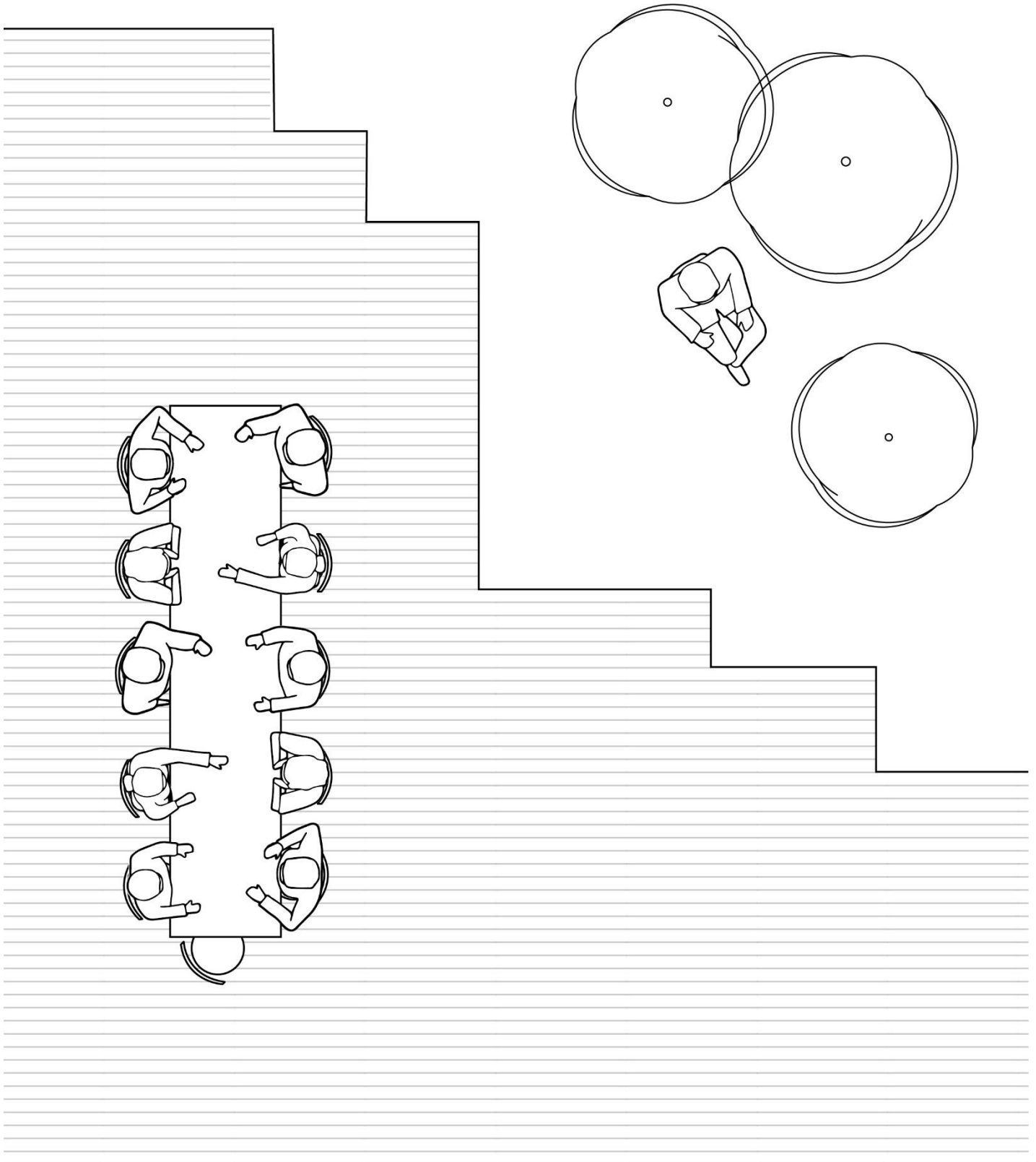


THE SEMI-PUBLICNESS OF THE CITY

A STUDY OF PRIVATE/PUBLIC INTERFACES IN OPEN SPACES

Amanda Honoré Højerup
Sustainable Cities
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AALBORG UNIVERSITET
KØBENHAVN

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Dansk resumé

Nærværende kandidatspeciale bidrager med en forståelse af, hvad friarealer og det dertil knyttede begreb *semi-offentlighed* kan bidrage med i fremtidens byudvikling, hvor flere og mindre boliger kommer til og presset på arealer bliver større. Fokus er særligt på det enkelte boligbyggeri og beboernes oplevelse heraf. Jeg definerer friarealet som værende semi-offentligt, når det er designet for beboerne, men samtidigt er tilgængeligt for byens borgere og i højere eller mindre grad en del af det samlede bybillede. Og så arbejder jeg ud fra, at friarealet består af både private og offentlige elementer, der tilsammen er skabere af semi-offentligheden.

Konkret undersøger jeg, hvordan semi-offentlighed kommer til udtryk i to københavnske boligbyggerier, nemlig det almene boligbyggeri *Sundholm Syd* på Amager og de private udlejningsboliger *Charlottehaven* på Østerbro. For at være i stand til at komme semi-offentligheden nærmere og forstå hvordan den udfolder sig, opererer jeg med et analytisk objekt, jeg kalder *interfaces*. *Interfaces* definerer jeg som værende *rumlige grænser og affordances af offentlig og/eller privat adfærd*.

Når jeg går i felten har jeg først og fremmest øje for de fysiske strukturer. Dertil kommer lag af sociale aspekter og processer, som undersøges med henblik på at anerkende sociale og kulturelle fortolknings betydning for, hvordan affordances kan udmønte sig i konflikter mellem privathed og offentlighed, afhængigt af øjnene der ser. For særligt at omfavne det sociale lag af projektet vælger jeg at gøre brug af forskellige feltmetoder, som kendes bedst fra antropologien, navnlig deltagerobservation, kvalitative forskningsinterviews og gå-med-strategien ligesom at jeg benytter mig af metoder som observation af bevægelser og site-writing for at udfolde det fysiske aspekt af det semi-offentlige rum.

I rapporten konkluderes det, at det er vigtigt, at friarealer både indeholder rum af privat og offentlig karakter, men særligt private rum, hvis de skal adskille sig fra det offentlige rum og skabe semi-offentlig kvalitet for dets beboere. I den forbindelse vises det, hvordan afstande spiller en rolle og hvordan visuelle forbindelser mellem private og offentlige rum i nogle situationer skal være stærke og i andre situationer svage, hvis private og offentlige rum skal sameksistere i friarealet. Derudover bringes der en diskussion af, hvor vidt den offentlige adgang til det semi-offentlige rum er en planlægningsutopi eller om friarealerne også kan give værdi for resten af byens borgere.

Preface

This is a master thesis written at the Study Programme *Sustainable Cities* at Aalborg University in Copenhagen. The thesis is written in the period 01-03-2019 to 09-08-2019 and the underlying empirical data has likewise been collected throughout this period.

The thesis concerns itself with the role of open spaces in residential units and thus delves into the semi-publicness of the City. The aim is to contribute to the understanding of open spaces and the value of semi-publicness in future urban development. The thesis considers two specific cases being *Charlottehaven* at Østerbro and *Sundholm Syd* at Amager and several methods within the field of urban studies and anthropology have been applied in order to get behind the scenes of the open spaces.

Interviews are held in Danish and quotes are translated to English in the report. The choice of referencing is Harvard style and a bibliography can be found on page 95. References are outlined throughout the report as: (Author/Publisher, Year).

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my supervisor Marie Stender for useful, thoughtful and deeply motivating conversations throughout the entire project period. Special thanks furthermore go to all informers for opening up for perceptions, understandings and stories about homes, neighbors and open spaces. Lastly, I would like to thank my fellow students for working with me throughout the last five years to complete interesting and challenging projects as well as my thanks go to colleagues, friends, family and everything in between for all your support and engagement in my professional as well as private life.

Chapter 1 Problem Area and Research Question

Smaller Homes and the Role of Open Spaces

This thesis aims to tap into the debate and increasing demand for smaller homes in the city of Copenhagen. The project is concerned with the value of open spaces in housing units and will thus delve into the semi-publicness of the city.

The City of Copenhagen expects 101.600 more citizens to live in Copenhagen by 2030. As a political respond, the City of Copenhagen suggests building 60.000 more homes. (The City of Copenhagen, 2019:13) This expanding demand for housing happens alongside demographic changes. More people are expected to live alone or alone with children as well as the group of elderly people is expected to increase with 60 % from 2019 to 2030 (The City of Copenhagen, 2018:4). This means that the City of Copenhagen does not only need more homes, the city also needs smaller homes to be able to fit the increasing amount of young people, single people, single parents and elderly people. To be able to build smaller homes, the City of Copenhagen suggests withdrawing the existing 95-square-meter rule for 50% of the floor area in new constructions. Thereby it becomes possible to build smaller homes at the minimum size of 50 square meters alongside with 50 % being bound to an average of minimum 95 square meters. (The City of Copenhagen, 2019: 14)

Building homes that fits the number of residents is environmentally more sustainable than building homes that are too large for its residents, since the materials, the construction phase and the energy use decrease. Building for diversity likewise has a positive influence on social and economic sustainability by enabling a lowering of the costs of the homes. There are in other words reasons enough to build smaller homes. However, the increasing demand for housing and demographic changes do not only result in political action, they also call for shifts in existing

developers', architects' and planners' practices. Not only is it necessary to develop new building typologies to fit the demand for smaller homes, it is also necessary to consider and develop the open spaces that in some cases encircle the residential units, provide residents and citizens with green or recreational spaces and become the interface between private and public space.

The proposed Municipal Plan 2019 brings in open spaces as an important factor in securing breathing spaces alongside with the housing expansion:

“We will have to secure that good open spaces and other green spaces of high quality are being developed concurrently with new homes.” (The City of Copenhagen, 2019: 14)

The focus on open spaces is in the Municipal Plan related to the focus on securing breathing spaces, while expanding the amount of housing, and the open spaces are referred to as green spaces. However, an open space is not necessarily a green space. Legally it is a percentage of the site which is undeveloped (kp15.kk.dk, 2015). They can be said to be semi-public, when they are designed primarily for the residents, but accessible for the public as well. They can appear both accessible and connected with the surrounding area or exclusive and isolated from the rest of the city. The open spaces often take shape as country yards, but they can also appear as roof top terraces as well as it is possible to include areas at the plot developed for bikes and walking modes in the total of the open space (kp15.kk.dk, 2015).

The open space percentage is set by the City of Copenhagen and a local plan can regulate the function and provide guide lines, but does in most cases not provide a detailed description of how it is supposed to appear physically¹. The planning practice of open spaces can thus be argued to

¹ The statement is based on screening of 17 local plans from 1980-2018, see section 4.3 for an explanation of the screening.

be vague in contrast to the planning of completely public spaces such as parks, squares etc. where function and physical form is decided in an interplay by decision makers, planners, architects and perhaps citizens. For the open spaces, it is developers' responsibility to form the open space in a way they find appropriate in terms of satisfying the potential local plan, the residents and users of the area. However, it can be argued that a high demand for housing, limits the developers' incentives to make an active effort in developing the open spaces, since a residential unit does not necessarily need a valuable open space in order to be rented or sold.

What exactly is a valuable open space? How does the semi-publicness contribute to urban housing living? Do we need open spaces because we want to meet other people or do we want them to be our extended private living room? To investigate the value or the potential value of open spaces, this project aims to explore the physical interfaces of privacy and publicness in two cases based in Copenhagen: Charlottenehaven at Østerbro and Sundholm Syd at Amager. Two cases representing two very different physical designs, user groups and geographical areas but with one important thing in common; a big and in-depth designed open space. By investigating the physical forms of two urban open spaces and by pursuing the value of the semi-publicness that they result in, the project intends to answer the following research question:

How does semi-publicness of open spaces take place in two residential units in Copenhagen?

To be able to discover the semi-publicness and answer the research question, I have chosen to work with an analytical object that I call *interfaces*, which I also define in the next chapter. Shortly, interfaces can be defined here as *spatial boundaries and affordances of public and/or private behavior*. Two analyses are built upon the hunting for interfaces

and will together answer following sub-question:

What physical interfaces are at play in Sundholm Syd and Charlottenhaven?

To be able to draw a connection between the two cases and find, what makes the semi-publicness valuable in the open spaces, I conduct a transversal analysis answering the following sub-question:

What are the transversal aspects of interfaces to considerate when creating open spaces?

In the end of the thesis, I discuss the conflicts of semi-publicness, and if open spaces can contribute with something that makes it worth working more actively in the future development of the City.

Chapter 2 Central Terms and Theories

This chapter presents the theoretical terms of the project. The terms that are presented here are the terms that dominated my mindset in the field and likewise the choice of terms making it possible to unfold the two different cases from the same perspective. The terms are crucial building blocks in my framing of the analyses of how open spaces takes place in urban housing- and living.

As described in chapter 1, the semi-publicness is one of the fundamental ways that open spaces differ from regular public spaces. The semi-public open spaces are designed with attention toward the residents despite their public accessibility, whereas regular public spaces are designed for the public. To discover how the open spaces function and how the semi-publicness takes place, I choose to look for the *interfaces* of publicness and privacy in the open spaces. Publicness and privacy are the two elements that together create the semi-publicness of open spaces. The idea is that by discovering where they interfere, the limitations and possibilities regarding both aspects will appear.

Interfaces is the analytical object of the thesis and can shortly be defined as *spatial boundaries and affordances of public and/or private behavior*. Examples of physical interfaces of this project are fences, hedges, walls, windows, pathways etc. Although interfaces are predominantly understood as physical entities in this project, they likewise contain social aspects. The social aspects of interfaces are understood as activities, perceptions or social conditions that can contribute to, nuance or become the results of the separations in space. Examples of social aspects are relationships, interests, rules, cultures and communities.

In order to explain why use the term *interfaces*, I draw on different terms, theories and typologies across the fields of urban design and anthropology. This chapter will thus present *Distance Theory*, *Affordance*

Theory and the Urban Interface Typology since all ideas contribute to my understanding and definition of looking for interfaces in physical space.

Publicness, Privacy and Distances in Space

Privacy is in this project understood as spatial facilitation of activities linked to homeliness whereas publicness is understood as urban life outside people's homes. My definition comes from the legal understanding of privacy being inside people's homes or gardens where residents themselves decide who enters, and publicness being the public spaces of the city, meaning squares, parks etc. where everyone has access. This means that privacy is to some extent associated with familiar relations whereas publicness is associated with strangers and broader communities. It is important to state that the definition is set in an urban context and that the project deals with apartment buildings located in the City of Copenhagen. Privacy and publicness in a rural or suburban context would be another case.

My understanding of publicness and privacy is not that one is better than the other, but my goal is to understand how both elements contribute to the semi-publicness and what the open spaces should contain to generate value for its residents. The premise of the project is that physical forms in space can provoke both publicness and privacy. One of the ways publicness and privacy can be designed for is to create certain physical distances provoking either publicness or privacy in space. When I look for an interface, it is often a separator in space, which divides people and activities. When an interface divides space, different distances of spaces appear and afford different behaviors linked to different levels of privacy and publicness. Since distances frame spaces, it is natural to consider *Distance Theory*, which is the idea that specific physical distances provoke specific levels of private and public behavior.

In architectural and spatial theory, the taxonomy of distances, originated in "The hidden dimension" by Edward T. Hall, has been widely used to

analyze and design spaces that facilitate intimate, personal, social and/or public activities depending on specific distances (Hall, 1969). However, the theory originates in 1969 and can be argued to be narrow due to its universal view on humanity and due to the fact that it does not consider cultural differences to have an influence on distances' meanings.

