. To give one example: one of the women said that she photographed the carped because she liked the red and white colors. The second sub-category of the subjective element is called 'subjective feelings' and can be linked to five photos. The feelings the participants mentioned related to these five photos were comfort, pleasure, relaxation and privacy. Also the second step of the analysis investigated the data from the study for the social element of a sense of home. For six of the photographs, the participants mentioned their partners or family members. For instance the lamp that one participant got as a gift from her mother. The second step of the analysis also considered elements revealed by the data that was not related to the three elements of a sense of home (contextual: comparing or mentioning home country in 2, 'Danishness' in 1, leisure activity in 3).

5.3 Interpretation of the photo elicitation data

The third step of the analysis then was an attempt to interpret the body of information from the previous two analytical steps. Most photos fell into the categories of the physical element of a sense of home and most photos revealed subjective taste preference. What does that mean? To give a possible answer, it was helpful to draw on knowledge from researchers of material culture related to home (Mansvelt, 2005). Such researchers describe home can be understood as a site of consumption, meaning that home space are places connected and made meaningful through consumption. Such insights provided an understanding that 'home-making' (particularly for the Western world) in the form of furnishing and decorating, is one of the central elements available women for putting her 'stamp' on her surroundings (Goodall, 1991). Homes present a setting for the material contexts people create with commodities (Sack, 1992). The material cultures associated with home are both an appropriation and a representation of the world (Miller, 2001). Household practices can be purchasing and using commodities, furnishings, décor, leisure and housework equipment that can be powerful practices, complicit in the identity construction and politics of households (Bowlby et al, 1997). In other words, these different researchers describe the 'thinginess' of objects in home places and emphasize that meaning of home is created through home objects. Most photos are very 'thingy', about objects, but that lays maybe in the nature of photographs.

Another point that would be interesting for further interpretation is that eight of the nine photographs are showing aspects of the immediate home that are within the flat. Only one photo shows a street scene. Does that mean that the home is enclosed, that people 'cocoon' in their homes as a secluded place set apart from the world outside? The analysis from the photo elicitation study tends into such a direction. Related to the indication of a 'cocooning' tendency, one thing I realized throughout making the interviews is how very private the immediate home seem to be. I had asked the women to take photos of the surrounding of their homes. But when asked how important this outside is compared to the flat/house, they would all say that the flat/house is much more important.

Zooming in on home

6 POST-PRODUCTION - PHOTO ELICITATION REFLECTIONS

This chapter is reflecting on the use of photo elicitation in order to capture a sense of home. Firstly, I will discuss the advantages and challenges of the method. Then I will reflect on how well photo elicitation was able to elicit insights in the creation of a sense of home. I reflect on the method and the study. Secondly, the feedback from the participants about the method is included. Then, the expert interview about photo elicitation and its possible use in planning practice is incorporated in the third section.

6.1 Reflections on the use of photo elicitation

As a starting point of this report, based on the literature review on photo elicitation (Chapter 3) and sense of place (see chapter 2), I assumed that photo elicitation could be a useful planning methodology to investigate a sense of home. Firstly, visual methods such as photo elicitation offer possibilities for access and communication about everyday life experiences (Pink, 2008). The making of meaning of a sense of home can be understood as part of everyday life experiences. Sense of home is an intimate experience, which are difficult but not impossible to express (Tuan, 1977). This means that photo elicitation is a possible method for accessing and investigating a sense of home. Secondly, collaborative visual research can offer "privileged ways of understanding and communicating about other people's knowledge and experience" (Pink, 2008, p. 148). This means that collaborative visual methods have a potential for engagement and empowerment of the participants, which can possibly reduce a researcher bias. It also means that the participants are encouraged to express and reflect on their place-meanings and thus define their experiences to the researchers in a better way than word-alone interviews (Pink, 2008). Photo elicitation can cause people to do and think things they had forgotten, or to see things they had always known in a new way (Banks, 2001). For the photo elicitation study for this report, the collaboration was implemented so that the participants were the photographers themselves and were also part of the early stages of the analysis by selecting photos step by step. Thirdly, by using photo elicitation, which is a methodology not commonly used within planning studies, this is way for experimenting and working interdisciplinary.

On a more applied level, for how photo elicitation method was used in this report, the biggest difficulty was how to analyze and then present the data from the photo elicitation study. There are questions about how to present the photos and the descriptions and how to find out what is significant or not and how to present this to the readers of the report in a clear way. I did try to meet this difficulty by not including a detailed presentation of the analysis. However, such a process might not be understandable for a reader.

Another challenge was how related to explaining and guiding the participants how to take the photographs. One of the participants asked me for instance if the photos should be in color or black and white, and another participant asked if I meant that the home is inside of the apartment. It is therefore important to have pilot studies to find out how the explanation for the photo elicitation is done, so that the participants can understand what they are asked to do. It is important, but difficult to find the right balance of giving guidance for taking the photographs without taking the freedom of

expression away from the participants because one of the reasons for applying photo elicitation is to provide more 'openness' to new insights.

The participants were interested and participated quite openly with taking photographs. All of them also expressed their interest in the results. From the feedback they gave to the method it seems that the describing of the photos was a little more difficult and time consuming than taking the actual photos. From the answers within the interview as well as from the descriptions of the photos it seems that the participants were not all as familiar with reflecting on what home means to them. However, all three women seemed to have some reflective experience while taking the photographs. In general, the photographs provided a good starting point for talking in further depth about home, family and immigration. Therefore, the photos provided a good starting point and a comfortable inroad for the participants to discuss their home understandings.

Reflecting on the interview process, I can see that there were a few traps. When I was transcribing I realized how hard it is not to suggest answers when asking a question. And I also realized how important it is to create a comfortable interview situation, especially in relation to talking about something as intimate as the home. In the case of the interviews that were part of the photo elicitation study that meant that the beginning and the ending of the interviews were a help to establish a comfortable interview situation, often by talking about "small-talk" topics such as the weather, holidays, Danish classes and the studies more generally. Time limits of an interview situation created a bit more stressful interview atmosphere. Therefore it is important to have an idea about how long the interview will take beforehand, eventually by doing a pilot interview, and inform the participants. However, such difficulties outlined in this paragraph might be challenges for different forms of qualitative methods.

The two sessions, the photographing and the description of the photographs was quite time consuming and intense for the researcher as well as the researched. This is something that has to be kept in mind when doing a similar study. The experience of the photographing and the explanations provided seemed to make the method nevertheless worth the 'trouble'.

6.2 Participants' feedback about photo elicitation

Taru

Taking the photos was easy for Taru. The description of the photos was sometimes difficult; especially to describe what was missing in the picture. Furthermore the pictures of what was typical for her home and what she liked most were difficult to distinguish. Interesting was Taru's statement that she reflected on how the home and the home surrounding is consisting of "layers":

I was realizing that the actual surrounding is not really nice, the parking place and so, but then when you go a bit further it's nice. It is like... I like my home inside, but then outside of my home I don't like it, but then I like it again. I kind of... started to think in that way... because I never thought about it in that way, that it goes in layers.

