

# THE CITY AS THE HOME

a pursuit towards utopia

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Is home only a feeling? Or is it a feeling of *that place*?

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## 00 Abstract

Over half of the world's population live in cities, and that number is expected to rise. Livability has set standards for how cities should be designed and operate, but little attention has been given to how those standards are perceived by humans. *The City as the Home* begins at the eye height of humans and asks the question of whether or not the city can be one's home. Using theories within four fields of study, this case study on Copenhagen, Denmark aims to understand what urban elements humans find affection in, their perceptions of the city, and how urban design can use conclusions from qualitative interviews to create cities that humans feel at home in. The results show that cities which can foster social connections and satisfy the needs of humans are well equipped to encourage the feeling of home. This report advises that architects and planners must interact with citizens on a deeper level to create a city that matches the needs of all its humans.

# 01 Introduction

As more humans across the world move into cities, it puts a greater demand on the infrastructure and systems within them (United Nations, 2018). Consequently, attention has blossomed as to how cities can sustainably develop and thrive. As national governments, architects and planners, and many other businesses take interest, it is evident that sustainable cities are in focus (EASME, 2019). With so many investigating the sustainable cities of tomorrow, how many pay attention to the citizens of today? It is here that *The City as the Home* begins.

The United Nations estimates that 68% of the global population will live in cities by 2050 (United Nations, 2018), and now more than ever, humans have the mobility to move to new countries as our birthplace no longer decides our place of residence (Duyvendak, 2011, 101). As cities grow in this manner, they gain new cultures and traditions all of which need to find root. There is also a vital question as to why so many move to cities - is it for work, school, social lives, to seek refuge, or perhaps they never moved at all. But even more importantly, how many feel at home in the city?

The most common definition of sustainability formed in 1987 and focuses on “meet[ing] the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987, 16). A sustainable city is therefore a city that provides the needs for all of its citizens and places them first in design. However, those who design our cities have for decades overlooked the human dimension and given priority elsewhere (Gehl, 2011, 13). As we find ourselves keen to change previous methods in favour of sustainability, an ideal place to begin is to look at ourselves because without humans, there are no cities. What is the intention of sustainable development if not for the well being of humans, both current and future? A human centered city is ultimately a sustainable one.

A city that focuses on its citizens, must then also recognise the diversity of backgrounds that have united there. Globalisation has brought new culture and traditions into cities, but the influx is also those from the countryside, children, young adults, and the elderly. The organisation 8 80 Cities is established around the concept of cities for all ages and that if we design with both an 8 year old and an 80 year old in mind, we improve the well being of all (8 80 Cities, 2020). In Copenhagen, one in every fourth citizen is an immigrant (Københavns Kommune, 2020), all with needs that are similar and different from those of Danes and each other. A city must have an awareness of its diversity and furthermore the interest to let these speak and become a catalyst in how urban development takes shape.

Livability is a relatively new term in urban development (Ruth & Franklin, 2014) that has gained recognition thanks to ranking systems such as Monocle’s Quality of Life Survey and The Economist Intelligence Unit’s Global Liveability Index. Although livability has no concrete definition, it is

fundamentally focused on the essentials of daily life for humans in a city that “facilitate[s] the endeavours of its population, not hinder[s] them” (Leigh, 2013). Copenhagen has topped the list of most livable cities several times (Monocle 2013, 2014), but how does this relay to its citizens and for whom is livability centred around, imagining that citizens indeed have various needs? Monocle mentions many times that Copenhagen’s shift in focus to the human dimension is what has driven it to the top (Leigh, 2013). Is the focus on livability at the eye height of humans paramount to the creation of the feeling of home in cities? “Attachment to a city is obviously more than residence satisfaction and good quality of life” (Lewicka, 2009, 49). The focus on city livability is likely a prerequisite to the feeling of home, but it does not guarantee this feeling among citizens.

As cities change in population and diversity, there is an inevitable change in demand of use and space. In order to house, mobilise, and provide jobs for the increase in population that are still in close proximity to the centre, cities must rethink how space is used and distributed. In terms of housing, this may mean smaller apartments at 50 m<sup>2</sup> that includes only the necessities and little space beyond that (Szczegielniak, Fabianowski, 2016), which nudges humans to live life beyond their four walls. Social activities therefore transpire in the public realm - parks, plazas, bars, and restaurants, as one does not have the space to host guests in their small, efficient apartment. A livable city must first have these offerings in place and once so, the quantity of humans using public space will escalate (Gehl, 2011, Jacobs, 1961). Businesses can find an economic advantage to increased use in the public realm, so it is therefore in their best interest as well to create quality environments that attract humans (Formandskabet et al., 2020, 13).

If city dwellers spend more time in the public realm, they surely take up more space than is currently allotted for, so where does this space emerge? Redistribution of space must not only occur in residences but also on the streets. Mobility is thus a vital study in sustainable and livable cities because it requires that humans are able to move efficiently and comfortably through the city while alleviating the long list of negative impacts cars have on humans and public space (Lowe, 1990, European Parliament, 2019). Image 01 below illustrates that the personal vehicle undeniably takes up the most space in square meters per occupant when compared to train, tram, bus, bike, and walking (Institute for Sensible Transport, 2018, 4). Cars also travel at speeds that can be dangerous for human life, generate intolerable noise, and may alter the physical landscape beyond simple street distribution (Gehl, 2011). There is thus a need for mobility systems that prioritise a fair distribution of city space based on humans, health, and sustainability.

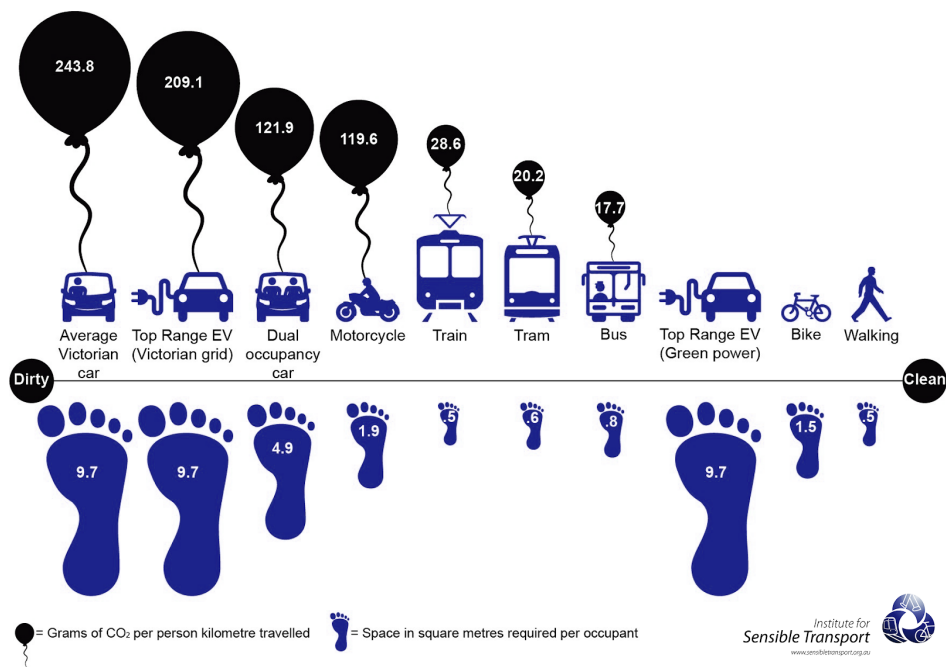


Image 01: space per square meter per occupant among different mobility options. Source IST.

What exactly are the needs of humans and how do we design cities based on those? As mentioned, the diversity of city dwellers leads to a range of needs. But there are some universal needs outlined in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs. Physiological needs encompass the most basic survival needs, where shelter is among those. The pyramid continues to include safety, love and belonging, esteem, and self-actualisation. Housing is therefore an essential need for human prosperity. A house or apartment however, does not necessarily promise the feeling of home. (Maslow, 1943)

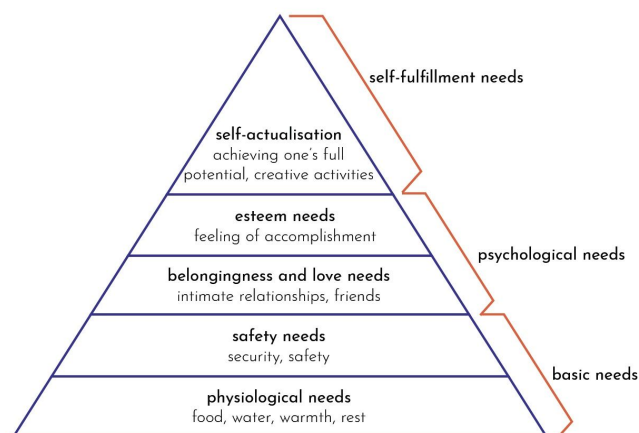


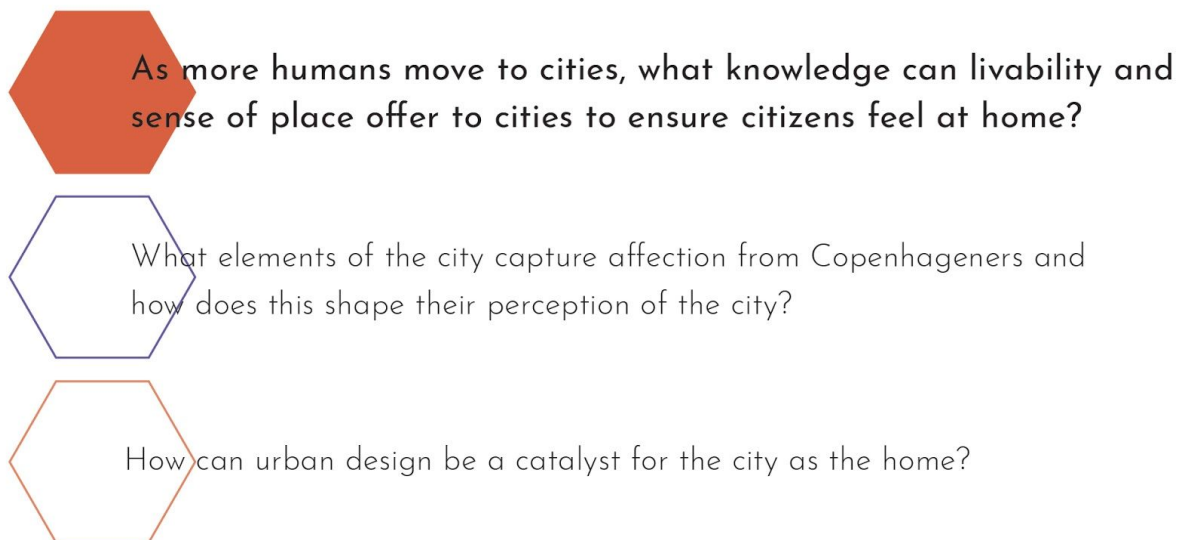
Image 02: own creation based on Maslow's 1943 hierarchy of needs

How then, can cities encourage and establish the feeling of home among its citizens? The concept of home is not new and "for now, the only thing we know for sure is that 'home' matters to all. But what is it to 'feel at home'?" (Duyvendak, 2011, 38). This question urges individuals and researchers to truly reflect



on home, what it means, and how it is formed. Although the familiarity of the word home suggests we all comprehend its meaning, each human has their own definition of what it means to feel at home based on their pasts and presents. How do these histories and the present unite in cities to create places that address the daily needs as well as the deep, intrinsic human need to feel at home for all citizens, and how might this take form? (Duyvendak, 2011, 26-42)

*The City as the Home* starts at the human dimension with human interactions and aims to understand how Copenhageners use, enjoy, move around, interpret, and come to consider or not, the city as their home. Interviews, maps, and city exploration are used to analyse prominent urban elements to discover how the city can evolve via urban design to encourage the feeling of home among residents using concepts found in livability, sense of place, and place attachment. This report undertakes the following research questions and accompanying sub-questions:



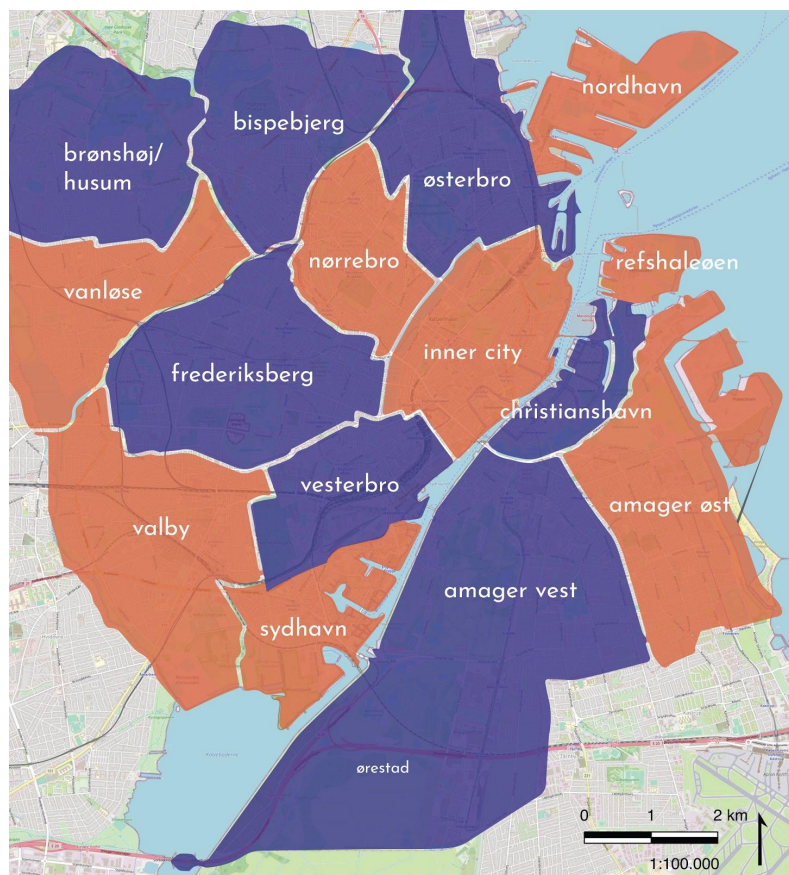
The research questions will be answered through an in-depth analysis followed by understanding home from the eyes of Copenhageners, and consideration of urban design in the context of home. Before the analysis, a short presentation of Copenhagen will give scope for this research, the theories will be presented, and the methods will be explained. The discussion and conclusion will complete the report and the research questions will be revisited.

## 02 Presentation of Copenhagen

This chapter will give a short presentation of the universe in which this report took place. Copenhagen's scale, demographics, planning and politics will be introduced. Lastly Copenhagen's identity as a livable city will be presented.

### 02.1 The City

Copenhagen is a small capital city located along water in the East of Denmark. Divided between two large islands, Copenhagen has a seawater canal through the centre and it is from here that the city grew. At only 98.5 km<sup>2</sup> (including Frederiksberg Municipality) and its highest point at 91m, this small flat city exists at a scale that is unfamiliar to many other capital cities. Map 01 below shows a map of Copenhagen, defined by the borders of the municipality and including Frederiksberg Municipality, denoting its various neighbourhoods. This will be the scope of Copenhagen throughout the report. (Københavns Kommune, 2004; Frederiksberg Kommune, 2016)



Map 01: Illustration of Copenhagen's neighbourhoods and city scale. Own illustration.

One description of the city can be found in a video at Copenhagen Museum that aims to answer the question ‘What is Copenhagen?’ Copenhagen is a city with a long history, and therefore the city has been created by those who were here and those who are here today. This is represented physically by our streets, buildings, plazas, harbour, and neighbourhoods. The city is planned from City Hall, meaning the planners sitting in city hall, but also via the physical development that radiates outward from this central point. Most importantly, Copenhagen is best understood through its inhabitants. The city fits how humans use it today and it is the humans who tie the city together. Copenhagen’s history has shown us that cities change, from a once polluted, industrial harbour to the bathing capital of the world. And Copenhagen will continue to change, even when we are gone. (JAC Studios, 2020) (Københavns Museum, 2020) (Minihane, 2019)

## 02.2 Demographics

Generally speaking, Copenhagen’s population is young and many families live in the city, where just over half of the population is under 35, as seen in diagram 01. As can be seen in diagram 02, one in four Copenhageners are immigrants, where statistics divide immigrants between western and non-western backgrounds. (Københavns Kommune, 2020)

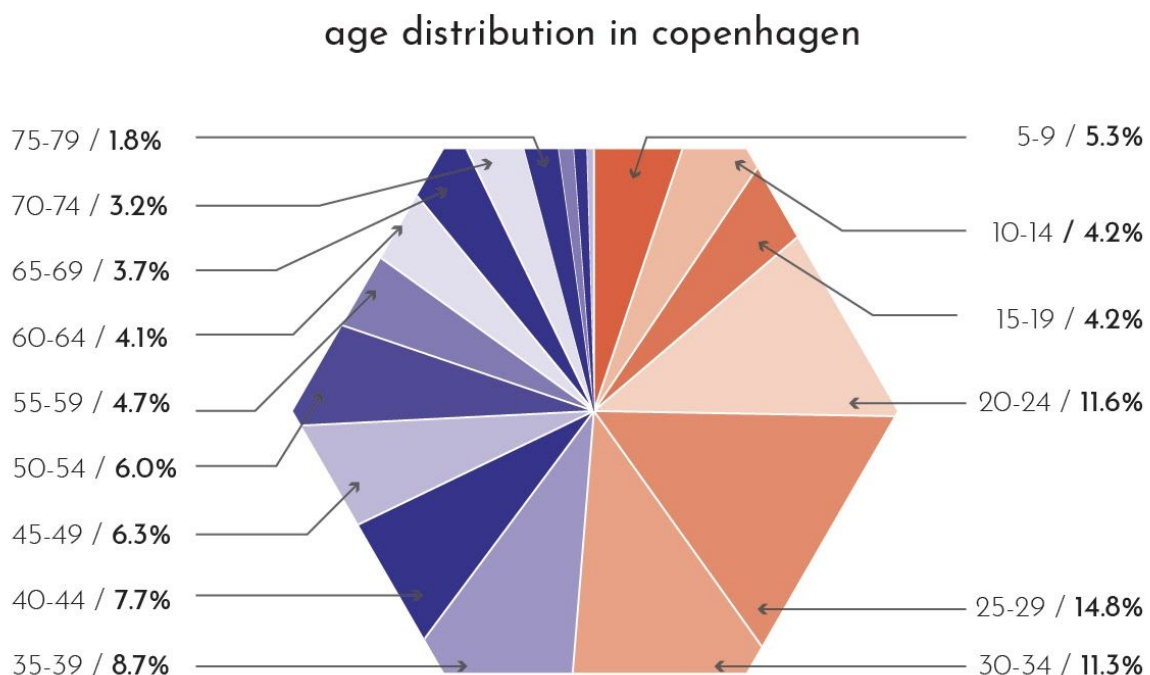


Diagram 01: Age demographics in Copenhagen. Data source Københavns Kommune, 2020. Own illustration.

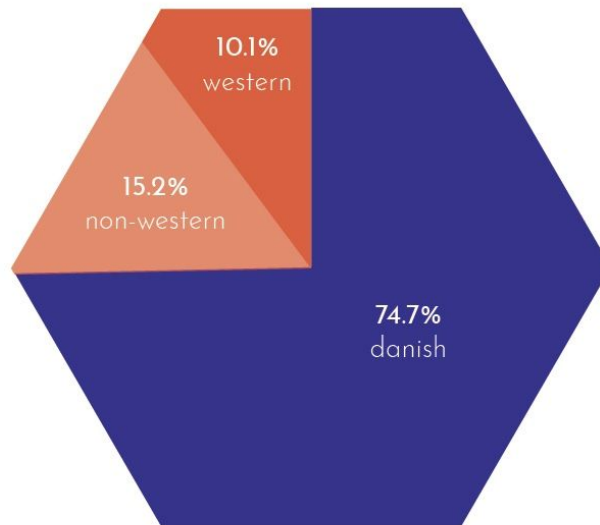


Diagram 02: Copenhagen's heritage demographics. Source Københavns Kommune, 2020. Own illustration.

## 02.3 Planning and Politics

### 02.31 Sustainability

Ten years ago, Copenhagen became a city with responsibility towards sustainability, both environmental and social. This meant that Copenhagen needed to be ambitious and aimed for a high degree of livability in the city. This included a visionary climate plan and a focus on creating a city for all, with a significant focus on keeping families in the city. The latter goal has led to an increase in population as families have indeed stayed. (Jensen, 2020)

The first version of a climate plan came in 2009, with an even more holistic version in 2012. Both of these, along with subsequent plans, aim to create Copenhagen as the first CO<sub>2</sub>-neutral capital by 2025. Beyond this plan, Copenhagen also recognises the changing climate, and in 2011 produced a Climate Adaptation Plan that focuses on protection from cloudbursts, floods, and warmer weather. These two plans are the basis for a number of plans created by the city and are relevant to show Copenhagen's action towards sustainability. These goals often ask for transformation of our public spaces so it is vital that they are well documented to adequately inform citizens. (Københavns Kommune, 2009; 2012; 2011)

### 02.32 Planning

As noted by the climate plans above with a long term vision, Copenhagen has a strong planning culture especially in the realm of urban plans. A municipal plan is made every four years with a twelve year perspective and outlines the physical development of the city. Copenhagen's Lord Mayor has a role in



architecture and urban development, which shows the importance of planning in Copenhagen, as it is not only in the interest of architects and urban planners to design the city, but also a concern of the highest politician in Copenhagen. (Københavns Kommune, 2019) (Jensen, 2020)

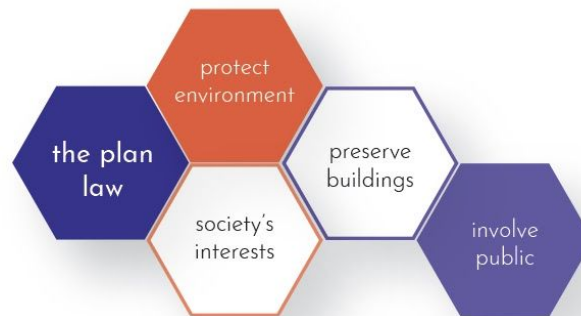


Diagram 3: The Danish Plan Law's goals. Own illustration.

The Danish Plan Law was assembled to the law we know today in 1991 and includes all planning areas from national to local. The rules are created to secure the society's interests, protect the environment, preserve buildings, and involve the public in the planning process. (Danske Love, Planloven, 2020)

### 02.33 Citizen Participation

As declared in The Plan Law, the public must be included in the planning process, which occurs as public hearings (Erhvervsstyrelsen, 2018). Beyond this, there have been cases of thorough citizen participation, sometimes called co-creation, where citizens in a local area are directly involved in the planning process from start to finish. In these cases, citizens have more than just a dialogue with the City, they work closely sharing their wants, needs, and ultimately shape the design of the development. (Engberg, 2018)

## 02.4 Livability

Copenhagen has been ranked the most livable city three times by Monocle, with the last being in 2014, as seen below. It rose to the top based on urban qualities such as public space, citizen engagement and pride, street life, and overall quality of life. Human centric urban planning which highlights the city scale, bike lanes, public transport, and sustainability are other qualities that have fostered a livable city. Copenhagen Municipality has embraced this title and put forth plans such as an Architecture Policy (Architecture for Humans), A Metropolis for People, and the Urban Life Account in 2013. This shows the City's commitment to keeping Copenhagen as a human-centric, livable city. (Leigh, 2013; Monocle, 2013; Københavns Kommune, n.d.)

2013 Monocle Rating
1. Copenhagen
2. Melbourne
3. Helsinki
4. Tokyo
5. Vienna
6. Zurich
7. Stockholm
8. Munich
9. Sydney
10. Auckland

source: Monocle 2013, 2014

2014 Monocle Rating
1. Copenhagen
2. Tokyo
3. Melbourne
4. Stockholm
5. Helsinki
6. Vienna
7. Zurich
8. Munich
9. Kyoto
10. Fukuoka

## 03 Theories

This report blends various fields of study including urban planning, social geography, environmental psychology, and architecture. The theoretical influences therefore depart from these disciplines and the aim will be to use these diverse views simultaneously. Incorporating multiple schools of thought is vital to this report because each discipline has an unique way of looking at the world and so do Copenhageners. Diagram 04 below illustrates these theories and their connection to the different fields of study.

The following chapter will therefore introduce the multiple theories employed in this report that have been used to form interview questions, analyse responses, and assist in answering the research question. The chapter will conclude with how the theories will be used throughout the report and the justification for carrying out this research.

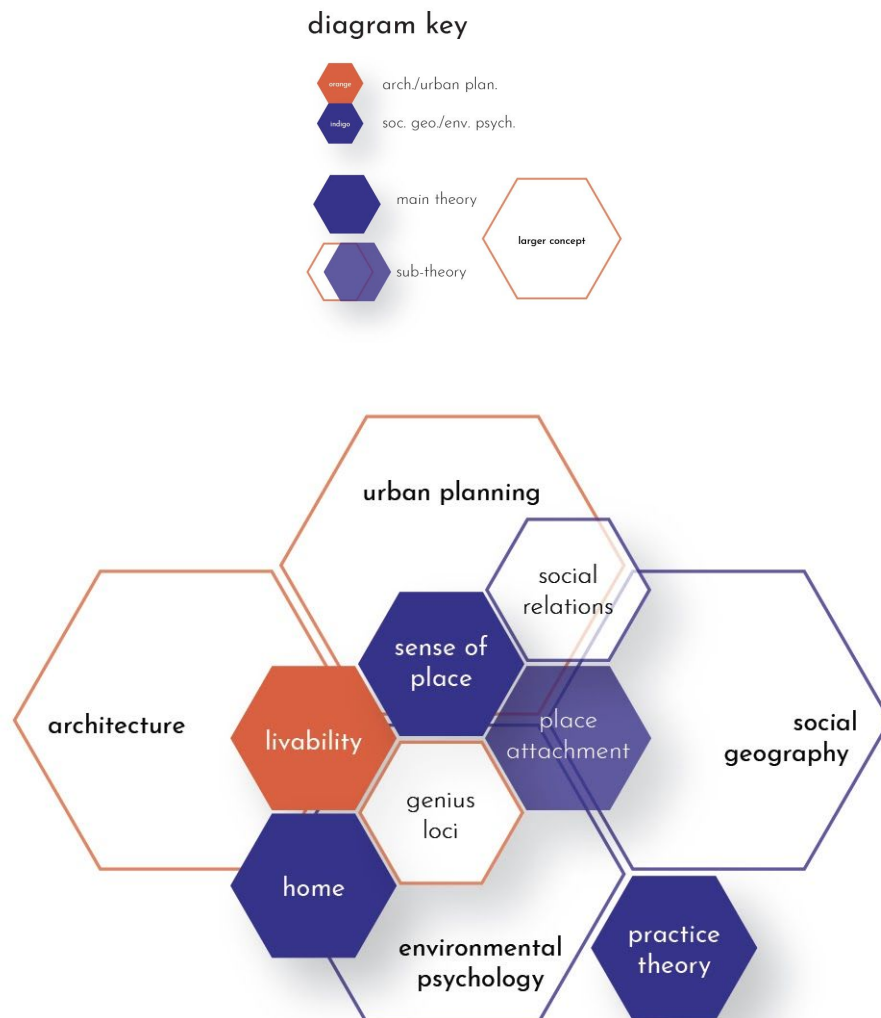


Diagram 04: Representation of theories and the fields of study used in this report. Own illustration.