Therefore, I have chosen to supplement his theory with the works of the architect, Bryan Lawson, who operates in the field of design in the current century. In "The language of Space", Bryan Lawson unfolds Hall's taxonomy and provides an updated architectural version to supplement the original one. The distances are still the same; ranging from the intimate which is from body to 0,5 m outside the body, the personal which is from 0,5 to 1,2 m., the social which is from 1,2 to 4 m and lastly the public far phase which is from 4 m (Lawson, 2001: 115).

Fig 1 shows the distances.

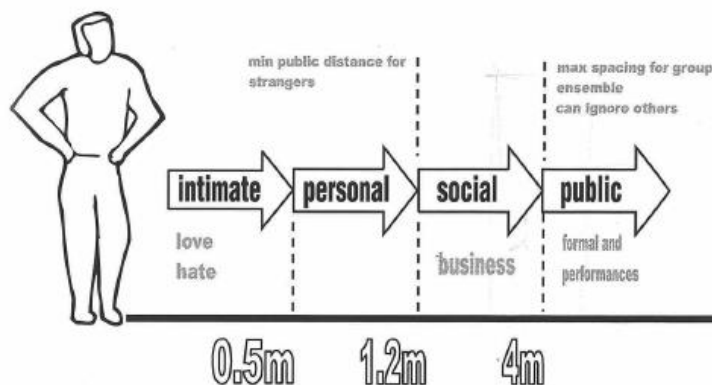


Fig 1 the taxonomy of distances illustrated by Lawson (Lawson, 2001)

The distances facilitate different social interactions and designs of spaces and therefore actively work with creating the appropriate distances for the pursued purpose. In the intimate distance, from body to 0,5 m, social interaction is very close, and whispering is enough for communicating in a quiet setting. This distance is typically only preferred to experience with yourself or people you know very well, but can be experienced in other situations, such as public transportation or in an elevator. The personal distance, from 0,5 to 1,2 m., is still rather close and it is nearly impossible not to interact socially. The voice level can be kept very low and it is possible to get a very detailed image of another

person at this distance. Moving on from 1,2 to 4 m. the span is higher and the degree of social interaction and sensory perception likewise differ more than at the two first distances. At the far end of the span, social interaction is not even required, since it is possible to ignore another person, whereas in the beginning of the span, the social interaction is almost as personal as the previous distance. The voice level can be kept normal in most settings, but the sensory details are starting to fade out. In the far end it almost becomes the public distance, which is the distance greater than 4 meters. Here, social interaction is usually kept to a formal level, such as lectures, and the voices need to be raised. (Lawson, 2001)

The different distances can be framed by physical artifacts, but they also depend on other features such as lighting and noise. Lawson provides an example of a bar, where the sound level is increased and lighting is reduced to force get people to a personal or even intimate distance. This might be appropriate in a bar, but in other cases it would be disturbing and uncomfortable to be stressed into personal or intimate distances. In such cases, people might choose not to use the space at all and then the spatial design has failed. (Lawson, 2001)

Lawson furthermore points out the importance of not always working exclusively with the support of one distance but keeping an eye for all the distances to let them exist side by side. Thereby making sure that the facilitations by distances do not stress each other (Lawson, 2001: 120). The point about distances or private and public spaces not stressing each other is highly relevant for this project and will play a dominant role later in this report.

Physical Designs and Affordances

To support my premise that the interfaces are physical and they provoke or prohibit certain activities, privacy and publicness, I use the term *affordance*. The term *affordance* expresses the idea that physical

artifacts provoke certain and specific behaviors or activities. These can be either social or non-social. The theory originates from James J. Gibson's "*The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*" (Gibson, 2014). Gibson explains affordances from a behavioral perspective: "*The affordances of the environment are what it offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either for good or ill.*" (Gibson, 2014: 119) An affordance can thus be said to be the immediate option for action. Affordances in the original understanding is considered as independent from peoples' knowledge and personal diversities that influence peoples' use and understanding of how the affordance makes people act.

As Laura Højring elaborates in her ph.d. "*Hjemløse og hjemlighed: Fortællinger om arkitektur og mennesker*" (Højring, 2019), affordance theory has become further developed by scientists, such as Donald Norman, who has nuanced Gibson's theory by considering affordances as dependent on social perceptions and cultural understandings (Højring, 2019: 66) In this project, I likewise choose to include residents' perceptions and social aspects regarding the affordances and it later in this report, it becomes clear that exactly knowledge in terms of rules, experiences and perceptions are influencing how the affordances form their behavior.

Private/public Urban Interface Typology

Other scholars have dealt with the term interfaces and public/private space. One typology that I find interesting is the *private/public urban interface typology*, since it is a typology dealing with where publicness meets privacy and vice versa. The typology itself will not be used directly as a framework for the project, but will be described here, since it has inspired me in the way I look for interfaces in open spaces.

In "*Public/private urban interfaces: type, adaptation, assemblage*" from 2015, Dovey and Wood present a typology for describing what they call public/private urban interfaces (Dovey, Wood, 2015). Their focus is

mainly on how facades and spaces in front of private locations, such as private homes, offices or shops interfere with regular public spaces, primarily being public streets. They describe the interface types as: “micro-practices of power; they provide or prohibit access and the penetrations of the public gaze; they enable and constrain privacy and publicity.” ((Dovey, Wood, 2015: 13) Their focus is on how the spatial interfaces facilitate private or public behavior with the overall purpose to discover how the city works legally, spatially and in practice. In Dovey’s and Wood’s work, access is understood as both a public strangers’ access to private spaces as well as a person with relation to the private spaces’ access to private spaces. At fig 2 below the typology is presented and the authors conclude on the interfaces for residential as being either the type called *pedestrian setback* or *direct/opaque*. Pedestrian setback is shown at fig 2 and contains the element of a semi-public space in front of the private space. The direct/opaque interface is likewise shown at fig 2 and is where the publicness interferes directly with the private space. (Dovey, Wood, 2015)

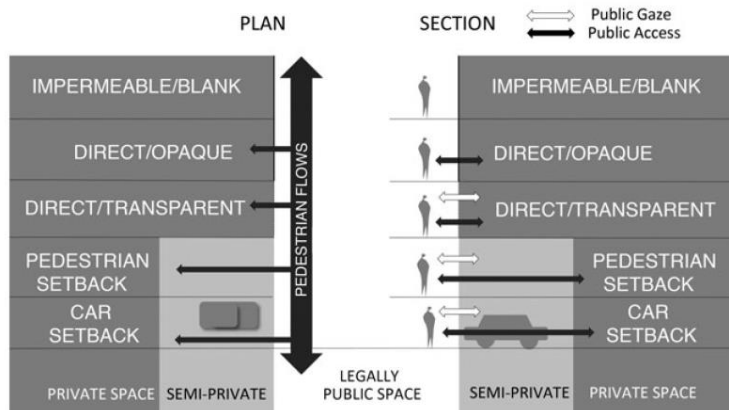


Fig 2 Dovey’s and Wood’s Interface typology (Dovey, Wood, 2015)

In this project, the focus is mainly on people with relation to the private spaces, since my focus is mostly on residents. However, the analysis also includes public access in its traditional meaning, when dealing with the relationship with other users. The understanding of interfaces is in this project more nuanced and related to the internal interfaces of spaces of private and/or character in the semi-public open space. Therefore, the

analyses pay attention to all sorts of interfaces and not only to the strict public/private interfaces.

Dovey and Wood describe interfaces as connections, relations and flows rather than things. (Dovey, Wood, 2015: 4) This is also the case when discovering interfaces in the two cases in my project. If a hedge is an interface, it is possible to agree on a hedge being a thing, but it is just as relevant to discover the dynamics of the hedge, such as the way it grows, how tall it is and if people removes it, cut it or in other ways influence the hedge. The dynamics of the interfaces are a focus point in this project and this is also where social aspects become very relevant, since they often can be the reason to the dynamics.

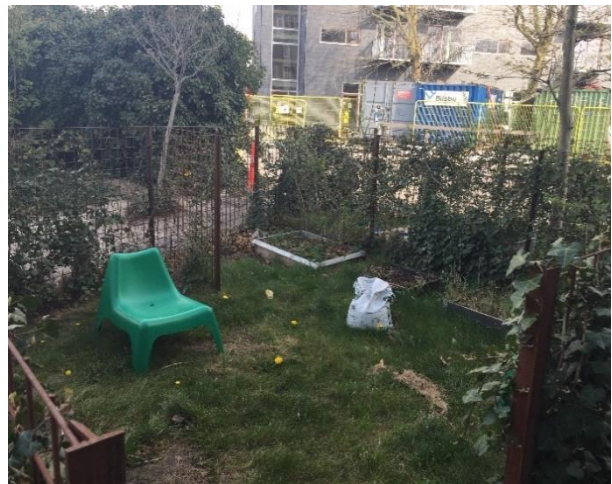
Chapter 3 Presentations of Cases

In this chapter the two cases of the project will be presented: Sundholm Syd and Charlottehaven. The chapter is divided into two sections, one for each case, both starting out with a site-writing and followed by a brief description of the physical structure and relation to planning. The concept of site-writing will be described further in the methodology chapter, but can shortly be described here as a creative way to describe a site and show its physical layers by writing about it.



Fig 3 The geographical location of the two cases: Sundholm Syd and Charlottehaven (own figure)

SUNDHOLM SYD



3.1 Sundholm Syd

The big and well-visited social urban gardening project "Byhaven" sets the green and garden-characteristic atmosphere as I get closer to the Sundholm Syd buildings from Amagerfælledvej. "Byhaven" somehow acts as a natural buffer between the big road and the housing area on the side street. The Sundholm Syd buildings rise behind the Byhaven-area as big brown container-inspired modules and I immediately recognize them from the architectural pictures with the only surprise being the heights of the buildings. Some of them nearly match surrounding building blocks and make the buildings blend in to the area despite the unusual typology. When I get closer to the buildings, I try to figure out the number of floors and rooms of the different apartments, but it is impossible to see when looking at the facades, since all doors are located toward the sides or in the back. This makes the buildings somehow anonymous and it becomes difficult to distinguish between homes. Even though it can be hard to distinguish, the floor-to-ceiling glass facades make it almost impossible not to try and have a look inside the private homes. Especially the ones at the ground level, since some homes start directly at the ground and is not raised to provide some privacy. To my surprise, most pixi gardens are not located between the buildings as I first understood it from the local plan and architectural drawings, but located as gardens closing the units to the sides. However, the hedges differ in transparency due to numbers and strengths of hedge plants and it is already here possible to get a sense of the key disadvantage of the pixi-gardens: bad soil quality and shadow conditions. From the outside, it looks decent. When getting closer, a couple of gardens look amazing, most of them look indifferent and some even look like they have not been touched in several years. They all vary in size and with the smallest ones being 4 or 5 sqm and the biggest being close to 50, I got the feeling of an unequal distribution, but also a multifarious residential composition. Between the buildings and the gardens there are small terraces and a path going through the entire area. Even though I have read that the path is public, I get the feeling that it is private. Or at

least only open for the small community of Sundholm Syd. Two residents immediately ask me, if I am looking for someone which only proves my point. This time I am looking for someone and they help me to find one of my interview persons, who invited me to experience the case in real life.

3.1.1 Physical Structure



Fig 4 Site plan ((Kofod, Eskelund, 2016: 42)

The Sundholm Syd case consists of two units of three module buildings and provides a total of 48 homes for residents willing to design and fulfill the indoor facilities themselves. The residents have the possibility to place walls where they wish to and maintaining the buildings and outdoor facilities is a requirement for living here. The demand for maintaining the buildings is a part of the concept Almenbolig+ and will be described in section 4.1. Since the design is a part of the deal, the indoor facilities can be considered to be very flexible compared to other rental apartments. This makes it possible for different family compositions to move in and for residents to rearrange due to changing needs for housing. Each residential is assigned one pixi garden in the green space around the buildings. The residents do not decide if they want a garden as well as they cannot choose the size or location, since the gardens are distributed from the start. The pixi concept is a result of requirements set by the local plan “Sundholm Syd” from 2010 (The City of Copenhagen, 2010). The relation to planning will be further elaborated in the next section.

3.1.2 Relation to Local Planning

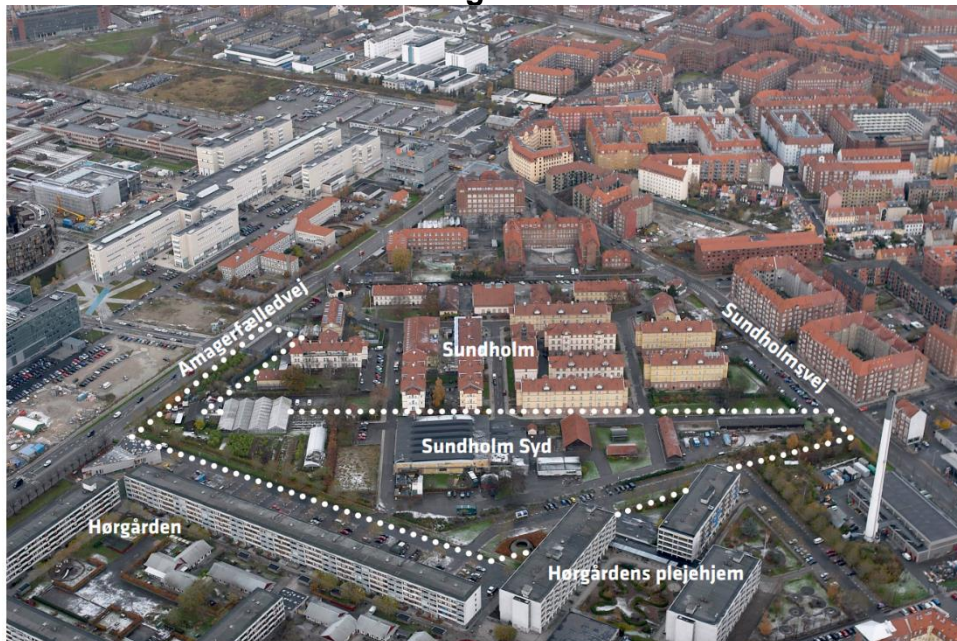


Fig 5 Sundholm Syd and the surrounding area (The City of Copenhagen, 2010: 3)

Copenhagen municipality launched the latest local plan for Sundholm Syd in 2010. The plan is dominated by an increasing municipal focus on sustainability and the main physical feature of the plan outlines the concept of *pixi gardens* with the idea to create social and environmental sustainability. The idea is to work with the entire area as small chunks or in other words “pixels” mainly with the focus on the establishment of small pixi gardens. The word *pixi garden* is thus developed from the same concept of pictures being divided into pixels. The idea is that the pixi gardens can be considered private since they are connected to one apartment each, but that they at same time provide green spaces to all in regard of the transparent look of the wire fence that the gardens are made from. It is the idea that these gardens create the social meeting places of the area and provide the citizens with purpose to participate and be present in the public space. It is mentioned that the pixi concept does not work, if there is no light between the buildings, and the local plan therefore requires the Sundholm Syd buildings to be angled so the purpose of creating space, light and life between the buildings can happen. (The City of Copenhagen, 2010)

The very detailed requirements for the open space is rather unique in a Copenhagen planning context. ²The fact that it is described with such a high level of detail furthermore distinguishes this case from the other case of this project: Charlottehaven. The next section will present the case of Charlottehaven by starting out with a site-writing, followed by the physical structure description and the relation to planning.

² Statement is based on screening of 17 local plans from 1980-2018, see section 5.5 for an explanation of the screening.