Ana

When instructing how to take the photographs, Ana asked me specifically me it I meant that the home is inside or outside and I tried to avoid answering to clearly by saying that I would like to leave it up to her. Interesting was also that Ana insisted on showing me the apartment because then I would be able to know what she took the picture of and where it is. Ana expressed an interest in seeing the results of the study in the end. Reflecting on taking the photographs, Ana said that it was not difficult,

since she thinks about home quite often, especially inside of the apartment. The surrounding was a bit more difficult. In general it was easier to find positive things than negative ones. The selection of the photos was done according to their importance and expression, and this process of selecting was not difficult for Ana. The description of the photos was not difficult either, because Ana already thought about the pictures the moment she was taking them.

When I was walking with the camera and then choose to take the picture of the floor then I already rationalized a little bit why I do it, so I already had these thoughts. And then of course I had to formalize it a little bit, but it was not difficult.

When I asked Ana, if there was something she learned or found out during taking the photos and describing them she answered that it revealed a bit her character:

It reveals a little bit of my character in the sense that I like things that are clean and organized and look nice. Then maybe I put more focus on that then other people. So in that way it is a little funny.

Eva

During session 1, Eva expressed her curiosity for the results of the study. In session two, when I asked her for a feedback on the photographing, her reflective process was revealed:

I never thought about it, what I like in the apartment. I think it's not even a part of the apartment, but some things, like pictures, paintings, I like in the apartment, rather than a room like the bathroom or kitchen.

Furthermore, when I asked her about how it was to describe the photos, she stated that it was interesting to think about connecting the photo to feelings and she said, "you think about things you normally don't think". However, it was a bit difficult to describe the photos exhaustively and Eva was unsure what to write about what is missing in the photo.

6.3 Expert feedback about using photo elicitation for planning practice

The interview was conducted with Arne Juul, a consultant from NIRAS Consulting that is one of the larger Danish planning consultancies. Arne is a specialist regarding social housing, especially in relation to public cooperative housing associations. He has also a broad knowledge about the preparation of overall municipal plans. He has a professional background as a social worker and has experience with municipal planning and management in the public sector.

The expert interview had two parts, starting with Arne's experiences with social housing, innovative planning tools and methods used by NIRAS. Then, in the second part, we discussed opportunities and challenges for using photo elicitation within a planning practice.

Arne describes NIRAS' approach to social housing as holistic and focused on a broad involvement of different actors:

I think it's important to be able to cover a wide field, from the bottom part to the top part of an organization and that you can relate to them, talk to them and understand them. [...] You can't just do it isolated for the residents, it is important how they interact with what the rest the organization does and they way they think and work.

Within housing planning, everything that is action-oriented must come "from inside [the actors] hearts and minds" and the consultants from NIRAS are therefore described as "process facilitators".

In relation to photographic methods, Arne mentioned a 'photo marathon' in Vejle, where a photographer supported young people who interviewed residents and then wrote stories about the residents. Photography was used as a way of mapping the area.

Arne outlined how a social housing project is started up. Firstly, there are interviews with as many actors as possible in order to find a common thread and about the challenges of the area. Secondly, these interviews are analyzed to get an idea about a common vision for the area. Thirdly, workshops take place where the visions are distilled further. To do that, different 'vision tools' are used by NIRAS, for example scenarios planning. The main two or three visions that come out of this process are researched with different courses of actions, that can be further split into a mission level, an insert level and a project level. The courses of action are developed and discussed with different methods involving images, material and games.

Visual methods offer for Arne possibilities for a wider involvement. He talked about many different advantages of using visual and game methods since they provide pleasure and positive feedback from the participants. These methods can also provide a framework where some people feel more comfortable to express themselves:

There is a clear identification that it is not something, which his designed for hundred others, but is exactly fit to Sønderparken in Fredericia, and it is exactly their world we try to understand here. [...] It is enormously important that it is their word and [...] their world we are in and it is their way of expressing themselves that they can recognize.

There are two phases within the planning process of a master plan: the planning phase and the execution phase. This distinction is important for Arne in terms of the methods that are possibly applied. He views the planning phase as more structured and controlled because there is "a very concrete outcome that must be achieved". For him, the execution phase is therefore more open to different kinds of methods. Within the planning process, the more prominent actors are "typically the ethnic Danish, middle ages up to the older age group, and typically those who often sit on the [for example housing association] boards". More difficult to involve are, according to Arne, young people and persons of other ethnic background. He sees more possibility for approaching the latter within the execution phase of the planning process.

During the interview, I asked how individuals, rather than groups, are involved within NIRAS' planning projects. According to Arne, the focus on individuals takes part in the execution phase. When seen within the whole planning process,

It is perhaps too great an ambition to have to believe that we can involve everyone within planning, but we should at least make an effort for it. In any case it is important that the executive part is very focused on groups [which are harder to approach for participation and involvement].

During the interview, I described my photo elicitation study and asked Arne for his feedback about the method. His feedback was generally very positive.

We are challenged in many ways to think and re-think. And someone will be truly challenged when you asked them to restore or find pictures of things they like or dislike, or that they are comfortable or worried about. They are better to think in pictures and the camera is indeed a great facilitator to assist in the process of generating the feeling, create the illustration and

then to talk about it, rather then having to tell and articulate it. [...] It is certainly our experience [with similar methods] that they work very well.

Furthermore, Arne mentioned that NIRAS is constantly developing methods. NIRAS tries to not only rely on written data but also to appeal to "many different senses, because this is how we really understand what people think and feel". For Arne, people think, see and perceive in different ways and therefore a broad spectrum of methods is needed to give people the opportunity to be involved. A method like photo elicitation could be a way to do this. However, NIRAS has not had many experiences with methods closely related to photo elicitation, especially not within the participation phase. Photos are mainly used as illustrations for master plans, for example.

Arne mentioned some possible drawbacks about photo elicitation. Firstly, he sees a challenge in finding the balance of giving the participants the proper degree of freedom to express themselves and of having a precise concept and methodological framework. Arne also stated that finding this balance is also important for the game and visual methods NIRAS uses. Therefore, reflection on these various methods is central. Another lesson learned from the game and visual methods is that the situation should be explained to the participants that there are no particular expectations about the outcome. When Arne compared the photo elicitation method with the game methods, he mentioned that the photo elicitation might require more resources in terms of the documentation and the description of the results.

Zooming in on home

7 MOUNTING - CONCLUSIONS

Mounting – In this last chapter, I present the conclusions of this report. In the first section, the findings from the study answer which insights into the creation of a sense of home photo elicitation allow and they are especially revealing for material objects that are placed within the participants' residences. These findings can be interpreted in a way that meaning is given to home through material culture and secondly, that a 'cocooning' effect or privacy is important for mapping the home out. In the second section, the photo elicitation method is evaluated. Further implications of photo elicitation for planning are suggested mostly for questions where certain spatiality is of interest, where meanings are investigated. Furthermore the enhanced accessibility photo elicitation allows for can be interesting to approach under-represented or marginalized groups or persons. Last but not least, planning should be open for a cross-disciplinary learning and methods.

This report has been zooming in on home. The means to zoom in was photo elicitation. Photo elicitation seemed to provide a possibility of 'seeing' and 'telling' about the creation of a sense of home, but possibly also for further sense of place investigations. To conclude, I now aim to answer the research questions to provide an outline of the main findings.