## 03.1 Livability

Livability is a relatively new urban planning term frequently used by Gehl, but his older counterparts, Jacobs and Lynch, do not use this word to describe their focus on cities. Jacobs's and Lynch's most renowned work is from the 1960s, where many American cities were at their peak just before the mass migration to the suburbs. Their books certainly argue for livable cities, but in an eloquent and implicit manner that easily makes one fall for their functional views of the city.

The departure point for this report was to dive deeper into livability in Copenhagen, as this city is well known for its livable features (Leigh, 2013). What does this mean to its citizens and their daily experiences? Can livability be traced back to the physical urban form? Compared to the other theories explored in this chapter, livability is perhaps a more external understanding being that many features of it are tangible and experiential in the physical landscape. This therefore contributes to an understanding of this theory by the average human, not to mention its popularity the past recent years as described in chapter 01 (Introduction).

Jacob's take on livability evolved from experiencing first hand how American cities in the 1950s and 1960s were changing course to become quite the opposite of livable for humans with the construction of motorways. The displacement that occurred promptly took the life out of once populated New York City neighbourhoods in favour of high-speed car lanes. Jacobs, too, believed that livability is made up of tangible features that humans can experience in the physical landscape. In her well-known book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), Jacobs said on the first page, "I shall mainly be writing about common, ordinary things...In short, I shall be writing about how cities work in real life" (Jacobs, 1961, 1). This is perhaps, precisely how livability is seen to the average human, simply their ordinary way of life and interactions within and with the city. (Jacobs, 1961, 1-25)

Lynch's 1960 book *The Image of the City* explored the connection between humans and the way they view their city, and the effect this image has on one's experience, orientation, and well being. "Every citizen has had long associations with some part of her city, and her image is soaked in memories and meanings" (Lynch, 1960, 1). Much of what Lynch focused on is a city's 'legibility', or a human's ability to navigate which is vital as mobile creatures. The absence of legibility can lead to disorientation and sense of anxiety which "reveals to us how closely it is linked to our sense of balance and well being" (Lynch, 1960, 4). Lynch's research investigated mobility routes of interviewees, where they were asked to recall a route through the city, but with a focus on what they envisioned and experienced along the route. He noted the difference of understanding between walkers and drivers. Here, livability is again understood from the eyes of citizens but with a more architectural focus towards perception, views, and the ability to read a city. As an architect, Lynch was attentive to the relationship between humans and their environment to extract the



conscious and subconscious understandings from citizens into urban planning solutions that could aid in the human experience in cities. (Lynch, 1960, 1-13)

As an architect and urban planner, Gehl's work has planned and morphed the cities of today with what he described as the 'human dimension', where cities are designed from the eye height of humans and centred around the human experience. Livable cities focus on security, sustainability, health, kindness, social opportunities, and community, which are concepts that will repeat throughout this report. Much of what we recognise in livable cities first and foremost, is that there is life. Gehl argued that quantity is not the only aspect that makes cities livable, but also the quality, scale, and availability of experiences. Similar to Lynch, Gehl said that routes should be logistic and have shops, restaurants, and monuments along the way so "the trip becomes more experience rich" (Gehl, 2010, 77). Gehl's approach to mobility in cities focused primarily on walking and biking, as this can occur at the human scale and speed. Speed is an important element to entice an 'experience rich' route because it allows for eye contact with others and to easily stop and visit a shop or talk with a friend. Beyond the experiences, Gehl proposed these mobility forms because they are space efficient, sustainable, and add life to the street. For Gehl, livable cities are created through carefully nuanced work where the human dimension, meeting between humans, and opportunity to walk and bike are the main goals. (Gehl, 2010, 73-99)

These three perspectives on livability overlap in many respects, with the essential focus on humans - their everyday life, navigation, images, perception, security, and experiences. It may seem obvious that cities should be designed around humans, but this has not always been the case, hence Jacobs's outside perspective and the freshness and popularity that Lynch and Gehl brought to the field of architecture and urban planning. All three authors provided design recommendations to enhance livability in cities, and these methods will further be investigated when creating urban planning solutions in this report.

## 03.2 Sense of Place

Sense of place is a concept found within environmental psychology and is the emotional connection humans have to their physical environment, which includes values, symbols, and cultural meanings (McCunn, Gifford, 2014, 20). Another definition describes sense of place as a centre of meaning that emphasises human emotions and relationships (Jorgensen, Stedman, 2001, 233). As home is about creating connections with one's surroundings, sense of place holds great importance to this report. Knowledge of sense of place will lead to a better understanding of how or why Copenhageners feel the way they do. It was mentioned above that livability can be understood externally, whereas sense of place is an internal understanding, being that it deals with internal emotions and meanings from humans. The following section will dissect sense of place from an environmental psychology perspective followed by a social geography perspective as proposed by Doreen Massey and an architectural view by Christian Norberg-Schulz.

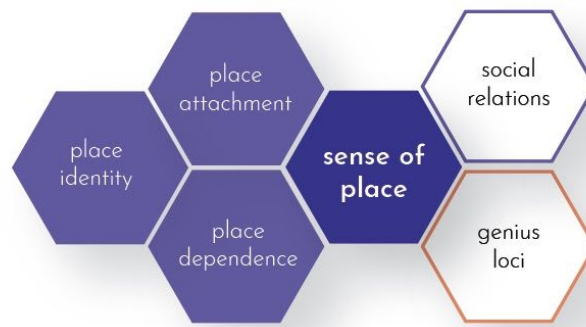


Diagram 05: Sense of place and its corresponding sub-theories. Own illustration.

There are three vital components to sense of place, all of which are frequent topics of investigation within environmental psychology - place dependence, place identity, and place attachment. Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) have used sense of place to research owner's attachments to their properties, and have provided definitions for the three concepts.

Place dependence is the association between one's self and specific places, which could be both positive or negative. Compared to the other two concepts under sense of place, place dependence can be seen as less emotional because it "has more to do with whether an environment allows for behavioural goals to be attained" (McCunn, Gifford, 2014, 21). As described in the Definitions of Home section below, Duyvenbek defined home to be a place where one can live the life they wish to meet their needs, and chooses a place accordingly. Place dependence refers to what the place has to offer for the individual, which is certainly subjective and varies from human to human. (McCunn, Gifford, 2014) (Jorgensen, Stedman, 2001)

Place identity incorporates the idea of one's identity in relation to their environment. The formation of one's identity finds patterns through beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioural tendencies which occur both consciously and subconsciously. It can also be said that one uses places to help articulate their own self-concept. Bech-Danielsen et al. (2018), in the Definitions of Home section, used 'social status' as a defining element in Danes' definitions of home. This idea could be reflected through place identity, as one associates their physical environment to their personal identity. Place identity is also about how one's environment shapes them, regardless if they self identify with a place. The influences we encounter daily and the opportunities, or lack of, shape our decisions, future, and ultimately who we become and therefore how we identify ourselves. (McCunn, Gifford, 2014)

The last component of sense of place is place attachment and provides many meaningful links between humans and their feeling of home. Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) compiled definitions of place attachment to explain it as a bond between humans and their environment that "explicitly contains

emotional content” (Jorgensen, Stedman, 2001, 234). This emotional attachment is beyond our perception or preferences and is something that we internally experience. As this concept concentrates on human’s emotions to a place, it is a critical concept when exploring the feeling of home. Most of the literature on place attachment does not directly correlate to the feeling of home as this report aims to do, but this feeling certainly addresses the attachment humans have to their city. Place attachment brings us closer to the feeling of home, for this reason, research and concepts of place attachment will be further explored later.

Social geographer, Doreen Massey, observed sense of place in a similar manner, understood as the bond between humans and the physical environment but drew attention to social connections in space. These social relations, Massey said, can create a spatial form by following the different interactions. “Thinking of places in this way implies that they are not so much bounded areas as open and porous networks of social relation” (Massey, 1994, 121). Massey’s sense of place also included the concept of identity, where the identity of a place is more the interactions of its surroundings, rather than how an individual identifies with a space and their personal meaning. The links between social structure, politics, culture, etc. are all elements that interconnect to aid in the formation of a place’s identity. Grasping the larger forces of social relations “forces us to recognize our interconnectedness, and underscores the fact that both personal identity and the identity of those envelopes of space-time in which and between which we live and move are constructed precisely through that interconnectedness” (Massey, 1994, 122). Massey added an integral element to sense of place, which is the understanding that places are social and continuous, as interactions are constant and ever evolving. This view is fundamental in observing and comprehending cities, as it is precisely the social relations and diversified connections that set cities apart from towns or villages. (Massey, 1994, 115-123)

Our built environments, being our cities and buildings, are imagined, designed, and developed by architects and urban planners, so it is only necessary that theories are also used from this field. Architect and architectural historian, Christian Norberg-Schulz wrote multiple books intending to provide theory to architecture in the realm of place and presence. His 1980 book adopted the word ‘genius loci’ or the spirit of a place. The spirit of a place is developed through one’s physical environment and its local living reality. Similar to Massey, genius loci accounts not only for tangible items but also for the social atmosphere that creates an identity for a place. Norberg-Schulz drew attention to the fact that humans cannot simply exist in space, “when one dwells, she is simultaneously located in space and exposed to a certain environmental character” (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, 19). Identity and orientation are further crucial ideas behind genius loci, where humans must identify themselves or ‘become friends’ with their environment and have the ability to know where they are. Orientation is primarily derived from Lynch’s *Image of the City*, which also arose from architecture. “Every character consists in a correspondence between outer and inner world, and between body and psyche” (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, 21). Genius loci as architectural theory describes the relationships between humans and their natural and built environment using architectural knowledge such

as materials and scale, along with psychology, attachment, identity, and character. (Norberg-Schulz, 1980, 18-23)

### 03.3 Place Attachment

The studies discussed below use place attachment to understand topics such as well being, satisfaction, urban development, and scale of a place, all of which shed light on essential elements of feeling at home in the city. Place attachment falls under the theory of sense of place along with the two other concepts of place dependence and place identity, yet it seems as place attachment is distinctly akin to home. Elucidating place attachment is important because the concept of attachment to a place draws one closer to home. Consequently, place attachment is expanded further than the other two concepts discussed in sense of place.

Psychologist Maria Lewicka has done an abundance of research on place attachment, where one influential study investigated the scale of a place on place attachment, or how one attaches to their apartment versus the city among other scales. Place attachment, and in particular Lewicka's 2009 study, is a critical theory for this report because it opens the conversation of attachment at various scales. Lewicka's results showed that humans have the strongest attachment to their house or apartment and city, with the neighbourhood scale being the lowest attachment. (Lewicka, 2009)

Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford (2017) used place attachment to research the correlations of need satisfaction and well being with our environments. As described in chapter 01 (Introduction), shelter is a basic human need, so once that need is fulfilled, how does that translate into satisfaction and well being and what are the benefits? Scannell and Gifford's research on place attachment showed that when visualising a place one is attached to, they reported higher self-esteem, meaning, and belonging. Recognising that humans do indeed form bonds with a place allows us to further understand the benefits from these bonds or what it may mean when one lacks attachment to a place. (Scannell, Gifford, 2017)

The final analysis of place attachment investigated the influence of urban change, or urban development, has on one's attachment. Von Wirth et al. (2016) used previous learnings, such as those mentioned above, as starting points of exploration while in a city with rapid urban development. Place attachment theory is interesting here to understand how or if one's attachment changes if their urban environment changes. Findings showed that if the changes are deemed as attractive, it has a positive effect on one's attachment. Attraction is certainly in the eye of the beholder, so it noted that for development projects to have a positive influence on place attachment, citizens should be included in the urban planning process. This unique study on urban change and place attachment is relevant to this report as Copenhagen is experiencing immense urban development, so it is significant to have knowledge about the correlation between these two topics. (von Wirth et al., 2016)



Place attachment theory is the basic understanding of the bond humans have to a place and how or why these bonds form and the meaning the bonds have to humans and our well being. These three studies use place attachment as the departure point, but investigate different influences on attachment. As this report intends to understand internalised personal feelings of Copenhagen, having these various views on place attachment are beneficial to comprehend what interviewees may be experiencing.

## 03.4 Practice Theory

Practice theory is the final theory used in this report and stands apart compared to the other theories that have been investigated in this chapter because it is not specifically related to the built environment. Practice theory is about humans and their daily practices, but will primarily be used to aid in the comprehension of interviews and mobility topics to understand how interviewees behave and why.

Practice theory is a simple way to define the construction of individual and social trends. Social practices consist of two dynamics, says Elizabeth Shove, a professor of sociology. The first dynamic is the harmonised elements that occur when carrying out a practice and the second focuses on the links that are built or broken over time. Critical to practice theory, and to understand any practice, is the history of how routines were formed, how they have changed, and may continue to change. This process can be long and complex, but finding the links can help break the old and aid in the formation of new links and changes in practice. Practice theory views daily practices not as choices, but as processes that develop over time. (Shove et al., 2012, 21-25)

Shove, among others (Gram-Hanssen, 2008), organises practice theory into three elements that work in harmony to form practices. Materials - tangible elements, meanings - symbolic meanings, ideas, rules, or knowledge and lastly, competences - skill and technique. In order to form a practice or a routine, one must have all three elements. For example, to bike around the city, one must have a bicycle (material), an idea of the route they wish to ride (meaning), and the ability to ride a bicycle (competence). (Shove et al., 2012, 21-25)

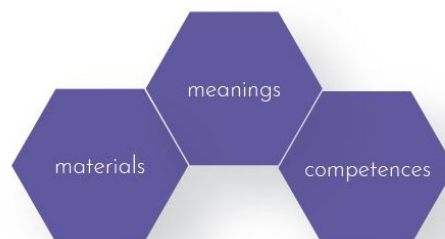


Diagram 06: The three elements of Practice Theory. Own illustration.

Significant learnings from practice theory should be that social theories do not lead to social movements nor political decisions. This is because the behaviour of humans is mostly a matter of personal preferences. Practice theory therefore allows us to understand the world in a certain way, where practices can be pulled apart into elements and processes, but more often than not, humans behave how they want. Inconsistency between what one says and how one behaves often arises, as our perceptions and behaviour do not necessarily match. (Shove et al., 2012)

The relevance of practice theory to this report will, as mentioned, occur when comprehending the interviews and mobility questions to analyse and understand how humans use and perceive Copenhagen. Being aware of practice theory and the rule that there may be discrepancies between what one says, and what one actually does is crucial. Alongside that, the formation of practices via meanings, materials, and competences and the links between them could also give insight into the use, activity, and routes one uses.

## 03.5 Defining home

There is not a single, concrete definition for home, which makes this research ever more exciting. Home is a concept that all are familiar with and the interviews manifest the many definitions felt by individuals. It is, however, necessary to explore what home means in the realm of cities. Two books have provided insight into the definition of home, and it is from these and the theories above that the understanding of home has been solidified.

### 03.51 Welcome Home

*Welcome Home* is written by three researchers at the National Building Research Institute (SBI) in connection with an exhibition of the same name by the Danish Architecture Center (DAC) in May 2018. Both organisations focus primarily on architecture and buildings and therefore the definition of home is directed toward the house. *Welcome Home* investigated trends in Danish housing, which provided a definition of home that is country-specific. This is valuable because the definition of home is likely rather unique from country to country or city to city, and this report occurs in Denmark. The first section, “A dwelling - a modern man’s idea of *home*” brings to light aspects of home in the Danish perspective that adopt ideas from history and contemporary living. (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018)

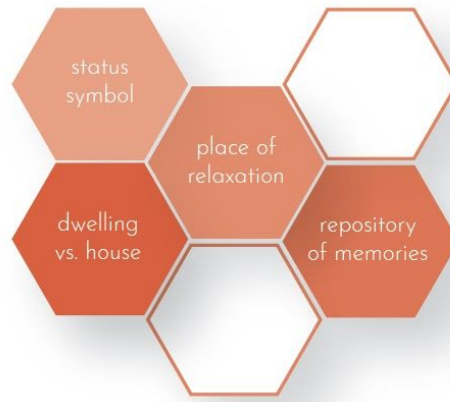


Diagram 07: Elements of home as mentioned in *Welcome Home*. Own illustration.

### Dwelling vs home

“A dwelling is not the same as a home. The ‘dwelling’ only represents the physical framework for its occupants’ lives; the ‘home’ is an emotional concept” (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018, 8). The first, and perhaps most important, concept is the understanding that home is a feeling and is not necessarily defined by the walls of one’s house. As the authors mention, “we can also feel at home in places other than a dwelling” (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018, 8). Place attachment recognises this bond between environments and humans. Early hypotheses about interviewees’ initial definitions of home imagined their perception of home to be limited to their apartment or house. (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018)

### Danish welfare 1900’s

The Danish welfare state that developed during the 1900’s prompted an urban and housing policy that created healthy and affordable residences. This helped solidify the nuclear family as a basis for living. Behind this was both the political need to supply shelter and provide structure away from social problems. Bech-Danielsen et al. said that home, in the sense of Danish building practice, is “an essential foundation for [Danes’] lives” (Bech-Danielsen et al. 2018, 10). This, therefore, sets the stage for how Danes live and develop and potentially gives insight to our future living styles. Fundamental to Danish welfare is that every citizen is supplied with basic needs, in this case, housing, and having these fulfilled caters to security which is a pivotal element of livability and human needs. (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018)

### Place of Relaxation

Bech-Danielsen et al. brought privacy and social interaction into their definition of home. It is here that one can “control their level of social interaction - the place where their norms and values are not under

constant scrutiny” (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018, 10). This translates to a place of security and acceptance, as one has complete freedom to behave as they wish.

To scale this up from the house to the city, means to consider that in the public realm, one is ‘under constant scrutiny.’ This is an interesting concept as sustainable planners often point to the decline of individual space (house) to instead use the public realm for social interaction (see chapter 01, Introduction). Do our public spaces then need to be designed in a way that still allows for privacy and individualism? What does this mean for the community aspect that is parallel to a city’s public zones? (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018)

### Repository of Memories

As this book investigated the dwelling as the home, it defined home as a place where our memories and possessions are kept. As mentioned above, the house is a place of social interaction, where we celebrate life events and inherit furniture or other relics. As we continue to reside in a place over long periods of time, memories and objects accumulate which promote attachment to the place. (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018)

### Status Symbol

Danish design has been obtainable to most since the mid 1900’s where “good design [became] a human right” (Danish Architecture Center, 2018b). It was during this period that Danish design, meaning architecture, furniture design, lighting design, etc., blossomed and became accessible household items, which still are classics today. It is through furniture and other consumer goods that we equip our houses to match our personalities and why *Welcome Home* included status symbol in the definition of home. (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018)

*Welcome Home* proposed multiple elements in the definition of a modern Danish human’s feeling of home. From an architectural perspective where the house is used as the basis, *Welcome Home* established a definition of home that includes feeling over structure, welfare, relaxation, memories, and status.

## 03.52 The Politics of Home

*The Politics of Home* was written by the Dutch researcher, Duyvendak, where he contemplated the feeling of home in the United States and the Netherlands. This book from 2011 expanded on the loss of home in these two countries, as well as the mobility and nomadic lifestyle that has become possible in our globalised world. Duyvendak offered definitions of home rooted in social geography, belonging, and sense of place. (Duyvendak, 2011)

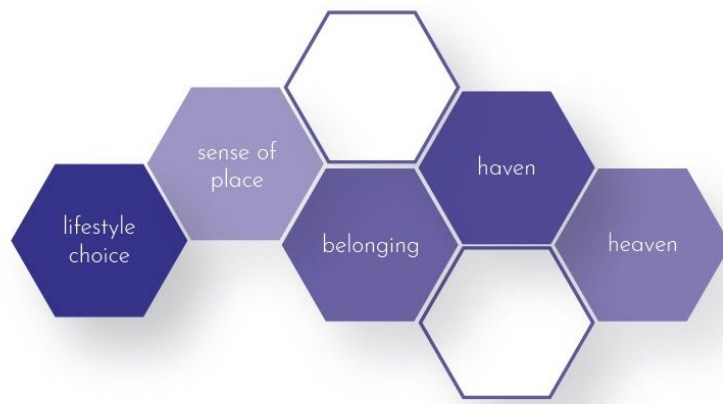


Diagram 08: The elements of home as described in *The Politics of Home*. Own illustration.

### Choosing home

Duyvendak wrote about choosing a place to become home, deemed ‘elective belonging’. Globalisation has brought greater mobility to individuals so one can choose where they live based on lifestyle and proximity to like-minded individuals. We are no longer grounded by the village, city, or country in which we were born, many now have the opportunity to call somewhere else home. “The choice of home has become a lifestyle decision: where one would like to live in order to eat the foods one likes, go to the clubs one wants, have the shops one enjoys, etc.” (Duyvendak, 2011, 11). From here place identity is compatible, as one chooses a specific place based on that place’s offerings and way of life to match their identity. (Duyvendak, 2011)

### Sense of place and place attachment

How does one develop the sense of a place and further become attached to that place? Duyvendak pointed out that a “sense of place is rarely acquired in passing. To know a place well requires long residence and deep involvement” (Duyvendak, 2011, 40). Throughout long residence in a place, one gains familiarity with their physical surroundings and social interactions. Considering time and social interactions in the development of home, Massey’s theory on sense of place is relevant, which says that the sense of a place is inherently bonded with the social interactions that occur (Massey, 1994). (Duyvendak, 2011)

Corresponding to long residence and social interactions are the characteristics of safe and secure, which develop both via the physical environment as well as through social connections. Duyvendak placed these elements - safe, secure, and welcoming, as fundamental to the feeling of home. There are certainly places that are deemed unsafe but residents feel at home here, and via their social interactions and familiarity, do not feel unsafe. Jacobs used the North End in Boston as an example, where city planners regarded this as an unsafe slum, while local residents loved their neighbourhood and felt safe and secure

(Jacobs, 1961, 9-12). Again here, the feeling of being safe and secure in one's home is felt and understood on an individual basis and takes time and familiarity to form attachment. (Duyvendak, 2011, 37)

### Sense of Belonging

The above paragraphs about choosing home and place of relaxation give way to the idea of belonging to one's home. When choosing home, one often chooses a place based on their interests and can, therefore, surround themselves with like-minded individuals which can aid in the feeling of belonging. Place of relaxation brought up the feeling of 'constant scrutiny', which as a rather negative emotion, one can imagine that this hinders the feeling of belonging to a place. Duyvendak's research discovered that familiarity and homogeneity were vital components to the feeling of home and belonging. Familiarity included both place and people and homogeneity is where "one feels at home with one's own people" (Duyvendak, 2011, 111). How to define 'one's own people' is not stated by Duyvendak but can nonetheless be defined by the individual. It is clear in our global climate, many feel familiarity only from those who look like them, while for others it may be about interests, politics, or sexuality, regardless of race. (Duyvendak, 2011)

Belonging contributes to the topic of community, which in city planning is an integral topic. Community is both a noun and a feeling, as one's community is not necessarily the same as another's. Duyvendak used the definition of community to mean "dense, multiplex, relatively autonomous networks of social relationships. Community, thus, is not a place or simply a small-scale population aggregate, but a mode of relating, variable in extent" (Calhoun, 1998, 391 cited in Duyvendak, 2011, 63). A community can aid in the familiarity of a city because one begins to recognise the faces of neighbours and shopkeepers, for example, and promote the sense of belonging. (Duyvendak, 2011)

### Duyvendak's Home Conclusions

*The Politics of Home* proved that home has various meanings and multiple perspectives based on location, culture, and background. The three main points of Duyvendak's home research has defined home as familiarity, haven, and heaven:

1. Familiarity
  - a. 'Knowing the place'
2. Haven: secure, safe, comfortable, private and exclusive
  - a. Physical/material safety; mentally safe/predictable
  - b. Place for retreat, relaxation, intimacy and domesticity
3. Heaven: public identity and exclusivity
  - a. A public place where one can collectively be, express and realize oneself; where one feels publicly free and independent.

- b. Home here embodies shared histories; a material and/or symbolic place with one's own people and activities

### 03.53 Research on Home

In an attempt to develop a robust definition of home based on various literature, multiple sources in the fields of architecture, urban planning, social geography, and environmental psychology were explored. Beyond the two books described above that provided definitions of home, other literature begins to repeat itself with similar elements of the feeling of home as those listed here. Both *Welcome Home* and *The Politics of Home* are in themselves, compilations of research, so they too gathered research from across the topic.

These two sources provided insight and research into defining home from different angles which showed that home is mendable and has different meanings for different humans. The theories have created an initial definition of home, taking into context the aim and scope of this research and the theories. The definitions here act as a hypothesis which will be tested against interview responses. Later in this report (chapter 06, Copenhagen as the Home), the defining features of home will be revisited to examine how these definitions held up to the meanings proposed by Copenhageners.

## 03.6 Use of Theories

These schools of thought illustrated the connections between the fields of architecture, urban planning, social geography, and environmental psychology and the relevance this report has as an intersection between the built environment and humans. The theoretical framework provided guidance and structure in this report and helped to ground the ideas and concepts brought forth via the interviews. Theories that have been identified as 'internal' understandings aided in rationalising the interviews while the 'external' theory, livability, helped it take form.

The interview guide was heavily influenced by the theories to determine what questions to ask and in what manner. Connecting questions directly to theories assisted in the analysis of the interviews because responses were able to be traced back to a specific theory and be deciphered accordingly (see diagram 09, below). Home related theories aided in understanding emotions and perceptions about why or why not Copenhageners felt the city is their home and led to concepts to implement in the urban planning solutions. The interpretation of the interview data through the perspective of the theories helped translate and rationalise the emotions and opinions of Copenhageners into concrete relationships between the built environment and humans.