CHARLOTTEHAVEN



3.2 Charlottenhaven

Arriving at Hjørringgade, a Street I usually use when occasionally taking the train from Nordhavn Station, the first commercial sign

“Charlottenhaven – Café and Health Club” greets me already at the corner of Strandboulevarden and Hjørringgade. The sign appears in front of the big and dark colored housing block and it draws a connection between housing purposes and commercial activities. The Housing block appears monstrous and more closed to the street than usual due to the very high raised ground floor. The raised ground floor makes it hard to get an insight to their privacy and I continue down the street to discover the building from the yard in the middle. By the end of the building block, I turn right on a small hybrid between a street and parking lot. From here, I see a lower building that I recognize as the commercial service center and a small pathway into the courtyard. I have my doubts about entering, because of a “private area” sign. However, I know that the area is not legally private, so I continue to enter the yard. When entering, a surprisingly big and beautiful yard appears. It is bigger than any other yard I have ever seen in the city and it draws my mind to some of the public parks in the inner cities of Europe. Those that are kept very strictly and where you are not surprised if you are not allowed to walk on the grass. However, some of the planting breaks with the public parks I know and makes the experience of the yard rather unique compared to what I have seen before. The landscape architects have clearly been inspired by the nearby harbor Nordhavn and wanted to bring in a maritime feeling as reed is dominating the sides of the yard.

The yard perhaps appears even bigger than it is due to the emptiness. There are no people present. A very limited number of relatively small windows and opaque balconies make it impossible to get a feeling of the residents’ life. The terraces in the ground floor are also lifted higher than usual and covered by a chest-high wall off bricks making it very difficult to spot a potential resident. The heavy use of glass from floor to ceiling that characterizes the new building blocks in the harbor areas is not the

case here. It even annoys me a bit that I have no opportunity to look inside people's privacy. However, the feeling of protected privacy stops the minute I look to the left and see the commercial service center. Here the facades are covered in glass and it is even possible from the yard to get a glance of the swimming pool and the fitness area, which is divided by a glass wall. It is likewise possible to get a feeling of the indoor café life and the conference rooms which are located in the southern end of the service center.

3.2.1 Physical Structure

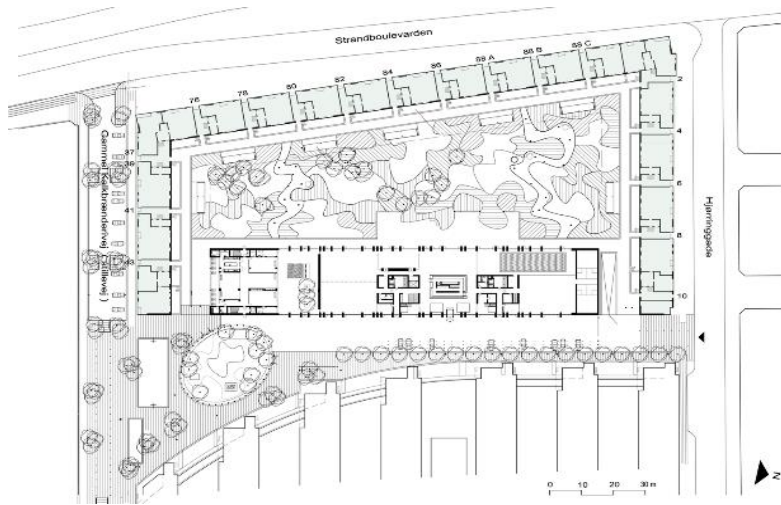


Fig 6 Site plan (Ltarkitekter, 2018)

Charlottehaven is an open block structure of 178 apartments spread over five floors with terraces, balconies or roof top terraces depending on the floor level. It is a building with a commercial service center and a cluster of hotel apartments lies in the ends of the block and provide residents as well as other users with fitness and swimming pool, conference facilities and a café. In between the service center and the open block, there is a remarkably big and aesthetically pleasing garden, constructed for the residents, but open to the public. The garden is constructed with a playground in the end and relatively big gathering points in the sides throughout the entire area. The planting is diverse, and it is featured in different levels, for instance using different rush plants, which gives a beautiful expression independently from the point of view.

3.2.2 Relation to Local Planning

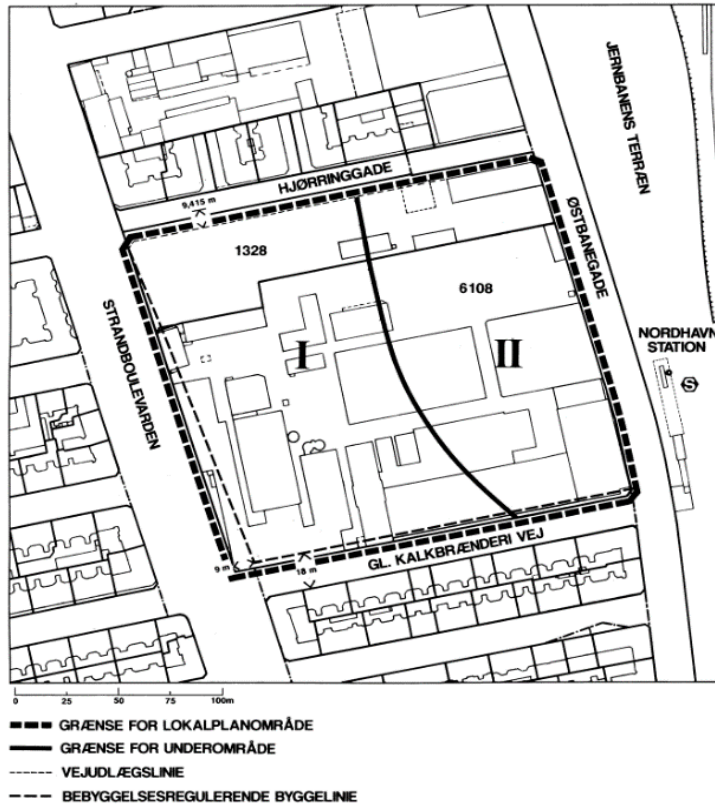


Fig 7 Charlottenhaven area and surroundings (The City of Copenhagen, 1992: 7)

The local plan “Kryolitgrunden 2” from 1992 was created with the overall purpose to change the one-sided residential function of the Charlottenhaven area to a two-sided functional mixed area. The purpose of the local plan for Charlottenhaven was to make it possible to transform the area into a housing- and service area serving both residents and users in the area. The plan requires the outdoor areas to be public accessible with pedestrian path and playground facilities, but it does not provide any deeper details about the design of open space. (The City of Copenhagen, 1992) The developer therefore has a relatively high level of freedom if the design gets approved by the Technical and Environmental Administration of the City of Copenhagen.

Chapter 4 Choice of Cases

The cases of Sundholm Syd and Charlottehaven are chosen in order to gain knowledge about the role, potentials and challenges of semi-public common spaces. The cases are chosen due to different approaches regarding physical designs and understandings of the concept of having a common space. This means that the cases are not chosen because they are representative or chosen with the purpose to draw conclusions for the general, but chosen because they represent different forms and different understandings of what common spaces should contain. The purpose of this chapter is to outline similarities and differences of the cases.

4.1 Organizational View of the Cases

The cases differ in several ways. For a start, housing rates for the two cases vary due to fact that the owner of the Sundholm Syd case is a nonprofit social housing association, KAB, whereas Charlottehaven is owned by the private investor company Harald Simonsens Ejendoms kontor. A private investor can earn money from the rentals whereas a social housing association is not allowed to gain profit from the rentals. This is reflected in the housing rates as shown in the figures below.

2019- prices for Charlottehaven

102,6 m ²	14.388 Dkk/Month or 1.676 Dkk/m ² /year
160,4 m ²	23.175 Dkk/Month or 1.240 Dkk/m ² /year

Fig 8 The monthly rents and sqm prices pr. Year for apartments in Charlottehaven (Charlottehavenboliger, 2019) (Own figure)

2019- prices for Sundholm Syd

101 m ²	7.498 Dkk/Month or 891 Dkk/m ² /year
127 m ²	9.815 Dkk/Month or 927 Dkk/m ² /year

Fig 9 The monthly rents and m² prices pr. Year for apartments in Sundholm Syd (KAB-Selvbetjening, 2019) (Own figure)

It is fair to assume that the different housing rates attract and target different user groups since it takes a relatively high scope to live in Charlottehaven whereas the Sundholm Syd case represents some of the lowest rates in Copenhagen due to the Almenbolig+ concept. The Almenbolig+ concept is an extended version of the Almenbolig concept, which is the Danish expression for social housing. The Almenbolig+ concept offers a way to decrease the already relatively low monthly rates by demanding residents to be responsible for the maintenance of the residential unit (Kofod, Eskelund, 2016). It is also fair to assume that this demand for participation to some extent attracts users who are willing to make an active effort in the residential everyday and to talk to other residents to coordinate and work together. It is not possible to state that the requirement of interaction with other residents means that the residents appreciate this aspect of interaction, but it is an indication of the residents not being directly discouraged by social interaction.

The requirement of social investment does not apply to the residents from the Charlottehaven case since there is no demand to actively participate in the residential unit. Charlottehaven is built as a residential unit in a bigger business case and co-exist with Charlottehaven's serviced apartments, health club, café, and conference facilities. The residential unit does not legally differ from other regular private rentals, but is as concept a part of the greater brand of Charlottehaven, which also has its influence, since the common spaces are not only built to target and facilitate the residents, but also the users of the serviced apartments, health club, café and conferences. The idea of having a service center connected to the residential unit is rather unique in a Danish context but is well known in different versions in other countries. For instance, Le Corbusier was incorporating both clubs, fitness, cafés, shops etc. in his large-scale post war building concept *Unite d'*

*Habitation*³. Another example on a larger scale, where the idea of having common facilities do not rely on community but on common interests/needs, is the *gated communities* in America. Here, the scale is larger, and the community is gated from the rest of the society, but it contains the same idea of supplying commercial services; not to create community but to service its residents.

4.2 Socioeconomic View to the Cases

The aim of this report is not to segment or draw conclusions for different socioeconomic groups' views to and experiences of common spaces.

The crucial thing is to understand that the case buildings arise from two very different places in Copenhagen and that they contribute to two very different urban settings and spaces with different challenges and prerequisites for urban social sustainability.

The area of Sundholm Syd is characterized by a higher density of social housing and lower rents whereas Østerbro is dominated by private ownership or cooperatives and higher rents. This distribution of social housing buildings is shown in the figure 10 below.



³ *Unite d' Habitation* is a concept of modern large building with integrated service facilities developed by Le Corbusier in the postwar period. One of the most famous ones was built in Marseille in 1951.

Fig 10 The amount of social housing buildings in the Amager/Sundholm Syd area to the left and the Østerbro/Charlottehaven area to the right (Kbhkørt, 2016)

Social housing targets low- and middle-income residents, which also becomes clear when looking at the income-level for the two areas. The figure below shows how the Sundholm Syd area is characterized by more low-income residents than Østerbro is.

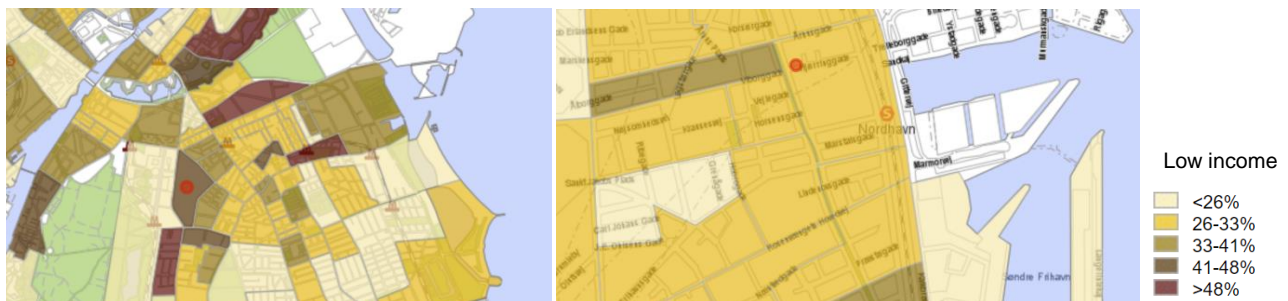


Fig 11 shows the number of low-income citizens in Amager/Sundholm Syd area in the top and Østerbro/Charlottehaven area to the right (kbhkørt, 2019)

4.3 Brandings

Sundholm Syd and Charlottehaven represent two different appeals and Charlottehaven has been working more directly with branding from the beginning whereas Sundholm Syd as part of a bigger brand, KAB, did not make an active effort in branding in regard of the individual residential unit.

Sundholm Syd is primarily branded and promoted through the Almenbolig+ concept and does not have its own homepage or other official public documents with the purpose to promote the residential unit. However, there is a homepage for Almenbolig+ and on this site, it is formulated how Almenbolig+ requires the residents to value a sense of community and to be willing to participate actively, including the requirement regarding maintenance of common indoor and outdoor facilities. The community is mentioned as the foundation for living in the

Almenbolig+ building and it can therefore be assumed that it is a crucial understanding of the residential concept of Sundholm Syd. In this sense, community and common spaces are much about participation and human relations whereas these aspects are understood differently in Charlottehaven.

Charlottehaven has its own homepage, where the concept is folded out as a residential with a high service-level, focus on the common facilities both regarding the outdoor facilities and the commercial service center. The focus is on the aesthetic and appealing form of the common spaces and does not present the residential as a community due to a human aspect, but a community due to the service-minded facilities that creates a frame for living. It does not say anything about the resident's willingness to participate, since a commercial service team is responsible for the maintenance and does not require an interest in a sense of community.

4.4 Two Different Views to Community-oriented Housing

Sundholm Syd is community oriented by demanding its residents to work together to maintain the residential unit, Charlottehaven is community oriented by supplying a service center, where residents meet, if they use it. In Sundholm Syd, most of the open space is devoted to "private" pixi gardens and the actual common space of the open space is not a part of the concept. It will however be shown in Chapter 7 how residents try to break with the original concept by establishing their own common spaces by merging gardens together or furnishing the area between the gardens. In Charlottehaven, the entire open space is designed as a common space, but it furthermore plays a commercial role, since the service center is also open for the public. Overall, the visions for the two cases can therefore be said to be close to the opposites of each other with a strong focus on privacy in the visions for Sundholm Syd and a strong focus on publicness in Charlottehaven. It shall however become clear in this report that it is not as black-and-white as described here and

that reality is different from what is written in local plans and shown in architectural drawings.

Chapter 5 Methodology and Methods Applied

This chapter will at first present my academic position and point of departure in studying the role and semi-publicness of open spaces, followed by my work with understanding the planning aspect of open spaces, the empirical data foundation for the project and the methods applied.

5.1 Academic Position

The thesis is written at the study programme Sustainable Cities, which is oriented towards understanding the structures and systems of the cities from a technical and societal perspective. The technical perspective is in this thesis understood as the physical structures of open spaces and the physical elements and interfaces they consist of. The societal perspective is mainly oriented towards the human scale as I chose to study how the forms of open spaces shape human behavior by identifying and analyzing the affordances of interfaces. I have chosen to supplement and challenge the traditional and more positivistic methods in urban studies, such as physical analyses and counting, and inactive observation studies such as tracing, by making use of anthropological methods, meaning participant observation and qualitative interviews. Anthropologist Kirsten Hastrup expresses anthropology as understanding the world by taking place in it (Hastrup, 2010: 10). This is what I have been trying to do by applying anthropological methods by participating in the physical space and activities as well as interviewing the people who live in these physical spaces.

5.3 Understanding the Planning of Open Spaces

Besides reading local plan 453 “Sundholm Syd” and local plan 206 “Kryolitgrunden” I have screened 15 other local plans promulgated in the period from 1980 to 2018 with the focus on reading the regulations regarding open spaces. The local plans are of the types *housing* or *housing and service* since these are the ones with relevance to open spaces in relation to housing. I have read them with the purpose of

understanding the planning perceptions of open spaces and how they are framed in regulations. Furthermore, also to understand to what extend areas not designed for recreational purposes are included in the total amount of the open space.