The first research question was: Which insights into the creation of a sense of home can photo elicitation provide? To answer this research question, the photo elicitation study was developed, applied and the resulting photographic and interview data was analyzed. In general I found that the participants actively engaged in photo elicitation and they did not hesitate in expressing themselves through their photos or in the follow-up interviews. In this way, permitted them to become the photographers of their homes, describing the photographs thoroughly and selecting the three most significant photos step-by-step the three women expressed how they perceived their immediate home. The analysis revealed a 'seeing' and 'telling' about home objects. The women photographed home objects, such as a chair, carpet or lamp and these physical elements. The home objects are, however meaningful to the three women because they relate home feelings and aesthetical preferences as well as social encounters to them. The home objects are all inside their apartments. This could lead to an interpretation that for the three women, privacy or cocooning is an important aspect of their sense of home.

Through engaging with wider ideas of understanding planning as 'traveling between' the lived and the abstract space, by applying photo elicitation I have aimed to allow a 'traveling between' the immediate home or the lived space on one side, and on the abstract sense of home on the other side. The core of such a gerundic planning approach according to Perry (2003) is an understanding of planning as a spatial practice traveling between abstract and lived space. Adapted for this report, a gerundic approach means focusing on how photo elicitation can allow a travelling between a sense of home and the immediate home. Planning cannot create a sense of home, because a sense of home is created by experiences and meanings people attributes to home. Panning can facilitate the physical element of a sense of home and perhaps also positively contribute to social elements of a sense of home. Nevertheless, all five elements are not entirely in the reach of planners. The social, contextual and abstract elements are embedded in larger society processes. The restricted influence of planning is perhaps clearest in relation to the subjective element, because how and when a person feels at home is subjective. Planning cannot create a sense of home after all. It is oversimplifying to think that planners are able to create good homes that add up to a good city. Nevertheless, investigating how a private sense of place is created, expressed and reflected upon, can create a deeper understanding of what of private sense of place is. Insights can be provided how private a home is for instance. Such insights do not provide a planner with a tool of how to create a good home, but rather a sensitivity and understanding for what a private sense of place can be. Such a sensitivity and understanding could be useful 'provide stages' (Tuan, 1977) for the creation of a sense of home in relation to planning of housing, social aspects of planning and the planning of public places. In other words, such an approach could perhaps increase the potential that people will consider the built environment a significant and meaningful place by creating their own sense of home. Returning to Perry and his understanding of planning as making space, a planner is urged to travel between abstract plans and the lived space.

The second aim is the evaluation of the photo elicitation method considering further sense of place investigations. The second aim is related to the reflection on the applied photo elicitation method and is drawing in theory of visual research as well as sense of place. In order to accomplish these two aims, the report is exploring the second research question: Is photo elicitation a useful method to investigate planning questions related to sense of place?

Photo elicitation can provide planners with a suitable tool to investigate sense of place. Photo elicitation inserts photos in the course of a semi-structured interview to elicit a deeper understanding of the participants' daily practices than word-based interview could do. Drawing on different sources, I have discussed in this report that photo elicitation can provide four possible advantages for sense of place investigations. Firstly, photographs can support communication about the complex matters such as place-meanings. This is possible because of the special ability of photographs to visually convey and break down abstract matters. Planners engaging with photo elicitation might unfold and get a better understanding of the participants' sense of place. Secondly, because photo elicitation allows active participant involvement and self-expression, restrictions of verbal inquiry might be prevailed over. This makes photo elicitation empowering and engaging. In relation to planning this could provide a way to reach out and involve marginalized groups in planning processes, but also to investigate subjective viewpoints. Furthermore, this could increase the collaboration and enhanced participation within a planning process. Thirdly, photo elicitation used within a research project might shift the power relationship towards the researched and thus possibly reduce researcher bias. Fourthly, by using photo elicitation, urban planners obtain the possibility for learning that overarches narrow disciplinary borders and could even allow a certain level of pleasure. Urban planning, to my knowledge, does most frequently work with methods analyzing verbal and statistical data, documents, maps and visualizations. Sociologists and anthropologists frequently applying photographic methodologies could teach planners how to use such a method. Using photo elicitation can mean experimenting with a method that is perhaps not part of the traditional toolbox of urban planners. Photographic research methods within urban planning studies and practice seem to be marginal, even could contribute to investigating complex place-meanings.

Of course, photo elicitation will not become the new urban planning trend. Photographic methods have their limits and disadvantages. The biggest challenge I have faced for this photo elicitation study was not to conduct the study or approach the participants, but rather how to digest the large amount of data and especially how to analyze the photographs. Another challenge was to give the right level of instructions so the participant's had an idea what to photograph without being lead too much. As different researchers have pointed out, collaborative methods such as photo elicitation have to be considered carefully related to ethical questions. However, if urban planners are to be open to new approaches and methods, then this could be one creative and experimental attempt.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Photo elicitation guide session 1

1. Explanation

Initial interview focusing on the questions that the photographs are going to contribute to answering

- Project: Home can be many different places and is different for everyone; in my project I look at the immediate surrounding of home, so where you actually live, and I would like you to take some photos to show me what your home here is to you.
- Introduce photography: you will actually take some photos, with a camera I give you or your own, when I have left (between the two sessions), I will give you some instructions, and then we can talk about the photos in the second session in more depth
- Ethical practicalities: would like to use your photos and what you say (record...). If you wish, you can review it. I will use your first name, if that is ok. How we stay in contact.
- General questions: Age? How long have you lived here (in this flat, in Aalborg, in Denmark)? Where are you from? Why did you move here (family, work, education)? Occupation? Living situation (flat, shared, etc.)? How long do you imagine staying in this place and why?

2. Guidance

- Explain camera (on/off, zoom, button, flash, look at pictures, delete)
- What sort of photographs: you are very free!
- Look at the step 1 (photo shoots instruction paper) questions? (Maybe explain: outside) You will take the photos after I have left.

3. Photo shoots (hand out photo shoots instruction paper) (step 1 for participants)

Take 5–10 photos of your home for each A) to E); this can be a place, an object, persons, etc.

- A) This is typical and specific for my home
- B) This I like most about my home
- C) This I like least about my home
- D) This I like most outside of/surrounding my home
- E) This I like least outside of/surrounding my home

4. After the photo shoots (hand out envelope; step 2 for participants)

- Open envelope and follow the instructions (picking photos and describing)
- I would like to give you one or two days to take the photos and do what is in the envelope, then I will come and pick the camera up / with an usb-stick
- I will also pick up the envelope

5. Next steps:

Picking up photos with usb-stick or camera plus envelope (arrange when and where?)

Session 2: Follow-up interview (will be a bit longer, approx. 45 minutes to an hour) (arrange when; week from 20 to 26. July)

7. Follow-up interview: Discussing the photos in detail. Purpose: clarify what the photos mean.

After the sessions: Interpretation by the researcher and presentation

- 8. Interview material and photographs are then interpreted using conventional social science techniques (e.g. content analysis with key themes)
- 9. Finished research tends to be presented such that the talk about the photos takes precedence over the photos themselves, but there is reproduction of the photos.
- I am looking forward to seeing the photos and then talk about them in session 2!
- Thank you very much for participating. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me via email or phone

Appendix 2 Photo elicitation guide session 2

1. Detailed discussions of the 10 photos

Show the photos you have chosen and how you described them. Discussion of the photos in detail. Clarify what the photos mean. Reflection, careful handling.