## diagram key

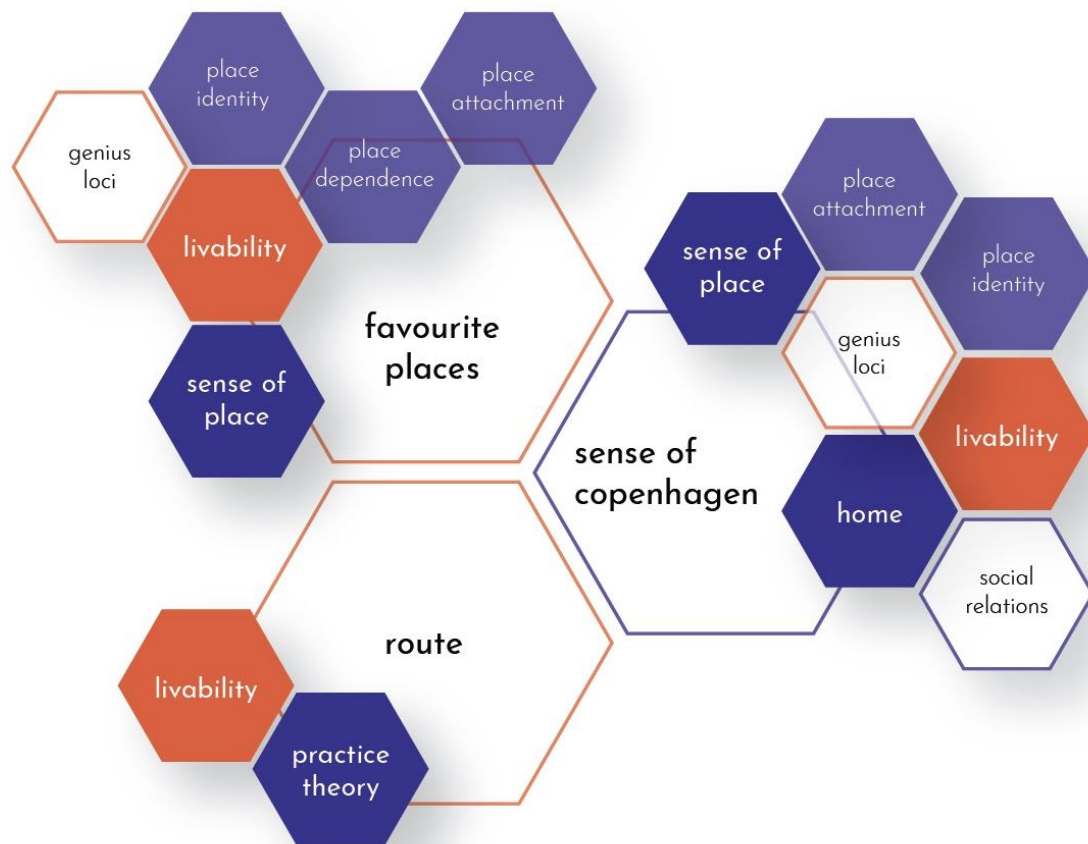
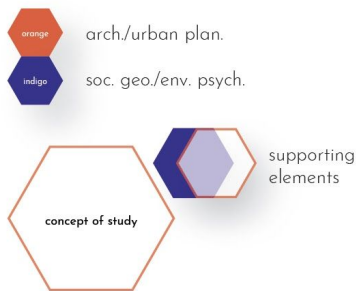
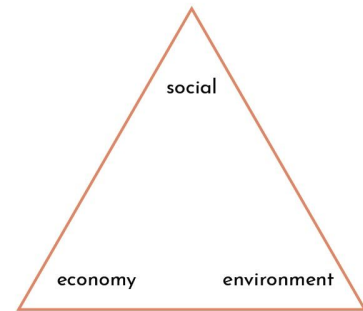


Diagram 09: Interview sections and theories used to formulate questions. Own illustration.

The consequences of interview responses led to the design of urban planning solutions where the theories helped to shape these designs to best suit the city and its inhabitants. Livability as an external understanding where city elements are often tangible came into strong focus when designing solutions. The theories revealed the connection between livability, well being, social relationships in our environments so the solutions aimed to capture both the importance learned here, as well as the interview data interpreted through the theoretical perspective.

## 03.7 Report Justification

The literature that has been presented thus far was derived from various fields - urban planning, social geography, environmental psychology, and architecture, because the way we plan for sustainable cities embodies holistic, cross-disciplinary thinking. Although this literature list traversed disciplines, planning culture has not always taken methods or viewpoints from various fields (Sehested, 2009, 245). Even within sustainability, the focus on humans and livability is relatively new (see chapter 01, introduction), despite the original concept of sustainability being an equilibrium of social, environmental, and economic factors (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987). Impact reports and cost-benefit analyses (CBA) have given minimal attention to the social aspect, largely because the emotions and opinions of citizens or nature have not been quantifiable (Gossling, 2019). This report is an attempt to alter the path of sustainability and planning studies that have not put humans first.



Without humans, we have no cities. All of the improvements happening in our cities under the scope of sustainable development, what is the objective if not for the greater well being of humans? Even the technological solutions in regards to renewable energy or flood protection, is this not to secure a safe and resilient future for humans? The fight to preserve nature and save species is parallel with the battle for human well being, so we too can enjoy the land and the many benefits it has to offer. So this report directs research and design from the perspective of the creator of cities, humans.

The theories have shown that there is an attention to the human experience in their physical environment, but how does this experience correlate with home?

*“Everybody can participate in the debate on ‘home’; on the other, many already claim to know what ‘home’ is and how it feels. Curiosity becomes rare. This familiarity does not necessarily produce articulate ideas about what ‘feeling at home’ is. This is due to a peculiar aspect of ‘home’ and ‘feeling at home’: while everyone initially agrees that we know what it is to feel at home, the moment we have to describe what it means to us, we begin to stutter. Feeling at home, then, is one of those emotions that eludes words” - Duyvendak, Politics of Home, 2011, 27*

The concept of home is not new, and as Duyvendak pointed out, it is something everyone is familiar with. However, two interesting things were highlighted by this quote. First, “curiosity becomes rare” where many do not consider whether or not their place in the world is truly their home. This report hopes to spark that question among interviewees and readers to contemplate what features and feelings are

important in their home. Second is that “everyone initially agrees that we know what it is to feel at home”, but do we agree? Recognising a city’s diversity and that all humans have a unique perspective of the world, how could we possibly all agree on what it means to feel at home? The pursuit to find, listen, and comprehend the multiple meanings into solutions in order for Copenhageners to feel at home in their city is what drives this research.

This report is about finding the relations between home, emotions, and our physical landscape, then taking these findings a step further and morphing them into urban planning solutions. Oftentimes, architects and urban planners design solutions for the public realm and then ask citizens their opinions, rather than first listening and forming solutions after based on their wants and needs (Bach, 2020). In this report, solutions are derived from the opinions of exactly those who would use and experience these solutions in the city. This is vital because as designers and planners, we are the experts who should be able to formulate physical things from intangible feelings and emotions. Citizens may be certain how they feel but are not certain how that translates into the urban realm, this is our job. It is here that this report adds a new dimension into the worlds of urban planning, architecture, social geography, and environmental psychology.

## 04 Methods

This chapter discusses the methods and systemic processes used in this report. The first section explains the scope of this research as a case study, followed by an overview of data collection processes. Interview interpretation, use of maps and photography, and design solutions are also included. It concludes by sharing the scope, limitations, and bias.

### 04.1 Case Study Research Design

The design of this research is based on case study research, as it focused exclusively on Copenhagen, specifically its architecture and urban planning, due to its designation as a liveable city. “With a case study, the case is an object of interest in its own right, and the researcher aims to provide an in-depth elucidation of it” (Bryman, 2012, 69). Bryman also noted that a case study often illuminates the case’s unique features. Urban planners understand that every city is unique and designing solutions should depart from a deep understanding of that given place. Copenhagen is perceived as a livable city, as noted in chapter 01 (Introduction), so it was chosen as the case of study to understand the connection between livable cities and the feeling of home. My resources, network, and knowledge based in Copenhagen also aided in the development of this case. (Bryman, 2012, 66-71)

A challenge for case studies is their ability to be replicated outside of the original case and have findings be representative or generalise a larger concept. But denoting one’s research as a case study is agreeing to the boundaries posed by such research. “Case study researchers do not delude themselves that it is possible to identify typical cases that can be used to represent a certain class of objects” (Bryman, 2012, 70). (Bryman, 2012, 66-71)

Case study research comes in various forms, where Yin (2009) and Flyvbjerg (2006) offered descriptions of critical cases, extreme or unique cases, representative or typical cases, revelatory cases, and longitudinal cases. From here, it was decided that this research falls under a representative or typical case, also titled an ‘exemplifying case.’ In an exemplifying case “the objective is to capture the circumstances and conditions of an everyday or commonplace situation” (Yin, 2009, 48). During the interviews, Copenhageners were asked to explain a route and places they visit in their daily life, therefore unveiling how the city is used by its inhabitants. (Bryman, 2012, 66-71)

Bryman mentioned how case studies can be used to highlight the connections between theories and happenings, so case study researchers “seek to examine the implications of some of these theoretical and empirical deliberations in a particular research site” (Bryman, 2012, 70). Copenhagen provided the context

to explore the relationship between livability, the feeling of home, urban design, architecture, and environmental psychology. (Bryman, 2012, 66-71)

A deductive approach was used in this research as a hypothesis was developed before the research. From theories in various fields and understanding home, which were explored in chapter 03 (Theories), a hypothesis was created. This acted as the concept for further research and analysis through the interviews. (Bryman, 2012, 24)

## 04.2 Data Collection

### 04.21 Qualitative Interviews

The main method of data collection in this report occurred via qualitative interviews with Copenhageners. Qualitative interviews were chosen for this report because they allow the opportunity for interviewees to express feelings and expand on reasons for their opinions. “[Interviews] are valuable because they allow researchers to explore subjective viewpoints and to gather in-depth accounts of people’s experiences” (Sage Publications, 2018, 1). The choice to utilise interviews with Copenhageners, or non-experts, arose because few professionals, or experts, have the time, attention, and money to consult citizens in such a direct manner. In other words, when I myself become an expert in the near future working in the field of planning, it is unlikely that I will consult citizens in such a personal and direct manner as in this report. Hence the desire to use these methods while possible.

Planning laws in Denmark require periods of open hearings to consult and hear opinions of citizens (Erhvervsstyrelsen, 2018). Many Danes are involved in the development of their neighbourhood or city, but what are the opinions of non-Danes, especially those who do not speak Danish and cannot partake in hearings? What are the opinions of Copenhageners who do not closely follow urban development? A city for all should consider the opinions of all types of citizens, not only those who are acquainted with the Danish planning processes. This report aimed to address this gap by interviewing a group that is as diverse as Copenhagen.

My previous research projects have also implemented qualitative interviewing as a method of data collection. However, interviews were typically with experts who were asked to describe the process of a given project or event. For this report, it was important to understand the complexities of interviewing citizens, or non-experts, and inquiring about their personal opinions and feelings. Sources such as Dana (1992), Sage Publications (2018), and Bryman (2012) provided insight into the art of qualitative interviewing where interviewees are encouraged to share their personal feelings and opinions.

Nancy Fichtman Dana's report *Qualitative Interviewing and the Art of Questioning* (1992) presented brilliant strategies for developing and posing interview questions. "The quality of the response a qualitative researcher receives from an informant is a function of the careful composition of each question asked" (Dana, 1992, 4). It was vital that the interviewee felt comfortable expressing their feelings and did not feel confused nor forced into answers. It was, therefore, necessary to understand how to properly word the questions and reflect, encourage, and give space to the interviewee. In situations such as in this report, where the goal of interviews was to obtain personal feelings and opinions, it was critical that questions were not presented in a way that was predisposed nor reveal upcoming concepts. (Dana, 1992)

Semi-structured interviews were adopted because this method closely matches a normal conversation and allows liberty for the interviewer to ask questions if the interviewee provided unforeseen information, or to forgo questions that the interviewee may have already answered. An interview guide was developed before the interviews took place that provided a framework for the interview process. Questions were accumulated over a four month period as I encountered literature and theories (Jacobs, 1961; Lewicka 2009; Lewicka 2010; Lynch, 1960) or personal experiences such as constant contemplation, conversations with friends, and a study trip to Barcelona (see Appendix A).

The theories, as described in chapter 03 (Theories), provided structure and reassurance for previously conceived questions along with the development of new interview questions. The theories revealed the framework behind the questions and allowed them to be traced back to a particular school of thought. The literature mentioned above inspired a number of interview questions as Lewicka (2010) and Lynch (1960) both used qualitative methods in their research. Their detailed methods sections listed specific questions they posed to interviewees. Although Lynch's work related primarily to livability and Lewicka's to place attachment or sense of place, it did not guarantee that questions taken from their work linked directly to these respective theories. The context of the questions for my research and relation to the other interview questions determined the theory or theories captured in each question. (Bryman, 2012)

I grouped questions into three sections (map related, transport related, and sense of Copenhagen, see diagram 9, page 23) which helped divide the interview and allow the interviewee to comment or ask questions along the way. These three sections were chosen based on Lynch's work and personal interests. Lynch's use of maps encouraged interviewees to reflect on their city and imagine it from a different angle. I found this to be constructive as interviewees were compelled to ponder and form opinions about the city even before we spoke. My personal interest in transport and mobility in cities sparked the topic of the second section as I believe mobility centred around humans is the path forward to sustainability. Alongside that, I hoped transport questions would lead to urban planning solutions with this focus. The sense of Copenhagen section moved away from the map and allowed me to ask more general questions about

Copenhagen and concepts specifically from the theories. A colour coding strategy was used to associate interview questions with the theories (see Appendix B).

Interviewees received an email prior to the interview that introduced myself and explained the process. Interviewees were asked to prepare a map with points of interest and a route they take frequently. Image 03 below shows an example of one interviewee's map with the points and route shown. In the bottom right corner, the tools 'Markør' and 'Linje' were used to create the map.

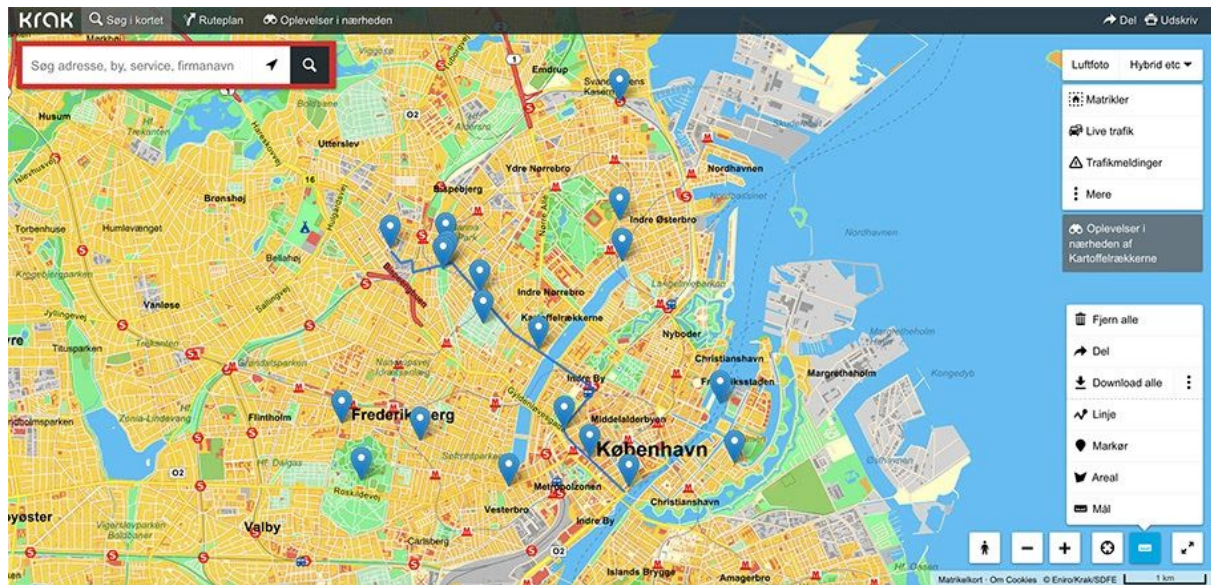


Image 03: Example of interactive map made by an interviewee.

The use of a map was inspired by Lynch's 1960 study, but also to assist interviewees to imagine Copenhagen as they think of places of interest. During the interview, the places of interest and route were discussed and the interviewee expanded on why they chose these places and their emotions towards them. The maps were beneficial because they provided the opportunity to visit the places of interest noted by interviewees.

The original idea for the map was to be a printable version where interviewees could pinpoint areas of interest. However, it was not possible to find a scale that allowed for enough detail (street names, neighbourhoods, etc.) and could fit on an average size paper. Interviewees were sent a digital map from krak (see image 03 above) where they could scroll in and out and locate their favourite spots in the city. A digital map was the ideal choice over a print map because it allowed for interactivity and for interviewees to precisely locate points in Copenhagen. The map was returned to me before the interview.

The first two sections of the interview asked the interviewee to describe the places and routes they had noted on the map. This was helpful for both the interviewee and myself to locate where and which point was being described. The map was constructive beyond these two interview sections. I noticed that



interviewees continued to use the map either to direct me to a point or to scan the city to aid in answering other questions.

Pilot interviews were conducted to practice interviewing, evaluate the questions, provide an estimated interview duration, and test technology. These proved to be constructive because it highlighted any errors in the questions, such as questions that were repetitive, confusing, or out of order. The interview guideline was adapted after each pilot interview to make sure it was sharp when the interviews began. The first pilot interview occurred without the interviewee creating or using a map, but was instead told beforehand to think of some of their favourite places in the city. The interviewee was only able to think of three places of interest and had difficulty imagining other elements or locations in Copenhagen. This experience demonstrated the value of the map within the interviews.

The initial idea was to conduct the interviews in person to allow me to sense emotions from the interviewee and pay attention to body language. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic and accompanying quarantine period that occurred during the time of this research, interviews instead took place over video chat. Video chat still allowed for a form of eye contact and for me to read body language. This method proved to be a successful alternative to in person interviewing.

One expert interview was used to find a relation to how this report's findings might be beneficial for professionals, gain knowledge on how experts use feelings and opinions from citizens to influence designs, and how to decide which areas of the city need renovation or improvement. I interviewed Ole Bach, a civil engineer who was the former director of Roads and Parks at Copenhagen Municipality and former director at Realdania - City and Build. His expertise in both the public and private realm contributed knowledge about the processes between experts and citizens. Through his many years of experience in Copenhagen, he was able to tell of both desirable and undesirable urban development, from the eyes of citizens and of experts. Ole shared a passion for citizen involvement and realised the obligation we have to create cities for humans, especially as a public employee.

## **04.22 Gathering of Interviewees**

An essential aspect of this research was to collect opinions from all types of Copenhageners, as one's history may have an influence on how they view the city. It was therefore important that the diversity of Copenhagen was also represented in the interviewees. Both Lynch (1960) and Lewicka (2009) noted that their research did not assemble a population diversity that matched the cities they were investigating. "A second criticism is the unbalanced nature of the samples chosen...retests should be made with a sample that is not only larger but also more representative of the general population" (Lynch, 1960, 152). This research aimed to collect data from a group that is representative of Copenhagen.

Statistics from Copenhagen Municipality were used as secondary data to gather the age and nationality of Copenhageners (see diagrams 1, 2 on pages 6, 7). Those under 19 years were excluded from the study because I felt that the concept of home for adolescents was too abstract. The 70+ age group was also excluded because of the difficulty of using technology, which became mandatory due to COVID-19. Seven age groups were chosen from 20-69 years old, three nationality groups as determined by the Copenhagen Municipality being Danish background, western immigrants, and non-western immigrants, students, and families were the main determining factors for interviewee participation.

I made the decision to not reveal the identities or backgrounds of interviewees prior to the analysis because I did not want a response to be characterised by the reader as a way of thinking that is typical of a Dane, non-Dane, youth, or elderly, etc. Therefore, interviewees are referred to by a single letter and gender-neutral pronouns (they, their, them). This was important for me because as our world becomes more global, one should be able to at least consider themselves a citizen of their own city, a *Copenhagener*, even if they do not possess citizenship in the country of residence. The term 'Copenhagener' is free to use by all of the city's citizens. Consequently, I used the term Copenhageners and interviewees interchangeably throughout the analyses as this is what they are. I was well aware, however, that the ideas and opinions of my small sample do not reflect those of all Copenhageners.

As Lynch stated, a larger interview sample would have been ideal, and the same can be said for this research. Initial thoughts were that 30 interviews could be completed, but in total only eight interviews took place. It was clear to me that regardless if it was ten or thirty interviews, the sample size could not truly represent Copenhagen so generalisations could not be drawn from this research. Lynch's (1960, 1) study took place over five years, while Lewicka used two years (Lewicka, 2009, 40), therefore a small sample size was only realistic for a four month research period.

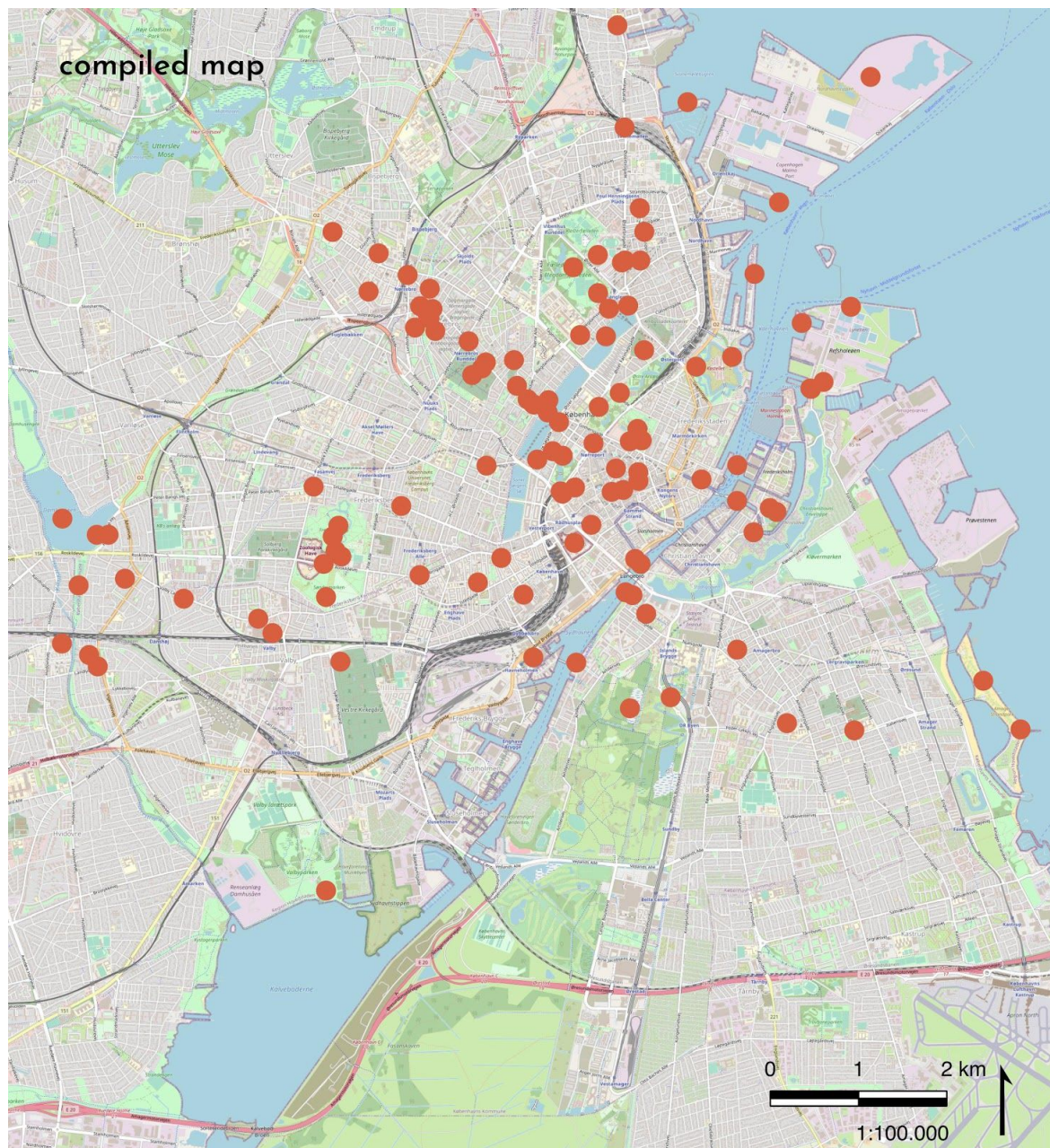
In order to gather interviewees, I used my network to reach out to individuals who matched the desired profiles along with a post on Facebook seeking interviewees. Friends also helped recruit interviewees. Prior to the COVID-19 quarantine period, I had hoped that the streets of Copenhagen would be able to provide interviewees. Therefore, if a specific demographic was missing, I could perhaps ask someone on the street if they were interested in an interview. This method was unfortunately not employed. Alongside that, some who were interested in participating were turned off by a timely interview via video chat as they preferred to meet in person, and therefore declined to interview.

## 04.23 Post Interview Maps

The maps made by interviewees were to aid in the interview process and the imaginability of Copenhagen. These were then used by me to revisit the places of discussion, both on the map and in the

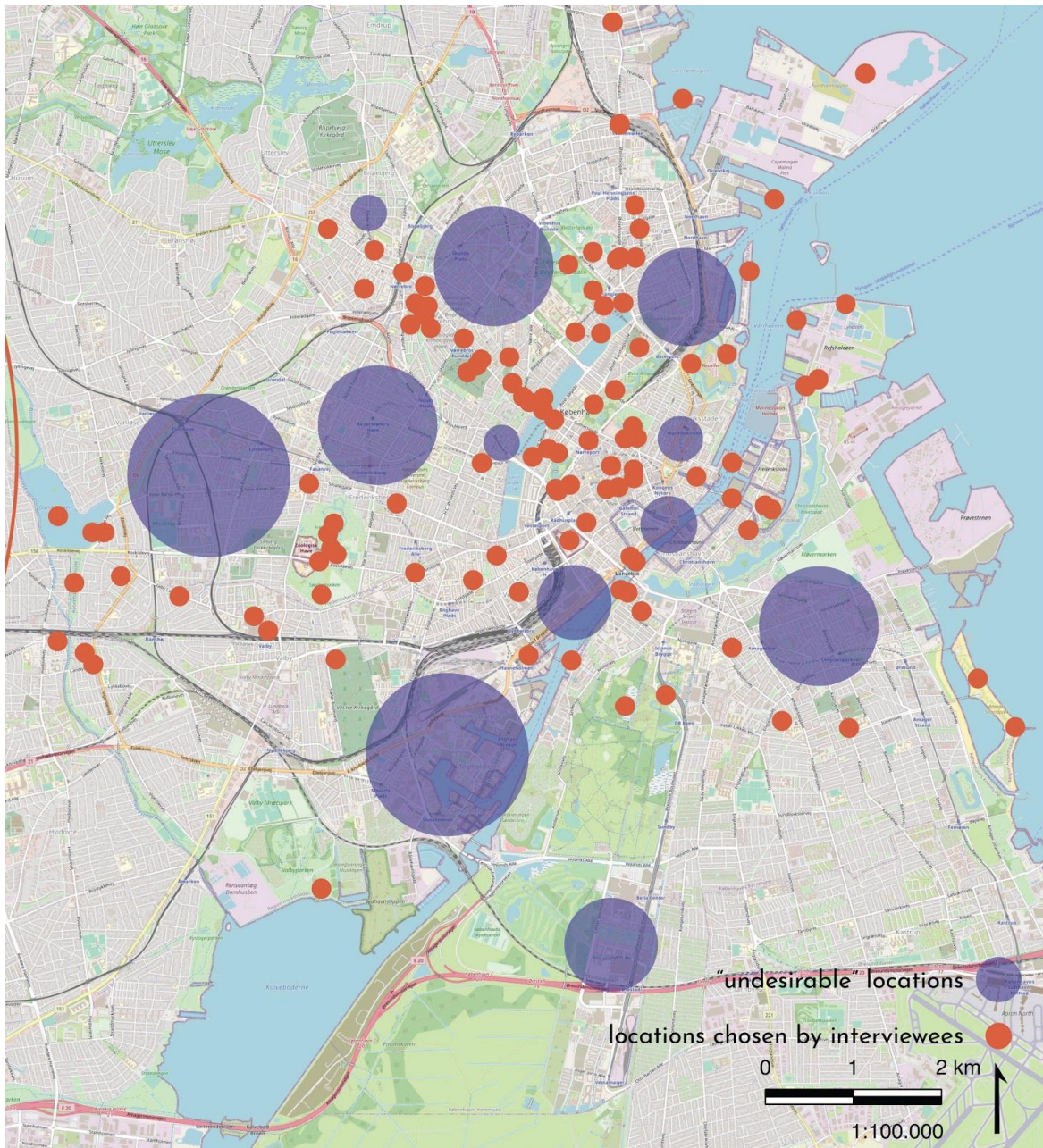
city. As I read through the transcripts, the maps were useful to again pinpoint where and what in the city they were referring to.