Nr. 024 "Fix-karreen"
Nr. 149 "Aldersrogade"
Nr. 202 "Fisketorvet"
Nr. 210 "Hjalmer Bergstrøms Vej"
Nr. 251 "Ryvangskvarteret"
Nr. 273 "Hedebygade"
Nr. 333 "Bjerregårdsvej"
Nr. 343 "Ballumgade Nord-Karreen"
Nr. 385 "Vermlandsgade"
Nr. 410 "Artillerivej Syd"
Nr. 425 "Krimsvvej"
Nr. 430 "Frederikshøj og Mozart"
Nr. 449 "Strandlodsvej"
Nr. 463 "Århusgadekvarteret i Nordhavn"
Nr. 558 "Østergade 27"

Fig 12 List of local plans I have screened with the purpose of understanding regulations and perceptions of open spaces during the last 30 years (Own figure)

5.4 Empirical Data Collection

I have conducted a factual phone interview with a project leader from KAB, five phone interviews with residents in Sundholm Syd, a factual phone conversation with an administrative employee in Charlottehaven, a factual interview with a marketing manager at Charlottehaven and three phone interviews with residents in Charlottehaven. Besides this, I have visited a resident in Sundholm Syd where we talked while walking through an apartment and through the gardens. I have furthermore had informal conversations with three residents present in the open space of Sundholm Syd and a conversation with a resident present in Charlottehaven's open space. I have been a member of the health club in Charlottehaven for a month where I used it for sauna and fitness and I have attended a "social hour" in the commercial sitting area. I have been overserving the open space in Charlottehaven from three different perspectives at three different times of approximately 1 hour each. In

Sundholm Syd it is impossible to observe more than a few gardens at a time, but I have been walking around in the area three times observing, taking pictures and measurements.

5.5 Site Writing

When I present the cases of Sundholm Syd and Charlottehaven I provide each section with a site writing. The site writings appear as descriptions of how the physical structures and places appear to me at the first sight. The discipline of site writing is originated in Jane Rendell's book "Site-Writing" from 2010 (Rendell, 2010) and it is the discipline of showing a place, piece, architectural work etc. by writing about it. It is a creative approach and shows how an analysis of an object is never independent from the subject (Rendell, 2010: 18). My use of site-writing can thus be said to be an articulation of how everything I discover in the field is colored by my academic, cultural and personal background as I put myself into the field.

5.6 Observation Studies

5.6.1 Tracing

I chose to observe the moving patterns in Charlottehaven to get an overview and indication of the life in the spatial setting. The reason why I do not do this in Sundholm Syd is not that it is irrelevant. Due to the angling of the buildings and gardens it is impossible to observe more than a very small area of the parcel, meaning a few gardens or so if standing on the ground. I find it more important to observe in Charlottehaven, since there are other users than the residents and there are more spaces which the users can choose between. My behavioral observation method is inspired by what Jan Gehl and Birgitte Svarre call *Bevægelser på plan*, which also can be referred to as *tracing* (Gehl, Svarre, 2013: 39). The method is to observe for a certain amount of time and draw the moving patterns by applying lines to a plan, see fig 13.

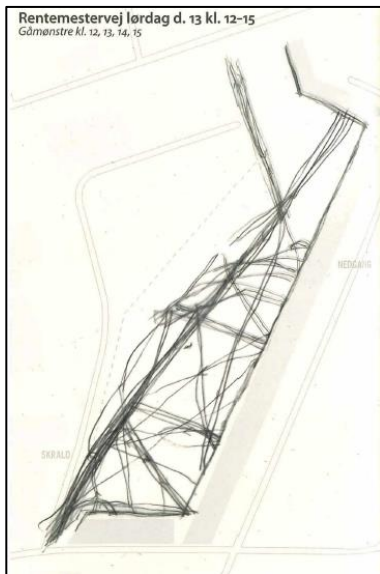


Fig 13 Jan Gehl's and Birgitte Svarre's tracing at Rentemestervej (Gehl, Svarre, 2010: 38)

I have been observing three times in approximately one hour. The observations showed roughly the same patterns, one of the observations is presented in chapter 8 with the purpose of getting to know the life of Charlottehaven. The drawing is obviously not representative for all life of Charlottehaven's open space, but it gives a reasonable indication of where users like to walk and stay. I supplement the tracing method by adding crosses if a person is standing/sitting in the same area for more than five minutes thereby showing where the staying activity is.

In Sundholm Syd I get a good indication of where people are present by walking around. In this case it is more relevant to get an indication of the gardens in regard of function and use by analyzing the different sorts of garden's appearances. Here it is, unlike Charlottehaven, possible to get a more small-scale picture of the open space, since it appears in very small fragments of different designs and functions that are easier to get to know by looking at them and talking to the residents about them.

5.6.2 Participant Observation

In Charlottehaven I participate in the health club where I as a member of the health club discover the case from the commercial angle. I do not

know if the users are residents or people coming from outside Charlottehaven, but I get to see the building from the inside and to experience the physical connection to the yard as well as the users' behavior. I also get to participate in a "*Social Hour*" which is the weekly event for residents and friends of the house. Common for both participations is that I am not allowed to interview or recruit interviewees while I participate and it can therefore be argued that participation is limited by only being able to talk as if I was a typical user. I try to contact other users when using the health club facilities, but it never really turns into real conversations, which was my intention. However, it contributes to my understanding of the life in Charlottehaven, which supports my understandings of what residents tell me in the interviews and what I experience of the physical structures. In Sundholm Syd, I wanted to participate in a social event or in a working day, but it was not possible, since there were no such events during the four months that I have been engaged in the project. My participant observation can therefore not be said to be the cornerstone of the project, but provides me with a more nuanced picture of the case of Charlottehaven.

5.7 Interviews

5.7.1 Semi-structured Qualitative Research Interviews

To get insights from the residents I conducted semi-structured qualitative research interviews using a phone. My purpose was to get their specific thoughts about the themes I relate to open spaces, such as their own homes, their experiences of and wishes for community, their use and perceptions of the open space etc. I chose the semi-structured interview as an approach because it can almost take shape as an everyday conversation, which is my intention, since I ask questions about their everyday life, relationships with other residents and want to know everything with relevance, not just their understanding of a physical artifact. The fact that the interviews are held via phone is due to the residents' wishes. If residents were interviewed in the open spaces, it is possible to imagine that more details and reactions to actual physical interfaces would appear. However, I supplement the interviews with

informal conversations with random residents and users I met in real life. I present all interviewees anonymously and choose only to distinguish between gender and age using the span young “25-40”, middle aged “40-60” and old “60-90” in order to protect my interviewees as they wish. In fig 14 it is possible to see all interviewees of the two cases.

<p>Sundholm Syd Female, Middle aged Female, Young Female, Middle aged Female, Young Female, Old</p> <p>Charlottehaven Female, Old Male, Young Female, Middle aged</p>

Fig 14 List of interviewees in the case of Sundholm Syd and the case of Charlottehaven (Own figure)

As shown in fig. 14, the age spread is reasonable, but the female gender is overrepresented. In Sundholm Syd, the interviewees were recruited by an “open call” made by the chairman of the board and only women signed up. In Charlottehaven, I contacted the male interviewee first, since he was already in my second link network. It was easier to recruit women in Sundholm Syd via the chairman of the board, but it would have been interesting and valuable for my findings, if both genders were represented to nuance the picture and to address if males and females perceive and use open spaces in different ways. The report limits itself by not addressing the potential meaning of gender.

5.7.2 Walking and Talking

Going for a walk and talk with one’s informant can give an insight to the person’s opinions, reflections and strategic uses of the physical soundings (Højlund, 2008). Therefore, after conducting one of my phone interviews with a resident in Sundholm Syd, I choose to explore this

method. After one of the phone interviews, I was invited to come and see one of the apartments and I thought I would use the invitation strategically by asking the resident questions and make her relate to the surroundings while we walked. We walked and talked through her apartment and through the garden area for about an hour. It was useful, partially because she talked a lot and commented on both physical structures, but also because she unfolded social aspects related to what we passed while walking. It provided me with an insight to the social hierarchy, since we could talk about different gardens' owners and uses when passing them.

5.7.3 Informal Conversations

In both cases I spoke with different people present in the field, except from when I was observing their moving patterns and activities, since I did not wish to interrupt reality. These conversations can be fun and unexpected points appear since the conversation partner is not as focused on their role as the interviewees are. This informal setting can bring in more immediate thoughts and stories.

5.7.4 Factual Interviews

I conducted two factual interviews, one with a project leader in KAB and one with a marketing manager in Charlottehaven. Both interviews are conducted with the purpose of getting factual details confirmed or explained. The interviews are not directly used in the report, but are contributing to my understanding of the cases.

5.7.5 A Note on Case Diversity and Triangulation

The applied methods in this thesis are qualitative and triangulated with the purpose to strengthen the individual method's weaknesses to paint a reasonable and comprehensive picture of the two cases and the open spaces they represent. However, as it becomes clear in this chapter, it has not been possible and appropriate to apply exactly the same methods or the same amount of data within the two different cases. For instance, the participant observation has only been possible in

Charlottelhaven and not in Sundholm Syd, which is a result of both bad luck and time pressure. On the other hand, it has been easier to recruit interviewees in Sundholm Syd and for them to provide details about the physical interfaces, since each interviewee is unavoidably a part of the open space in another way than Charlottelhaven's residents are due to the demand of taking part in the open space, which I described in section 4.1. In that sense, I have in some situations been working with the art of the possible to get an equal and comprehensive data collection for each case. My wish for bringing in a more anthropological approach, to challenge and supplement the inactive tracing, observations and physical analyses, has resulted in me being more present in the cases, which has strengthened my subject in the analyses and understandings of the open spaces. As I wrote in the section about site-writing, I acknowledge that my presence and subject does have an influence on my findings in contrast to a positivistic approach where data can stand alone and provide answers to often narrow questions.

Chapter 6 Access to the Field

Getting access to the field can be challenging. It requires both patience, consideration and strategy to get behind the formal structures and everything depends on the form, residents and organization of the case. This chapter provides the stories of getting inside Sundholm Syd and Charlottehaven.

6.1 Sundholm Syd

At first, I wanted to get a formal phone interview with someone who knows the story about Sundholm Syd from above. An expert who did not have any personal feelings about the process or a homely relation to the place. I wanted to contact 3B (now KAB) and get in touch with a project leader on the case. At first, I followed the formal contact guide by e-mailing KAB via the official mailbox. That was not successful and I spent a couple of weeks calling and writing to the headquarter without any luck. After that, I asked a colleague who has been working with social housing in the City of Copenhagen. He knew someone who knew someone and suddenly I was in touch with an Almenbolig+ project leader, who knew a lot about the concept and could supply me with technical details of the building and concept.

After my phone interview with the Almenbolig+ project leader, I wanted to get in touch with the residents. Due to GDPR-protection it was not possible for the KAB-contact to supply me with direct contact information of the residents, but she could forward my e-mail to the chairman of the board, which I thankfully accepted. The option of contacting the chairman of the board is a good example on how organizational and democratically social housing are structured in today's Denmark. It was now up to the chairman to recruit residents that would be willing to talk to me about their experiences of living in Sundholm Syd. He made an open call and a couple of weeks later, the KAB-contact supplied me with five names and phone numbers which were sent directly from the chairman without me

ever talking directly with him. In this sense, there is a strong connection or dependence between the individual residential units and their administration company, KAB. From here, I conducted five interviews via phone and was invited by one of the residents to see the buildings and area shortly after for informal conversations and to experience the life of Sundholm Syd.

6.2 Charlottenhaven

With the same purpose as described above, I first wanted someone to tell me the overall story about Charlottenhaven. I contacted a property manager, but it became clear, that he did not have much to say besides the practical stuff about residents moving in and out of Charlottenhaven. Therefore, I contacted the marketing manager of the commercial part of Charlottenhaven to tell me something about the visions and experiences. I was slightly worried about talking to a Marketing Manager, since it was my concern that she would try to “sell” me the concept rather than explain me the concept. She did, however, provide me with interesting conflicts and existing issues that the commercial part as well as the housing department are facing today. It was therefore natural to ask if she could help me to get in touch with the residents. She promised to consider the case and see if she had any good options for me. Unfortunately, she could not help me on the matter because she was not allowed to provide me with names of the residents and the management did not want me to participate as an interviewer at their social events. Again, my network at work was crucial, but this time it was a colleague’s personal network that led me to my first phone interview. Before conducting the interview, I hoped that this interview would lead me to a new one which it did. When I asked the next interviewee, she explained me that the persons she could lead me to would be very similar to herself. That made me choose to instead go to Charlottenhaven and ask people who were present in the garden. Here I found a third person that could set me up with his wife, who was willing to give a phone interview.

Chapter 7 Interfaces in Sundholm Syd

The aim of this chapter is to identify and discover the *interfaces* in Sundholm Syd. The analysis is thus oriented towards clarifying the spatial boundaries and affordances, being of private and public character. When discovering how publicness and privacy takes place and interfere, challenges and opportunities of both elements are identified and it becomes possible to discover how semi-publicness takes place.

My field sketch below shows a cross section of a typical area of Sundholm Syd. The drawing shows how it is possible to divide the entire area by the physical boundaries expressed by interfaces such as fences, hedges, shifts in pavements and glass facades.

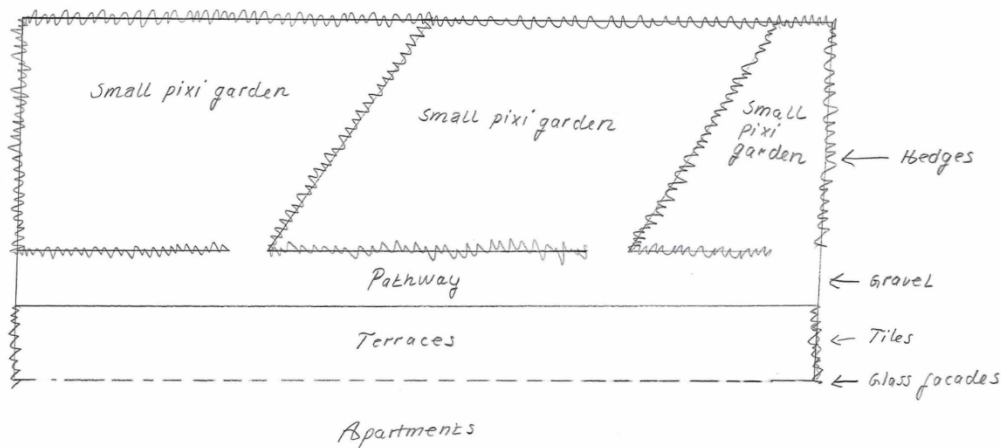


Fig 15 Field sketch of a cross section of three pixi gardens (own figure)

All zones will be a part of this analysis and will be described in the five sections: the small individual pixi gardens, merged gardens, pathway, Terraces and common spaces at Brydes Allé. The zone of the pixi gardens is what dominates the analysis, since the pixi gardens are what dominates most of the space and attention in the design and in the lived experience of the open space.

7.1 Pixi gardens

All individual apartments are originally provided with one pixi garden each. Some but not all residents living in the ground floor are provided with a garden in continuation of their apartment. The rest of the residents are provided with gardens located between these gardens or at the sides of the building blocks. The pixi gardens differ in forms and sizes and since the residents do not get to choose their own garden, some residents are provided with a garden at the size of 5 square meters, some residents are provided with gardens at the size of 12 to 15 square meters and some are provided with gardens at sizes somewhere in between. Some pixi gardens are triangular, some are squared and some are somewhat in between. Today many of them appear in their original form, but some have changed in form and size due to residents' choice to merge two or more gardens. The reasons behind the merges are mostly bound to the fact that some gardens are too small to use for other activities than gardening, to the fact that some of them are placed in shadow or with soil conditions too bad for gardening and to the fact that some residents wished for more space to open up for other sorts of activities than the small gardens could facilitate. The merges will be further described and discussed in section 7.1.2.