Examination of the 10 photos one by one

- Choosing: Why did you take photo?
- Importance and explanation of these special places:
 - What is meaningful about them? What is the importance for...
 - A) This is typical and specific for my home
 - B) This I like most about my home
 - C) This I like least about my home
 - D) This I like most outside of/surrounding my home
 - E) This I like least outside of/surrounding my home
 - Explain what the objects in the photograph mean
 - What is the main content of the picture?
 - What is the photo showing / representing?
 - What may be missing to understand the special place
- How does the photo show your home (or not show it)?
- Straying from the visual images of the photographs was not considered a problem, and actively encouraged if it elaborated on: connections between participants, home, environment, their (sense of) community/neighbourhood.

From Session 1:

Photos of	Descriptions:
A) This is typical and specific for my home	Title
B) This I like most about my home	Description
C) This I like least about my home	Thoughts, feelings, memories
	Something standing out, central (object, place,

D) This I like most outside of/surrounding my home	person)
E) This I like least outside of/surrounding my home	Something missing
	Something you want to add

2. Further questions about the immediate home

- How would you characterise your flat / home here?
- How would you characterise neighbourhood?
- How do you think your (personal/professional) background influences how you think about what home is to you?
- Life in the community/neighbourhood (e.g., how would you describe your sense of belonging to this community/neighbourhood? What feels 'like home' to you? What are some of the negative aspects of living here?)
- How can what you like least about your home and about the outside be improved?
- How important is the outside of / surrounding of your immediate home?
- How connected do you feel to your 'outside', to the part of the city you live in (Aalborg Øst)? How are you influenced by a bad image of a part of town like for example Aalborg Øst? How could the municipality improve the image?
- How connected do you feel to your environment, community/neighbourhood (sense of community/neighbourhood, place attachment for new in-migrants)
 - "Most attach" them to their community/neighbourhood,
 - That "mean the most" to them.
 - Or that they would "miss most if they were to move away."
- Do you feel settled here? What makes you feel settled? What doesn't? Or is it a temporary state for you to live here (going back, moving to another part of town, another city)? What do you miss?
- What influence do you think the design of housing here has on how 'at home' people/you feel?
- If you think about what you mostly do when you are at home, what would that be? How do you use your home?
- How has your home changed? How involved were you in the change?

3. Broader questions about home

We have talked about the immediate home (here) so far. Now I would like you to think a bit broader about home and ask you some questions about that.

- · After everything we've talked about, what would you say home is, for you?
- Do you think that your views on what home is have changed over time?
 - If so, in what way?
 - If not, why do you think this is?
- Can you think of a specific time or event that challenged your view of what home is?
- What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think what is home for you?
- Where is your home? Is home one specific place for me, or several places? Is it changing?
- You have already answered it a bit, but I would like you to choose five answers here to what your home is (Handout 2)

- My room
- My apartment
- My neighbourhood: Aalborg Midtby
- My city: Aalborg
- My region: North Jutland
- The country I live in: Denmark
- Europe
- The world
- A certain landscape
- The country I come from: Brazil
- The city I come from
- The region I come from
- The house/apartment where I grew up
- Where my family comes from, where my family roots are (historically, culturally)
- Where I relax, sleep and eat
- Where I have my belongings and things
- Where I feel at home, where I feel comfortable
- Where I am on my own and have my private space
- Where I can personalise place so it becomes my own home
- Where my partner is
- Where my family is, where my parents are
- Where I choose to be and what I make my home
- Something else:
- What makes home important to you?
- When do you feel at home?
- · When do you feel not at home?
- How would your ideal home be?
- How does one create 'home'? How do you create your home?
- Instant-interpretation of photos and descriptions: Which of the 5 home aspects (physical, emotional, reproductive, embedded, abstract) were mentioned most often?
- Which are the important topics about home?

Home, integration and urban planning

- Do you think it is important to feel at home where you live?
- · What does help you feel at home in a new place?
- What could the municipality change so you feel more at home?
- How can the municipality improve the situation so that people that move new here feel at home? To make people feel at home fast?
- Do you feel integrated in your neighbourhood? In your surrounding area? In Aalborg? In Denmark? What does make you feel integrated? What not? How could this be improved?

4. Feedback about the method: Photo elicitation

• From Session 1:

How was it to take the photos? Did you find it easy? Were there some difficulties?

How was it to describe the photos? Did you find it easy? Were there some difficulties?

- How did you choose the two photos for A to E?
- Did you learn something? Was there something surprising/unexpected/funny...?

5. Final part: Summarize, pick 3 photos

- Is there anything you would like to add, about home, about photos?
- In the final segment of the interview, participants' viewpoints were summarized by the interviewer and checked to ensure that the meanings were accurate.
- As part of the final segment, participants were asked to identify three photographs that best represented their special places and to explain their choices in more detail.

Next steps

- Eventually photo manipulation; colouring the important aspects if they are apparent on the photo
- Next steps: Interpretation and analysis by the researcher, display and returning pictures and findings

Thank you!

Appendix 3 Detailed analysis of the nine photographs

Taru's background: Taru is a 30-year old urban planning student from Tampere in Finland. She has been living in the flat for almost a year, and has been in Aalborg for almost three years because of her university education. Taru is living on her own in a studio flat for students, which is located close to the university buildings. She will soon finish her education and plans on moving to Sweden afterwards.

Presenting Taru's selected photos and description



Taru's description:

"These are the Mumin mugs that are very typical for my home, because I'm from Finland myself and that's a Finish design, the Mumins. I just like them a lot. Every time a go to Finland, I buy a mug, most of the time. That just reminds me of Finland."

Photo 19: Mumin mugs (Photographer: Taru)

For Taru, photo 1 shows the mugs as typical Finish objects she is proud to present. Taru mentions her preferences for aesthetic and design objects in general and for Finish tableware in particular. The images on the mugs remind her of of watching Mumin cartoons as a child. Related to the mugs, Taru mentions their practical use in the sense that they are easy movable objects. This is important for Taru, because she became accustomed to moving from one country or one apartment to another and making herself feel at home in a new place. From Taru's description of the photo, it can be deduced that the physical and the subjective sense of home element are of importance. The physical element is reflected in the mugs as home objects that are easy movable. The subjective element can be related to Taru's taste preference for Finish design and her childhood memories.



Taru's description:

"It is typical for my home, because, well it's yellow. [...]. I like bright colors and as you can see in my home I have quite bright colors, yellow and green and orange. I like it, and I also like this kind of old style. It is an old style lamp. And I think my mum bought it actually when she was my age, so that also reminds me about my mum. It is nice that she had it when she had my age and now I have it. [The] mirror is orange and blue, also bright colors. And also it is very special to me because a friend of mine made it for me in Iceland. The colors also remind me of Iceland, blue and orange, like ice and fire. And then the drawer, I just got it from Denmark, it is kind of old design, not really bright color, it is brown, and I still like it a lot."

Photo 20: Yellow lamp (Photographer: Taru)

Explaining photo 2, Taru expressed her taste preferrence for 'bright colors' and relates the colors of the mirror frame to a country where she has lived before. Furthemore, Taru likes the Danish design of the drawer. The lamp and the mirror were gifts from her family and friends and remind her of them. These descriptions of the photos can be related to the subjective elment of home shown by her taste preferences and the social element related to her family and friends.