The maps were then overlaid (see map 2) with one another which highlighted places frequently chosen by interviewees. I could then see congregations of favourite places in the city. Even with a small sample size, the overlapping spots showed popular locations. Beyond illuminating favourite spots, the maps also displayed empty, unchosen locations (see map 3). I then began to ponder whether or not ‘desirable’ locations in the city, i.e. those chosen by interviewees, needed any urban design solutions at all. These then allowed me to also use the negative space as means of understanding how Copenhageners see and use their city. All base maps were taken from Open Street Map.org.



Map 2: Map with compiled favourite places by interviewees. Own illustration.





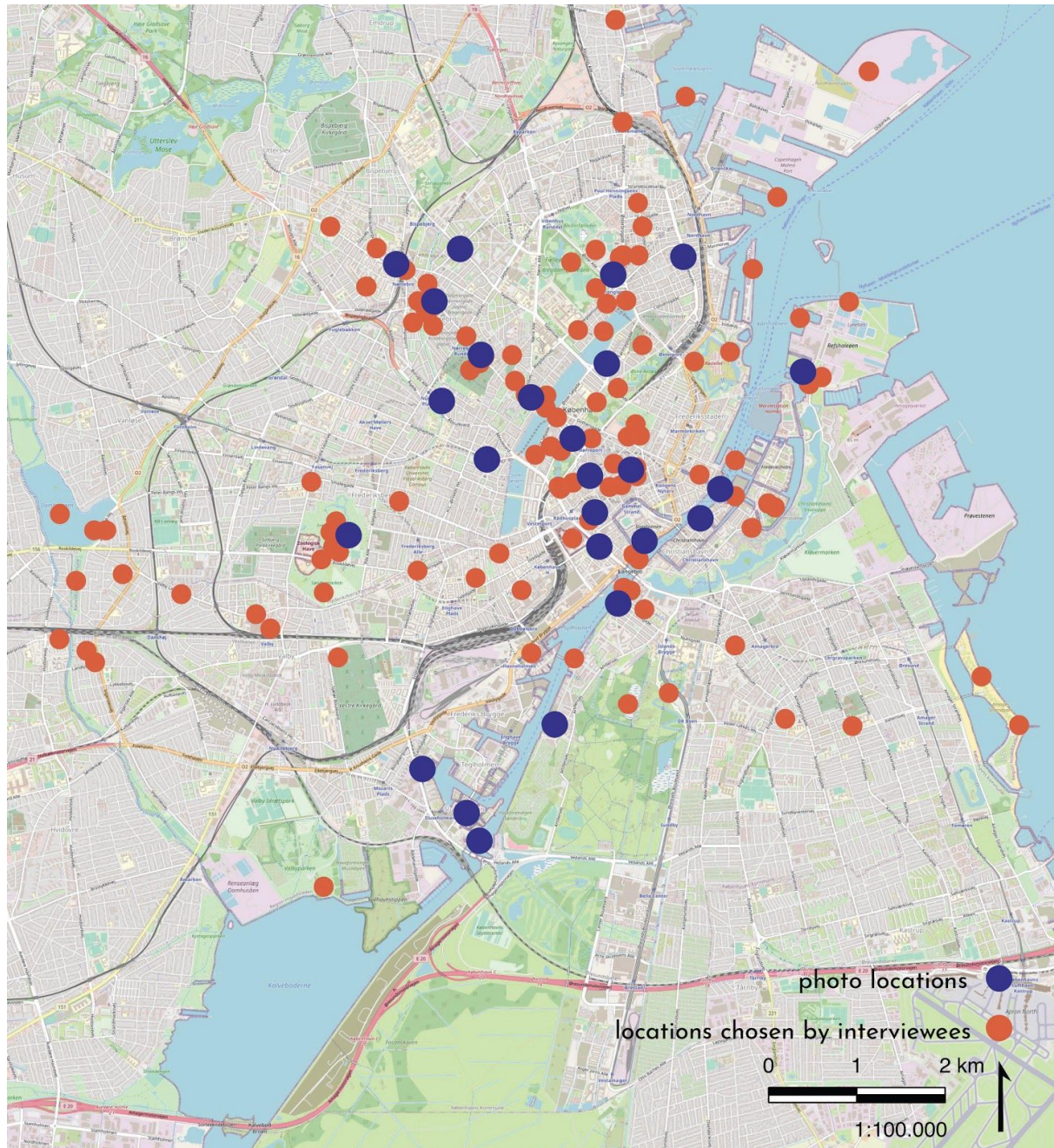
Map 3: Favourite places against unchosen places. Own illustration.

## 04.24 Photographing the City

Another source of data originated directly from Copenhagen itself in the form of photographs taken by me. Location of images can be seen in map 4, below. The first round of photographs was taken from places noted by interviewees as some of their favourite places. Alongside that, the intent with photographing popular spots was to further analyse them amongst each other. What is it they have in common? Can the photographs show how humans use the spaces? Can any of the physical urban features described by Gehl, Lynch, or Jacobs be detected? Photos were analysed by investigating scale, materiality, humans, mobility and infrastructure, and knowledge of a place's history.



The second round of photographs focused on locations not chosen by interviewees. These photographs could also be compared to the first round to identify their differences and similarities while focusing on physical urban features. Beyond this, the photographs were able to be used as a backdrop for urban design solutions.



Map 4: Favourite places and photo locations. Own illustration.

## 04.25 Other Data Collection

When the city is the scope of research, one can easily find other data to supplement the research. For this report, other forms of data collection occurred via a long visit to the new Copenhagen Museum and

a presentation by the Lord Mayor and the Danish Architecture Center. Alongside that, I took a ten day study tour in Barcelona to learn about their Superblocks. Although all good designers know that urban design solutions in one city cannot simply be copied and pasted in another, the study tour in Barcelona presented ways in which the city can be reimagined, particularly away from the car, and with the help of citizens. During this study tour, I was introduced to city leaders, planners, and citizens and became more familiar with the history and future of Barcelona's Superblocks. More can be read about this study tour in Appendix A.

### 04.3 Dissecting Interviews

To comprehend the interviews, multiple scan-throughs of the transcripts took place, each wearing a different set of glasses. A notecard was made listing the key features of each theory, which I could use as a tool to decipher the interviews, see diagrams 10 and 11 below. I chose the key features after reading through the theories and noting repeating elements and its most important takeaways. From here the transcript text was colour coded according to which theory a statement matched with (see Appendix C). A second scan-through aimed to find key and meaningful direct quotes that could be used in the report. The final read tried to find any discrepancies during the interview, where the interviewee may have contradicted themselves or any falsehoods.



Diagram 10: features of livability. Own illustration.

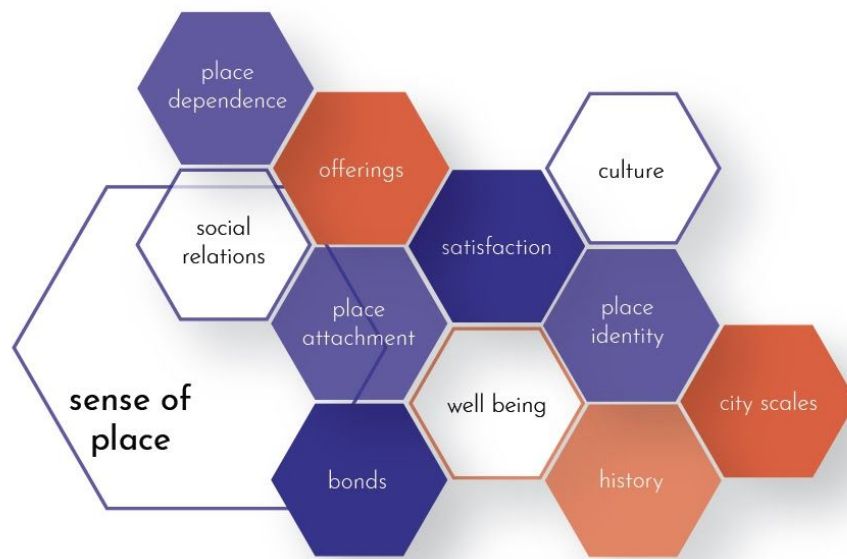


Diagram 11: features of sense of place. Own illustration.

## 04.4 Deciphering Home

In order to understand how Copenhageners defined home, questions about their sense of Copenhagen were asked such as familiarity, belongingness, and trust. I then gave them a definition of home as written in *Welcome Home* that articulated the difference between a dwelling and home, meaning that home is an emotional concept. From there they were asked to describe what home means to them. Afterwards, they were asked if Copenhagen is their home. (See Appendix B)

The literature on qualitative interviewing and studies from Lynch and Lewicka mentioned the importance of question order to not reveal too much too soon. Lynch, for example, asked at the end of his interviews, “what do you think we were trying to find out?” (Lynch, 1960, 142). This made me realise that if I wanted interviewees’ descriptions of home to not directly relate to their story in Copenhagen, then this should indeed be a question at the end of the interview.

Interview responses under the ‘Sense of Copenhagen’ section were then analysed, where I looked for direct words and phrases or meanings that related to definitions of home. Ten common words or concepts were taken from the interview answers based on the frequency they were said (see chapter 06, Copenhagen as the Home). Therefore, if only one interviewee said something was home for them, this was not included in the consensus of home for this report.

## 04.5 Designing Urban Solutions

The initial idea for the urban solutions was that all would be ‘physical’, meaning they had the ability to be built and become tangible, not that they would be constructed for this report. However, the interviews revealed that other aspects of urban design, such as processes, are just as important as the built environment. Nonetheless, solutions are merely about solving problems, and interviewees indicated other problems beyond tangible urban elements.

The urban design solutions were created from indirect input from interviewees, such as the maps where they did not choose favourite places, and by sharing what features they found affection for. They also provided direct input when they shared elements they had animosity towards, even without being prompted. Some solutions were also inspired by Barcelona’s Superblocks (Appendix A). The solutions incorporated learnings from the first analysis that shared Copenhageners’ elements of affection, animosity, and their perceptions. They are designed to be interpretations of what could be done in the city to facilitate the feeling of home.

## 04.6 Scope and Limitations

As this research focuses on Copenhagen as the home, the scope of this report is, therefore, the physical boundaries of Copenhagen and Frederiksberg Municipalities and the humans that live within them. Although Frederiksberg is, by definition and operational matters, not a part of Copenhagen, I felt that this division goes unnoticed by city dwellers and citizens use both municipalities as their playground. In practical matters, this defined scope meant that interviewees must live within one of these municipalities and chosen places on the map must also only lie within this boundary.

The initial idea for this report was indeed to consider the city as the home because I felt it is this scale at which we use resources, visit friends, and experience landmarks. However, during the early development of this research, my supervisor and I decided that the scope should be narrowed down to one neighbourhood. I was ambivalent towards this because my experience of Copenhagen is not only limited to my neighbourhood. While reading on place attachment, Maria Lewicka’s article *What makes neighbourhood different from home and city? Effects of place scale on place attachment* highlighted two crucial ideas. First, conclusions from Lewicka’s research showed that humans have the most attachment to their house or apartment and their city, with the least attachment to the neighbourhood. Second, there is little research that investigates home at the city scale. “The task of finding place-specific factors that facilitate attachment should also be performed with respect to cities” (Lewicka, 2009, 48). I consequently created a ‘pros and cons’ list comparing the scope at the city scale with neighbourhood scale and had few strong reasons to continue only at the neighbourhood scale. (Lewicka, 2009, 47-49)



Two influential pieces of literature for this report, Lewicka (2009) and Lynch (1960), used similar methods of interviewing locals about their feelings and perceptions of their cities. Their research spanned two years and five years, respectively, which allowed them to interview more humans, use multiple cities and compare them, and experience surroundings with more detail. With only four months to complete this report, I had to consequently narrow down the scope of my research and be realistic about what could be accomplished by a single human in this period. This meant interviewing fewer humans than I wished and eliminating the city walk through with interviewees post-interview.

As this project originates from a combination of sustainability studies and architecture, it used the consequences of citizen perceptions to form urban design solutions that can aid in the feeling of home. It, therefore, does not aim to understand nor conclude on the impacts or benefits of the feeling of home which could, for example, be productivity, well being, quality of life, health, or increased citizen participation. The urban design solutions are merely suggestions as to how urban design can facilitate home in cities by analysis of citizen responses. Finally, the limited number of interviews surely exhibits that the perceptions of this group cannot fully reflect all Copenhageners, but nonetheless exposes the array of needs and feelings in order to establish the city as the home.

## **04.7 Bias**

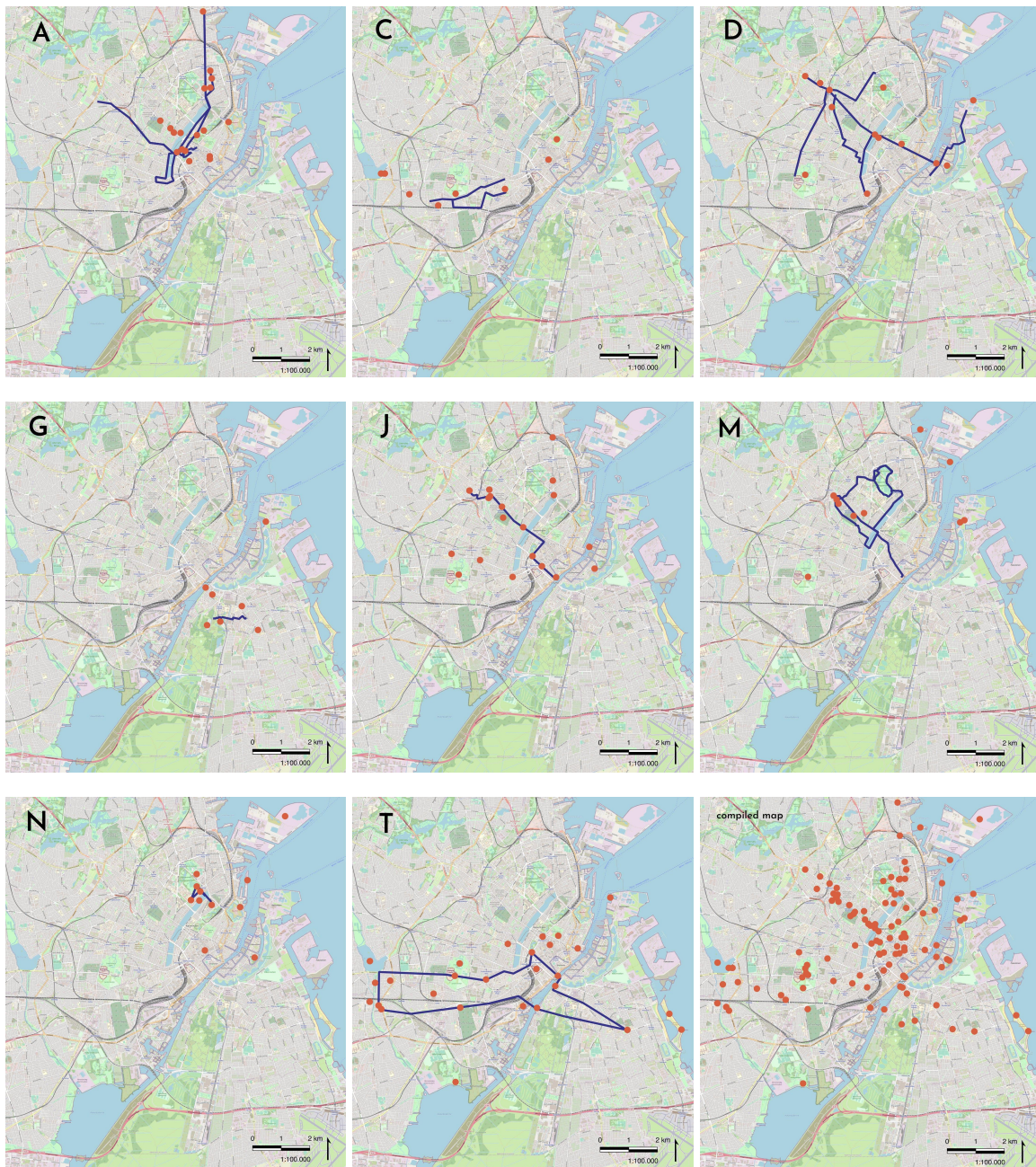
Copenhagen as the scope of this report evolved because it is my place of residence which therefore allowed me to use my network and prior knowledge of the city, not to mention the ability to experience first hand the places noted by interviewees. Alongside that, Copenhagen is passionately my home and I was curious if others are just as aware of this feeling as I am. I, however, chose to move to Copenhagen from a different country, so my story is very different from that of a Dane, other immigrants, and refugees. One should note my personal perspective of Copenhagen as my home, along with my background in architecture which shaped the research.

## 05 Analysis

This analysis uses the feelings and perceptions of Copenhageners gathered through the interviews and maps to comprehend what elements of the city are special, memorable, and provide positive or negative emotions. Copenhageners' opinions were analysed through the lens of the theories outlined in chapter 03 (Theories), to either grant validation and find reason in their responses, or expose unsubstantiated claims by interviewees or theorists. The chapter is organised in three sections, where the first explores symbols of Copenhagen or other positively perceived elements of affection, which are primarily tangible. The second section examines perceptions of the city which observe Copenhagen at a different scale than its physical components. In contrast to the first section, the final section reveals elements that contribute to negative emotions from Copenhageners.

Although the main focus of this report is on home, this analysis moves one step backwards to first understand the elements and perceptions that provide positive feelings that may then aid in place attachment, and hopefully further to the feeling of home. By doing so, the elements used by architects and urban planners to enhance cities are recognised and can be adopted as a tool to create distinguished places that citizens can find meaning and delight in to generate a sense of the city. The connection between our physical environments and sense of place or place attachment has been thoroughly researched to conclude that there is indeed an alliance between the two, but how does this further facilitate or not the feeling of home? How can our physical environment be dissected to identify elements of affection or animosity, which may facilitate or hinder the feeling of home in cities?

Each interviewee's map can be seen below (maps 5-12), followed by a compiled map (map 2) of favourite destinations. These maps were used to discover favourite spots in the city for further analysis via photographs and places with a strong consensus.



Maps 5-12 and 2: each interviewee's favourite places and route, compiled favourite places. Own illustration.

## 05.1 Elements of Affection

The following section discusses nine of the most prominent elements of the city denoted by interviewees. Photographs accompany the elements to gain a better understanding of scale, surroundings, and relations and provide opportunities to compare and contrast places based on their appearance. Theories are used to support or contradict these elements of affection.



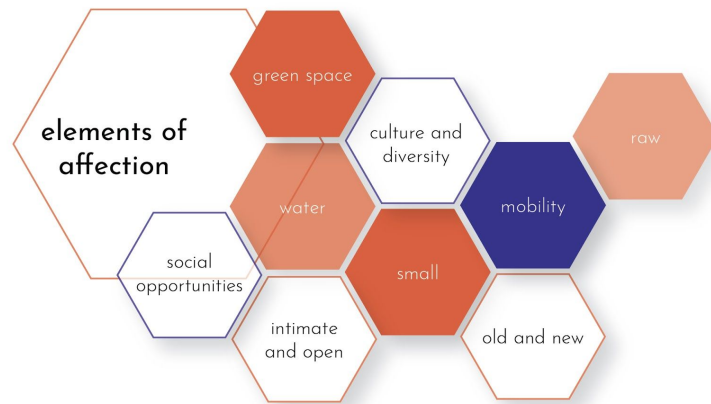


Diagram 12: Elements of affection as mentioned by interviewees. Own illustration.

## 05.11 Green Space

The element that found the utmost affection from Copenhageners were green spaces scattered around the city - from large parks to pocket parks and street trees. This comes as no surprise as humans have an instinctive attachment to nature (Russel et al., 2013, 474). Green spaces allowed for a quiet retreat from the otherwise busy city, but the proximity back to the city was also important. [interview sources]



Green areas. From top left: Islands Brygge, green area on Refshaleøen, Bryghuspladsen, Nørrebroparken. Own photographs.

Livability is centred around the 'human dimension' (Gehl, 2011) where recognition of the human

experience in cities calls for attention to green spaces that provide opportunities for different activities. Copenhageners used green spaces for running, child play, meeting with friends, for walks, picnics, and beer drinking [interview sources]. These social opportunities supported by green spaces are being adopted by Copenhageners, which solidifies Gehl's main livability elements. One interviewee used Nørrebroparken (bottom right image above) frequently and considers it "an extension of my home, I'd say" (M, 2020).

To make a liveable city from the human dimension not only provides for the daily routines but also the health and well being of humans. Biophilic cities strengthen the connection to nature and provide clean air, cooling, and cities that are resilient to changes in weather and climate (Omniya el-Baghdadi, Desha, 2017). Trees or green can help reduce stress and anxiety (Kumar et al., 2019), which was reiterated by C who said "It calms me down, just the nature, it makes me feel good" (C, 2020).

A relationship with a place, such as M's extension of the home, links to sense of place because a bond is being formed. Copenhagen's green spaces provide for our needs, well being and boosts our satisfaction. The bonds that form here can be reflected in place attachment. The affection that has formed for green spaces is based on the versatility of uses to meet Copenhageners needs, as well as bond to the spaces they can use as their own, not to mention the physical and emotional connection humans have to nature.

## 05.12 Water

With over 7,000 km of coastline in Denmark (Kystdirektoratet, 2019) the water never seems too far away. This defining feature of Denmark was also true in Copenhagen as many interviewees found this to be a symbol of the city.

Lynch's work fixates on how humans read and understand their city, laying out key elements of a city's legibility through the physical form. Edge is one element defined by Lynch as "boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity" (Lynch, 1960, 47). The edge created by the water is a break from the city, which interviewees said provides relief, calm, and openness [interview sources]. "I really like to go to the edge points, wherever we have water" (M, 2020). Lynch's interviewees also found affection in water along with the wide open view that came with it (Lynch, 1960, 44).



From left: harbour's edge at Gammel Dok, harbour seen from Innerhavnsbroen. Own photographs.



From left: harbour seen from bridge at Slusen, harbour's edge at Havnegade. Own photographs.

Sense of place acknowledges the emotional bond Copenhageners had to the water, as their histories, memories, and orientation of Denmark were formed around the sea. “As a Dane, you like being close to the water” (A, 2020). In defining what Copenhagen is, a film at Copenhagen Museum said that “ships and the harbour are always important” (JAC Studios, 2020). The emotional attachment to the water occurs because of Copenhagen’s history and connection with the water, a connection which is geographically relevant but also because it is easily accessible. “The identity of places is very much bound up with the histories which are told of them” (Massey, 1995, 186). Many Copenhageners noted that we were lucky to live in a place so close to the water that we are able to use recreationally [interview sources]. A feature that is quite unique to Copenhagen adds to the sense of the city.

### 05.13 Small City

Interviewees acknowledged that Copenhagen is a small city. With a total area of 98.5 km<sup>2</sup> (including Frederiksberg Municipality) (Københavns Kommune, 2004; Frederiksberg Kommune, 2016), Copenhagen is indeed a physically small city. As the capital city, it gets the recognition of a big city, and interviewees also felt that Copenhagen has a “big city feel” (J, 2020) but noted its small scale.

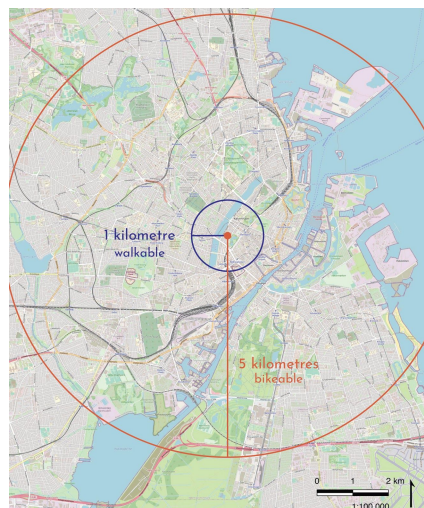


Diagram 13: walk and bike radi from Turesensgade. Own illustration.



A prime feature of a small city in terms of livability is accessibility and mobility. Not all cities can be walkable even if they have sidewalks and other infrastructure for pedestrians. If the scale of a city is too large, areas become inaccessible by foot. The same can be said about bikeability, as seen in diagram 13 above. Practice theory would say these cities lack the materials to walk or bike. However, “Copenhagen is so small it doesn’t make a big difference. You can get anywhere in 20-30 minutes [on a bike]” (G, 2020). Copenhagen’s scale can be traced back to how the city developed and when. Olden day Copenhageners travelled by foot, carriage, bike, and eventually trolley, so distances needed to be attainable by foot (Københavns Museum, 2020). Investigating the history of many American cities, one can see how these cities were planned with and for the car. Gehl refers to these differences as “the human scale (5km/hr) and the car scale (60km/hr)” where streets, buildings, and other details are designed with the speed of the user in mind (Gehl, 2010, 53).

As Lynch is concerned with the legibility of the city, one can speculate that the smaller the city, the easier it is for one to recall. Whereas Lynch described interviewees from Los Angeles who found it “to be hard to envision or conceptualise [the city] as a whole, an endless spread” (Lynch, 1960, 40). Copenhagen is a rather compact city and among it are memorable landmarks, another Lynchian feature (Lynch, 1960, 48), which helps with orientation and imaginability.

One can quickly sense that Copenhagen is a small city just by moving around it, and for inhabitants, this means that nowhere and no one is out of reach. “On your bike, you can go everywhere and everything is part of your neighbourhood” (G, 2020). Lewicka’s study on place attachment showed that humans are most attached to their apartment or house and their city. When one can reach all corners and offerings of Copenhagen, they can discover it all and become more attached to the city as a whole. Sense of place identifies the importance of social relations, and these can easily occur when friends or family are accessible. Alongside that, random encounters can happen anywhere in the city, not just in one’s local neighbourhood, and this aids in the feeling of interconnectedness, as we could connect with one another anywhere in the city.