When asking the residents about their original expectations about the gardens, it is mostly the case that they were attracted to the idea of having a small private garden each. There are many reasons why the gardens are not fulfilling this dream, which has resulted in either empty gardens, not very well-used gardens or residents giving up and merging their gardens. This chapter will discover why the dream in most of the pixi gardens never came true.

When collecting data for the pixi gardens, it became clear that the small individual gardens and the merged gardens appear in two very different ways regarding style, function and use. The analysis is therefore divided into two sections: one for the small-sized individual gardens and one for

the merged gardens. The small-sized gardens are the ones in the size of 5 to 15 square meters while the large merged gardens are the ones in the sizes of 15 to 40 square meters.

7.1.1 The Small Individual Pixi gardens

The small pixi gardens described in this section are in the size of 5 to 15 square meters and they are formally connected to one apartment each.

The small pixi gardens are then, at least in the organizational way, considered private. The physical distances can theoretically be qualified as intimate and personal if considering the distance theory described in the theory chapter. However, in practice, this classification can be challenged by the interfaces. The obvious spatial interfaces for the pixi gardens, what separates them from the surrounding areas, are 1,5-meters-tall fences and hedges. The hedges are in some cases both tall and solid as intended and in other cases short or transparent. An example of a transparent hedge is shown at fig 16 below as well as a solid hedge is shown in fig 17 below.



Fig 16 A transparent hedge (Own picture)



Fig 17 A solid hedge (Own picture)

Some of the small pixi gardens mainly function as kitchen gardens and some of them are also used for resting and calm activities like reading. Figure 18 shows a small pixi garden with a chair and a kitchen garden. This is a very common picture of how many of the small pixi gardens look like, and here it is also worth to notice how the transparencies of hedges differ and makes the garden more transparent in one of the sides.



Fig 18 A small pixi garden used for kitchen garden and resting (Own picture)

The small pixi gardens are also the gardens that for some cases, are not in use or only in use for storage. The picture below shows one of the gardens where the resident uses the garden for storage.



Fig 19 A small pixi garden used for storage (Own picture)

There are many reasons why some gardens are empty or used for storage and these will be elaborated later in this chapter. However, for a start, it is important to remember that the gardens are compulsory as they are a part of the official tenancy for all residents in Sundholm Syd. This means that the residents do not formally have a choice not to have a pixi garden and it is fair to assume that not all residents chose to live in Sundholm Syd because they want a pixi garden. In some cases, residents choose temporally to lend out their gardens to neighbors from surrounding gardens. This might end up being problematic if one of the

concerned residents move out since they are required to reestablish the gardens to their original conditions. In cases where residents do not have a wish to keep or have a garden and do not lend out their gardens, perhaps because of the organizational problematics, they end up being empty or used for storage. In other cases with empty gardens or gardens used for storage, the reason is grounded in some of the interfaces that this chapter's analysis will unfold.

Identifying and discovering these interfaces take its starting point in their physical forms but are analyzed with attention to the social aspects as well, since the affordances often result in social behavior and activities that can tell us something about the quality of the open space. The interfaces are shown in fig. 20 below and will be described in the following sections.

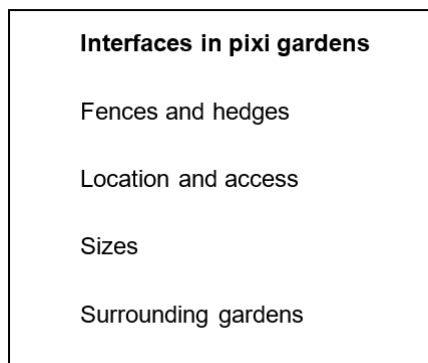


Fig 20 Interfaces of the small pixi gardens (Own figure)

Fences and Hedges

As mentioned in section 7.1.1, the obvious physical interfaces are the fences and hedges. The hedge's conditions are challenged due to a bad soil quality, shadow conditions and are therefore in many cases difficult for the residents to grow. This makes the degree of transparency dependent on the hedges' conditions. The transparency can become a challenge in obtaining privacy, since the transparency extends the experienced physical boundaries of the garden and thereby the experienced distances of the garden. This means that a 5-square-meter pixi garden can appear as a space connected to the ones around it or

the public space surrounding the residential unit. This results in the pixi garden not being intimate or personal, even though it is theoretically said to be exactly this. The transparency as a challenge for privacy is expressed by a female middle-aged resident:

“The hedge never grew much, so the garden is open to the pathway where people walk around. In this way, it never really becomes a place where it feels nice and private to stay”- female, middle-aged.

The female resident is provided with a small pixi garden on the corner of the residential area with the neighbor being a free parking lot. Her experience is that the empty neighbor area is challenged due to the lack of inspection and formal activity. A year ago, her hedge burned down because a scooter was set on fire. She mentions how it was difficult to make it grow before, that it now seems impossible and that the transparency to the public makes it unattractive to stay there. This means that if the gardens are visually exposed by and to the public, the feeling becomes more public. When gardens are visually exposed to other gardens, the feeling becomes more social and perhaps semi-public but still not private.

On the contrary, there are some areas where the hedges are completely solid and almost provokes an allotment-vibe. The only place where you can get a feeling of what happens inside the garden is then through the opening. The field notes below shows the experience pointing in the opposite direction of what the resident were expressing:

I got a feeling of walking into private space when walking around in the pixi garden area, and almost walking into a man lying in his small garden. I had not even seen him, even though he almost took up the entire space himself and I slowly took a step backwards when I realized he was there. – Field notes, April 2019

The above-mentioned experience expresses the feeling of entering private space. The element that provoked this feeling was the solid hedges and if they had not been that solid, the experience would most likely have been different. The affordance of a solid hedge is then to some extent, that you can act like you are alone, like you are inside your private home and sleep because no one will see you or interfere with you. In that sense, a solid hedge is shielding, whereas the affordance of a transparent hedge is the opposite; to some extent you need to stay social and be aware of the fact that other people might expect to interact with you. It is not that one cannot sleep in an entirely public space, such as a park, but it is not assured that you are alone and not will be disturbed by strangers in a public space. If you are around fellow-residents, it might be considered nonsocial not to talk or interact with other residents who are visible. The experience of privacy is here mostly depending on the exposure to social and public views that the hedges create. The semi-publicness that the transparent hedges result in is perceived negative, since the small pixi gardens are perceived as private spaces. In section 7.1.2 it will, however be described how residents end up merging their gardens and appreciating the new, but semi-public space that it creates. The important thing here is that they enjoy the semi-publicness because the space is then meant to be semi-public and not private.

Location and Access



Fig 21 The edge zone of the building, the pathway and the pixi gardens. (Own picture)

Some gardens are placed in front of the resident's terrace, some are placed around the building block from where the resident lives and some are even placed at another building block than the one where the resident lives. No gardens are directly in physical continuation of the buildings since there is a walking path dividing all gardens from the building blocks. However, access is one of the most elaborated reasons why residents do not use their garden as much as they would like to. Three of the interviewees do not use their small pixi gardens and they explain how it would have been different, if the access was better and how it is a barrier that you have to walk a long way to be able to use the pixi garden. One of the interviewees is a middle-aged woman saying:

“Regarding the location. There are some pixi gardens located just in front of resident's doors, right? In one of the rows they have it just in front of

their apartments. Mine is... well I have to walk around the next house and well..” – female, middle-aged.

Another middle-aged female resident relates the barrier to when you live in a tall building block and must walk down to a back yard. She mentions how it seems a bit silly, when the entire back yard is not even yours to use. She says that people, including herself, would wonder: *“Why are you sitting down here, when you can sit on your balcony?”* – female, middle-aged. In that sense, the long distance between the apartment and the pixi garden becomes a question of convenience. The residents who find access as a key challenge are also the ones with other complaints about their gardens, such as shadow conditions, sizes and soil quality. This is an indication for access also becoming a bigger barrier when the resident does not have a good enough reason “to go”.

The gardens divided by the pathway, but in continuation of apartments, seem more connected to private homes, which can make them appear more private, because the private home is very close to the garden. These are also the more developed gardens which are more used by the connected residents. The feeling of ownership due to easy access becomes a feeling of privacy and a young female resident points to exactly this in the following:

“There are some pixi gardens that are more private, where the pixi gardens are just in front of the resident’s apartments. Where they are an extension to their private space.” – female, young.

Another old female resident follows up on this point by categorizing the gardens with the easy access as the private gardens:

“There are some very well-located gardens at Brydes Allé. There you can say, that they have their own private garden, right?” female, old.

In general, the gardens in continuation of the apartments are perceived as the well-located ones and the gardens randomly located around the building blocks are perceived as the not so well-located ones. Access does therefore appear as an interface of both physical and social aspects. Physical, because it is too far and inconvenient to walk to as well as the level of privacy decreases when it is too far away from the private space. Social, because the well-located gardens are perceived as more private and nicer than the not so well-located gardens. The original understanding of the pixi gardens are that they should be private. In that sense, it seems like a few residents got what they dreamt about.

The residents with well-located gardens are perceived as more privileged than the rest, which provides the residents with a feeling of inequality. Residents mention how it is not socially fair and how they even feel a bit silly to try to make a good use out of the gardens that are located so bad compared to the gardens located much better. The feeling of unfair distribution also comes to the surface regarding the sizes of the gardens; most residents wish to have the bigger gardens since they enable more activities and since these are also the ones well-located at the site.

Location and access are key factors, but there is another important point regarding location: light. Regarding light, there is a difference between living at Amagerfælledvej and living at Brydes Allé. The light conditions for both cases depend on the relation to and angling of the building blocks, but some gardens are located behind sheds and walls making it very difficult to grow anything in the garden. If the hedges are high and the garden is small the sunlight likewise does not come into the garden. It is also a barrier for the level of activity and residents present in the gardens. At Amagerfælledvej, it is not possible to sit in sun light after approximately 2 PM which makes it less attractive to stay outside. An old female resident from Brydes Allé states the following and sum up the overall points about fair distribution:

“I would not recommend making pixi gardens in other cases, unless you can make a more fair distribution of sun, sky and square meters” –
female, old.

Sizes

When entering the pixi garden areas, it quickly becomes clear that the sizes of the pixi gardens play a crucial role in the use and satisfaction of the gardens. An indication of sizes being an issue is the fact that some are merged together, some are empty, some are used for storage, some are too small for other than gardening and others are too large for “just” gardening. The residents do not decide themselves, if they want a small or a large garden. This is problematic, since they could have different wishes for what they would like to have a garden for and this is perhaps the main reason to why the gardens are not used as much as intended.

The small pixi gardens can be down to 5 square meters and if so, the distances can be qualified as intimate and personal. However, if the hedge is not solid or tall, the intimate and personal distances disappear, because of the visual connection to other gardens and public spaces. If the pixi gardens are a bit bigger, the sizes of 5 square meters and up to 15, they can be categorized as personal and social, again only if the hedges are solid. The social distance enables other activities and make the gardens able to facilitate another usage than gardening. Then, the gardens can facilitate an increase in social interaction and people. The sizes of the pixi gardens can therefore be argued to be an interface of the resident’s own space and community with other residents.

From an analytical point of view, it is difficult to say if the small pixi gardens are too small or too large to fit the residents wishes or needs and fulfill the original plan for the gardens. This can partly be caused by a difference in the resident’s understandings of the intentional thoughts about the concept of the pixi gardens.

As described earlier, most residents dreamt about a nice little garden. One young female resident mentions the local plan and describes how she thought the pixi garden concept was more like a plant community than an actual garden concept. She did not perceive the pixi gardens as a place for staying and thinks that smaller pixi gardens would be more useful. However, she also mentions that not all residents necessarily would be interested in gardening and that the system then should be to sign up for a small pixi garden to maintain. The rest of the space could then be designed as a common area. On the contrary, other residents do not think it makes sense to have gardens that are too small for staying in and wish for bigger gardens, well-located gardens in extension of the apartments.

Lastly, the feeling of unfair distribution, as mentioned in the section about location and access, is also present regarding the sizes. One of the residents says that she is having a hard time accepting that some residents are left with gardens at the size of 5 square meters whereas others are provided with gardens at the size of 15 square meters.

Surrounding gardens

Another point regarding the small pixi gardens is the noise- and activity level of surrounding gardens. One middle-aged female resident says that the bigger merged gardens appeal for children and their noise level is a disturbing factor for the feeling of her privacy. In her opinion, the feeling of privacy is connected to the feeling of being alone.

“You have one pixi garden each, but some merge them to get space for a playground and that kind of stuff. But mine is just mine and I don’t really use it that often. That is probably caused by the fact that I don’t have small kids. There are a lot of them here and then it becomes a sort of playground, right? So, if you feel like reading a book it is not always possible to do so” – female, old

All the interviewed residents, including residents with children, point to the bigger community as being dominated by families with children and that children are prioritized both socially with events and spatially since the bigger gardens are merged with the purpose of creating space for playgrounds. This means that the smaller gardens might take up more space in total but that the bigger gardens are the ones dominating the activity level, the noise level and the total use of the area.

The noise level can be caused by internal activities, but other activities in the surrounding area outside Sundholm Syd, are also mentioned as a factor for feeling unsafe which makes the feeling of privacy harder to obtain. The merged gardens will be described in the next section.

7.1.2 Merged gardens

These merged gardens are the ones described as the surrounding gardens when describing the small pixi gardens, and they are a result of two or more residents merging their small gardens together. The merges of 2, 3, 4 or 5 gardens have resulted in large gardens in the sizes of 20-40 square meters. As described in the beginning of the pixi garden chapter, the merges happen due to residents' wishes for more space and/or because the residents gave up on their individual small pixi garden due to the interfaces described in the previous section. By merging them, they find them more useful. Lastly, some residents also lend out their garden to the neighbor because they do not want to use or maintain their own garden.

When visiting the pixi garden areas, it quickly became clear that the large gardens were where people were present and where the most work had been done to be able to use the gardens. Some of them were aesthetically pleasing, see fig 22, and some were made with the main purpose of providing space for children's playing and sitting adults, see fig 23.



Fig 22. An example of a large garden seen from above. In this case the garden is a result of a merge between two gardens. The reason behind the merge is that one of the residents did not want to use his/her garden and another one wanted a bigger garden. (Own picture)



Fig 23 an example of four merged gardens at the size of approximately 40 square meters. (Own picture)

When residents merge the gardens the sizes get bigger and the conditions for sun light also get better in most cases, which make the conditions for plants, including hedges, better. The access does likewise get better in some cases. The merges can therefore partly be said to counteract the critical aspects for the small pixi gardens. However, it is important to note that the new sizes result in a shift from the affordance of intimate and personal distances to the affordance of social activities. It is therefore crucial that the residents are willing to compromise on the feeling of privacy and embrace the new opportunities for social activity. In that sense, the merged gardens become semi-public if the hedges shielding the gardens from the road are solid, and they become public if the hedges are transparent and expose the merged gardens to the public.

This section will primarily delve into the social processes of the merges. The already described physical aspects are the reasons to the merges whereas the social aspects can help to describe the process of going from a failed affordance of privacy to actively trying to creating more publicness or semi-publicness and what semi-publicness enables in terms of form and use.