Taru's description:

"I like it because sewing is my new hobby. I got a sewing machine, which is not on the picture, from my boss three years ago, and I just tried to sew, to do things. Then I found this box in a second hand shop. It is also kind of old, which I like; it is like the drawer, the same color. So I just bought it and I have all my sewing stuff in there. [...] This is something I can do with my own hands, something I can create. [...] And also it reminds me of... I haven't done this before. It reminds about the things I can do things that I haven't done before. [...] It's relaxing; it is kind of a meditation for you. You get your thoughts somewhere else and then you just feel relaxed when you do something with your hands. And then you also see what you have done, when you make some gloves or I just made a bag to myself, you can see the analysis. At the university you don't really see the analysis right away."

Photo 21: Sewing box (Photographer: Taru)

For Taru, photo 3 shows her preference for a certain 'old' style of objects that she likes and collects. The sewing box because it reminds her of how important it is to have a hobby where she can do something with her "own hands", which is relaxing for her. Furthermore, she got the sewing machine from her former boss. The sewing box indicates the activity of sewing, which is a hobby for Taru; something she separates from her daily work at university. The subjective home element can thus be related to the relaxing feeling she relates to doing a hobby.

Analyzing Taru's interview

From the interview and also from the photographs that Taru took, it becomes obvious that Taru's attachment to favorite home objects play an important role for her to feel at home. When linking this back to the aspects of the immediate home, this means that is connecting the physical and the subjective aspect of home with her attachment to material objects. This means that Taru connects to the objects and belongings in her apartment. The home objects of importance are design objects from her home country, collected objects and furniture as well as presents from her friends and family. Taru states that she gets attached to those objects.

Home is basically everything I own [...]. It doesn't depend on the place, because I can make home in different locations, because I can always take my stuff with me and then my home is there. [...] When I move, I take all my stuff with me. So I take my home with me, basically.

However, Taru has also experienced situations where she wasn't able to have her belongings with her. In those cases she improvised and personalized the place to create a 'nice and cozy' atmosphere:

I have also been in situations living in countries where I haven't had my stuff with me, [...] but still it felt like home because I made it my home. I made it nice, with flowers or stones or something like that, something that looks nice. [...] I think the personalizing, that's probably the most important thing you can do.

This creation of an atmosphere can be linked to the physical home aspect as well as to the subjective, since it includes certain decorative objects that create a homey feeling for Taru. She is living in a temporary student flat and feels settled there, because it is a relatively long time for her to stay for two years in one flat.

I have been moving so much in my life, now I am finally somewhere for two years. Although I'm not really keen to this area, I still like to live here, because it is my home, I just want to stay here. But I don't mind moving either.

From the list with diverse possibilities what home can be, Taru picked: where she feels at home, has her private space, is able to personalize her space, where she chooses to be and her apartment. Her primary choices from those five are where she feels at home and where she can personalize her space. When confronted why she didn't pick Finland as one of the possibilities for her home, Taru says: "That is my old home; it is just where I come from. I think it is more important where I am at the moment." The home making is up to the individual in Taru's understanding and cannot be supported strongly by the municipality with language courses and international activities. To summarize, Taru's sense of home is related to favorite home objects, to the feeling of coziness and relaxation, to the place where she lives at the moment, and to social embeddings.

5.1.2 Photo elicitation with Ana

Ana's background: Ana is a 26-year old PHD management student from Belu Horizonte in Brazil. She has been living in Aalborg for three years and came here because of her education. Since a bit over two years, she has been living in this flat with her Danish partner and they intend to stay there until at least her PHD is finished. The flat is located in central Aalborg.

Presenting Ana's selected photos and description



Ana's description:

"[The] picture portrays the chair in my office. And I chose it because it is definitely one of my favorite places at home. My office is my home, so to speak. It functions also as a guest room. I like very much to sit in this chair. I could work there but I fall asleep [laughs]. So I use it more for relaxation and I like reading books there, sometimes I am just surfing in the internet, and reading news from Brazil [...]. I chose the picture because it gives me the sense of comfort, of really being at home, where you can relax, you don't have to think about work... you don't have to necessarily behave according to a specific way or according to expectations of somebody. You don't have this professional thing, so it's a place where you can really relax and do your favorite things. [...] A home should represent exactly these things [...]: pleasure, relaxation, being yourself. [...] It gives you exactly the notion that is home for me. [...] Comfort, privacy, relaxation, being yourself, having your space. So I think [the picture] summarizes what I think when I think about home."

Photo 22: Being comfortable at home (Photographer: Ana)

By saying "my office is my home" Ana identifies with the office shown in photo 4 as a home place. She identifies especially with the chair because it was a family present Ana relates feelings like comfort and pleasure. Other related feelings are that she can be herself and have her own space and privacy. She mentiones that leisure activities such as reading, surfing the internet and general relaxation take place there. These descriptions of the photos can be related to the subjective elment of home revealed as relaxation and being herself, but also the social element related to receiving the chair as a gift.



Ana's description:

"The first picture is the white floor. I took it because I think it represents my home a lot. First of all it is old wooden floor, which has no varnish. It shows that it is an old apartment and it also shows that we don't have a lot of furniture. [...] We like to see the floor; we like to have this space, so in that sense I think it is very typical. It shows also the predominance of the white color, because the floor has this white or light brown color and then you can see the walls a bit, so it also starts to give this impression. And I think it is a comment that I get very often, [...] that the house is very empty and minimalistic and not a lot of things together. And I have to say it is very much the style of my boyfriend. [Laughs] [...] I think that this picture gives the sense of space, of air, of freedom, of having space, which is not very packed and very full of things. I think in a way it is more relaxing. And I also wrote privacy, because of this thing... having the room of being yourself and having your privacy, where you can breathe, which I think is nice. I think also it's quite typical of Denmark, this type of floors. Because in Brazil we never have it unvarnished like this, it is also much harder keep. And probably also because of the dark winters that you maybe like to have more light inside, in contrast to countries where there is a lot of sun and very warm, then you don't have the same need."

Photo 23: The white roomy floor (Photographer: Ana)

By describing photo 5, Ana compares Danish and Brazilian apartment floors. She makes an assumption that the different varnish is related to the different climate zones of the countries and the need of having light within an apartment. Ana mentions the preferences for rather minimalistic decoration and a spacious atmosphere with little but carefully selected furniture. Ana relates the following feelings to the photographed floor: freedom, having air and space, relaxation, privacy and being herself Ana mentions that the preferences for minimalistic interior design were initially stemming from her partner but that she eventually adapted. With such a list, Ana names different forms of the subjective element of home. Also the tast preferences can be related to the subjective element.



Ana's description:

"That is a picture of the walking street, the centre of Aalborg. As you can see it's full of people, it was also taken on a summer day. I like it very much to live in the centre, I like this contact with people, and I like actually when the street is full of people, contrary to most Danes, I think. And I like the surrounding; I like to live in the centre. I like the easy access to the shops, to the commercial houses, to concerts and that we have people close by in a way... because the town is small, and I live so central makes life easy in the sense that [it] is very rare that I would have to go outside. [...]. So everything is so close, so in that sense that makes life easy. Because you don't need a car, you don't even need a bike, you don't need traffic, and you don't spend so much time doing things. [...] It gives me the feeling of fun, [...] amusement and it gives me more energy, to have more people... if it is very empty and quite I think it is like... I want to sleep. Then it is boring.