## 05.14 The Raw and Unplanned

This feature of affection among Copenhageners was the ‘industrial, raw, and unplanned areas’, and Refshaleøen in particular with its casual vibe. [interview sources]

Livability does not offer many answers as to why this feature is attractive, but perhaps the human dimension can be expanded to include the idea that humans can have a say in development. In the case of Refshaleøen, “it doesn’t feel like it was planned, it was just people doing it, it doesn’t feel too neat” (G, 2020). Copenhageners felt relaxed and that they could do whatever in places that are raw. It is clear the quality of the environment differs from that of other areas of Copenhagen, and it seems that is the draw. But is it enticing *because* it is different from the rest of Copenhagen, or because this type of raw and unplanned environment is indeed preferred?



The raw and unplanned. From left: Bolsjefabrikken and Refshaleøen. Own photographs.

## 05.15 Old and New

Like most European cities, Copenhagen is an old city that has expanded and grown over time. The city continues to change, especially as more humans live in the city and housing and amenities need to be built accordingly. One element that many interviewees noted as they imagined Copenhagen was the “good mix of old architecture and new, modern architecture” (G, 2020) and especially how the old and the new merges together [interview sources].

A number of examples can be found in Copenhagen where old and new architecture are neighbours. One example in the photos is the new BLOX building located along the harbour at the historic Frederiksholms Kanal in the inner city. BLOX was designed with its location in mind, taking into account the historic buildings around it and its prime reality along the harbour. It stands five storeys above ground, as that is the height of most buildings in Copenhagen. The green glass colour is inspired by the patina bridge towers and roofs found throughout the inner city. This contemporary building integrates elements from its surroundings so it can better integrate into Copenhagen’s architecture. (Danish Architecture Center, 2018a)

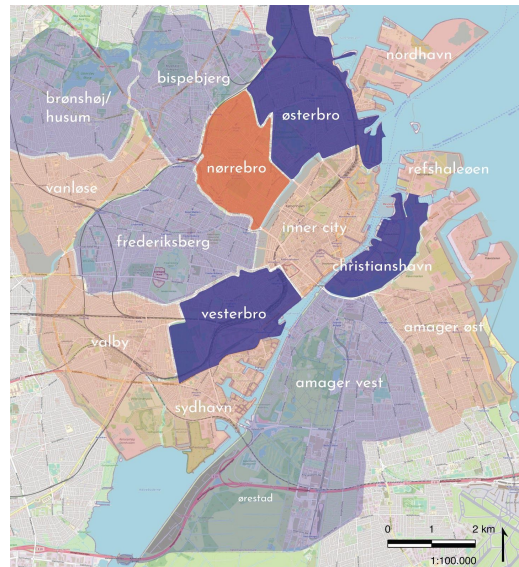


Mixture of old and new architecture at Bryghuspladsen. Own photographs.

An interesting aspect of old architecture are interviewees’ attachment to areas that are older. When asked what comes to mind when one thinks of Copenhagen, a majority of responses included the Bridge Quarters (brokvarterne) - Vesterbro, Nørrebro, and Østerbro, and disregarded other neighbourhoods (see

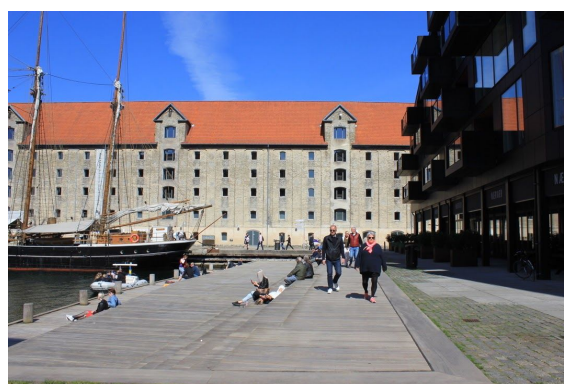


map 13). Lynch's interviewees also expressed a "bitterness and nostalgia among natives" to new developments in the city (Lynch, 1960, 45). What lies in these areas that have created these as the sense of Copenhagen and that Copenhageners are most attached to?



Map 13: Highlighted Bridge Quarters (Brokvarterne). Own illustration.

Architecture and livability harmonise with one another as the primary focuses are environments for humans and the physical form. Old architecture in Copenhagen represented historical sites, places of importance, and still functions exceptionally well [interview sources]. New architecture in Copenhagen can be found scattered amongst the old or in entirely new neighbourhoods. "The city feels like a nice, well designed place. Also, the quality of buildings and public spaces is good as well" (G, 2020). The quality architecture provides humans with healthy and long-lasting indoor environments, which adds to a city's livability.



New and old architecture meet at Krøyers Plads. Own photograph.

Lynch's focus on orientation could perhaps help explain why Copenhageners preferred the old parts of the city compared to the new. Old areas of the city are rather untouched, so interviewees knowledge of the area is strong. Whereas in the new developments, everything is new and unfamiliar, even the

architecture is drastically different than in the old quarters. Much of old Copenhagen maxes out at five/six storeys, making it a relatively low city. “After five floors, contact with the city quickly ceases” (Gehl, 2011, 51), yet new areas have buildings that reach between seven and ten storeys.



From top left: Old architecture in Østerbro, New architecture on Tømmergravsgade, Sydhavn  
Old architecture in Nordvest, New architecture at Teglværkshavnen, Sydhavn. Note the number of storeys of buildings.

Businesses at street level are common throughout the older neighbourhoods, especially along main traffic corridors. Gehl would describe these routes as ‘experience rich’ because there are quantifiable opportunities, which in turn attracts more humans to the area and therefore allows for more social opportunities as well (Gehl, 2011). Newer neighbourhoods are, so far, said to lack these amenities which then takes away the social opportunities as well [interview sources]. New urban developments struggle with the balance of business and residents - should the coffee shop move in before there are enough customers to serve it, or should it wait until there are enough residents? But where do residents get coffee in the meantime? (Saaby, 2018). “[Stores, bars, and restaurants] give people - both residents and strangers - concrete reasons for using the sidewalks on which these enterprises face” (Jacobs, 1961, 36). The quantity and quality of life on the street are vital to a neighbourhood’s livability.

Sense of place includes the emotional bonds one has to their environment, and it is clear that interviewees had a strong bond to old neighbourhoods and lack bonds to new areas. Culture lies under sense of place and may help explain the differences between old and new parts of Copenhagen, as one interviewee felt new areas are “without any culture or personality” (A, 2020), in part because A was drawn to areas with

history and personal memories. Norberg-Schulz's *genius loci* may help express the personalities (or lack thereof) of the old and new parts of the city. Interviewees often described a 'vibe', and it is this vibe that creates the personality, or spirit, of a place. For them, a vibe included the physical surroundings, the types of people, and the activity offerings [interview sources].

Place dependence focuses on the offerings of a place in order for one to live the life they wish. M, for example, took to Nørrebro for "social stuff and the parks and the bars" (M, 2020). Therefore, one could not find M in neighbourhoods without these offerings. While for A, it was important to be surrounded by history and memories (A, 2020).

Place attachment is critical here, as it helps understand why and how one might attach to a place. Von Wirth et al. (2016) studied the attachment of urban areas that undergo development and concluded that development can contribute positively to place attachment when the changes are deemed appealing. As interviewees disregarded new developments as symbols of Copenhagen, it can be speculated that they view these new developments as unsatisfactory. "New areas around the harbour are too glassy, shiny, and new" (A, 2020). The consequences of this are that Copenhageners will not attach nor identify with these areas, but the "bitterness and nostalgia" from natives as Lynch experienced, may only lead the natives to not attach and thus not influence newcomers' attachment. An interesting analysis could arise from investigating the makeup of old and new districts.

Massey's sense of place highlights that places and their social interactions are continuous and ever evolving. This idea is also mentioned in a film at Copenhagen Museum which said Copenhagen "is marked by those who have been here and who are here" and that "the city will change when we are gone" (JAC Studios, 2020). Copenhagen has been changing drastically over the last years to meet an increase in demand for housing along with changes to the urban realm for sustainable development. Sankt Annæ Plads is an example of that, where a street was redesigned to accommodate for an increase in rain events (Bach, 2020). The city will always be changing, where someday the new areas will not be quite so new, yet the old will still be the old. Old and new are merely comparisons between time and one another. The people inhabiting these places will stimulate the culture, social interactions, and amenities or opportunities that ultimately determine that place's vibe, for the time being, at least.

## 05.16 The Intimate and the Open

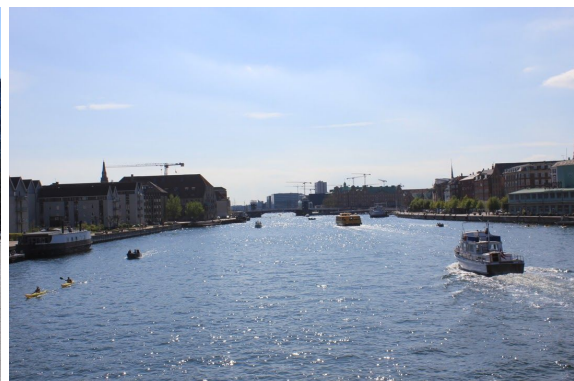
A city diverse in its landscape offers multiple views and experiences that change as one strolls. This feature was noted by interviewees as they appreciated both the small, cosy spots as well as the big, vast areas. Qualities of the small spots embodied cosiness, quiet, and hidden, while the vast areas were open and often offered a view [interview sources]. Are there different design elements or human behaviour between the intimate and open areas?





Row houses from the late 1800's. Own photograph.

Copenhagen's old architecture brings us back to the workers' houses that were organised as row houses along quiet streets with gardens and where children could play. During their time, these were built 'outside' of the city, but are now fully absorbed in the bustle of Copenhagen, yet one can still experience the quiet and cosy, almost suburban atmosphere these were intended to have. J, having lived in one of these areas, described them as "a mini-village kind of aesthetic" and found it unique that one could have this living experience while in a big city (J, 2020). Lord Mayor Frank Jensen's goal of keeping families in the city (Jensen, 2020) is strengthened by living opportunities like row houses. Because as C described, the children have green just outside the door, enough space for the family, while still being close to everything that Copenhagen has to offer (C, 2020). Other intimate places in Copenhagen could be found in Assistens Kirkegaard that has "many hidden places where you do not run into people all the time" (M, 2020) or shopping streets with bars or cafes which offer an oasis from the city [interview sources].





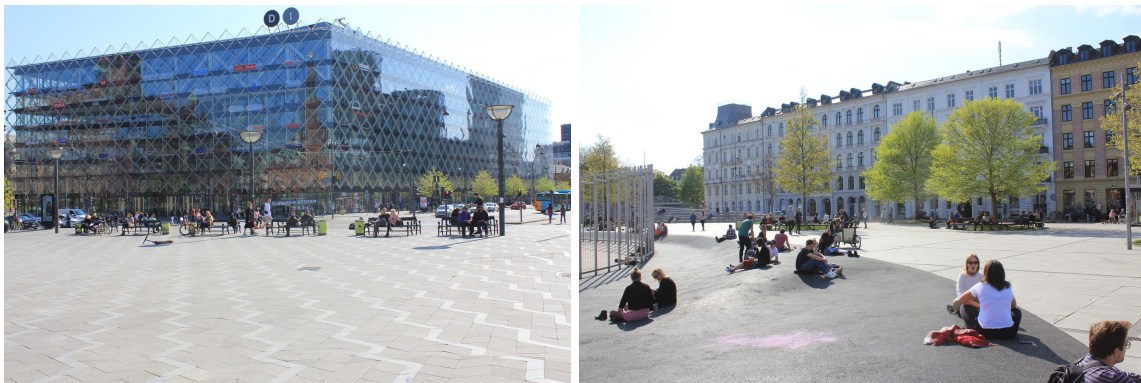
From top left: open places: City Hall Square, the harbour from Innerhavnsbroen, Nørrebroparken.  
Intimate: Row Houses at Havnestaden, Sværtegade, Assistens Kirkegaard. Own photographs.

Open places were noted by interviews to be places such as City Hall square, parks, and along the water, being both the lakes and the harbour. When M crossed over Dronning Louises Bridge, they “look over the lakes and I just soak in that view, I really enjoy that” (M, 2020). The openness interviewees feel in these spaces is the opposite of that felt small, hidden spots. To what extent do physical surroundings foster our behaviours or emotions?

A variety of images is important to Lynch’s livability because it creates a diversity in spaces and allows one to better recall a place’s elements. Both Lynch and Gehl speak of scale and the human dimension, but is this better represented in the intimate areas than in the open? Considering the buildings lining these both big and small spaces, they stand at the typical Copenhagen height of five/six storeys, except for row houses at two to three storeys. The scale between the buildings is drastically different between the defined small and big areas, and it is here that spaces either ‘open up’ or become ‘small.’ Gehl’s experience rich route should be noted again here because as one traverses through the city, they encounter different scales, sites, and happenings. The mixture of intimate and open spaces adds an element of surprise. “The tests made clear the significance of space and breadth of view...there was an emotional delight arising from a broad view” (Lynch, 1960, 43). The contrast of small spaces into large open spaces strikes something memorable in our minds.

The livability theorists continuously speak about human interaction, and this is an essential element to public spaces. Big open spaces, such as parks and plazas, can certainly occupy more humans but

the small, cosy streets invite humans here for the purpose of shopping, eating, or dwelling at bars and cafes. Open spaces such as parks allow for groups to meet and linger, but not all open spaces have this same effect. City Hall square, for example, “is just a place to walk through, nothing to stay for” (A, 2020), the image below left, shows that humans only hang out where there are benches, but humans also rest on the rubber at Israels Plads, but not the pavement, as seen in the image below right. This tells us there is an aspect of materiality where furniture and soft materials allow humans to linger, and pavement signifies movement. This was an interesting characteristic in Barcelona’s public squares, that humans sat and hung out on the pavement, which would be unusual in Copenhagen (Appendix A).



From left: City Hall Square, Israels Plads. Own photographs.

## 05.17 Mobility

One section of the interview inquired about a route interviewees took frequently to understand what they experienced along this route but also to hear their thoughts on mobility in Copenhagen. Mobility is a vital aspect of sustainable cities, especially as cities grow in population and we aim to reduce car use. What are the alternatives and how do citizens feel about their options?

Copenhagen is regarded as a highly livable city with walkability, bikeability, and public transportation as the main components (Leigh, 2013). It appeared, also, that Copenhageners found mobility in Copenhagen to be successful and efficient. “I think Copenhagen has the best opportunities for getting along on a bike, or just on feet” (J, 2020). Many interviewees expressed high regard for *Den Grønne Sti*, or The Green Path, which is a six kilometre off-road cycling path through the city, as seen in map 14.





Map 14: *Den Grønne Sti*, six km off-road bike lane through the city. Own illustration.

All but one interviewee used the bike as their primary mode of transport in Copenhagen. When asked if there would be other modes of transport one could take for their route, many interviewees were not initially certain on which mode or route would be the best. After some thinking, they were aware of their options, primarily a bus or the metro. However, all found biking as their preferred method as it was certainly the fastest and cheapest. [interview sources]



Five mobility methods. From top left: Nørrebro Station with s-train, Den Grønne Sti bike path, Nørrebrogade with pedestrian, bus, and car. Own photographs.

When analysing mobility in Copenhagen under the lense of livability, one can see the various opportunities to move around the city - bike, foot, bus, metro, train, even car (for now). This is crucial because the needs of Copenhageners are different, and they should be able to find a mode that matches their needs. Alongside the lifestyle needs of citizens, biking provides opportunities to meet humans, quickly dismount and visit a boutique, but most importantly, to have eyes on the street (Gehl, 2011). Along with great walkability in Copenhagen, an abundant number of eyes on the street is integral to a safe city (Jacobs, 1961, 35). Looking long term, livable cities means providing safe and healthy environments for humans, which in terms of mobility means that options are affordable, accessible, and low in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions (Nieuwenhuijsen, Khreis, 2016, 252).

Lastly, Lynch's form of livability concentrates on comprehension of the city and its streets, where the ability to form a mental map is ideal. A study that focused on children's mobility found that children who walked and biked around their neighbourhoods were able to draw the streets and connections better than children who were always driven in a car (Goodyear, 2012). Therefore, walking and biking allows humans to better read and imagine their city. Duyvendak (2011) said that to attach to a place, one must know the place well, thus, the ability to read the city that transpires from walking and biking may correlate to place attachment. Interviewees were asked if they knew Copenhagen well, and the answers were mixed. However, the two who felt Copenhagen was not their home said they did not know the city well. [interview sources]

The relationship Copenhageners had with biking is strong because they felt it was efficient, well developed, and are satisfied "that the state provides us with the ability to be more green" (J, 2020). Sense of place refers to positive connections of the place, such as culture or politics. Biking is pure Copenhagen culture and two of the interviewees specifically stated their optimism towards public authorities in relation to sustainable mobility (D, J, 2020). Copenhagen is often praised for the number of cyclists and that most participate, regardless of wealth or job title (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Denmark, n.d). The egalitarian culture and politics that exist in Copenhagen are part of the city's identity (Jensen, 2003), and one can gather this sense of place through the bike culture as the elements needed to form this practice are easily accessible to all. [interview sources]

Practice theory is appropriate when analysing mobility patterns because it is here that there may be discrepancies between what one says and what they do, or between their perceptions and facts. Routines are the main focus in practice theory, and one's commute becomes a daily routine (Shove et al., 2012). As mentioned above, Copenhageners preferred biking because it was the fastest and cheapest mode. After confirmation from Google Maps, it is true that interviewees' routes were indeed fastest with the bicycle, along with avoiding the daily toll of public transport. Practice theory's three components - materials, meanings, and competences reveal the precursors to practice formation. Sidewalks, bike lanes, bus stops, train stations, transport cards, and access to a bike are all material elements that aid in mobility, whereas the



meanings behind the quality or interconnectedness are determined by the user. “I like coming around even with public transportation by feet or by bike, that’s perfect” (C, 2020). Competences require that users have the skills or knowledge to complete the practice. In the case of mobility, this means knowing how to ride a bike or a knowledge of the transportation network are necessary for these practices to occur. With all three components of practice theory in place, mobility in Copenhagen is user friendly and interviewees found this to be a positive aspect of the city.

## 05.18 Culture and Diversity

Copenhagen is a city where 25% of the population are immigrants (Københavns Kommune, 2020) compared to only 13.9% in Denmark (Danmarks Statistik, 2020). This means that the city is home to different cultures and customs which is a feature appreciated by most interviewees.

Both Duyvendak in his studies on home and Lewicka’s research on place attachment considered the social, cultural, and political environments and being surrounded by like-minded individuals (Duyvendak, 2011; Lewicka, 2009). This question was therefore included in the interviews, and surprisingly, this was not important to Copenhageners. J thought the complete opposite of the question, “the diversity in Copenhagen is what makes it funny and great” (J, 2020). A also appreciated their street “with a lot of different people, a mixed community, a lot of colours, I like that” (A, 2020). In return, the street had shops and restaurants with cuisines from around the world, which A connected to the diversity of the street. The social and political environments of a city construct its culture and identity. So the sense of Copenhagen as a diverse city and the culture inputs that go along with that adds to the city’s charm.

## 05.19 Events and Social Opportunities

One thing that sets a city apart from a town or a village are the opportunities they offer (Jacobs, 1961), such as events, concerts, or numerous bars and restaurants. All interviewees expressed affection for the activities Copenhagen has to offer, where one in particular “moved to Copenhagen because of the social life” (T, 2020).

“Very centrally, [the city] is about the special kind of meetings between people who have the public space as a prerequisite and as a framework” (Gehl, 2010, 29). Having ample public space in a city encourages meeting in the public realm, and the same can be said for bars and cafes. As mentioned in chapter 01 (Introduction), our indoor living spaces need to become smaller if we should house humans in the central city. In turn, the public realm becomes our living room and our social lives transpire in the city. Luckily, Copenhageners felt that there were enough offerings for them to be social outside of their apartments. [interview sources]

An element of affection from interviewees was indeed the other humans using public spaces, where one could get the sense that Copenhagen is a lively and interesting city. The sense of place at Nyhavn,

although filled with tourists in the summer, is exciting and T found themselves here “just [to enjoy] all the fuss, the people walking around and all the things going on” (T, 2020). Other places in the city that offered plenty of street life were desirable for interviewees. Jacobs also acknowledges humans’ interest in ‘people watching’ and enjoying the fuss, as T mentioned (Jacobs, 1961). [interview sources]

As T said, social life can be a reason in itself for humans to move to the city, so they can do and experience the things they want to do. This falls under sense of place as place dependence, where one can live the life they wish. All interviewees expressed that Copenhagen provided plenty of different events and social opportunities. Some came to Copenhagen for the music scene, while others came for nightlife, but a city that can provide for many different desires will lead to a mix of humans who feel at home in the city. [interview sources]

Massey’s focus on social connections is vital here because the ‘fuss’ of the city cannot occur without humans interacting in the public realm. It is here that our interconnectedness becomes visible, we all use this street for transport or shopping which provides it with life. Or we all attend a concert and share the experience in this place at this time, together. Beyond events and opportunities, social connections can happen just in passing. For G, Copenhagen started to feel like home when they began to know others in the neighbourhood and experience random encounters (G, 2020).

## 05.2 Perceptions of the City

The perceptions Copenhageners have of their city do not necessarily find root in physical features but come from intuitive understandings, based primarily on one’s sensory processes and overall awareness. These are just as valuable to identify because a city is not only its buildings, streets, and public spaces. It is also the citizens, their interactions and attitudes towards the city that ultimately determine the sense of the city.



Diagram 14: perceptions of the city as mentioned by interviewees. Own illustration.

## 05.21 Summer vs Winter

Located at 55°N, Copenhagen is subject to different weather patterns between summer and winter. The relatively cold, dark winters keep many Copenhageners hibernating inside, while in spring and summer the city blossoms with human activity. Interviewees also noted that the city is very different between summer and winter, where the city is “a place with a lot of life, especially in the summer” (M, 2020). D went so far as to say that “during winter, half of the things are useless” (D, 2020), referring to their chosen spots on the map. Do the hibernation times make the spring awakening more exciting, making this yearly cycle necessary?

## 05.22 Proximity

When describing where they live or the spots they enjoy, interviewees often mentioned that a place was ‘close to’ something, “close to green areas, close to the lake, close to Søndermarken, close to the city” (C, 2020). This therefore emphasises the importance of proximity. As Copenhageners felt the city was small, this meant that many things were near one another. Most important of all was the proximity to green spaces. It must be mentioned that proximity in itself is a perception, what is close for one, may not be close for another. It is nonetheless necessary to design with radiuses of different transport modes and be deliberate about placing a balance of amenities and ample green space within areas.

## 05.23 Safety and Trust

A central element in Duyvendak’s definition of home is ‘haven’, which encompasses one feeling safe and secure in their home (Duyvendak, 2011, 38). While Jacobs notes that safety is not so much about crime rates, but rather that one’s familiarity with their home creates security (Jacobs, 1961). Denmark is also known to be a society with a lot of trust, particularly in one another and their government (Svendsen et al., 2012, 362). These beliefs led me to ask interviewees if they feel safe in the city and if they trust fellow Copenhageners.

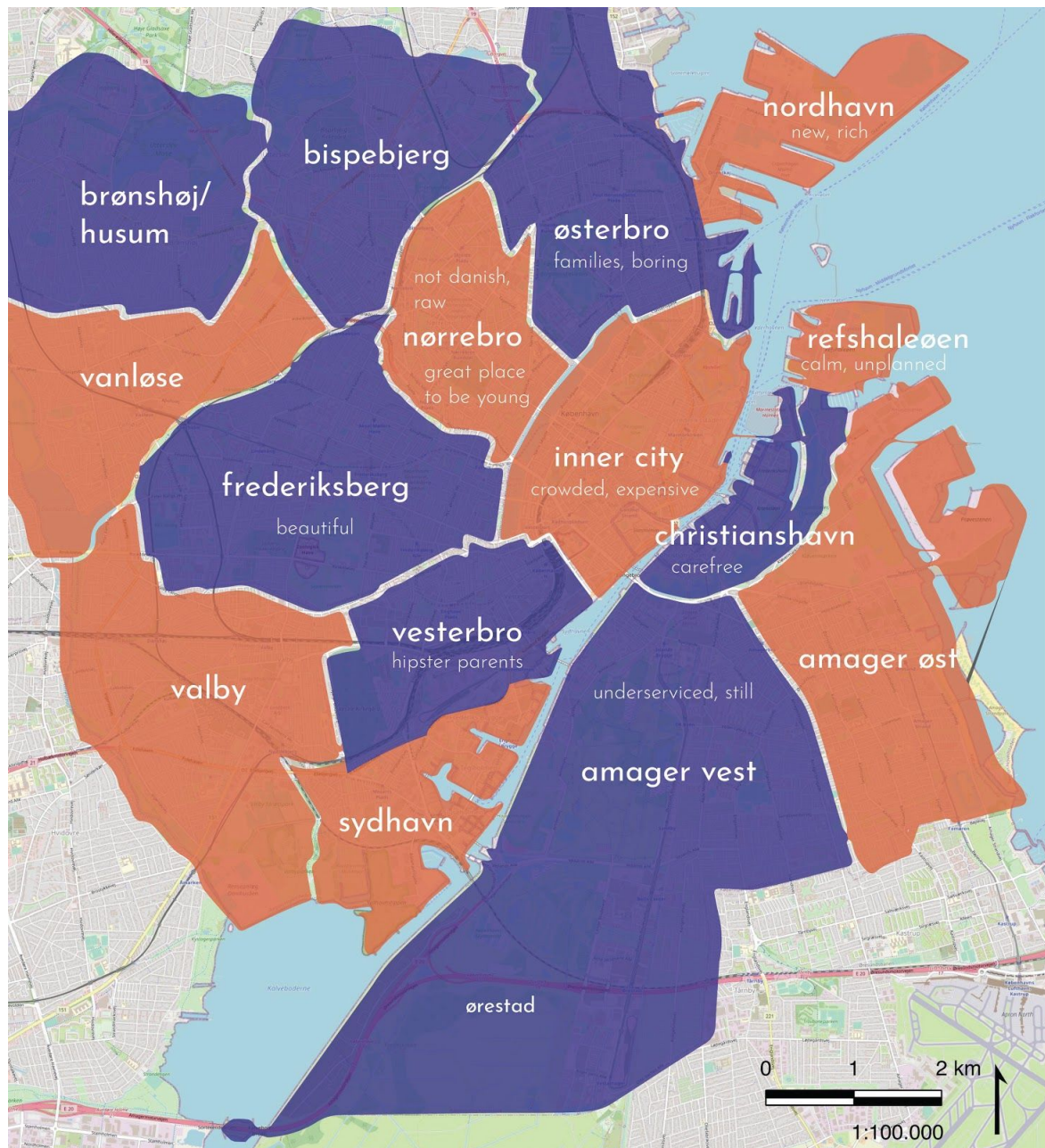
All interviewees felt safe in the city, but the answers were mixed in regards to trust of Copenhageners. “I know where to trust and where not to trust” (A, 2020), whereas J noted that they live in an area known for crime and being unsafe and said, “I think it’s pretty safe. I don’t feel threatened to live here” (J, 2020). This highlights Jacobs’s theory on safety and familiarity, where ‘outsiders’ may not feel safe in an area, but those who live there feel safe. Copenhagen is a city with relatively low crime (København Kommune, 2018), which means that safety is merely a perception. How can we then ensure that all feel safe and trust in all areas of the city? Are there features of the built environment that grant or hinder the feeling of safety and trust?