The group of interviewed residents consist of two residents with small pixi gardens that they do not use, one resident who has merged her garden with four other residents and is using this garden, one resident who has a small pixi garden but uses one of the merged gardens and one resident who has merged her garden with her neighbor and does not use it. When asking the residents, they all agree that the small pixi gardens are useless in terms of planting, obtaining a feeling of privacy and in finding other ways to use their gardens. They also agree that most life is happening in the merged gardens. The resident who merged her garden with 4 residents from her building is an old woman and she explains that the main reason to the merges is the fact that residents do not want to use their small gardens as private spaces:

“The original thought was that we were supposed to sit isolated in one small pixi garden each. Many of us did not want the isolation and therefore we chose to merge them.” female, old.

In this case, the resident and her fellow garden-residents were not satisfied with having their own small pixi garden and did not find a good reason to use it, so they merged them with the purpose of getting better conditions to use the garden area. However, it is important to notice that even though the resident states that she did not want to sit in her own small pixi garden, she is not sure that she would have merged the garden, if it was one of the large ones.

“Those who got the large gardens were lucky. There you can understand that they did not want to merge them with other gardens because they finally got a nice large garden. I might also would have said no to merge mine in that case” – female, old.

This indicates that it is not the fact that she did not want an individual garden, but more likely the case that she did not want an individual garden when it is as small as it is. She elaborates the point by saying that she uses her balcony when she is alone and uses the merged garden when she feels like talking to her neighbors. In that sense, she uses her balcony for private purposes and the merged garden for social purposes. She mentions that the merged garden is used by both children and adults, but mainly by the ones who chose to merge their gardens.

Another resident, a young female with a child, uses another merged garden and leaves her own empty. She likewise explains how her family uses the balconies when they feel like being alone and the merged garden when they feel like being social. The garden is merged with the purpose of creating space for a small playground for children and a bench for parents. She is very happy with the balconies and only uses

the merged garden because of her daughter's wish to play with other children and to be social with the other parents who use the garden with their children. She furthermore mentions how they also use one of the individual pixi gardens due to its extraordinary large size from the beginning. When visiting Sundholm Syd, I got to speak to the resident with the mentioned garden and she explains how lucky she feels, having her own large garden and having access to the merged garden with the playground. She mentions her garden as being more private than the merged one, but also that her garden is open for the children and parents using the merged garden. She mentions how the children uses the merged garden for playing and her garden for bathing, because she usually establishes a small pool for the children in summer time. The perception of the merged garden primarily used as playground is that it is not directly a common space, but something in between the private space and the common space. They do not think that the merged garden is for citizens living outside Sundholm Syd, but they perceive it as open for residents living inside Sundholm Syd. In a sense, the garden is perceived as a social space, which also partially align with the taxonomy of distances. The taxonomy of distances theoretically also includes the public distance and if the garden was placed directly at the street and the hedges were not shielding the garden well, it perhaps could have been a challenge that the distances make it appear more public than the smaller gardens.

7.2 Other areas/zones of Sundholm Syd

7.2.1 Pathway

A gravel pathway is located around the building blocks and divide the terraces and the pixi gardens. The pathway functions as a transfer space and some of the residents are forced to use it to get to their front door and thereby access to their homes. The pathway likewise functions as a connection to the pixi gardens and the residents must use the pathway to get access to their pixi gardens. The pathway is also what makes it impossible to have an entirely private pixi garden, even though the garden is placed in continuation of the residential. The pathway creates

access for the residents and for the publicness, but is not perceived as a public space, when asking the residents. This contrasts with the local plan where the pathway is described as a tool for letting the city area's citizens get access to enjoy the green aspects of the pixi gardens from a distance. The local plan even states that the pixi garden area is planned as being nice for the citizens to stroll through. A resident mentions this, but argues that the pixi gardens in that case are too big, because they then should have a character as urban garden spots and not hang out spots.

7.2.2 Terraces

The terraces are private for the ground floor residents' use, but not shielded from the pathway and thereby transferring residents. The terraces are open and less private than the balconies and the small gardens, but since the terraces are in direct continuation and in the edge zone, there is an understanding of them being private spaces. The interface at the pathway is only in the pavement and the interface to the apartment is glass, which also creates a visibility to the privacy. This makes the relationship between publicness and privacy fluid.

7.2.3 Common Open Space at Brydes Allé

Residents at Brydes Allé have chosen to transform a small open space between two of the buildings into a small common area with a large plant and two tables with benches, see fig 24.



Fig 24 Open space at Brydes Allé transformed by the residents into a common area. (Own picture)

This is the only open space developed by the residents for common use and a similar area is not established at Amagerfælledvej. The open space is accessible from both the public and the residents, since the open space is not shielded from the street. The residents mention the common area as a gravel path rather than a common space. When visiting the area, a resident mentions that they had some troubles with young people taking over the space during the summer of 2017 and that they had to tell them to leave, since the area was made for the residents. In that sense, the area can be perceived as a public space from the outside and conflict with the resident's view that the area is meant for the residents. Here, there is a conflict in the semi-publicness of the space.

7.3 Subconclusion

The interfaces analyzed in the section for the small pixi gardens are described with the purpose to discover the interfaces' influence on the

balance of privacy and publicness in a semi-public open space. The conditions for obtaining a feeling of privacy in many cases fail due to the physical and social aspects of the interfaces and the feeling of publicness overrule the area in a sense where it perhaps does not make sense to try to obtain privacy. It is important to state here, that the research design does not make it possible to say if residents overall would prefer the open space to embrace privacy over publicness or publicness over privacy. The research design enables me to analyze on the balance of publicness and privacy and interfaces' affordances of both elements. There is, however, a small indication that most residents originally understood the pixi gardens as small gardens and not small urban gardening spots. When the hedges furthermore never become the shielding element to create privacy, the privacy of the pixi gardens hardly exists. The failure of creating privacy results in empty gardens and gardens used for storage or merged gardens. When residents merge their gardens, it becomes possible to address the critical interfaces, make the gardens bigger, get more sunshine, get better conditions for plants and in some cases better access. It only works if residents are willing to forget about the original purpose of the pixi gardens being a more private space than public space and the fact that more space opens up for social and public distances which enables other activities. The residents who choose to merge their gardens have a greater feeling of community and they put a value on this aspect of the merge. The semi-publicness is in the merged garden case a positive thing whereas the semi-publicness of the small gardens is a negative thing.

Chapter 8 Interfaces in Charlottehaven

The aim of this chapter is to discover the interfaces in Charlottehaven with the same purpose as for Sundholm Syd; to analyze on the relationship between publicness and privacy and how both aspects contribute positively and negatively to the open spaces of a residential unit. Charlottehaven is, as described in the case presentation, a building block consisting of 178 apartments and is a part of a bigger project with a connected service center. The service center contains a café, a health club with fitness and pool and conference facilities.

On fig 25 it is possible to see the yard of Charlottehaven. There are three big niches for sitting, a commercial café spot with café tables and a playground, and these are the zones designed for different sorts of interaction. Pathways are dividing the zones and big grass fields take up a lot of space in the yard. All zones including pathways and grass fields will play a role in this chapter.

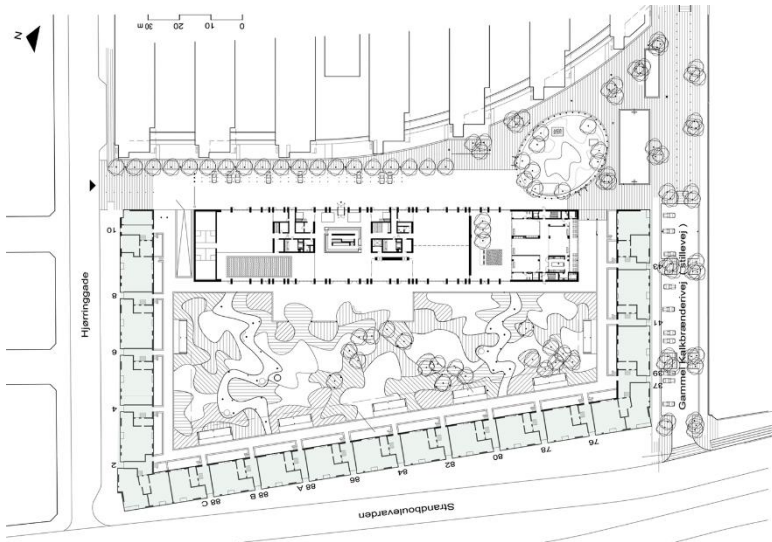


Fig 25 Site plan of Charlottehaven (Ltarkitekter, 2018)

Charlottehaven is, in contrast to Sundholm Syd, not only used by its residents, but also by the users of the commercial service center. To be able to discover the different kinds of activities and users, I have chosen

to draw moving patterns in Charlottehaven's yard based on an observation made in April 2019. The sketch is provided with crosses. One cross represents one person standing or sitting for more than 5 minutes.

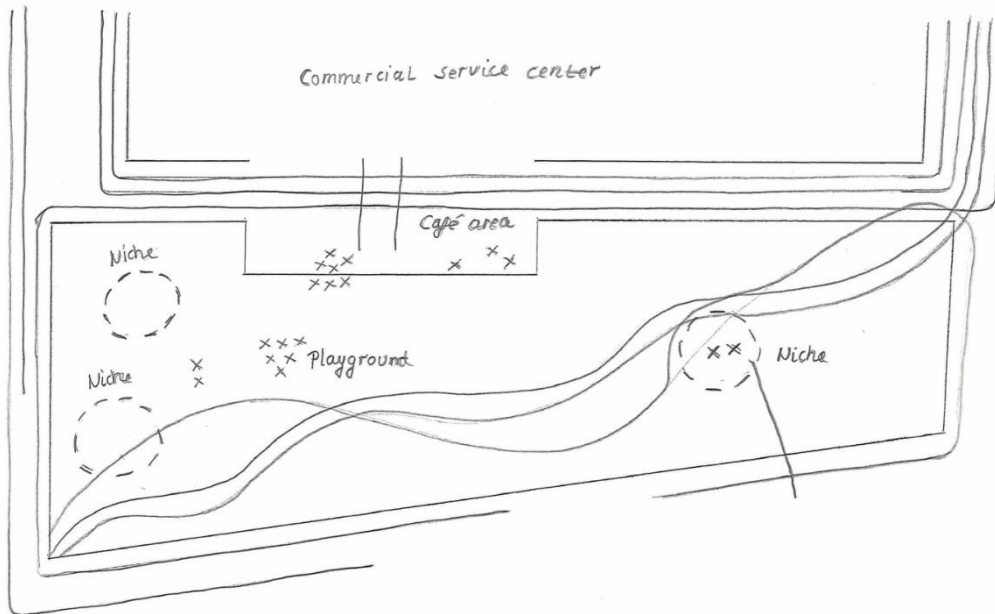


Fig 26 Field sketch showing the movement patterns and people present in Charlottehaven's yard on one of the first spring days in April. The observations were made from 12:00-13:30 on the 14th of April 2019. (Own figure)

The drawing shows how most of the staying activity take place in the space between the commercial sitting area and the playground. Only dog walkers walk on the grass and no one stays on the grass. The users primarily use the tables and benches related to the commercial service center. It is my clear impression that the people who are staying are coming from the commercial center, and that the people who are transferring, with or without dogs, are primarily residents from the building block including a few people coming from outside the building block.

The chapter presents four critical physical interfaces of the entire open space of Charlottehaven. The analysis will pay attention to both physical and social aspects as if it was the case for Sundholm Syd. The interfaces are shown in fig 27 below and will be the focus points throughout the analysis.

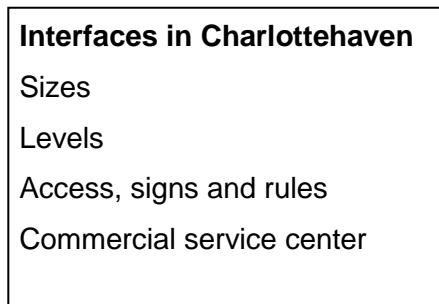


Fig 27 interfaces in Charlottehaven (Own figure)

8.1 Sizes

The open space of Charlottehaven is primarily the space in the middle of the building block and the commercial service center. In that sense, most of the open space appears almost like a yard in a perimeter block but is different due to its targeted user mix. Not only is the yard big, it also works with a large scale when designing only three large niches for 10-15 person's seating in the entire area. If analyzed from a distance taxonomy point of view, the distances are social or even public due to the choice of unusual large furniture shown on fig 28. The large distance is a result of the choice of large round tables. If you are alone, you might feel like taking up too much space, since there are only three of these sitting niches in the yard. If you are two, you can either sit very far away from each other and thereby use the entire table or sit just next to each other and only use a small percentage, thereby leaving space for other users to join. In that sense, the niche is more oriented towards big and social companies than to private and intimate activities. This is not necessarily a bad thing for the open space, but it becomes problematic, if the affordances of big companies stand alone and leave no space for individuals, couples or small families.



Fig 28 Niche for sitting (Own picture)



Fig 29 Niche for sitting (Own picture)

A middle-aged female resident mentions how it feels inappropriate and unsuitable to sit two or four people at a table for 10-12. She also mentions that the tables are perceived as taken if only two persons are sitting there, even though there is much space left. This is a social aspect of the physical form, because obviously more companies could be present in one niche, but it does not happen, due to social perceptions. She elaborates and connects the lack of space for sitting in the yard with the supply of café tables in the commercial area:

“It is not very appealing and with only four benches for that many residents, the commercial seating areas almost invite you to go to the café and spend money, right?” – female, middle-aged.

The same resident points to the large grass field as appealing for children to play at, but also that playing is not allowed at the grass field, only at the playground. She likewise explains how it is not allowed to play with dogs at the grass field and that these rules leave the grass field rather useless. There are several signs forbidding residents and users to walk their dogs without leashes and to walk on the grass beds. This point about the restrictions will be elaborated later in this chapter, but it is relevant here, since the sizes afford other activities than the social perceptions of the open space are set for.

Another aspect regarding sizes is the reed. The reed gets up to 2 meters tall. It is aesthetically pleasing from above and create a sense of different levels, which also gets mentioned by one of the older female residents, who does not use the garden for staying, but enjoys it from above. She lives in one of the penthouse apartments and uses only the commercial part of the outdoor area. She mentions the outdoor area’s aesthetic quality as the most important positive aspect of living in Charlottenhaven and is impressed by both the landscape architects and the gardener’s work. She, however, mentions how she does not need the open space facilitating social interaction, since she likes social interaction with people she knows, to be either inside her own private space or at other’s private spaces. She is in general not very interested in getting to know other residents than the ones she already does, but states that the commercial setting could be a place for interaction that she would appreciate:

“I am very happy with how things are. I would however like to meet other residents in the café sometimes, because the café is a space everyone can relate to... But I know so many people, I don’t need to know more” – female, old.

One of the residents with children mentions the reed as a topic of conflict, since the affordance of the reed in children's world is to hide and run in the reed, which is also not allowed. The way the tall reed contribute to open space is therefore mostly as an aesthetic element. It contributes to the feeling of a public park which provides the commercial part of the case with an invitation, since the space does not feel as it was exclusively designed for resident's social interaction.

8.2 Levels

Charlottehaven works with several levels to create interfaces between publicness and privacy and interfaces to divide and define different activities. For a start, the ground floor of the building, including the terraces, is lifted. According to Lawson, it is a common architectural feature to raise the ground floor with the purpose to aggrandize and make the building appear "great" or "important" (Lawson, 2001: 50). However, when the terraces are tall, opaque and shielding, it contributes to the feeling of privacy, since it becomes almost impossible to spot a resident. The lifted floor and terraces are shown in fig 30.