[The Danish flags are] something very typical of here. First of all, the pedestrian street is very typical Danish and I think this thing with the flags, they always have the flags there, it is also quite typical. I think that you can localize very well where you are in the world. But it could also be any other Danish town. But you know that you are in Denmark."

Photo 24: The lively surroundings of my home (Photographer: Ana)

Photo 6 is the only one of the nine that cannot be grouped into the physical element of a sense of home in the initial step of the analysis. However, since Ana describes 'the lively surroundings of her home' a physical element of the home can also be found after all. Ana uses the pedestrian street herself "very often, probably on average twice a week", for shopping, walking around and managing administrative tasks. She uses the surrounding of her immediate home because of the easy access to shops, culture and other practical places (post, doctor, gym, etc.). Having everything in close proximity means that she is able to walk and not use a car and that "makes life easy". For Ana, the pedestrian street represents a site of a typical Danish town center that she likes. She states that she has a preference for the pedestrian street unlike an 'average Dane': "Maybe a little bit different front an average Dane, I like these things. I think an average Dane puts more weight on other things." Ana identifies with the lively town center and the contact with people and also states that this is "contrary to most Danes". She relates feelings such as fun, amusement, energy and liveliness to the place she photographed. Ana perceives the pedestrian street as a public space. The pedestrian street with the Danish flags is typical for her for a Danish town center Interactions with other people ("having people

close by") is something Ana likes. This photo is an exception in two ways: it was not initially grouped together with the other eight photos as showing a physical home element. With Ana's description however, the physical element can also be related to this photo. For Ana, it is a personal preference she presents by taking this photo and she describes feelings such as inspiring, engergy to it. Therefore, the subjective element plays also into this photo.

Analyzing Ana's interview

Ana has a clear idea about the preferences for the minimalistic interior design that she and her boyfriend like, with selected inherited or design objects. This design is special "because we prioritize probably the beauty instead of the practicality of things." Home is clearly within the apartment for Ana, and not in the surrounding are, although she is fond of living in the central part of Aalborg. She states that this could perhaps change when they would live in a more residential area. Ana feels settled, although the couple has the idea to move to a less central area with a garden in one or two years. For Ana, home is closely connected to feeling comfortable, having privacy and family around you.

A little world where [...] you can also isolate a little bit from outside. [...] You get a little bit out of these major concerns. [...] And then if you then think a little bit about your own life and your own things and take care of these things it is in a way a mechanism of protection. A protected environment where you can be yourself, you can feel relaxed and you can have your privacy.

This feeling of comfort and privacy in relation to feeling at home has developed for Ana with time and with the phase of life she is in. From the list with different possibilities what home can be, Ana picked: the apartment, where her family comes from, where she has your belongings, where she is able to personalize, and where she chooses to be. The latter is the strongest for Ana because she has experienced living in different places and explains that she is "not so geographically attached" and has therefore the ability to "make home somewhere".

For making her feel at home, it is important for Ana to have some personal belongings with her, even if they are restricted to small things because of the travelling. However, she also mentions that it is easier to make herself feel at home now that she lives in a place more permanently, because she is then able to decorate and buy things. Ana also mentions that it takes time to feel at home in a certain place, because of the social networks and the language.

The people that you are surrounded by are very, very important. That's where you can feel comfortable. For me this family life was important. And the language, if you don't speak the language of the place, it gives you a distance to things.

When I asked Ana, how the municipality could support a woman from Brazil arriving in Aalborg to feel at home, she mentions language courses and in her own case, being an international student was an easy way to become integrated. Furthermore international forums and events could be a way to create a sense of belonging:

If you feel that you are in a [...] more international environment, although it doesn't mean that you are not integrating into the local culture, I think that this creates a sense of belonging. Because even tough you can speak Danish, [...] if you are in a more international environment, the sense of belonging is greater.

5.1.3 Photo elicitation with Eva

Eva's background: Eva is a 20-year old business student from Budapest in Hungary. She came to Denmark four years ago because of her Danish partner. The couple is sharing a student-flat located close to the university since two years. Both will finish their education next year and intend to move to a bigger flat then.

Presenting Eva's selected photos and description



Eva's description:

"This are the two paintings in the apartment, this is really typical. We got it from London, with my boyfriend. It brings some special feelings, because of all the hassle of bringing it from London. Because you couldn't make it small, we had to bring it like this through the airport. It is very specific. Something standing out or missing, this is hard to tell. I like the big mirror."

Photo 25: Black and white (Photographer: Eva)

In the interview Eva explains that the posters shown in photo 7 are images from the movie "Kill Bill" from Quentin Tarantino (released in 2003 and 2004), which could be understood as a cult movie for Eva's generation Eva relates the two paintings to the story of how they were purchased and transported and relates the objects to her partner, because they purchased the paintings together. Eva expresses with her taste preferences and the story how she and her partner purchased the posters the subjective and social home element.



Eva's description:

"I like this area of the room, with the carpet. I chose this, I like it because it matches the color of the chairs, and what feelings it brings. Well, all the hard vacuum cleaning [laughs], because it always gets dirty because everybody comes from the outside in the apartment, and we are always fighting who has to clean it. What stands out, maybe the red color."

Photo 26: The red carpet (Photographer: Eva)

For photo 8, Eva mentions aesthetic color preferences and how the carpet fits to the rest of the apartment. Eva relates the feelings of entering the apartment to the photograph. The carpet has a practical use, because it is placed right next to the entrance door. Eva relates also the household activity of vacuuming the carpet to the photograph and keeping it clean. According to these descriptions, a subjective and social element can be revealed.



Eva's description:

"That is the sofa and the computer, it is really typical, and those paintings. The things I like most are the two pillows because they match with the black, the dominant color in the apartment. It brings up the moment of evening dinners together, sitting on the sofa, watching TV. And it took us quite a long time to find this black cover for the bed, so now we really like it. And what is missing, maybe some decorations, for example flowers on the table."

Photo 27: The sofa (Photographer: Eva)

Cultural consumption: Taste preferences: Eva mentions the aesthetic preferences for the colors of the pillows and the bedcover Social status: The sofa-bed can be seen as an indicator for use of the narrow space the student couple share Identification with the object: Eva relates moments that she spends there with her partner, eating dinner and relaxing to the objects She also remembers the process of finding the right cover for the sofa-bed Use of the object indicate: The sofa is used for relaxation and watching TV The object is a sofa-bed and serves therefore also as a bed for guests

Analyzing Eva's interview

The flat that Eva is living in with her boyfriend is temporary for them, because it is too small for two persons. However, for the time they are both studying, they will stay there. Eva expresses that they miss having more space: "[We miss] the space, the kitchen, a big bedroom and a nice living room, or dining room. Maybe a separate garden, where it' only ours." Even tough this is a temporary situation for the couple, Eva states that it is still important to feel comfortable how you live and you still "have to put effort in it". By that she means mainly arranging the furniture and decorating the flat so it is cozy:

Put some paintings on the wall, some candles, some boxes, some decorations, maybe new furniture, different colors, maybe a rug with different colors.

The first thing that Eva mentions about home is family. Since her parents have moved from Hungary to Sweden, she refers to the house where she grew up in Hungary as her 'home home', where the family still meets twice a year.

My 'home home' is in Hungary, where we meet [...] for Easter and Christmas [...]. Now [the home] is more the small apartment.