## 05.24 Affordability

A keystone in determining a city's livability is affordability. Can residents afford basic needs such as housing, transport, and food on an average salary? (Monocle, 2018). There has been a trend in cities where housing has become unaffordable and taking up a large portion of one's income (Florida, Schneider, 2018), Copenhagen has not escaped this trend (Liliegreen, 2017, 2). Interviewees spoke of their living situation relative to the price, a place that they could afford or where they lived cheap [interview sources]. Two specifically had the perception that they could never afford to live in the inner city or the new developments along the harbour (J, A, 2020). This has an effect on home because if one feels their living costs are too high and unsustainable in the long term, it means they will likely stay only temporarily. "Then we bought [an apartment] at Stefansgade and it was extremely expensive, not to buy, but each month. But it was so expensive I was afraid we would have to move because we couldn't pay the rent" (C, 2020). Anxiety can arise with the inability to afford a place, and would likely continue if all other living options are just as expensive.

## 05.25 Neighbourhood Vibes

Norberg-Schulz's genius loci captures the idea that different places have different 'spirits', which are shaped by the physical surroundings and the social atmosphere (Norberg-Schulz, 1980). Interviewees were asked if there were neighbourhoods they would not want to live in, which revealed their different perceptions. Many noted the variation of vibes between neighbourhoods, "[Copenhagen] is so diverse in its different neighbourhoods. It's a cool way to distinguish the different places" (J, 2020). Map 15 below titles the different neighbourhood perceptions noted by Copenhageners. Do neighbourhoods with different genius loci's aid in the feeling of home, as one can gravitate towards one that matches their needs and desires?



Map 14: Copenhagen's different neighbourhoods with interviewee's perceptions of them. Own illustration.

## 05.26 Mobility

Copenhageners' perceptions of mobility included bikes, public transport, and cars. Overall, interviewees were satisfied with biking in the city and the infrastructure provided, noting that "when you're on the bike, it goes pretty fast" (T, 2020). But at some places in the city, they felt the bike lanes were too crowded, with both pedestrians and other bikers, or cars in cases of no formal bike lanes. The perceptions of public transportation were overall positive. "It is good when it works when it doesn't work, it's crappy" (T, 2020). However, many compared Copenhagen's public transport to other cities around the world and consequently felt that the system in Copenhagen works quite well. The City Ring metro line that opened

September 2019 got mixed reviews from interviewees, with some saying that it connected the city well, in a different way than we are used to, or that it hardly helped alleviate traffic, both bus passenger traffic and car. [interview sources]

## 05.27 Good Feelings

“I love living here, I have a good feeling when I think about it” (M, 2020). Only two of the interviewees felt Copenhagen was not their home, but this did not diminish their perceptions of the city. Overall, Copenhageners had a positive image of the city which derived from the physical, social, political, and cultural environments. “I like that I live in a city that still can surprise me positively” (C, 2020). While for others the bike culture, forward-thinking government, gender equality, and healthy food options added to positive perceptions of Copenhagen [interview sources]. Sense of place recognises that all these elements go into the creation of sense of a place and they work in tandem with one another. Although livability ratings aim to quantify these concepts, the idea of livability is from the human dimension, or citizen perspective, where the focus is on the daily life and opinions of a city’s inhabitants.

## 05.3 Elements of Animosity

The idea for this section arose via interviews, where Copenhageners were open about things in the city they disliked, even if not specifically prompted. Consequently, if aiming to make the city into a more desirable, comfortable, livable place where one can feel at home, then areas or items of animosity among citizens need to be addressed.

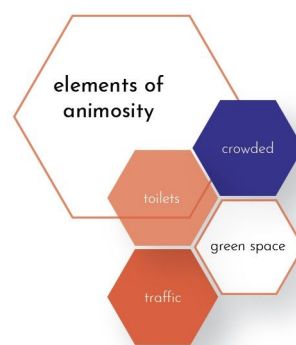


Diagram 15: elements of animosity as mentioned by interviewees. Own illustration.

## 05.31 Lack of Green

“When I look at the map, I see a lot of green. And I use it as well. I still sometimes have the feeling there’s not enough” (M, 2020). Copenhageners undoubtedly appreciate the green space that exists in the city, particularly the quality and variety of parks. There is, however, a desire for more, not only in parks but also simply with street trees. In 2011, each Copenhageners had, on average, 42 m<sup>2</sup> of green space, but the



ranges between neighbourhoods were vast, from 5.9m<sup>2</sup> to 64m<sup>2</sup> (European Green Capital, 2012). This number is, however, before some large developments removed accessible green space. In a video comparing Amsterdam and Copenhagen, one realisation was the lack of street trees (Not Just Bikes, 2020, 2:20). As earlier mentioned, humans have a natural connection to green, and simply having the view of a tree can be desirable (Kumar et al., 2019).



From top left: Aalborg University, Søren Kierkegaards Plads, Gammeltorv, Frederikssundsvej. Own photographs.

## 05.32 Crowded

Gehl mentions the key features of a good public space are quantity and quality, where the quality of the quantity is vital. Along with noting some areas that lacked life, Copenhageners also mentioned areas where there was too much life, found in the inner city and Nordvest. How does the quality of the quantity in these areas differ from places where interviewees enjoy being because of the people and activity? Car traffic and the available space on sidewalks were some of the elements mentioned that caused animosity towards these crowded places. [interview sources]



Crowded streets. From left: Bazar at Frederiksborgvej, Nørrebrogade. Own photographs.

### 05.33 Restrooms

If livability is to focus on the everyday needs of citizens, two interviewees then suggest our cities can become more livable by offering public restrooms, especially around parks. C frequents Søndermarken because of the green space, but also because it is a park with a public toilet, which they say is essential for children and a deciding factor as to where they spend their time (C, 2020). If we begin to devote more of our free time in the public realm, as discussed in chapter 01 (Introduction), they then need to recognise the basic needs of humans and provide access to these facilities.

### 05.34 Traffic

Traffic, and in particular car traffic, faced the most animosity from Copenhageners. “The areas that are the ugliest are the big motorways” (G, 2020). Jacobs, Lynch, and Gehl all recognise the hostility humans have towards cars and how they, simply put, have ruined our cities. Cars move at high speeds where the speed is reflected in the urban environment (Gehl, 2011, 55). The “big motorways” G referred to are made big for cars to be able to drive fast, which shows one way how our designed environment impacts our behaviour (Gehl, 2011).



Scale and speed. From left: Åbloulervarden, Rundholtsvej. Own photographs.



This is important to remember, that even if speed limits are lowered, without adjustments to infrastructure, cars still have the space to feel they can drive fast as there are no material elements forcing them to change their habits. The scale associated with car-centric areas is far larger than that of human centred areas, which is potentially why Copenhageners find these areas to be unpleasant.

Traffic on the bike lanes was also noted as annoying or scary among interviewees, with a focus on pedestrians entering the bike lane. “The lanes [at Nyhavn] are not protected enough to inform tourists not to go there. How do you want to educate someone who is here for three days how to not go over the lanes?” (D, 2020). Although Copenhageners were generally pleased with biking and accompanying infrastructure in the city, they did identify areas for improvement and specific corridors where bicyclists may not have priority, even if that is the wish of city leaders.



Busy bike lanes. From left: Frederikssundsvej, Nørrebro Station. Own photographs.

To sum up this analysis, Copenhageners all had different perspectives of the city but could find commonality on many elements of affection or animosity. Their meanings were derived from subjectivity, culture, social settings, and the physical environment which is precisely how the city develops. Elements and perceptions find meaning and were upheld in the theories. Livability was expressed as a more external understanding (see chapter 03, Theories) and therefore this theory proved to be valuable when examining the physical elements of the city. The organisation of elements versus perceptions allowed mainly the physical elements to be analysed, while the meanings and internal understandings were interpreted differently, particularly under the lense of sense of place. However, both the internal and external opinions of Copenhageners must be used simultaneously to create a full picture of how the city is grasped. The safety and trust perceived by citizens occurs in part from the small scale, easy and efficient mobility or access to green space. The old and new architecture together with Copenhagen’s water or diversity create the neighbourhood vibes felt by interviewees. Lastly, the youngest interviewee expressed exactly the vision of Latour (2000), that we all have our own ways of seeing and interpreting the world, which may be one of the greatest challenges to urban planners. “Everybody has their own way of looking at Copenhagen. And my way is designed by what I know and where I’ve been. So I guess I have my very own way of what Copenhagen is” (J, 2020)

## 06 Copenhagen as the Home

This chapter explores responses from interviewees in relation to home. First, is Copenhagen their home, why or why not? And second, what features grant or hinder the feeling of home? This chapter is organised by those who feel Copenhagen is their home, and those that do not. The interview responses are tested against the home theories discussed in chapter 03 (Theories). This chapter, therefore, aimed to see how the definition of home as described in *Welcome Home* and *The Politics of Home* held up to that of Copenhageners. One initial reason for adopting the definition provided by *Welcome Home* was that it was from a Danish perspective, but Duyvendak (2011) pointed out that everyone has a different understanding of home, so this definition is assumed to be exclusive to Copenhagen and should not be used to formulate speculations on what home means for other cities and its citizens.

Some of the primary interview questions that provoked responses for home were in the final section of the interview, ‘Sense of Copenhagen’, which can be found in Appendix B.

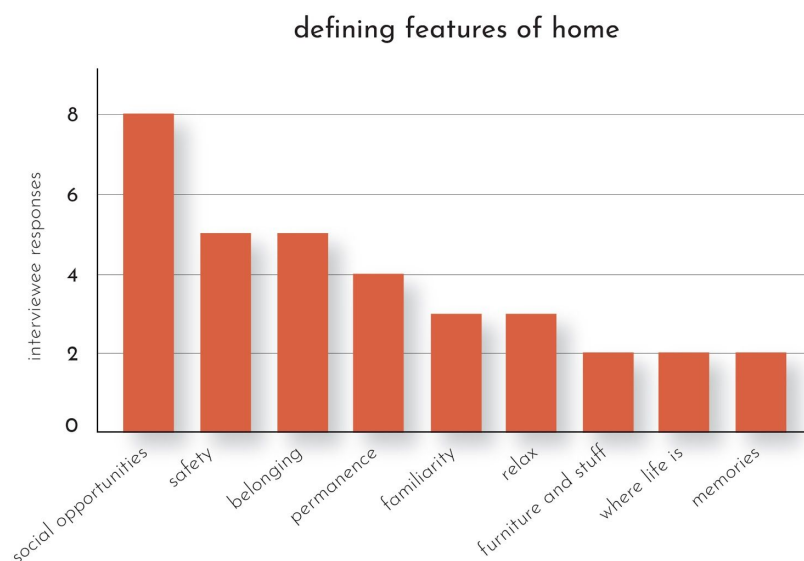


Diagram 16: defining features of home as mentioned by interviewees. Own illustration.

### 06.1 Copenhagen is Our Home

Responses from interviewees mostly reinforced definitions provided by *Welcome Home* and *The Politics of Home*. *Welcome Home* suggested that ‘status symbol’ was an important aspect of the Danish home. Although this primarily referred to the material elements inside the house, the concept was interesting. However, none of the interviewees had any relation to Copenhagen as a status symbol.

The idea of permanence was something that emerged through the interviews and was not noted as a definition of home in the two books. This is compelling because as demand for housing is pressed in cities and it may be difficult to find a place to live, humans may need to frequently move. Alongside that, if more immigrants move to cities their destiny in a place resides on the ability to obtain a visa, which is more or less in the hands of someone else. The concept of permanence arose with four interviewees. C did not feel at home in places they knew were only temporary, G and M also expressed this view. As for J, it took some time to become accustomed to living in Copenhagen, but “I remember the first day of high school I felt at home. Because then I could just feel that this would be some nice years” (J, 2020). The confirmation that J was here to stay for some years allowed them to feel at home. For G, there were two events that allowed them to feel at home in Copenhagen, attending university and having a child. The permanence of university allowed G to “[feel] like I was part of something” (G, 2020). Having a child solidified G’s future in Copenhagen and this experience also provided them with a parents group, which meant a new community was formed in their local area, and aided in the feeling of home (G, 2020). Place attachment identifies the aspect of time in a place, but more in reference to the longer one is in a place, the more familiar they become (Duyvendak, 2011; Lewicka, 2009). Considering that idea in reverse, one cannot gain familiarity if they are frequently moving, or may simply not bother if things are only temporary.

Duyvendak stressed that although the concept of home is familiar to all, it becomes rare for us to reflect on this concept and what it truly means (Duyvendak, 2011, 27). This also became apparent in interviews as the pause before answering confirmed the reflexivity and that this consideration may have been new to the interviewee. A, in particular, went back and forth about what makes a home for them and even some questions later wanted to add new thoughts as they realised more. When asked if Copenhagen was their home, A began to answer, paused and said “hmm...it is a funny question to answer” (A, 2020). Other Copenhageners also expressed curiosity or fascination after the interview was complete about the questions that were conducted and said these were things they had not considered before.

An early hypothesis acknowledged that many consider their house or apartment as their home and may have difficulty separating the feelings of home from their dwelling. Both *Welcome Home* and *The Politics of Home* accepted home as a feeling, rather than simply one’s dwelling, and this report commenced here as well. There were two interviewees, M and N, who had some difficulty with the idea of the city as the home, and that this feeling can be felt beyond their four walls. When describing what home meant to M, they often referred to their apartment. As for N, they could not comprehend the idea that one’s home could be beyond the apartment and even said, “so you mean where someone sleeps on the street because the city is their home?” (N, 2020). N, however, has lived on the same street their entire life, so perhaps their scale of the city is smaller than most.

## 06.2 Copenhagen is Not Our Home

There were two interviewees who felt Copenhagen was not their home, T and D. Their reasons were not the same. T, for example, believed that they were just a guest in Copenhagen and their “real home” was in the suburbs, similar to how they grew up with a garden, more space, and room for themselves. Space, specifically, was the missing feature for T to feel at home in the city. However, when asked in their daily life if they felt they were lacking space in the city, T responded that the inner city is crowded and people fight for space there, otherwise they do not. From these responses, T merely infers that the city is a crowded place where humans do not have enough space, but was something they rarely experienced in Copenhagen.

When asked what home means to T, they responded “for me home is my base, where I can be myself, where I can do whatever I want. Invite those I like. A place where I can pull back. And spend time on my own. Safe haven” (T, 2020). It is also important for T to have friends and social connections nearby, which is precisely the reason T moved to Copenhagen in the first place, “It’s again all about the friends as what made me come to Copenhagen” (T, 2020). T’s definition of home correlated accurately to the home theories where social relations, safe haven, and place of relaxation were outlined (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018; Duyvendak, 2011).

Contrary to Duyvendak’s concept of ‘choosing home’ where individuals choose a place to live based on lifestyle, D did not choose Copenhagen and actually did not know anything about Copenhagen nor Denmark’s culture prior to moving. “This one country accepted me and I came, it wasn’t because I was in love with the city, people, or language” (D, 2020).

The main reason D felt Copenhagen was not their home was because appearance-wise “you can see the difference of me not being from here” (D, 2020). Social relations, both friends and family, were also important for D to feel at home. Without any family in Denmark and primarily expat friends in Copenhagen, D did not consider this city their home. These were the two primary elements that were a hindrance for D to feel at home in Copenhagen.

For D to feel at home they must have good friends and family, feel welcomed or not feel like an outsider. Although D is the only interviewee who feels not at home based on their appearance and therefore is an ‘outlier’ in this data set, their story is very meaningful. It is meaningful because how or why humans end up in cities is very different, some come by choice as Duyvendak describes, while others seek a new place to live and their options are limited and based on visa rights, as D describes. Diversity is an asset to cities (J, A, 2020) and if those who contribute to the diversity feel unwelcome and not at home, they may move elsewhere. Although G feels at home in Copenhagen, they recognise the difficulty of being accepted here, “that’s the thing about Copenhagen, it’s really hard because people have such tight, old networks, and it’s hard to learn the language and integrate. But once you do it, then it’s good” (G, 2020). It is also meaningful

because as minorities, their stories and opinions may not be represented because they are not statistically the majority or consensus. Citizens hearings in Copenhagen happen in Danish, so if immigrants cannot speak Danish their opinions cannot be heard. How then can planners, architects, or political leaders ensure that these stories, although potentially uncommon, are fairly represented in urban planning processes?

To conclude, Copenhageners had similar attributes to what makes a home, which held up to the theories on home, even if not all feel at home in Copenhagen. Social connections were undeniably the main ingredient to the feeling of home, which is a key focus of Massey. “I think home is built upon relationships with other people” (J, 2020). How can we create places that then stimulate social connections? Especially as loneliness is becoming ever more common (Khazan, 2017). Feeling safe and familiarity were two other common features for home, which as Jacobs mentioned often go hand in hand, where one’s knowledge of their surroundings permits feeling safe (Jacobs, 1961). The new concept of permanence fits here because familiarity cannot form without this, and furthermore safety. Ultimately these elements work in tandem with one another to create the feeling of home in cities. These cannot be used as a checklist, where a certain number must be fulfilled in order to feel at home, also because some elements may be more or less important depending on the person. By having a comprehensive understanding of what elements grant or hinder the feeling of home among Copenhageners, designers, planners, and politicians can use this knowledge to create places that are desirable and comfortable for citizens in order for them to discover the city as their home.

## 07 Urban Design Solutions

Urban design is about shaping our cities, where often the emphasis is on the physical realm. However, by analysing the city through the eyes of citizens it has been discovered that the physical elements are not the only features that need attention from architects and urban planners. It is certainly via the physical elements that urban ideas come to fruition, but how they come to this point through the meanings and processes behind them, along with the future uses and evolution must all be carefully considered. Urban design needs to support the needs of its citizens by recognising that those needs are different even within one city, which implies that if designing for another city, these needs must first be studied. This chapter unveils the consequences to the interviews and analysis and aims to capture how urban design can be a catalyst for the feeling of home in one's city by proposing six solutions.

Two of the three livability theorists came from architecture and were therefore very familiar with the physical environment, how it is shaped, and the impact different design solutions have on humans. Jacobs, although not an architect, realised the impact of urban environments on humans and made conclusions about this from the human perspective. All three theorists proposed urban design recommendations to create livable cities, which will briefly be summarised.

Jacobs's recommendations focused on diversity and are that streets must serve many functions, blocks must be short to aid in walkability, buildings should vary in age, use, and ownership/rentals, and lastly that the population must be dense to support street functions and public spaces. She pointed out that humans understand cities because they use them and therefore have a good understanding of them and how they work, but can be aided by 'visual reinforcements' to make order of their surroundings. (Jacobs, 1961, 372-391)

Humans' understanding of cities through its visual aspects is exactly the work of Lynch, who illustrated five prominent elements of the urban image as paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. These elements must work in harmony with one another to create a holistic sense of the city, which he argued is a new scale for designers to operate. "[Cities] should speak of the individuals and their complex society, of their aspirations and their historical tradition, of the natural setting, and of the complicated functions and movements of the city world" (Lynch, 1960, 119). Sixty years later, and it seems that Copenhageners also found these elements to be essential to their city. (Lynch, 1960, 46-90, 118-120)

Lastly are the recommendations of Gehl who assembled a toolbox of principles that cover urban planning, traffic planning, visual contact, the city at eye height, and readjusting of priorities, namely, from cars to humans. The urban planning tools are primarily about quantity and quality, which Gehl spoke so often about. These principles are to gather the city's functions, then integrate them for versatility and experiences, to invite pedestrian and bicycle traffic, to open the city between buildings, and finally to invite



humans to stay in public spaces. Ultimately Gehl's recommendations are about improving the city at the human dimension, which provides experiences, safety, and flexibility. (Gehl, 2010, 242-255)

The first analysis showed the elements of affection or animosity and Copenhageners' perceptions of the city so urban design solutions could be created from these understandings. Along the way, it was deduced that some things are found at a different level of abstraction than the physical realm. The importance of social opportunities and connections, safety, and neighbourhood vibes were some of the things that could perhaps be aided by a well-designed environment, but must eventually be concluded by humans. Therefore, not every solution is physical, but may also include urban design processes.

## 07.1 Citizen Participation

"We feel more like this is our place because we had a say" (Barcelona Superblock resident, 2020). By taking ownership of a place (*our* place), it can be said an attachment is being formed, which is essential in the creation of home. This solution thus suggests the inclusion of citizen participation, sometimes titled co-creation, into urban design processes. The idea for this as a solution stemmed from interviewees feeling that they did not have a say in the development of Copenhagen, even though a fundament of the Danish Plan Law states citizens should be involved, and the Municipality uses these methods. [interview sources] (Erhvervsstyrelsen, 2018; Københavns Kommune, 2018). Additionally, Barcelona's Superblocks use citizen participation as their foundation because every Superblock must meet the needs of its local residents. Even though future Superblocks across the city will have similar traffic structures, the new activities created on the existing roads are determined by the citizens themselves. The resident from above participated in the creation of their Superblock, and also noted that through the process, they got to know their neighbours, which helped them feel connected to a neighbourhood they had recently moved to (Appendix A). The power to transform one's own environment together with the social connections in doing so showed that citizen participation can be a constructive tool in urban design and furthermore towards the creation of home in cities.

Citizen participation is not a new concept, so there is literature that has explored this process between public and private organisations and citizens. Although this report has been shy to mention the role and importance of private organisations, in particular, their function in co-creation is just as valuable as citizens' and public organisations'. Co-creation's intent is to "mobilise the experiences, resources, and ideas of a plurality of public and private stakeholders in the creation of public solutions" (Torfing et al., 2019, 799). Via co-creation, organisations and citizens should understand one another as partners, rather than opposing forces. This also aims to change the way in which both public and private organisations are managed, as well as how they are perceived from citizens. Solutions are created together, where all participants have the right to express their needs and desires. Torfing et al. (2016, 804) point to Arnstein's

1969 ‘ladder of participation’ (see diagram 17), where informing and consultation are situated under tokenism, which is meaningless if we want to have a true democracy or co-creation. The authors then proposed a new ladder of participation, however, we can simply aim for partnership and furthermore delegation, or citizen control if we so wish. Co-creation is identifying all actors as partners and working towards a common solution for the common good. (Torfing et al., 2019)

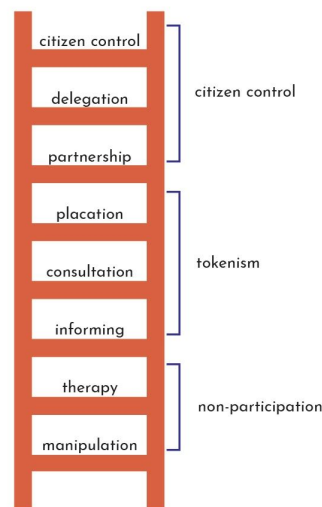


Diagram 17: own illustration based on Arnstein's 1969 Ladder of Participation.

The consultations used by Copenhagen Municipality fall under a degree of tokenism if referring to the ladder of participation. In the current process of these consultations, they often occur as informing citizens what will occur. Plans are already created when the consultations begin, which leaves many citizens to feel that decisions are made (Bach, 2020). Co-creation proposes a process where consultations are turned into partnerships and solutions are formed after all have shared their needs.

The interviews showed that many Copenhageners already found the city as their home and found affection in many of its elements. By offering participation and a voice to citizens in the development of their environments, their affection and attachment to a place can increase because their needs have been recognised and represented. Belonging to a place can refer to place identity or place dependence, under sense of place. A place in which one identifies with because it matches who they are and the needs of their daily life. M and J felt the vibe of their neighbourhoods matched their personalities and their needs and in particular their social needs (M, J, 2020). Belongingness is mentioned in Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which highlights its necessity to humans.

The potential for social connections via co-creation might be a reason alone to implement it in urban design processes, as this was the most important ingredient to the creation of home among interviewees. Livability gives great attention to the quantity of people on the streets and using public space, and as Jacobs admits, humans love to watch other humans (Gehl, 2010; Jacobs, 1961). The excitement of people watching is likely even more rewarding when we encounter someone familiar. Sense of place and

place attachment also observe the positive consequence of knowing one's neighbours. Co-creation can be the platform that brings citizens together in ways that are currently not happening in our cities. The social connections that would occur have the potential to influence one's attachment to their place and to furthermore encourage the feeling of home in the city.

## 07.2 Citizen Council at City Hall

Following in line with citizen participation is the recognition that it is citizens who shape the city and that they too have the power to alter their environments and the process. This solution, therefore, proposes a Citizen Council at City Hall Square that is a replica of the City Council chamber within City Hall. This shows physically and metaphorically that citizens have a say in decisions of the city. It also potentially allows the City Council to meet here and show the openness of their democratic processes.



Image 4: Citizen Council in front of City Hall. Colourful dots mimic the City Council Chamber and seats by party. Own illustration and photograph.

Interviewees were asked if they felt they had an influence over what happens in Copenhagen, development-wise, and the answer was generally no. This solution could then show to citizens that they do indeed have the authority to take part in the planning process. Citizen participation tells us that when humans have a say in the development of a place, they feel more attached to it, which aids in the sense of belonging. Belongingness is an element of home, so it could be said that by having a more democratic urban

planning process, where citizens meet in front of the building that largely approves plans for Copenhagen's future, the creation of home is supported.

City Hall Square was chosen for this solution primarily for its meaning in proximity to City Hall and because "the city grows from City Hall" (JAC Studios, 2020). Alongside that, one interviewee specifically said that "[City Hall Square] a very very open space, and I don't find that so cosy. Then it's just a place to walk through, nothing to stay for" (A, 2020).



City Hall Plaza, openness and benches for sitting. Own photographs.

From photos you can see that people only stay where there are benches, so this solution, even when not in use, still tells a story about the City Council and Copenhagen's commitment to the democratic process. "Our stories are reflected in streets, plazas, and neighbourhoods" (JAC Studios, 2020). A city's story is told through its public spaces, and this is an important story of Copenhagen. Even if the Citizens Council would yield various political views, as Olafur Eliasson said, "you don't have to be the same in order to share a space" (Dadich, 2019).

## 07.3 Connection to Water

A vivid symbol of Copenhagen is the water and interviewees described the city's proximity and accessibility to the water as a vital aspect of the city's vibe. This solution, therefore, gives Copenhageners even more access to the water and places a harbour bath in the city centre.