Fig 30 Lifted terraces. (Own picture)

When terraces are lifted, a separation of the private space and open space or public space is created and the link between privacy and open

space gets weaker than if the terraces were placed directly in continuation of the open space in front of the apartments. The lift of the terraces then makes a clear interface between privacy and publicness. If this was not the case, it is possible to think that the open space would interfere with the private space to a higher degree. When the terraces are lifted, it becomes difficult to interact between the yard and the terraces, but not from terrace to terrace. This means that the interface between residents and users of the yard is strong, but the line between residents internally is not. A young male resident explains how his terrace is the main reason for his social life with other residents.

"I live on the ground floor and that is the reason why I know other residents. I know the ones who live next door, because they also use their terrace." - male, young.

He mentions that they also meet each other in the yard, but only on the days where his son lives with him, because the yard is mostly used by residents, when the kids are playing. If he does not have his son, they mostly talk from terrace to terrace or invite each other over to their apartments.

The fact that the above-mentioned resident does not use the yard if he is not there with his child is reflected in the general use of the yard. The activity is as mentioned in the beginning, centered around the commercial part or the playground. The rest of the yard is empty and the grass fields are only used for dog walkers transferring through the yard. As shown in fig 31 and 32, the grass field is lifted ten centimeters from the gravel pavement and appears clearly as another zone than the pathway. The harsh line between pathway and grass field makes the affordance of the grass field a place that you are supposed to actively enter. You do not randomly enter the grass when walking around in the yard; the lift provides you with the sense that you are not supposed to walk on the grass, because of the obvious and markedly shift in level.



Fig 31 Lifted grass fields (Own picture)



Fig 32 Lifted grass fields (Own picture)

8.3 Commercial service center/surrounding area

As shown in fig 26, the activity is centered in the commercial service area or in the area next to. The outdoor café area targets paying customers and is unlike the rest of the yard not primarily designed for the residents. The area is clearly marked by a shift in pavement. The commercial area is the only place in the yard, where the design invites for 1 to 1 meetings or smaller companies. The commercial area is placed by the glass facade to the indoor facilities of the service center, which means that the café area is both exposed to the rest of the yard and the users of the service center. The transparency widens the area's distances from being social to being public, since it is possible to get a view through the entire building and to the street because of the transparency of the glass facades.

This vague or exposing interface creates a connection between what happens inside the center and what happens outside. The transparent interface makes it appealing to visit the yard from the inside as well as it links the café activity to the fitness and conference activities. The transparency and connection between indoor and outdoor activities is here expressed in field notes from my first visit in Charlottehaven's Health Club in April 2019:

“I feel exposed the second I enter the fitness room with glass facades to both sides. I choose a cross-trainer in the right corner and try to accept that I am now mostly exposed to the people walking on the street to the right. I can see all the way through the room, and through the glass facade to the left I have a full view to the swimmers and a view through the next glass facade between the swimming pool and the yard. The swimming pool looks appealing, but too exposed and I would feel awkward being exposed from that many angles, including the café, since the backwall is transparent as well. The yard looks more appealing than ever” – Field notes, April 2019



Fig 33 Entrance from Hjørringgade to commercial service center. (Own picture)

When asking residents about the commercial service center, the indication is that some of them use the café, some use the fitness area, some use the conference facilities. It seems like no one is unhappy with

this mix, even though everyone agrees that it would have been more useful and appealing for the residents, if the café was more oriented toward the residents by making a bigger effort in targeting the residents with special offers for them. This would make them feel more special and they would feel like they belonged to the café to a higher degree than the other users. An old female explains how she does not feel that the café or service center in general is made for the residents:

“There is a service center. A fitness center, a restaurant, a conference center... but we are just as strange to this center than anyone else, who should visit it.” – female, old.

A middle-aged resident elaborates the same point about not feeling special to the service center, even though they are the most obvious users:

“I think that the service center does a good job, it is such a nice place, and it is fun to see how it has grown. On the other hand, I would really like them to do some more for the residents. There is no discount. It is not like the facilities are here for our sake. It’s here for the money. I think it would be nice, if they cared a bit more about the residents” - Female, middle-aged.

The same resident mentions a positive social aspect of the commercial service center in line with what the movement pattern shows; the life in Charlottehaven’s yard caused by users of the commercial center. The resident explains it in the following:

“The companies and parties create life here in Charlottehaven. Children come here and it brings in life to the building block. Especially since my own children have grown up.”- Female, middle-aged.

The commercial service center is also where the weekly 'social hour' takes place. Social hour is the only formal social gathering point that residents can attend and it takes place every Thursday from 17 to 18. Unlike social gatherings in other residential units, such as in Sundholm Syd, the social gathering is initiated by the commercial service center, not the residents themselves. The social hour is not only for the residents, but also for friends of Charlottehaven, which means café users, fitness users, conference users etc. The café is running the social hour and the concept is that they provide residents with a glass of wine and encourage them to sit and talk to each other. The concept is very popular and when I visited a social hour in May, there were 31 persons present, drinking wine in the sun. A middle-aged female resident sums up what the social hour can do for the residents in the following:

"For instance, I was there yesterday. And then I got to say hello to some of my neighbors. You can sit outside and get a drink, it's amazing."

Female, middle-aged

The residents perceive the social hour as an event for residents and when I ask them, they think that the concept is mainly there for them and they also think that they are the obvious users. When I visited the social hour, I got a feeling that most visitors were residents and that people mainly talked to the ones they knew. The small café tables do not invite for bigger gatherings and there were only two bigger groups who chose to push their tables together to have a bigger gathering.

The concept is popular and the interviewed residents agree on wanting more of this sort of activities in the café. One of the interviewed residents thinks that the commercial setting is a great way to meet one's neighbors whereas the others also wish for non-commercial gatherings and think that it would be great to have a resident's association. She also mentions

that some of the residents are trying to make it happen during 2019 to get to know more people from the residential unit.

8.4 Access, Signs and Rules



Fig 34 Sign "Private area. Walking of dogs prohibited". (Own picture)

It is possible to enter Charlottehaven's yard from Hjørringgade, Gl. Kalkbrænderivej and from the service center. There are private-signs hanging from both corners of the service center building even though the yard legally is supposed to be accessible for the public. When entering the service center from the street, there is a big desk with two or more receptionists to greet users. At my first fitness visit, I could not find the changing room, and an employee quickly came and furthermore required to check my fitness ID before I could see the changing rooms. With a relatively strict group of employees, it can therefore be hard to imagine that non-customers are hanging out at the commercial spots. However, it is possible for non-customers and non-residents to enter the yard if they do not feel obliged to stop when seeing the private-signs. One of the residents, however, mentions that Charlottehaven had troubles with citizens coming from outside and especially citizens that Charlottehaven did not like to host:

A couple of years ago, young people came and drank beers without

cleaning up after themselves. Sometimes it still happens. *Then it suddenly attracted homeless people, but luckily, the administration has taken care of it... but it also... suddenly it was paradise to sit there. For a long time, there were shopping carts and all kinds of stuff in the garden. They unfortunately did not clean up after themselves!*" – female, middle-aged.

The same user mentions how there was a case going on about establishing a gate to keep out other persons than the residents and the users from the commercial part. However, it was too expensive and did not happen. If that would have happened, the yard would not be accessible for the public and it would have conflicted with the local plan. It is not possible to say if the privacy feeling would be stronger, since the commercial users would still have access, but the publicness of the yard would officially be limited.

Other than the private-signs there are signs saying that loose dogs are not welcome. The interviewed resident mentions that there is a conflict about dogs and that it goes in hand with conflicts about children playing and destroying the garden:

"When my children were younger they were not allowed to play in the yard and even though many of the guests of Charlottehaven's commercial part are playing in the yard and in the reed, we are the ones who get blamed. Now there is a new gardener who thinks that the dogs are ruining the garden, which I also find wrong, but he has yelled at some older ladies with dogs, who now has complained to the administration about it." – female, middle-aged

The other young resident with a son elaborates on the same point about rules for children and playing, but mentions that it is mainly the old ladies who find the children annoying and make up rules for them:

“For instance, last weekend, the children were playing and then old ladies came to the playground and yelled at the children, because the children did something, that the ladies did not want.” – male, young

This point about judging, making rules for each other and having a relatively harsh administration turn Charlottehaven's yard into a bit of a war zone. It becomes clear that the aesthetical quality comes with a prize, when different sorts of activities in the yard are being considered inappropriate due to the maintenance of the yard. It also becomes difficult when affordances of reed and grass fields are different depending on the residents and users age and perceptions of what an open space should provide.

6.5 Subconclusion

There is very little affordance of privacy present in Charlottehaven. The facilities for social interaction are designed with a focus on bigger groups and the commercial service center brings in life, but also public life, to the yard. The life cannot be considered entirely public, since the “public” are paying customer's who choose to use Charlottehaven as a concept or because they are invited by someone who choose Charlottehaven as a concept, which makes it fair to say that those who visit the yard are more likeminded than a public square in the city of Copenhagen in general is. There are more public activities than private activities and the yard is predominantly used by commercial users and residents who walk their dogs. The physical sizes and levels afford activities that do not match the perceptions by some of the residential users and result in social conflicts between the residents and the users, the residents internally and the residents and the administration.

Chapter 9 Transversal Elements of Interfaces

This chapter will focus on the transversal points regarding interfaces. Despite the differences in the cases, it becomes clear that many interfaces provoke privacy and publicness because of certain transversal elements. These will be analyzed with the purpose of unfolding the terms and to open up for a further discussion of considerations for future development of open spaces.

Four dominant interfaces are identified for each case in the two previous chapters. These are *fences & hedges*, *location & access*, *sizes* and *surrounding gardens* for Sundholm Syd and *sizes*, *levels*, *signs & rules* and *commercial surroundings* for Charlottehaven. All factors contain both physical and social aspects and were analyzed in their physical and social context of the cases. Fig 35 below shows roughly the key notes from the analyses in chapter 7 and 8, and what the identified interfaces contain in terms of affordances of private and public behavior and activities.

Identified interfaces of Sundholm Syd and Charlottehaven	
Sundholm Syd	Charlottehaven
Fences & Hedges: <i>visual links, residents vs. strangers</i>	Levels: <i>visual links, residents vs. strangers</i>
Location & Access: <i>convenience, residents vs. strangers, visual links</i>	Signs, rules & access: <i>residents vs. strangers, convenience, conflicts in use of physical spaces</i>
Sizes: <i>distances</i>	Sizes: <i>distances</i>
Surrounding gardens: <i>residents vs. strangers, other communities, types of activities</i>	Commercial surroundings: <i>residents vs. strangers, children, types of activities</i>

Fig 35 Shows the identified interfaces of Sundholm Syd and Charlottehaven. The interfaces are provided with key notes from the analyses of the interfaces in chapter 7 and 8. (Own figure)

When looking at fig 35 it becomes clear that there are some dominating similarities of the interfaces and related terms across the cases. These are the ones I choose to elaborate in this chapter and they are shown in fig 36.

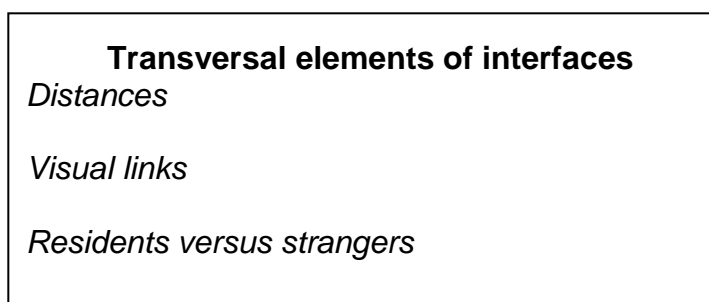


Fig 36 Transversal elements of interfaces (Own figure)

9.1 Distances

In the previous chapters, it has become clear for both cases that distances play a crucial role in terms of the affordances of both public and private behavior. In the theory chapter I define privacy as intimate or personal distances and activities. I define publicness as social or community-oriented distances and activities. I furthermore raise a critique against the distance taxonomy regarding that it is one-sided and narrow in terms of giving a full picture of the level of intimate, personal, social and public distances and their effect on activities and atmosphere. To get a more nuanced picture, I thus choose to apply in combination with affordance theory and theory about urban interfaces as I define the *interfaces* I look for in the field.

For a start, the physical spaces in both cases vary a lot in sizes. In Sundholm Syd, the idea is to provide residents with relatively small spaces they can keep as small kitchen gardens, gardens or hang out spots. However, the previous analysis points to the mismatches in the

understandings of the concept and how residents have different perceptions of how they are supposed to use their gardens.

Few gardens are small, have solid hedges and are used as small private spaces. Here, the field findings go in line with the distance theory, since the atmosphere and activities are intimate and personal. However, both the activities and atmosphere disappear in the cases where the hedges/interfaces are transparent, since the transparency challenges the designed distances. What happens is that the interfaces vanish, the space get extended and other spaces and activities stress the privacy.

In Charlottehaven, the interfaces of the sitting niches are made by the pathway and shifts in levels. The interfaces can be considered weak, because of the continuous exposure to the rest of the yard. The large furniture of the niches is in focus and forms the activity type as sitting, but the level of interaction is social and public due to the high number of users that the furniture targets. There is then little affordance of intimate and personal distances and the feeling of privacy is not a reality. If the designer would provide the yard with privacy, he/she should have worked with smaller niches and more shielding interfaces to make sure that the space does not get extended by its interfaces. The lack of private spaces makes the open space public, not semi-public.

The analyses show that distances in spaces do matter in regard to privacy and publicness, but that the distances themselves do not only depend on the theoretical distance and physical amount of space. The experienced distances highly depend on visuals and exposure, which next section will address.

9.2 Visual links

As described in the previous section, visual links can be interfaces that are vague and exposing or strong and shielding. It is important to state here, that both vague and strong visual links can be relevant and

positive, if used appropriately. The analyses in chapter 7 and 8 have shown that visual links have a noticeable influence on the interface between privacy and publicness, the residents' use of the open spaces and the participation in internal communities.

In the case of Sundholm Syd, level of transparency of the hedges or in other words; the visual links between the gardens, are direct reasons to the different levels and feelings of privacy, publicness and semi-publicness. If the interface, being the hedges, is transparent or in other words creates strong visual links with the surrounding gardens, the physical space becomes more social or public than private.

In Charlottehaven, it is nearly impossible to get a visual sight to what happens at the terraces when standing in the yard, but it is possible to get a visual connection between the terraces, if you stand on one. This strong visual link between terraces becomes an affordance of internal community between the neighbors. The vague visual link between the terraces and the yard becomes an affordance of no community between the residents on the terraces and the users of the yard. This is what the young male resident points to when he mentions his strong relationship with neighbors in section 8.2. Since it feels relatively private to stay at the terraces, it becomes a more active choice to enter the yard and thereby a more active choice to enter the semi-publicness or publicness and related broader community. This vague visual link between private terrace space and semi-public yard space then becomes a harsh interface and a clear definition of privacy and semi-publicness. This makes the residents feel intimate and personal in the private space and social and public in the semi-public space. In that sense, the harsh interface that the vague visual link creates clearly defines the affordance to be social semi-public space.

The interface between private space and semi-public space in Charlottehaven is harsh. On the contrary we have Sundholm Syd, where

most of the zones are visually coalesced to a degree where it becomes very hard to obtain a feeling of privacy anywhere. The interface between the private home and the terraces is made of glass, thereby exposing its residents and making it hard to obtain privacy. Alongside with this, the pointy house structure makes the buildings stand close to each other, which also exposes residents for more views. This becomes a challenge in residents' need for privacy and an old female explains just this in the following:

“Well, those pointy houses create views, severe views, I am looking directly into my neighbors' bed room, right?” – female, old.

As mentioned in chapter 7, one of the other females in Sundholm Syd also talks about the lack of privacy in the pixi gardens. She blames the strong visual link to other surroundings and furthermore mentions the noise as a barrier for her to use to open space.