She states that she is having three or four separate homes and likes the idea of having multiple homes. However, she relates different feelings to the different homes. In Hungary, she feels rooted and comfortable to speak her own language. The house where she grew up bears memories related to family events. The apartment in Aalborg is important to Eva mostly, because she connects the apartment to where her partner is. And in Sweden, where her parents live now is more connected to feelings "like a holiday house".

Appendix 4 Pilot guide

Pilot 25. June 2009

What role do "senses of home" play in an urban context? (Focus on concept of home) OR Is photography a useful method to investigate sense of home in an urban context? (Focus on method development)

- 10. Initial interview focusing on the questions that the photographs are going to contribute to answering.
 - Session 1: Explaining project, introducing photography
 - <u>Project:</u> Home and how home is different for every person; the meanings and feelings we have about home; master thesis in urban planning
 - <u>Introduce photography:</u> you will actually take some photos, with a camera I give you or your own, and then we can talk about the photos in the second session
 - I do not want to explain too much in the beginning, let's start!
 - Ethical form: sign form. I will mail you what I write to review. If you do not agree with something and / or want to withdraw it, you always can. I will use your name?
 - <u>Postcards:</u> I have here different postcards of Aalborg and Denmark. Which postcard would you choose and send to your relatives abroad, who have never been here? Why? What does the postcard express? What kind of feeling?
 - <u>5 minutes exercise:</u> Before we continue I would like you to do a little exercise I will go outside and be back in 10 Minutes. I would like you to think about what 'home' is for you. What makes it home important to you? When do I feel at home?
 - Take some notes if there are certain words that come up. Maybe it is also an image that you have in front of your inner eye or a song or a

smell or something else. Describe it in a few words of if you like, drawing it.

- Ok, so can you tell me what you thought about, what is your home? What makes it important?
- Which feelings do you connect to being at home? What is it that makes you feel at home?
- How important is 'home' for you? What meaning do you give home?
- What do you do/need to feel at home?
- What is the opposite, what makes you feel not at home or welcome?
- Is home a specific place for you? If yes: where? Will it always be there? Or is it changing?
- If no: Is it several different places? What makes home then important in these different places? Or is maybe the place itself not important but something else?
- (Othering. Sense of place establishes differences between one group and another. Where you belong through a contrast with other places. Who you are in contrast with other people).
- Can you say where you belong and where you do not belong?
- Can you say who you are through a contrast with other people?
- What I would ask you to do with the photography is trying to 'visualise' now what you have described about what is important for your home.

We have now talked about postcards. Now imagine that you could have a postcard of your home. How would that look like? Could you try and make some pictures of it?

- Then, when you have thought a bit about these questions, I would like you to try and take a photo of it. Maybe this is not possible, but then do write it down or draw it maybe.
- Can you give me the picture of what home is for you? What represents home for you?
- 5 to 10 photos
- Having people think about 'home' broader, before they take the photos.
- Photo of your most favourite place/item at home/ what you like most. Photo of your least favourite place/item at home /what you like least (how to change it?).
- General questions: Age? How long have you lived here (in Aalborg, in Denmark)? Where are you from? Why did you move here (family, work, education)? Occupation? Living situation (flat, shared, etc.)?
- 11. Give the camera, some guidance (what sort of photographs, how many) or the researcher decides which photos to take, based on the first step.
- 12. Photos are deeloped and interviewees may be asked to write soemthing about the photos before they meet the researcher again. For example: A sheet that asks for a title and a description of each photo, and the thoughts and feelings each photo evoked (thereby: reflection)

- 13. Follow-up interview: Discussing the photos in detail. Purpose: clarify what the photos mean.
- 14. Interview material and phtographs are then interpreted using conventional social science techniques (e.g. content analysis with key themes)
- 15. Finished research tends to be presented such that the talk about the photos takes precedence over the photos themselves, but there is reproduction of the photos.

List of what home can be:

- Physical aspect: Where is your home? How big, how much space (an object, a room, a flat/house, a neighbourhood, a city/town, a country, a continent, the world)? How stable? How personalised (possibility for material homely expression)? Is my home here in Aalborg or somewhere else?
- Reproductive: What do I do at home? How practical is my home for what I do at home?
 How close is my home to other places such as work, shopping, leisure, and other family?
- Emotional: When do I feel at home? What do I need to feel at home? When do I feel welcome in somebody else's home? Is home something very personal for me or is it more shared with other persons? Do I have one home or several homes? Does it take a lot for me to feel at home?
- Social: Are the persons I live with the most important thing about my home?

Session 2: Follow-up: Talking about the photos

- Embedded: What is the ideal social, cultural, economical, historical context for my home? Constraints? how does my home fit into my neighbourhood...who lives in my home, is my home defined by the people in it.....
- Abstract: What is my ideal home? What is the difference between this ideal and the real home have right now? Do I make my home or is it given? Does every person need a home; is it essential for being human?
- On which spatial scale is your home: Is it a domestic space (house, apartment), local (Aalborg), regional (north Jutland), a landscape, a country (Denmark, your homeland), a continent (Europe), global; or an abstract scale. Or is it a combination? Or even something else?

Contrast home, belonging and away, being a stranger, just moved

Link to urban planning... What would help you feel at home in a new place?

Talking about the methodology: What was difficult? Did you get something out of it?

What will happen now?

What do you see in this photo? What not?

First steps of interpretation and analysing. Which are the important topics about the emotional and physical aspects of home?

Furthermore, the practitioner has to be aware and keep in mind, that photographs are open to a range of interpretations (Schwartz and Ryan, 2003, p. 7) and always have to be understood embedded in changing, social contexts. How to grasp these contexts? Answer: getting some information with the follow-up interview.

How to introduce the participants to the research idea and what they should take the photographs of without influencing too much (researcher bias)? Answer: iterative research process, reflections, triangulation, careful handling.

How to make generalisations? And how to make the link to urban planning? Using my method in urban planning?

What could the municipality change so you feel more at home? To make people feel at home fast?

Eventually another photo shoot or photo manipulation; if the aspects could be shown better after the iterative process; photo manipulation: colouring the important aspects if they are apparent on the photo

Next steps: Interpretation and analysis by the researcher, display and returning pictures and findings

- How did you come to live in the place they are living right now?
- Do you feel settled here? What makes you feel settled? What doesn't?
- Or is it a temporary state for you to live here (going back, moving to another part of town, another city)?
- What do you miss?
- How are you influenced by a bad image of a part of town like for example Aalborg Øst?
 How could the municipality improve the image?
- How can urban planning improved the situation for immigrants so that they feel at home?
- How would you call yourself: nydansker, immigrant, indvandrer, anden generation...
 Explain why? Why not the others?
- How do you differ from Danes? Language...
- Do you feel integrated in your neighbourhood? In your surrounding area? In Aalborg? In Denmark? What does make you feel integrated? What not? How could this be improved?
- Give an example of urban planning. Do you think you could participate, how? Why not?