The location at Søren Kierkegaard's Plads was chosen because some interviewees had the plaza's neighbour, BLOX, as a place of affection, while many noted desirable places in the inner city. Søren Kierkegaards Plads however, was a place that was not chosen by any interviewees and is often regarded as one of the worst public places in Copenhagen (DAC, 2018; Buhl Karottki, 2020). The public developers By & Havn have a goal to increase activity along the harbour (By og Havn, 2019), so this solution also follows in line with city objectives.





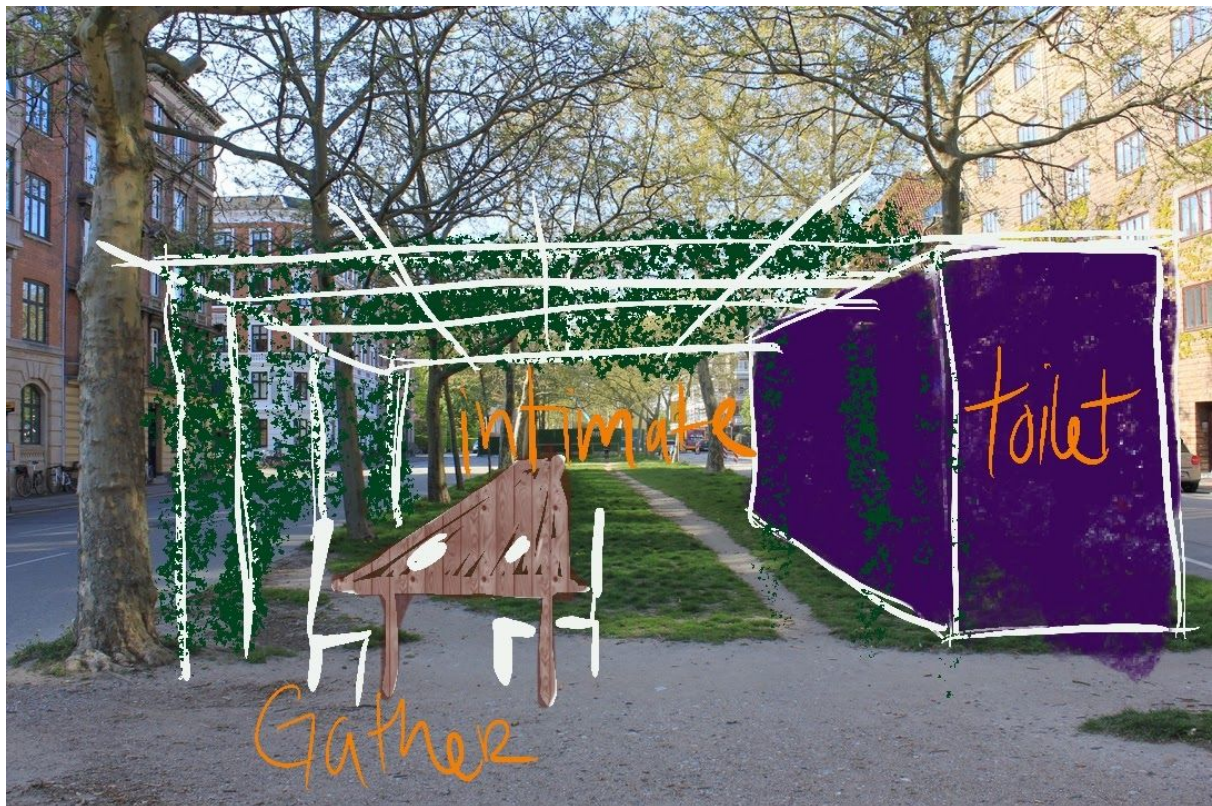
Images 5,6: Søren Kierkegaards Plads: Taking in elements of affection to include access to water, wood sitting surfaces, public toilet, pedestrian crosswalk, and trees of course. Own illustrations and photographs.



## 07.4 Green Spaces

Copenhageners' affection for green spaces did not go unnoticed, and as M mentioned, there may be an abundance of green space, but that does not mean there is enough (M, 2020). G also pointed out that more green in the city does not necessarily mean we need more parks (G, 2020), which in a growing city may be difficult to make space for, especially in the older parts of the city.

This solution therefore proposes a redistribution of space on Strandboulevarden to include more green spaces. This solution also helps alleviate the big, trafficked streets that interviewees found animosity towards. This area was chosen because as a boulevard it has a similar structure as Sønder Boulevard, which after renovation in 2007 has become a very popular place for a variety of Vesterbroians - children, youth, adults, and dogs (VisitCopenhagen, n.d.). Copenhagen is a city with many plans, and the renovation of Strandboulevarden into a recreational zone is among them (Østerbro Lokaludvalg, 2015). Østerbro's local committee asked for citizens' input to the street design and they favoured the green model over the current structure.







Images 7,8: Strand Boulevard redesign: Social opportunities such as communal dining, public toilets, new bike lanes and green space taken from car space. Own illustrations and photographs.

Another green space solution is located in the inner city at Gammeltorv and Nytorv, because a number of interviewees expressed that they could not see themselves living in the inner city because it is too crowded, is unaffordable, and lacks green areas. Although this solution certainly will not address affordability, it expects to alleviate the feelings of crowdedness and lack of green. C mentioned that nature brings them serenity (C, 2020), which is often the opposite of what one feels on crowded city streets. Copenhageners mostly pinned the inner city as crowded due to tourists, which is a seasonal effect and is unlikely to change in the near future. However, with a goal to reduce car traffic by 75% and street parking by 80-90% in the inner city (We Do Democracy, 2019), there will be more room on streets for humans and green.





Images 9,10: Gammeltorv with new trees and green, and soft surface for sitting. Own illustrations and photographs.

## 07.5 Citizen Delegation

While analysing the city through a camera lens, cases of social connection were observed that resembled the description of Greenwich Village in the mid-1900s as told by Jacobs (1961). Streets where humans were communicating with one another, biking by with a wave, kids playing, and simply life and eyes on the street. One scenario, in particular, was in Sluseholmen where citizens were themselves planting the flower boxes on their streets. This showed they had ownership in their neighbourhood and took part in its maintenance.



Left: Human watering and planting flowers on Sluseholmen. Right: Human building a raft. Own photographs.

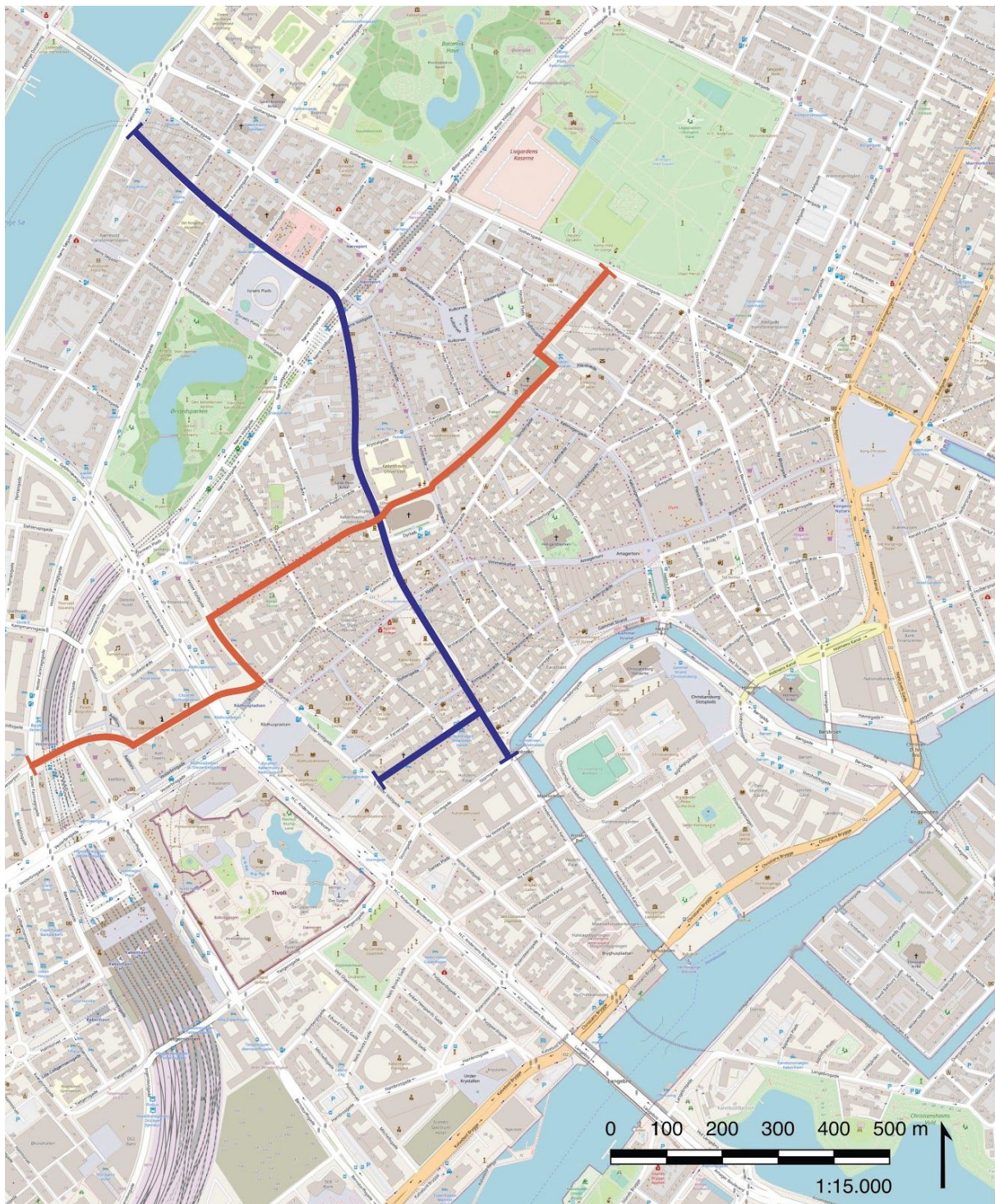
When planting trees or plants in parks or the city, a concern and consideration of the Municipality is the cost of maintenance (Københavns Kommune, 2015). One can therefore expect that with a demand for more green in the city, comes additional maintenance. Why not, then, delegate tasks to citizens? Delegation is a method to move up the ladder of participation into citizen control. Alongside that, simple tasks like flower planting brings together neighbours and allows for social connections, all the while giving them ownership of their place.

## 07.6 Designated Bike Paths

This solution arose because interviewees expressed high regard for *Den Grønne Sti*, or the six kilometre, off-road bike path that snakes through the city and noted that although bike infrastructure in Copenhagen is good, it could be better. With alterations coming to the inner city with the reduction of car traffic and infrastructure (We Do Democracy, 2019), this makes way for improved bike lanes. Even though Copenhagen is considered the bike city, one article noted how very few bike lanes cross through the inner city, while Denmark's next largest city, Aarhus, has thirteen (Valdimarsson, 2020). The path in purple was noted by interviewees as a busy street with pedestrians and cars and was troublesome to bike on.



This solution requires that bricks as ground covering be removed as this is unpleasant to bike on [interview sources], and implementing a traffic light when crossing over highly pedestrianised areas such as Strøget and Torvehallerne.



Map 16: Two proposed bike lanes. Purple line starting at the lakes on Vendersgade and further to Nørregade, with a branch at Løngangstræde to connect to bike lanes at Vester Voldgade. Orange line from Axeltorv over Rådhuspladsen, Vester Voldgade, Studiestræde over Frue Plads, next to the Round Tower to Gothersgade. Own illustration.

In conclusion, these urban design solutions are merely ideas of what could be created to promote the city as the home among Copenhageners. Two things should be noted about how solutions come to be and how they are presented to citizens. First, it is necessary to say that these solutions grew from ideas of only eight Copenhageners scattered throughout the city. Actual urban design solutions should instead call on citizens in the local area of the solution being implemented to learn their specific needs and desires. Second, these solutions appeared as rough sketches which show an idea still in process. Oftentimes solutions greet citizens as renderings and detailed plans and citizens begin to feel that decisions are made. This may demand some trial and error from the design world to understand how to best portray concepts to citizens, but is nonetheless necessary in order for the recipients of the projects to comprehend what is being proposed.



## 08 Discussion

The following chapter uses the analyses and theoretical framework to interpret and represent the findings and highlights fresh observations of the city as the home. It is structured similarly to chapter 03 (Theories) and will discuss livability, sense of place, place attachment, and home. A section on practice theory is not included here as there were no discoveries related to the theory. This chapter aims to show the significance of the findings and why they are important for the future of cities.

### 08.1 Livability

As explored in nearly every chapter of this report, Copenhagen is already a city with a high quality of life due to its focus on the human dimension in planning and policies. Danish architecture and design became an export in the middle of the 20th century, where the focus on quality and humans has kept this as a notorious feature of Denmark to this day (Danish Architecture Center, 2018b). These add to the city's livability, and for Copenhagen, some of these features have been around longer than the word livability itself. This shows that planning must operate from the human dimension if cities wish to create livability for its inhabitants.

Copenhagen is certainly not a perfect city, it has room for improvement in nearly every aspect, even those that are known to make it great. There are populations in the city that are underrepresented, which has only slightly been explored in this report. There has recently been intense demand for housing which led to 6,600 new residences in 2019, which is the highest number in one year since the 1930s (Jensen, 2020). The demand for housing has also increased the cost of living (Liliegreen, 2017), which could lead to inequality and potentially segregation of race, class, or nationality. Lastly, even as the city flaunts its bikeability and public transport, Copenhageners still sometimes felt unsafe and unconnected via these forms of transport [interview sources]. This shows a gap between the knowledge of city leaders and planners and the users of these systems.

Even though Copenhagen may need to recalibrate where it stands on issues and what the needs are of its citizens, there are some cities who cannot provide for its citizens' needs, much less have an awareness of what those needs and desires are. It can be argued that these cities are not providing basic needs, which Maslow states are physiological and safety needs. How would cities look and operate if the basic needs were fulfilled? Would they then begin to consider and strive towards acquiring all of Maslow's suggested human needs? Perhaps humans have not yet asked this of cities, but that should not hinder a pursuit towards self-fulfilment.

The Economist Intelligence Unit ranked the ten least livable cities in 2019, with Damascus, Syria at number one due to its ongoing conflict (Buckley, 2019). Even among established cities such as New York

and London, their rankings were brought down due to poor “infrastructure and stability, with a higher risk of crime and terrorism” (Buckley, 2019). This shows that cities who cannot provide basic needs have a difficult time being ranked as livable cities. It is important to remember that unlike this research, livability ratings are based on quantitative data and not in-depth conversations with citizens. This is, perhaps, where the human dimension truly stems from, as we ask citizens to interpret their surroundings and share what it means to them, not solely based on data, and not in comparison to other cities.

Copenhagen’s livability was one of the reasons it was chosen as the case study for this report, to question what, if any, is the connection between livability and home. Just because a city is livable, does not mean its citizens feel at home in the city. This could just as well be said for the least livable cities, that citizens feel at home, even though their city has low livability. Both livability and home are subjective and require different things for different humans. Nonetheless, Copenhagen’s ability to provide the basic needs for its citizens, high livability rankings, and prior foundation for putting humans first allowed this case study to take some things for granted. Research of home in other cities would likely require a different genesis.

## 08.2 Sense of Place

Sense of place was a very valuable theory to use in this report because it recognises the emotional bond humans have to their physical environments. Moreover, it admits that this bond is often beyond our perception, which proved to be beneficial knowledge prior to interviewing. This subconscious understanding demonstrates the difficulty in explaining why one finds affection for a place and their feelings or reasons behind it. One’s inability to locate words does not make their feelings any less valid, it simply requires that architects and urban planners listen closely and become well versed in interpretation of this kind. When designers of urban landscapes begin to ask questions about one’s surroundings, citizens may not know what they feel immediately, but they then begin to register how they feel. This conception, both from designers and citizens, will allow cities to reach new levels of affection.

Genius loci, described as ‘the spirit of a place’ is an architectural theory under the realm of sense of place. While still acknowledging the connection between humans and the physical environment, genius loci does not ask for humans to describe their feelings for a place. It is perhaps more so a recognition that places have genius loci’s, and humans are just as responsible for the creation of those as is the built environment. Non-experts might use the words vibe or soul to define a place and it is an unspoken understanding that this is a feature of that place, which may not be able to be articulated further. It is interesting, however, that very little literature in sense of place uses the term genius loci explicitly. Perhaps this shows the disconnect between environmental psychology, social geography, and architecture, even if the fields are studying the same phenomenon. Most important though, is that humans do not recognise this disconnect, and regardless of what it is called or under what lens it is being studied, a human’s emotional bond to a place and their comprehension of its genius loci is true.

Most prominently discussed among interviewees was the area of Refshaleøen in Copenhagen and the ‘vibe’, or genius loci of this place. The story of this place is not unfamiliar, as a retired shipyard the architecture is big, industrial, and old, and the land in between is vast, green and open for interpretation. Its slightly deteriorated buildings and surroundings give way to low rents and with that, an influx of the creative community. What stands at Refshaleøen today is a mix of restaurants, event spaces, music venues, sports, and art halls. The architecture that defines Copenhagen in the inner city or at Nyhavn is not what you find here. As G described, Refshaleøen is not planned, it is just made by people (G, 2020). Without the creative community finding value in this otherwise abandoned area, Refshaleøen would not be what it is today. It is mostly untouched by the hands of municipal planners, unlike the rest of Copenhagen. This however, may not stay true forever.

Copenhagen’s newest municipal plan, completed December 2019, designates three phases of urban development across the city, seen in image 11. The first being from 2019, the second starting earliest 2025, and prospective areas starting earliest 2031. Refshaleøen is shaded in the last colour, with development beginning first in 2031. (Københavns Kommune, 2019).

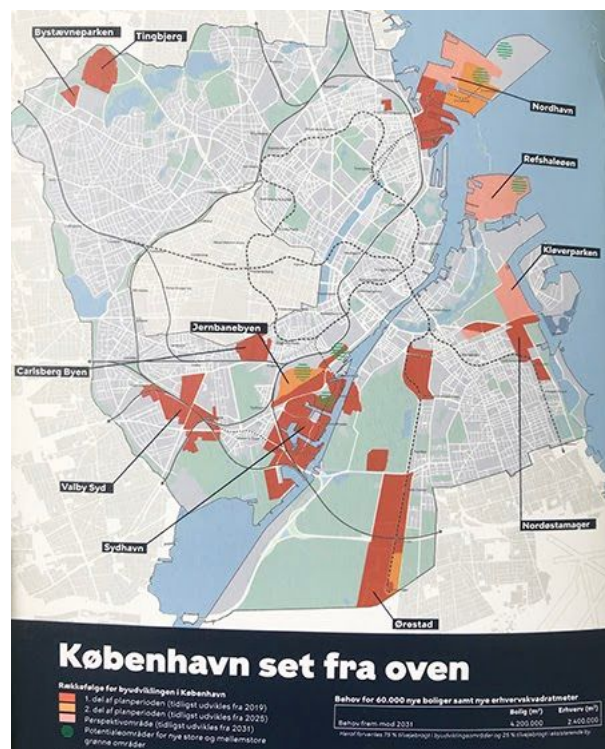


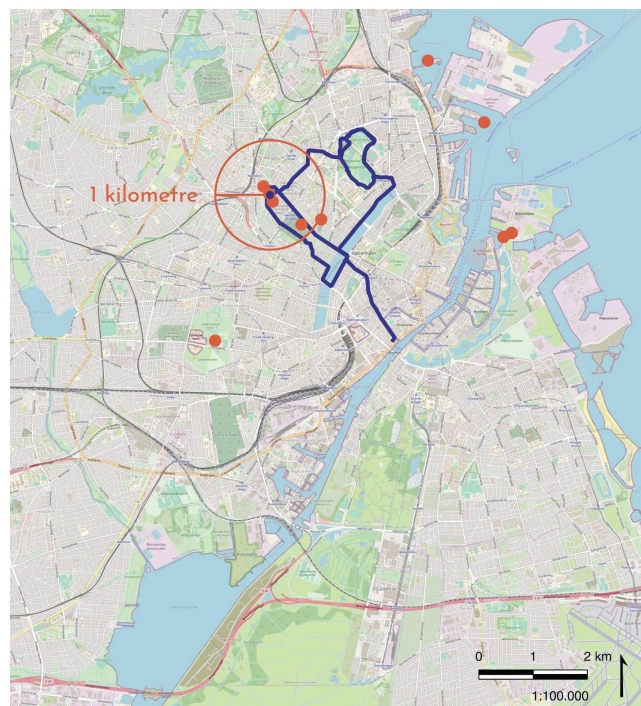
Image 11: Three phases of future urban development. Københavns Kommune, 2019

With eyes on future development, what will come of Refshaleøen? Can the praised vibe of this place continue as is, even with new physical surroundings and likely different humans? The theories tell us no. The genius loci and sense of a place is a combination of both physical and social environments, therefore if both of these become foreign to the Refshaleøen that exists today, the genius loci will definitely not be the same.

With development for Refshaleøen sometime in the future, the destiny of this area is unknown. Perhaps its genius loci can be given authority and act as the driving force for development. How can all the great elements and soul be kept, while incorporating the (future) needs of the city, though still being aware that what exists today is clearly a need? Public spaces are not simply about benches, basketball courts, and trees. They are also about music festivals, bird watchers, and exploration. If a city is truly a city for all, it needs to acknowledge and seriously plan with and for these different needs, even if it obstructs the development ideas one may have had. There needs to be space for both young music lovers and families with children. Our cities today are far too evolved to blindly create solutions that do not respect the living genius loci of a place.

## 08.3 Place Attachment

The link between place attachment and the feeling of home is apparent, as being attached to a place brings one closer to the feeling of home. As place attachment falls under sense of place, it too illustrates the bond one has to a place and confirms that this attachment may be difficult to describe. The interviews exposed that there are different forms of attachment, and as Lewicka found, also different scales of attachment. Interviewees were asked to choose places of affection across the city, and for some Copenhageners, there was an accumulation of ‘favourite places’ near their apartments, shown in map 17.



Map 17: accumulation of favourite places within one kilometre of interviewee's apartment. Own illustration.

This does not necessarily mean that interviewees had more of an attachment to their neighbourhood than the city, but if one's favourite places are here, there is certainly an attachment to that

area. This also shows the importance of scale and walkability, that we prefer to use things in close proximity if, of course, services and enjoyment opportunities are first there to use. Two Copenhageners liked both the vibe and the offerings of their neighbourhood and felt it matched them and their lifestyles more than other areas of the city. This then, highlights that these two interviewees likely have more of an attachment to their neighbourhood than Copenhagen, even though they did both feel attached to the city.

There were Copenhageners who said they preferred, or in other words were attached, to the older parts of the city, or the Brokvarterne. Place attachment recognises the history of a place, meaning both the place's history and one's personal history or memories to a place. The analysis went in-depth to describe the old and the new parts of Copenhagen and how this may affect attachment. However, more research could be done. One place attachment theory by Von Wirth et al. (2016), studied the attachment to a place that has undergone urban development. But how might this change if there was nothing to attach to before? As in the case of Ørestad, where there was little history and few memories prior to development. Or what can place attachment tell us for how long-term citizens can become attached to new urban areas, places that did not exist when they arrived? There is great potential for further research on development areas as to who finds attachment and under what means, especially into the demographics of inhabitants in new urban developments versus old parts of the city.

Lastly, place attachment showed that although being attached to a place may bring one closer to the feeling of home, home is not guaranteed. The analysis brought forth both elements of affection and perceptions of the city, which revealed that even if the aim was to gather insight on the physical environment, there are meanings of the city beyond this level. These meanings such as social connections and safety are in fact, more important to humans than for example, bike infrastructure, to feel at home in the city. The aim of this report was not to designate a checklist or ranking for attachment, it has, although, revealed some of the indicators of city attachment. These indicators are subjective and their significance varies from one human to another. What home means, and therefore place attachment, is different for all, and true for all.

## 08.4 Home

A hypothesis of this research was foremost how Copenhageners' definitions of home compared to those offered in *Welcome Home* and *The Politics of Home*. Alongside that, it was also speculated that there would be many who may not have considered whether or not the city was their home. As Duyvendak said, "curiosity is rare" (Duyvendak, 2011, 27). For many Copenhageners, the consideration about where and what their home is was indeed a new mental analysis. It is compelling to imagine how the self-reflection of home and one's city could impact their involvement and the future processes and development of the city. What is the intent of cities if not to strive towards citizens feeling at home? It is surely to provide for the basic needs in a sustainable and resilient manner, but does it stop there?



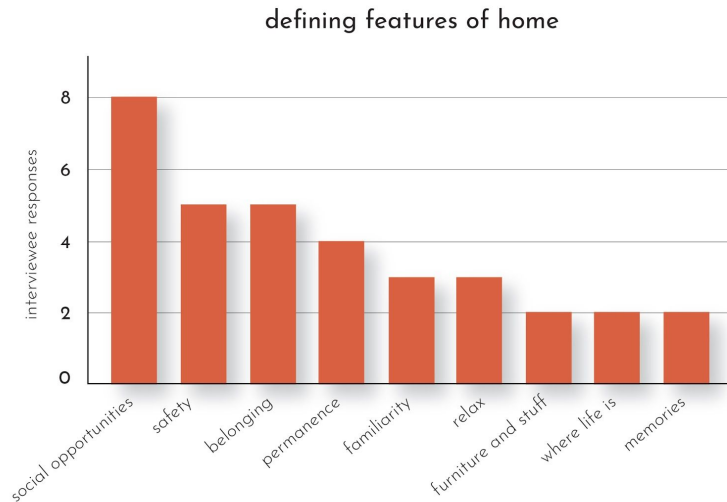
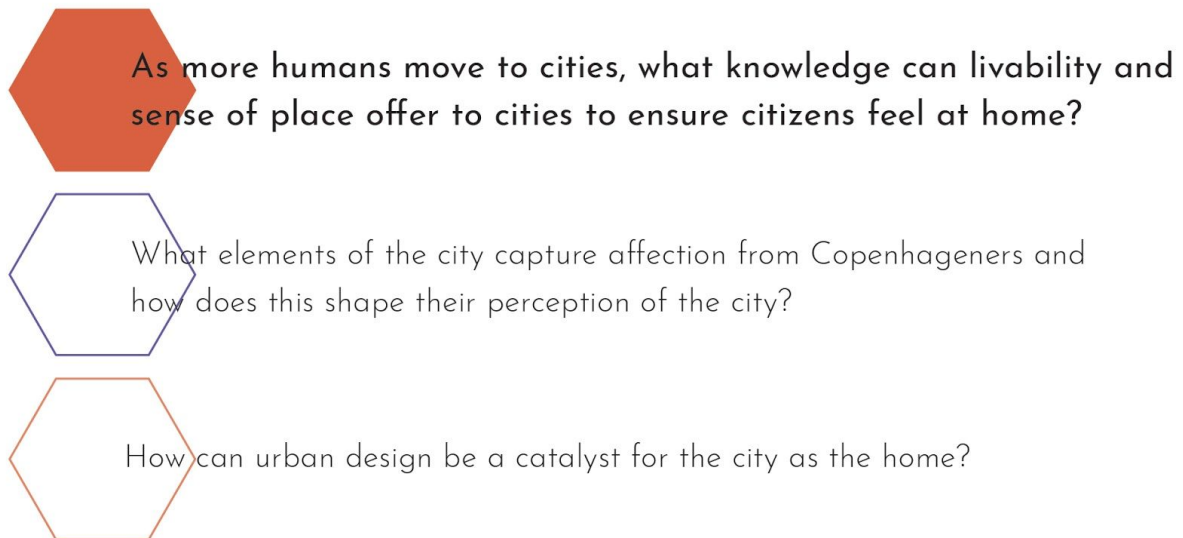


Diagram 16: defining features of home as mentioned by interviewees. Own illustration.