If the space is set to be private, the space should be private, without strong visual links to others. It takes clear interfaces, vague visual links, between both the private homes and spaces like the small pixi gardens if they are supposed to act “private spaces”. It becomes a barrier in participating in internal communities, if the residents connect the other residents with bad feelings because of their disturbances of their privacy. Securing private spaces becomes important, if the residents are supposed to enjoy other semi-public and public spaces and the related community.

In Charlottehaven, the same vague interface and strong visual links appear for the commercial activities and the yard. It can thus be argued that the design is more oriented towards increasing the visual connection between commercial service center and the yard by making the garden appeal for the service center's indoor users. With the low amount of support of intimacy and personal activities in the yard, the yard becomes oriented towards the commercial activities to a higher degree and the

open space becomes more public than semi-public. If the affordances of the different spaces in the yard would have been of a more private character, it is possible to think that the feeling of semi-publicness and community would be stronger than it is.

Another point regarding visual links is the link between Sundholm Syd's apartments and pixi gardens and how the visual links here plays a role for the residents' incentives to maintain and use their gardens. There is an indication that gardens in continuation of private terraces are maintained and used in a higher degree than the ones placed far away from the residents. This is both a question of convenience, but it is also fair to assume that the gardens become more anonymous if placed with no visual link to its "owner". In that sense, the idea about creating ownership in the open space partially fails and a lot of it becomes anonymous. In Charlottehaven there is no opportunity to influence the form of the open space and it is strictly controlled by gardeners which result in a high degree of anonymity. Sundholm Syd has no gardeners, since the maintenance of the open space is the resident's responsibility.

The lack of visual link between the building blocks at Amagerfælledvej and the building blocks at Brydes Allé is likewise a barrier in terms of establishing and obtaining a sense of community in the entire residential unit. A resident elaborates how the local plan for the case requires the space in between the two units to become a square, but that it is now a space where Kulturfabrikken⁴ has placed two containers in double height.

"The local plan requires an establishment of a square between Brydes Allé and Amagerfælledvej. And Kulturfabrikken owns a plot where they have two floors... I don't know if you've noticed it... Two-floors-containers standing. They cover for one's opportunity to look at Brydes Allé and

⁴ Kulturfabrikken is a gathering point and work space for artist and designers located at Sundholmsvej 46 2300 Kbh S

thereby get a visual connection to the other part of our residential unit.”-
female, old

This is another example of how visual links play a role and it is shown here to articulate that both vague visual links, strong visual links and something in between are important. Vague visual links are positive in some cases, for instance between the apartment and the pixi garden in Sundholm Syd, but negative in other cases, such as the visual link between resident's individual homes. In this case the residents need more shielding and a vague visual links between homes and open space. The visual links can thus be said to play a role when it comes to creating a balance of private spaces and public spaces. In this way, the the visual links can help the different sorts of spaces not to stress each other. This goes in line with what I mentioned in the theory chapter about how, according to Lawson, different sorts of spaces and related activities should not stress each other in order to function well individually. This also goes in line with how I define semi-publicness with focus on articulating that semi-public spaces unavoidably consist of both privacy and publicness. The art is then to make privacy and publicness co-exist by using appropriate interfaces, for instance by creating appropriate visual links.

9.3 Residents versus Strangers

The foundational planning of both cases calls for the open spaces to become an active for the rest of the city area's citizens and to provide the area with public accessible areas to enjoy. For Charlottehaven, it is mainly the playground facility, which is outlined as an active for the rest of the city's use. For Sundholm Syd, there is a broader vision for the open space to contribute with environmental and social sustainability to the city area by applying the pixi garden concept. However, the residents of both cases are in general not perceiving their open spaces as open for the rest of the city. For Sundholm Syd, the residents perceive the open space as private for the residents to use. Some of the spaces of the

open space are even only for the residents who “own” the gardens. For Charlottehaven, the mindset for the open space is more public-minded in the sense that the residents expect the commercial users to be there. The residents even mention the commercial users as a positive aspect since they bring life to the open space. However, there are examples of conflicts with external users for both cases and residents of both Charlottehaven and Sundholm Syd are not interested in young people or homeless people using the open spaces. In that sense, the fact that the open spaces are accessible for the public does not make the open spaces public.

9.4 Subconclusion

There are three dominant points going across the identified interfaces: distances, visual links and the relationship between residents and strangers. Distances matter in terms of the level of privacy and publicness in many cases, but distances can be challenged by other physical features such as visual links. Visual links are crucial when it comes to the use of the open spaces. If there is no visual connection between the private space and the open space, it will most likely not be appealing to the residents. If there is too much visual link that exposes the private homes, the open spaces become less attractive since the community that belongs in the semi-public open space interfere with the private space. Regarding strangers and residents, there is a fine line, since indications from interviews point to citizens such as young people or homeless people not necessarily being welcome in the open spaces, even though it is supposed to be public accessible.

Chapter 10 Considerations Regarding Future Development of Open Spaces

By zooming into the physical interfaces in Sundholm Syd and Charlottehaven, several conflicts have surfaced and framed my understanding of how the open spaces take place. The conflicts are of both physical and social character. It has been possible to address some of them, whereas others left due to the limitations of the research design and scope of the thesis. The dominant conflicts will be further discussed in this chapter as well as the chapter present possible approaches to further investigate them.

10.1 Social Conflicts

There are conflicts of social character. These are conflicts such as the conflicts between residents, conflicts between residents and other users of the open space and conflicts between the administration and the residents for the case of Charlottehaven. It is important to state here, that a conflict can be understood as a regular argue or fight between two or more parts, but it can also be understood as a mismatch in perceptions of open spaces influencing the physical affordances, resulting in different uses of the open spaces, which can prohibit other uses. The social conflicts are in many cases a result of different perceptions linked to physical affordances. By conducting the interviews, it has become clear that perceptions in a resident group can differentiate to such a high degree that conflicts appear. For instance, children perceive the reed in Charlottehaven as a playing ground and other residents perceive the reed as aesthetical elements that should not be played in. In Sundholm Syd, the perception of activities in an open space likewise differentiate depending on who you are. For one resident, a pixi garden should provide silence because it is a private space and for another resident, a pixi garden should provide social meetings because the private space is placed in the open space. The last case results in merges of the gardens which results in a more social activity level that stresses the privacy of the small pixi gardens. To approach these mismatches in perceptions, it

becomes crucial to work with appropriate interfaces that prohibit the different sorts and levels of activities in stressing each other. The design of different distances and of visual links can help to create appropriate interfaces and prohibit the activities to stress each other. The perhaps best example of such an interface is the interface between terraces lifted in Charlottehaven described in section 8.2. Here, the different spaces do not stress each other due to a shift in level which creates a vague visual link between assumed semi-public activities in open space and activities in private space. Since spaces of private character are also supposed to be a part of the open spaces to make them semi-public, such as the small private pixi gardens in Sundholm Syd or the sitting niches in Charlottehaven, the interfaces should likewise be shielded using vague visual links and the design for small distances.

In continuation of what is argued above, it could be useful to get an insight into the residents' perceptions of open spaces influence on the affordances of physical elements. A point of departure could be to look at the cases from a practice theoretical perspective, since practice theory deals with how peoples' practices are not just shaped by human skills and competences, but also norms and experiences. Investigating open spaces with a view to practice theory would in other words have provided the opportunity to look more focused into how affordances in open spaces depend on social and cultural experiences and perceptions as I describe in theory chapter.

10. 2 Planning Conflicts

As described in the beginning of the thesis, open spaces are in most cases planned to be public accessible. This means that the open space should not only provide quality for the residents, also for the users of the city. The thesis is concerned with the residents' point of views and how the open spaces take place in their everyday living. In Charlottehaven, the commercial users are accepted by residents and administration, but homeless people and young people drinking beer are not welcome. This

has resulted in “private area” signs and they have succeeded with removing not-wanted external users from the open space. In Sundholm Syd, the residents likewise succeeded with removing young beer-drinkers from their open spaces. It is fair to say that there is a conflict between planners’ perceptions of open spaces being public accessible and resident’s perceptions of open spaces being for the ones who live there or in Charlottehaven’s case; the ones who pay to be there. In the proposed Municipal Plan 2019, the future role of open spaces is expressed as breathing spaces. Breathing spaces which are necessary when taking up more space for housing and stressing the areas of the city. The breathing spaces are in the Municipal Plan related to green public spaces. In that sense, it can be perceived as if the City of Copenhagen aims to provide not only residents with open spaces, but also citizens with open spaces. With this formulation of the future role, it is worth considering if the dream of open spaces as being semi-public spaces can come true, if the perception from the residents’ is that the open spaces are for them to use. In that sense, it is worth investigating, if citizens are interested in using others’ open spaces or if it is only homeless people and young people, who do not have anywhere else to go, who find the open spaces appealing for them to use. If that is the case, it is either necessary to educate residents in welcoming other users than themselves or to develop (more) spaces targeting those who are without homes or with no place to interact socially. The future role of the open spaces can therefore be argued to be a bit idealistic if decision makers and planners continue to leave the design performance of open spaces at the developers’ court.

Chapter 11 Conclusion

The vision of the project has been to discover the interfaces of privacy and publicness and how these two elements contribute to the cases of two different open spaces.

It has become clear that it is important to design affordances of both private and public behavior in the open space to make the open space feel like a place designed for its residents. This is what makes it semi-public and not just private or public. The way that it can be done is to remember to create spaces of short distances and shielding interfaces. This enables meetings between residents, but also reasons for the individuals, couples or for the families to use the open space as a space that was designed for them to have a nice time outside, with a relation to home. If the open space is designed entirely with affordances of public behavior, it competes with the rest of the city's public spaces and residents might find other strengths in their recreational quality that makes the open space less attractive. If the open space, as for the case of Charlottehaven, is a part of a commercial mix, it is important to appeal to the residents and consider them as more than "just users". Here the private spaces become even more important in the open spaces, since commercial users are already making the open space more public than private, which challenge the value of the semi-publicness.

It has also become clear that it takes a relatively harsh interface between the private homes and the open space to support the community in the open spaces. The interface can become harsh by considering the visual connection between the private home and the open space. In Charlottehaven, the terraces are lifted and the balconies are shielding, which makes a very strict interface between the open space and the private homes. On the contrary, Sundholm Syd represents transparency and everything sort of melts together, except for the gardens that are provided with shielding hedges. It becomes too unclear when or if a resident is interested in interaction, if the balcony or terrace seems just

as public as the open space and if the residents never feel alone or alone with their family, the open space can become a cost for the private home and become a burden that the residents would rather be without. In the introduction, I asked if residents need the open spaces because they are interested in interaction with other people or if they would like the open space to be their extended living room. With the project it has become clear that there is no final answer to this. Most of the interviewed residents of Sundholm Syd dreamt about getting their own small garden when they moved in. Some of them were disappointed when they found out that their dream about a private garden turned out to be a 5-square-meter dark triangle of bad soil quality. In Charlottehaven no one expected this much privacy from the open space, since it was never a part of the prospect, but they expected an open space for the residents, which requires a distinction from public spaces. For both cases, the residents of the two cases want to interact with other residents, but in some cases, only some of the other residents or a few. They do in general not want to interact with public users. In this sense, the idea that open spaces are also for the public can therefore be argued to be unrealistic in today's planning paradigm of open spaces. This thesis has shown that different perceptions do play a role in the affordances of physical designs in open spaces and suggests that more knowledge about residents' as well as citizens' perceptions of what open spaces shall contribute with should be generated to make the open spaces play a valuable role in the future of the city.

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Appendix

Appendix 1 – Interview guide Sundholm Syd

Om dig

I hvilket år er du født?

Bor der andre i hustanden udover dig selv?

Hvad laver du til daglig?

Hvor boede du før, du flyttede til Sundholm Syd? (ejer, lejer, hus, lejlighed?)

Hvornår flyttede du ind?

Hvad ledte du efter, da du flyttede ind i Sundholm Syd? (større bolig, mindre bolig, mere moderne, lejer, billig bolig?)

Hvorfor flyttede du ind?

Hvad var dine forventninger til at flytte ind?

Om boligen

Hvor stor er boligen?

Er der altan, terrasse?

Hvor længe stod du på venteliste?

Kunne du vælge mellem flere slags boliger i bebyggelsen?

Hvis ja, hvorfor valgte du netop denne?

Er boligen for lille, for stor?

Ville du være villig til at bo i en mindre bolig?

Hvor tilfreds er du med boligen:
(Er du meget tilfreds, tilfreds, utilfreds eller meget utilfreds?)

Muligheder omkring boligen/fællesarealer + faciliteter

Hvilke fællesfaciliteter har i her i bebyggelsen?

Bruger du/i fællesfaciliteterne?

- Pixihaver
- Andet?

Udearealerne:

Pixihaverne

Hvordan bruger du/i det?

Hvor ofte?

Er du tilfreds med haverne?

Er du overordnet set tilfreds med udearealerne?

Er et privat space vigtigt i udendørs sammenhæng (altan, pixihave etc.)?

Er der noget, der skulle være anderledes?

Savner du indendørs fællesarealer?

Fællesskab

Hvor mange beboere hilser du på, når du ser dem?

Hvor mange beboere snakker du jævnligt med?

Hvor mødes i?

Har udearealerne en afgørende faktor for fællesskabet?

Kender du flere her, en hvor du boede før?

Kan du finde på at spørge en af dine naboer om hjælp i din dagligdag?

Er der fælles aktiviteter/arrangementer i huset/begyggelsen?

Hvilke? Hvor tit?

Deltager du/i?

Savner du mere fællesskab?

Til sidst

Kan du nævne cirka tre positive ting ved at bo i Sundholm Syd?

Cirka tre negative ting?

Appendix 2 – Interview guide Charlottenhaven

Om dig

I hvilket år er du født?

Bor der andre i husstanden udover dig selv?

Hvad laver du til daglig?

Hvor boede du før, du flyttede til Charlottenhaven? (ejer, lejer, hus, lejlighed?)

Hvornår flyttede du ind?

Hvad ledte du efter, da du flyttede ind i Charlottenhaven? (større bolig, mindre bolig, mere moderne, lejer?)

Hvorfor flyttede du ind?

Hvad var dine forventninger til at flytte ind?

Om boligen

Hvor stor er boligen?

Er der altan/tagterasse?

Hvor længe stod du på venteliste?

Kunne du vælge mellem flere slags boliger i bebyggelsen?

Hvis ja, hvorfor valgte du netop denne?

Er boligen for lille, for stor?

Hvor tilfreds er du med boligen:

(Er du meget tilfreds, tilfreds, utilfreds eller meget utilfreds?)

Muligheder omkring boligen/fællesarealer + faciliteter

Hvilke fællesfaciliteter har i her i bebyggelsen?

Bruger du/i fællesfaciliteterne?

- Café
- Fitness + svømmehal
- Konferencefaciliteter
- Børnehave
- Andre? (har i et fællesrum?)

Udearealerne:

Hvordan bruger du/i det?

Hvor ofte?

Er du overordnet set tilfreds med gården?

Er der noget, der skulle være anderledes?

Ser du udearealerne som et offentligt eller privat rum?

Fællesskab

Hvor mange beboere hilser du på, når du ser dem?

Hvor mange beboere snakker du jævnligt med?

Hvor mødes i?

Kender du flere her, en hvor du boede før?

Kan du finde på at spørge en af dine naboer om hjælp i din dagligdag?

Er der fælles aktiviteter/arrangementer i huset/begyggelsen?

Hvilke? Hvor tit?

Deltager du/i?

Har du kendskab til Social Hour?

Deltager du/i? Hvor tit?

Savner du mere fællesskab?

Til sidst

Kan du nævne cirka tre positive ting ved at på i Charlottenhaven?

Cirka tre negative ting?

Har du telefonnr. / navn på en anden/to jeg kan snakke med?