Appendix 5 Reflections from the pilot study

Structure of the interview / photographing	Outcomes from the participant during/after the pilot	Notes for further research and development of the method, notes about how it went
Initial interview focusing on the questions that the photographs are going to contribute to answering (first session). Then photo take and first interpretation. Afterwards follow-up interview with participants (second session). After that further analysing, and 'returning'.		
Project: Home and how home is different for every person; the meanings and feelings we have about home; master thesis in urban planning		
Pilot: I am especially interested in the methodology, how many instructions do I have to give with the photography? I will not use the data to analyse further. Only 'session 1'.		
Introduce photography: you will actually take some photos, with a camera I give you or your own, and		

then we can talk about the photos in the second session		
There will be an ethical form, but there is not for the pilot		
I do not want to explain too much in the beginning, let's start!		
Postcards: I have here different postcards of Aalborg and Denmark. Which postcard would you choose and send to your relatives abroad, who have never been here? Why? What does the postcard express? What kind of feeling?	Participant was considering two postcards at first: the double scenic and the one with the four pictures. Then she chose the double scenic. She chooses them because it shows Aalborg, is pretty and different to other places.	Improve the link from the postcard exercise to the next steps. Other postcards, not 'just Aalborg', also Denmark.
5 minutes exercise: Before we continue I would like you to do a little exercise I will go outside and be back in 5 Minutes. I would like you to think about what 'home' is for you. Hand the paper out, and a pen. Think about these questions and take some notes. Maybe it is an image that you have in front of your inner eye, or a song or a smell or something else. Describe it in a few words and if you like, draw it. - What is home for me? - Is home one specific place for me, or several places? Where is my home? - What makes home important to me? - When do I feel at home?	This is so interactive!	What do I do in that time? Feels a bit strange to hang around in the kitchen. Maybe go outside? Take a watch with me! 5 minutes was too short -> giving it 10 minutes. Also: I did not read out what was on the paper, do that next time.
5 minutes exercise outcome	 Home is family, mum, where I grew up. House with garden. Childhood home, parcelhus in a modern area, other kids. I can always go back there, parents do still live there, the place I always go back to. Nevertheless it is almost 'over', not the same, childhood memories. Northern Ireland, memories, old friends, familiar, even thought I might not fit in anymore, more specifically: the town I come from Feelings: comfortable, secure, welcoming, homey, nice Other homes I feel comfortable when they are the way I grew up (house, garden) Aalborg: where I am now, since 3 years, job, apartment, and relationship. 	I asked if the first home described, the childhood home, if that could be described as a feeling of belonging. Yes. How much should I interact here? I also said: that is obviously a lot of different places!

	 My apartment here in Aalborg: simple, do what I want, be myself, comfortable, home now Kollegium I lived before in Aalborg: not so much at home, too little space, none of the furniture was mine (contrast to my apartment: here I have my things), felt like 'just visiting' 	
We have now talked about postcards and about your different homes. Now imagine that you make a postcard of your home. How would that look like? Could you try and make ca. 10 photographs of it?		
	Photo 1: Kitchen - Making food, baking, cooking, having people around, appreciate that more than in the last flat, nice to have it (feeling) - Childhood home: used to being there a lot, sitting and doing homework, big kitchen Photo 2: Bed - Cosy, relax, sleep Photo 3: Own things (books and sheep) - A lot of books, own things around me, mine, space, see it Photo 4: Comfortable chair - In the evening, TV, reading, drinking coffee, made a difference when I got it, relax	Photo 1: I asked: what feeling (was a bit difficult, she answered nice to have); and how the kitchen was in the childhood home
General feedback: what was good, what was difficult?	 Maybe more then 5 minutes for the exercise. There was a lot coming to my mind, even more when we talked about it Feelings are hard and easy to talk about, no right or wrong Taking photos: first she thought that it could be difficult, but then it was actually not that hard Postcards: Feedback: This was an interesting exercise. Improve the link to the further steps. Maybe talking a bit about Aalborg, because that is on the pictures. Going outside? Depending on what we talked about before. 	 10 Minutes for the exercise Photos: How to stimulate but not lead too much? Relate to the outcomes from the 10-minute exercise? Or just say: home can be anything, think very broad and creative, visual? Rather not advise people to go outside to take photos. Just try with the photos! How to really use the postcards for the further steps.

Appendix 6 Expert interview guide

Expert interview med Arne Juul, 24.8.09, NIRAS Konsulenterne Århus

Det boligsociale område

- Kan du kort beskrive hvilke erfaringer du har med det boligsociale område og hvad det handler om (aktører, mål)?
- Hvilke værktøjer og metoder anvendes? Hvad er "nytænkende metoder til at skabe helhed i sociale og fysiske forandringsprocesser" (fra hjemmesiden)? (Vi har udarbejdet fysiske og sociale helhedsplaner, trivselsundersøgelser, uderums-planer og flyttemønsteranalyser for de enkelte boligforeninger og større evalueringsopgaver på tværs af sektoren)
- Hvad menes der med "yde hjælp til selvhjælp og styrke den samlede kapital af ressourcer" (fra hjemmesiden)?
- Hvordan undersøger i individuelle interesser og behov af beboer?
- Hvordan involverer i beboerne?
- Hvordan hænger det boligsociale område og immigration/integrations opgaver sammen?
- Hvordan undersøger i immigranternes behov og involverer dem?

Muligheder for foto elicitation metoden indenfor planlægning

Forklaring af foto elicitation metode: en metode hvor man bruger fotos sammen med et semistruktureret interview

Forklaring af foto elicitation i mit projekt: deltagerne (indvandre kvinder) tager fotos af deres hjem og området. Sammen med et interview forklarer de hvorfor de tog de respektive fotos og hvad de betyder for dem. Vi taler om betydningerne af hjem. Målet er at vurderer hvordan de se deres hjem her I Danmark og danne forståelse for hvad det tager for dem til at føle sig hjemme. Det handler også om, hvor privat hjem er. Fotos og interview data bliver analyseret for at undersøge hvordan de "ser" deres hjem her i Danmark og for at forstår deres behov for bolig.

Argumentation for at bruge foto elicitation for byplanlægnings opgaver:

- 1. For at undersøge abstrakte planlægningsrelevante koncepter (fx. kan foto elicitation give muligheder for at se og tale om "sense of place"), fordi fotos kan simplificere og visualisere dem (relevant for fx akademiske undersøgelser der inddrager erfaringer fra almene borgere)
- 2. For at undersøge og forstå individuelle behov, da man med fotos kan man udtrykke og kommunikere på et andet niveau end kun med ord (relevant fx. i en udviklingsfase af et planlægningsprojekt)
- 3. For at skabe en bedre tilgang og muligheder for forståelse af befolkningsgrupper, som er underrepræsenterede eller marginaliserede eller på anden måde svære at nå gennem traditionelle planlægningsprocesser (relevant fx. for borgerinddragelse og samarbejde); kan forandre forholdet mellem undersøger og undersøgte
- 4. For at afprøve en ny metode og lære fra andre akademiske discipliner (sociologi, antropologi)

Kan du give mig lidt feedback til disse fire punkter?

Hvordan kan man ellers (med hvilke metoder) undersøge abstrakte koncepter; individuelle behov; skabe tilgang til marginaliserede grupper?

Kan du se mulighederne for at bruge foto elicitation i det boligsociale område / for planlægningsopgaver generelt?

Hvordan? Hvor ser du problemerne med metoden?

Appendices 7- 11 on CD:

Appendix 7 Photo elicitation handoutsAppendix 8 Photo elicitation study transcripts session 1Appendix 9 Photo elicitation study transcripts session 2

Appendix 10 Expert interview transcript

Appendix 11 Photos from the study (digital)