The conclusion of the elements of home for Copenhageners were quite similar to the two definitions provided, with the addition of permanence. Essential to feel at home in the city was the social connections, meaning family, friends, or a network. Closely behind social connections was the feeling of safety followed by belonging. Familiarity and safety were analysed both in studies on home and livability, which reveals the correlation between these two fields. These are perhaps more relevant at the city scale because *Welcome Home*, which focused on the physical dwelling rather than the city, did not include safety or familiarity. In terms of social connections, it states that “only [in one’s dwelling] can they control their level of social interaction” (Bech-Danielsen et al., 2018, 10). When one feels in control of their surroundings, they presumably feel safe. Feeling in control takes a level of familiarity, familiarity of one’s surroundings, the humans, and the soul of a place.

The aspect of permanence shows the necessity of security and routines. This gives way to practice theory to explore habits and how they might be different in a place where one knows is only temporary versus that of long term residence. Permanence also shows up in place attachment, as one must spend a great deal of time in a place to know it well, and therefore to attach to it. How might this affect international students’ attachments as they are uncertain of their job prospects in a city? Or a refugee as they get moved to different cities without a say in the matter? Permanence is thus integral to familiarity and furthermore to safety. So without permanence, humans will have a difficult time developing the feeling of home in a city.

## 09 Conclusion



Although designers can facilitate home and desirable spaces, ultimately what truly makes a place is the vibe, or *genius loci*, which as Massey states is an alliance of social interactions and the physical environment. Therefore designers can only do half of the work and the other half must come from humans. This means that human centred design and citizen participation are paramount to the development of the feeling of home in cities.

Have you ever heard a place be described as ‘soulless’? A place can be described as soulless, yet our understanding of what a soul is likely more attached to that of a human’s. Perhaps places are soulless because they lack humans, and humans share energy with the spaces they occupy. The soul of a place is the vibe, the *genius loci*. By giving a soul to a place we are therefore attaching places with social interactions that occur within them. This is how a space graduates into a place - with humans and their presence. It only makes sense that humans then design spaces with themselves and for themselves.

A pursuit towards utopia asks that we consider Maslow’s hierarchy of needs and contemplate where our cities stand, what they provide and what they aspire to provide. Cities have focused on basic needs - physiological needs and safety needs, which can be found in livability and quality of life ratings. When a city can assure these needs for its citizens it can then begin to consider psychological needs - belongingness and love needs and esteem needs. Social connections have been identified as the strongest element to grant the feeling of home. By first providing the basic needs of citizens, cities can then give attention to all needs to ensure citizens feel at home.

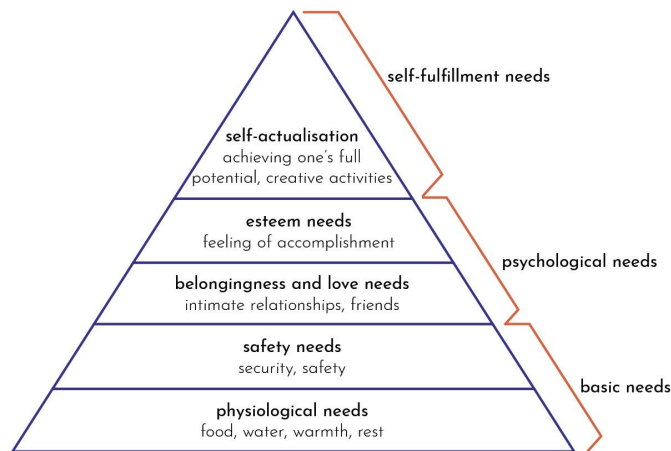


Image 2: own illustration based on Maslow's 1943 hierarchy of needs.

The theories were gathered from four fields of study which brought forth different perspectives of cities. Had only architecture and urban planning theories been used, the outcome would have been different because they say little about one's attachment to a place and why or how this is formed, along with how the social interactions are ingrained in places. The raw and unplanned element that Copenhageners found affection in (chapter 05.14) was not mentioned in theories, yet it is a fundamental element to cities as they begin to find use and value in industrial areas. This then correlates with the old and the new and the different forms of attachment that occur. If many attach to the old, how can the industrial areas be preserved in a way that humans can gather affection for them, even though they undergo 'new' urban development? Although a wide lens of theories allowed most elements and perceptions to be understood, there is more to be discovered between the connections humans have to their city.

In order to facilitate affection and positive perceptions from the city, those who design our urban environments must be receptive to the conscious and subconscious meanings formulated by citizens. The elements and perceptions are derived from subjectivity, culture, social settings, and the physical environment. The external (conscious) and internal (subconscious) opinions must, therefore, be used in combination with one another. Urban design can be a catalyst for the city as the home when taking a human centred approach that acknowledges basic needs, psychological needs, and the depths of human consciousness which can then contribute to positive perceptions of the city.

As more humans move to cities with different histories, cities must recognise the diversity that comes with and design developments with and for all humans by using concepts outlined in livability and furthermore, understanding the genius loci and social connections of places. By using strategies such as citizen participation, architects and planners can not only assemble the various needs and desires of humans, but they also facilitate a network among those involved. This network supports social connections, where the theorists explored in this report explained that connections can aid in the feeling of safety. Most

importantly though, the city then provides for social connections which is a fundamental element to ensure citizens feel at home.

This requires that architects and urban planners engage with humans as the first step of the investigation, to analyse places from their eyes, rather than the birdseye map view. Although this may be an additional step in an already short process, it is a necessary step in the evolution of this field in order to accurately provide for its clients, namely humans. We are acutely aware of the bonds humans have to their environments, so we must acutely analyse those that in fact create places. We otherwise just create space, that is to say, a place deficient of a *genius loci*.

## 10 Perspectivation

This case study investigated the feeling of home in Copenhagen by interviewing citizens to learn their perceptions of the city, what brought them affection, and what elements must be in place if they are to consider the city as their home. Reflecting on findings provide perspectivation as to city demographics and representation, whether cities should use the approach of this report, home's possible benefits, as well as the topic of the time, COVID-19.

From the knowledge that cities are growing and the globality of the world, it is important that all stories from all backgrounds are represented in city-oriented research. Both Lynch and Lewicka admitted that their studies did not gather an adequate representation of the cities they researched. It was therefore a goal within this report that statistical data was used to choose interviewees that appropriately reflect Copenhagen's demographics. Interviewees were spread across age (20-65) and gender quite well, but as a fairly young city, more interviewees in certain age groups would have better told Copenhageners' stories. Ideally, there would have been more stories from immigrants, and in particular refugees, because their stories of home expose different cultures and attachments. The two immigrant interviewees were more aware or had questioned prior to the interview, what home is more than their Danish counterparts. Do they have two (or more) homes? Can they pick and choose items from each culture? Which country feels more at home? Principally, it would have been ideal with more interviews as each story, feeling, and opinion is just as valuable as the next. Because after all, "Copenhagen is best understood through its inhabitants" (JAC Studios, 2020).

The initial interest for this study blossomed from the realisation that there likely will not be another opportunity in the professional world to research citizens as in-depth as was completed here. Although this perspective is absent from some design fields, literature revealed that the consideration of home and human's attachment to places does prevail, even across disciplines. Alongside that, citizens clearly had opinions about the city because this is the place they live their lives and must interact with daily. This shows that moving forward, other cities should undoubtedly use this approach of seeing and understanding the city from the eye height of humans because their physical environment does have an impact on them. Livability is about creating healthy, sustainable environments that humans find joy in, but it does not ask that these environments are designed from citizens and their perspectives, though perhaps it should.

This report did not consider the benefits of the feeling of home, but this could certainly be researched further. Noting that there is a connection between Maslow's hierarchy of needs and the feeling of home, perhaps conclusions from the fulfilment of all needs outlined there could be relative to the benefits of home. As humans are all mindful of home, this should be adopted as a goal because livability ratings do not provide all elements of humans' needs, but cities should.



Beyond the long lasting significance of human centered research and design, the current relevance of human centered cities is urgently demanding attention, and getting it. COVID-19 has erupted in cities and altered our ways of being. Although the impact is far beyond cities, we have seen ‘epicenters’ here. But are dense cities truly the explanation for more cases of COVID-19, or is it the lack of ample green areas, overall distribution of space, lack of mobility options, social responsibility, or leadership at all levels. While concrete answers to these may take time to develop, we can already see the importance of cities that put humans first. Cities such as Minneapolis, Boston, Oakland, New York City, Milan, Vienna, Berlin, and Wellington have quickly reacted to the demand for more personal space and closed streets for car traffic to make way for human traffic (Bellafonte, 2020; Bliss, 2020; Diaz, 2020). Implications of these actions will not go unnoticed by citizens. An awakening that the city can be dominated by them and a recognition of how much space is dedicated to cars are some of the first revelations to be commented on. The rationale for human centered cities could not be stronger.

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# Appendix A

## Barcelona SuperBlocks study tour - February/March 2020

On this four day architecture and urban design study tour, I joined ten masters of architecture students and their professor to explore Barcelona's SuperBlocks and meet with various professionals and citizens working with the planning and implementation. Since the students study architecture, the focus was primarily on the design features for the SuperBlocks, which proved to be very beneficial when forecasting the potential physical urban design solutions for this report.

Meetings with the city architect, district mayor, architect, citizens, and the inventor of the SuperBlocks provided different views and processes towards Barcelona's urban future. Some of the early drivers for creating the SuperBlocks were to help families stay in the cities, and therefore to create public space since the original landscape of some neighbourhoods was not suitable for families. Alongside families, health, happiness, and biodiversity were further driving forces, air quality and acoustics later became reasons to continue with the projects. The driving forces for the SuperBlocks were different depending on who was presenting, which is a compelling concept to recognise that a project needs many tools to push it forward so different actors can grab onto what is important for them.

The time with citizens proved to be fruitful, as this report focuses primarily on the opinions and feelings of citizens towards their city with aims to create physical solutions. As most of the citizens were parents, the largest benefits for them are the kids' ability to play and be safe in their neighbourhood because these are our future thinkers. In the consultation process, the citizens got to know more of their neighbours, which makes them feel like they have more of a community. One citizen said, "we feel more like this is our place, because we had a say", which is an essential aspect of place attachment.

The inventor of SuperBlocks, Salvador Rueda, founder and director of the Urban Ecology Agency of Barcelona, shared ample information and data about the process and thoughts behind the SuperBlocks. In the 1990's, 85% of Barcelona's urban space was dedicated to mobility, which left a mere 4.5m<sup>2</sup> of public space per citizen. There are currently five officially completed SuperBlocks, a number of other road closures into public space, and a goal to implement 503 SuperBlocks which will provide each citizen with 22 m<sup>2</sup> public space. Along with creating more biodiversity in the city both on the ground and on citizens' balconies, there should also be diversity in the soundscape (birds, music, mobility) and socialscape (people doing all sorts of social activities). Salvador developed five citizen rights to public space - exchange, leisure & recreation, culture & knowledge, expression, and mobility meaning that our urban spaces first become public spaces when they meet all the needs of citizens.

# Appendix B

## Interview Questions

**livability**      **Sense of Place** **dependence** **identity** **attachment**      **Practice theory**

### Map related Qs

Let's discuss where you live and locations in your neighbourhood.

How long have you lived here? How long have you lived in Copenhagen? (Where else have you lived in Copenhagen?)

Tell me about where you live and some of the areas you chose in your neighbourhood. What are some of the reasons you chose these spots?

Do you like where you live? What are some of the reasons you live where you do? Are there other locations in Copenhagen you would NOT wish to live?

What are some of your favourite places in Copenhagen? What are some of the reasons you chose these spots?

When you meet with friends or family, is this where you go?

**Do you have any comments about public space or amenities in Copenhagen?**

### Transport Qs

I'm now going to ask you about a trip that you take often - it could be your commute to work or school, over to a friend's place. Imagine yourself taking this route. **PAUSE**

I see your route on the map. Could you describe the sequence of things you would see, hear, or smell along the way.

How do you transport yourself?

Do you enjoy the trip?

What are some of the features of the city that you are imagining?

Is there another route through the city you could take? If so, what makes you take the route that you do?

Is there another mode of transport you could take there?

Do you have any particular emotional feelings about various parts of your trip?

Do you feel comfortable moving around the city?

Do you ever encounter places in Copenhagen you are unfamiliar with? If so, how does that make you feel?

Do you have any comments about transport in Copenhagen? Any questions so far?

## Home Qs

Now I'm going to ask questions about your sense of Copenhagen.

What comes to your mind when you hear Copenhagen? What symbolises the word 'Copenhagen' for you?

Tell me the story of how you came to live in Copenhagen.

Do you know Copenhagen well?

Do you think Copenhagen is an attractive/beautiful city?

Are you proud of this city?

Do you feel like you belong here?

Is it important for you to have social connections nearby?

Do you have trust in your neighbours and/or other Copenhageners?

I'm going to read a definition for you: A dwelling is not the same as a home. The 'dwelling' only represents the physical framework for its occupants' lives; the 'home' is an emotional concept, a bond (DAC). Using this definition, What does home mean to you? How would you describe home?

Have you lived somewhere where you didn't feel at home? If so, how did that make you feel?

Earlier you used these words to describe Copenhagen, and these words to describe home. Do you feel that Copenhagen is your home?

What are your reasons for saying that?

Yes, Copenhagen is my home	No, Copenhagen is not my home
Has Copenhagen been your home since you moved here, or did it take time to feel at home?	What makes it not feel like your home? Are there things missing?
Is Copenhagen part of your identity?	Could Copenhagen become your home?
Are there parts of Copenhagen where you might not feel at home?	Would you choose another city or rural living?

Is it important that like minded individuals are part of your home?

Do you feel safe in Copenhagen? For yourself and/or family?

Is it important to you to feel at home?

What elements of Copenhagen make you feel at home? Or not at home?

Do you have any comments about home or Copenhagen? Any questions?

### Bonus Qs

Are there other cities you could call home? How many cities have you lived in?

*Maybe not relevant.* Are you involved in anything locally? Planning meetings, sport teams, food clubs, volunteer, etc.

(Lewicka 2009) Do you feel you have an influence/say over what happens in Copenhagen? Do you feel secure? **Do you miss Copenhagen when you are away? Is Copenhagen part of you?** Do you feel rooted here?

(Lewicka 2010) Do you know much of Copenhagen's history? Is it important to you, does it help you connect to the city? Do you identify with Copenhagen?

If the make up of Copenhagen changes (more old people, less students, more families, more refugees, osv) would this impact how you feel about the City as your home?

Do you have more than one home?

What do you identify as? Do you identify as a Dane? As a Copenhagener? As your nationality?

Are your beliefs represented in Copenhagen?

What is not a home? What features in a city make you not feel at home?

# Appendix C

## Example of Interview Transcription and Colour Coding

Caroline 7 April

M: Do you consider spots -1-3 in your neighbourhood?

C: Yes.

M: How long have you lived where you live now?

C: Uhh in a month it is four years.

M: And you wrote in the email that you have lived in Copenhagen 18 years. Where else have you lived?

C: I lived on Frederiksborggade for 5.5 years. It was Aske's dad who got me the apt. I lived in 2 apt there at the same number. Then we moved to Stephansgade at Nørrebro. Yeah, so nice. We had an andels and then we sold it because we want a child more. Then we got an apartment on Frederiksundsvej, and we lived there for 22 months. And then we got our little rowhouse.

M: Tell me about where you live and some of the areas you chose in your neighbourhood. What are the reasons you chose these spots?

C: They are really nice spots. The first one is Søndermarken. *Its a nice place with trees and grass and the kids can run free. And a public toilet, which is a really good thing.* Because it has all the things that you need in a park and its not very park park like. Its a bit wild, actually. You can even go *sledding in the winter time.* So I really like it and its a nice wya to go. Its not too far and the children can still run around.

My second marker is Damsøen because we have a lake in almost the back yard. And actually I was born very close to hear. So its funny to end up here as my first 3.5 years were near here.

Number 3 is a planteskole, I really like it very much. Its called Gørnnehemme. Its a bit more old fashioned plante school and I love it so much. Its always amazing. I went out there yesterday with the kids and spent 1400 kr, for our little garden. And its the fourth time in two months I've been there.

M: Do you like where you live?

C: Yes, very much.

M: What are some of the reasons you live where you do?

C: Well it was actually it was a nice accident. Hmmm, not an accident. We were looking for some rental apartments in places, and we got this house. We got another house offered. You know when you're doing rentals there are a lot of people looking at houses. Juliane was 3 months old, and we didn't get it but we said yes instantly. So we got some more offers in this same area of rowhouses. We didn't go out to see them, we just said yes! There was a little garden and its very quite, *when you live in this part of copenhagen its very close to the center of copenhagen and vesterbro.* I like vesterbro very much, *but still you're in a little village.* But not *that* little village. So we have a lot of area and *green area, close to the lake, close to søndermarken, close to the city.* Which we still use for fun stuff. SO that's why I really like it here. *I'm an adult with children and I can still feel young and go to concerts.*

(7:00) M: Are there locations in copehenhagen where you would not want to live?



C: mmm, yes, actually where we use to live and frederiksbundsvvej, before we moved here. When I see Torbjørn and Stine's place its nice, you can see our apartment from where they live. I like that, but I don't like where we use to live. **On a big road in this modern building**, ew! So That's not a good part, and I would not like to live.... Yeah, Amager. I would not like to live on Amager. I don't know why.. Its not a part where I'd prefer to live.

M: Anywhere else?

C: Nahhh, I'm not very picky. I'm just happy for our place with a garden and three floors. **Close to the school and kindergarden as well**. So that's really nice.

M: Okay so then we're going to look at fourth point on the map in Husum. What is this place and why did you choose it?

C: Because its part of copenhagen, Brønshøj eller husum which can be, its actually the place in copenhagen with all the **ghettos, like Tingbjerg fx. But its also filled with nice houses**, and my friend, she has, the first floor of a house and the back yard and its sooo nice. **Its close to the station and easy to get to**, from every place I've lived, actually, since she moved to Copenhagen. Umm, so its just, I just like it. You can get there by big roads, by small roads, you can get there by walking at Damsøen, you know just at the green areas to get there. And she lives there so that's a big plus as well.

M: When you meet with friends or family, are these four spots the places that you go or are there other places in the city you would meet them?

C: Well actually, i forgot to Pin point the Botanical Gardens, we like to go there with friends. Its a good place to meet. Or else we meet in the city center. Or often we meet in downtown Valby. Its a good place with a lot of small cafes.

M: Do you have any comments about public space or amenities in copenhagen?

C: **I don't use the city that much**, unfortunately. Of course I take the children to see some things- We just went to the National museum and we went to the city hall, to have a look. Its a beautiful place, **there are so many options in Copenhagen. I'm not very good at using them because I live in a nice area**. We have a garden and the children can run out into the playground themselves.

M: What is the route that you take?

C: The one I take most often is to my work on Saxogade, at number 61. I have different routes I can take, actually. I'm a bit lazy sometimes because one of my colleagues is taking the train, from Langgade and we get off at Carlsberg and we walk. I can take the bike as well, which I do sometimes. I'll drive through, let me just look at the map because its a really nice route actually. I'll go down valby langgade and up the hill at søndermarken, with carlsberg on my right, and **I'll take some kind of scenic route**, its called Rabiksalle. Its really nice because it gets all the way down to Vesterbrogade, which is a bit boring route but it gets me to my destination at saxogade. And sometimes I'll take the route through valby langgade and I'll take Bjerregårdvej, hmm not really that street. Can you see valby langgade and Jesus kirken, sometimes I take that little way down jesus kirken, and take the green route, which goes to Carlsberg station as well. Its a reallllly steep hill, its really fast. I'll then yeah, vester fælledvej and then just cross through the little streets to cross through Enghaveplads and Istegade. That's really nice, there are many ways in which I can get to work.

M: Imagine this route in your head, and describe everything you see, hear, smell, and all the small details. Start to finish.

C: I'll take you on the last time I went to work. It was a thursday, and actually I walked the entire way. I went out the door at 6 o'clock just to get some exercise and I knew I had this big thing going on in my head, how to get it all in order

to brief my two colleagues who were also coming to work, so I just needed. I'm an extrovert, so sometimes I just need to breath and think in order to brief people. When I went out my door, **it was SO quiet, it was a bit cold, but still the smell of spring and fresh air. The birds were sining and the sun was coming up**, and I went our to Langgade and went towards Langgade Station. **Everything was jsut SO quite**, hardly any people at all. I went a bit of a detour because Lagkagehuset wasn't open and I needed coffee. So I had to go to Valby Station to get my coffee at 711. Then I walked a bit of a boring street, I think its called Gammel something gade, jsut to get to this green route, I started the route just where it begins. **And it was SO nice. All the smells and fresh air and a slow train from the railroads just on my right.** And there were all these spring bushes that were blooming without leaves on. So nice, so quiet. Some people biking, some people running. But everyone covering their mouths with their scarf when passing. There were some hen, so nice. They were in a garden, it was really nice. I went in and spoke to them. Then I just went out where the carlsberg station is and it was a boring route the rest of the way. You know buildings, nothing beautiful to see, just getting back to reality and work. Down to the bakery close to istegade to get a a sandwich and then to work where I forgot my keys.

M: Did you enjoy this trip?

C: Yeah, very much. It was so nice.

M: We've already talked about the other routes you can take, so what made you chose this route?

C: that morning, hmmm, **I needed some beauty. It calms me down. I just really like that route. Its not the shortest, but that doesn't matter to me.**

M: Do you have any particular feelings or emotions on parts of your trip?

C: The place where it smelt so good because of the flowers. **And just the nature, it makes me feel good.**

M: Do you feel comfortable moving around the city?

C: uhh yeah, I do. Well, I used to live on the countryside. **So when I go to Nordvest there's a lot of people in very little space.** Not even vesterbro is that crowded. Its extremely crowded in NV, so that's not my favourite part to drive or bike. **There are people people people.** But its okay, I like coming around even with public transportation by feet or by bike, that's perfect.

M: Do you ever encounter places in copenhagen that you are unfamiliar with?

C: Yeah, sometimes.

M: how does that make youf eel?

C: fine, I'm going to explore.

M: So you feel excited about ti?

C: **Yeah sometimes. I like that I live in a city that still can surprise me positively. I just found Valby strand.** I found that just a week ago to take the girls for a walk. That's nice.

M: Do you have any comments or Qs about transport in copenhagen?

C: No, no questions about transport in copehagen. It works. When you use to live on the countryside, trust me, it works!

24:00 Sense of Copenhagen

M: What comes to mind when you heard Copenhagen?

C: **Home, music, culture, -.....peace,**

M: What symbolises Copenhagen for you? Or how might you describe Copenhagen to someone who has never been here before?

C: Old city, but yet modern city, not very tall city, a lot of cultural stuff, good music life, hmmm you find new and old places, details everywhere you look, if you want to see them on buildings. Many green spots all over the place. What we do need is more flowers.

M: Tell me the story of how you first came to live in Copenhagen.

C: Well, I was going through a break up, and we had an apt in Roskilde and then we sold it and I got a room for rent at an old lady's house. I had my own little kitchen and everything, so it was perfect. And then Karsten told me he was a vicevært in an old building and he would like to ask Fru Petersen to put me on a list. I had just met Morten and he lived in Vesterbro so well, yeah it would be nice to live in Copenhagen. I waited two months and then got a call from Fru Petersen. I was recommended by Karsten, and she had an apartment that was vacant, and asked if I was interested, and yes I was. So I got my own apartment that was really nice. And I was supposed to live in Copenhagen and that was 18 years ago now I moved, in 2002.

M: Do you know Copenhagen well?

C: Sometimes I think I do, and sometimes I think... I hear about all those places and I think, really!? SOO YEAH, most of it.

M: DO you think Copenhagen is a beautiful city?

C: Yes.

M: Are you proud of this city?

C: yes

M: DO you feel like you belong here?

C: Valby is actually the first place I feel at home. Maybe also Roskilde, but not that much. Umm I always felt a bit rootless. But now I feel pretty much at home all the time.

M: Can you expand on the 14 years before that when you felt like you didn't belong? If you can put any words on it?

C: Well, um... when I moved to cPh. Me and Morten it took us extremely long to move in together because he was afraid of it. SO I knew it was temporary where I lived because it was a small apartment. We were supposed to be together, I could feel that. Then we bought this andels at Stephansgade and it was extremely expensive, not to buy, but each month. I really loved it, I felt at home. But it was so expensive I was afraid we would have to move because we couldn't pay the rent or something. SO that was also. I knew it was only temporary when we moved to Frederikssundsvej, where we had Julianne, because it was a terrible neighbourhood. And then we ended up here and I feel at home now.

M: Is it important for you to have social connections like friends and family nearby where you live?

30:00

C: It's nice to have, but it's fine to travel for them as well. It's never been a problem. Well growing up on the countryside!

M: Do you have trust in your neighbours?

C: yeah

M: DO you have trust in Copenhageners?

C: Yeeeah, yeah. Mostly.

M: Reads definition. What does home mean to you?

C: Home is where the heart is, that's right. I feel at home in Valby. **My definiton of home is also where my family is. Morten and the children. And I like the surroundings so it feels like home where I am.**

M: Do you feel that Copenhagen is your home?

C: Yes, most of time.'

M: Most of the time?

C: Where my family is, that is the framework around my home.

M: Is copenhagen part of your identity?

C: No

M: Is it important that like minded individuals are part of your home. People who think like you do?

C: Uhhh, I'm really open minded actually. So we can have the same ideas about some things. But some of my friends I do not agree with. But we can still have some good things together, soyeah that's important for me.

M: Do you feel safe in Copehange?

C: Yeah, most of the time. We have a knife stabbing right outside our door here in September. A man got killed. Explains story....

M: Do you feel safe for your family in copenhagen?

C: Yeah, most of the time. There are some **traffic issues** because Leonora has to cross a tiny road where you're not suppose to go very fast, and there is a crosswalk. But no lights, its just marked. But I do let her go home by herslef anyway.

M: Is it important for you to feel at home where you live?

C: Hmmm.. I do feel at home.

M: But the places you didn't feel at home before, did you feel like something was missing?

C: It was a home because I had morten and the girls. **But I didn't feel safe. I couldn't get the freedom I think I wanted.** The 20m2 garden, that's so nice to have an out space and feel safe.

M: Are you involved in anything locally...?

C: ....nooooo.... I write with women from my neighbourhood about everything.