

Final Research Exhibition

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Curated and edited by Anne Tietjen

*PUSH*Housing

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Preface

By Ellen Braae

PuSH, Public Space in European Social Housing, is a three-year research project, funded by and part of the HERA programme 'Public Spaces: Culture and Integration in Europe'. The project has brought together multidisciplinary researchers – architects, landscape architects, urban planners, architectural historians, anthropologists, and sociologists –, from Norwegian, Danish, Swiss, and Italian universities collaborating with associated partners from local, national, and transnational NGOs, municipalities, and museums as well as with artists – across academia and practice and various disciplines.

Our heterogeneous group aims to better understand how social and cultural encounters happen in spaces on social housing estates and, ultimately, how such encounters can better be sustained. Specifically, we have studied large-scale modernist housing estates from the 1960s to the 1980s which are often perceived as places of urban segregation albeit, they also offer multiple, long-term shared spaces for exchange and encounters between people of different cultural and social backgrounds, ethnicities, ages, and genders. The empirical examinations put forward in this exhibition are anchored in five significant cases across Europe: Fjell, Norway; Farum Midtpunkt, Denmark; Telli and Tscharnergut, Switzerland; and Lotto O, Italy.

How then can we study social housing estates as public spaces? And what can we learn from these places in terms of producing public meaning and functions?

By looking at large-scale modernist housing estates as situated vehicles for public life, we can appreciate the need to approach them in their local contexts, and to use mixed methods and a range of theoretical frameworks that lie outside traditional architectural research. One means to do so is to investigate social housing estates not only as places for public life but also as places of public concern in a way that appreciates the complex relationships between physical spaces and people's ways of life, that is, to engage a relational understanding of public space, which we call *publicness*.

With the final PuSH exhibition and conference, we want to engage our findings to seek answers to the following questions:

- 1) How can we understand the publicness of spaces in European social housing estates?
- 2) How can we put the concept of publicness to work to gain a new understanding of public space, and what did it bring about?
and consequently
- 3) How can the knowledge, the methods, and the practices of publicness be a catalyst for sustaining social housing estates as places of social and cultural encounters?

Public Space in European Social Housing

Social housing estates are often problematised as places of segregation and disintegration in European cities, yet they are also potentially a prime locus of interaction between people of different cultural origins and social backgrounds. PUSH investigates social housing, including cooperative housing and rental mass housing estates to better understand how social and cultural encounters happen and, ultimately, how such encounters can be better sustained. Guided by four analytical categories – **heritage**, **informality**, **democracy**, and **policies/practices** – we explore the publicness of spaces on five housing estates in Norway, Denmark, Switzerland and Italy. Across the different cases and analytical categories, PUSH develops and tests a novel approach to studying and conceptualising public spaces as sites of publicness. We are interested in the dynamic interactions between people and the physical spaces they share: how do people and architecture mutually affect each other so that living with others that are different from oneself becomes possible?

Project Partners

- University of Copenhagen, Denmark
- Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Norway
- ETH Zürich, Switzerland
- University of Naples Federico II, Italy
- Housing Europe, Brussels, Belgium
- Museums of Furesø, Denmark
- The Danish Social Housing Sector (BL), Denmark
- Emme Communication, Copenhagen, Denmark
- Husbanken, Bodø, Norway
- Drammen Municipality, Norway
- Swiss Association of Housing Cooperatives, Zürich, Switzerland
- Conceptual Devices, Zürich, Switzerland
- Comune di Napoli, Naples, Italy
- NGO Dedalus Cooperativa Sociale, Naples, Italy
- Cristina Ferraiuolo, artist, Naples, Italy

1. Fjell
2. Farum Midtpunkt
3. Telli
4. Tscharnergut
5. Lotto 0



Publicness and Heritage

The social housing estates built in the decades following WW2 were meant to stimulate specific ways of being social. This is still reflected in their spatial organisation and in the designed playgrounds, parks, assembly rooms and other open and accessible spaces. We examine how publicness has been understood and performed in these housing estates over time. The aim is to begin a heritage discussion concerning how post-war social housing estates can facilitate publicness in rich and meaningful ways now and in the future. What processes of disrepair, endurance, growth and appropriation have taken place in the spaces designed for social activities? How have people valued traces of the past and negotiated different modes of publicness and privacy at these sites over time? What is the agency of physical materials and spatial figures in this process?

Publicness and Informality

The notion of informality is based on an implicit divide, created by an authority setting the normative tone and standing in opposition to anything that falls out of its realm, that is non conforming – informal. The legitimacy of a formal authority stems from different sources, for example: a) Planning law (unplanned/spontaneous/illegal land uses); b) Culture (cultural, moral and religious norms); c) Design (unexpected affordances of objects); d) State welfare (formal procedures for public service provision and entitlement). But this is basically an analytical distinction: publicness, as a practical notion, constantly challenges the formal/informal divide. Publicness is about becoming and change – creating inclusive spaces, sharing a common cause, a sense of belonging, safety and recognition whenever an issue perceived as a collective concern sparks a *public into being*. Publicness is a performance in socio-materiality, not a permanent condition.

Publicness and Democracy

Public places hold potential implications for democratic awareness, development, and activity as they may pose stages for democratic performances and may have been formed through democratic processes. Public space may encompass core aspects from representative (Re), deliberative (D), participatory (P) and radical (Ra) theories of democracy. We seek out the physical places which allows for:

- 1) Creation of a sense of "we" through encounters with others (e.g. expression and defense of norms and symbolic representation); 2) Formation of and articulation of mutual interests and preferences (e.g. positioning regarding local practices and policies) (P); 3) Making of public claims (e.g. claims on public resources, requesting action or inaction on collective problems, defending existing arrangements) (Ra) ;
- 4) Deliberation over political issues (e.g. communicative action seeking mutual understanding and traditional debate) (D); 5) Practice of democratic roles (e.g. running for election in housing cooperative board or debating the cooperative's policies) (Re).

Publicness and Policies/Practices

Formal and informal practices and discourses constitute, regulate and produce publicness in large scale housing estates. We draw on the anthropology of policy to identify how policies are (re)produced in local practices and contexts and the role explicit regulations (building laws, property rights, municipal housing policies, house rules) and implicit norms as well as local habitual practices play in the planning, management and the everyday use. This sheds light on the multidimensional everyday production of publicness on site: on practices of participation, integration and civic involvement as well as on areas of conflict. Of special interest to the project are the practices of living with different housing cultures, senses of the private and the common, shared spaces, and civic involvement. This analytical approach filters the impact of decision-making processes and of different institutional and civic actors on public spaces in European social and cooperative housing.

PUSHhousing

Public Space in European Social Housing

Social housing estates are often problematical as places of segregation and disengagement in European cities, yet they are also potentially a prime locus of integration between people from different ethnic origins and local backgrounds. PUDH's research interests on European social housing estates enable better understanding how encounters happen and, ultimately, how conflicts arise.

These findings are informed by three interrelated categories – heritage, informality, democracy, and policies/practices – we explore the implications of these concepts for social housing estates in Northern Europe and beyond. Across the different cases and analytical categories, PUDH will develop and test a novel approach, combining theory and empirical research, as well as theory and practice. We are particularly interested in the dynamic interactions between people and the physical spaces they share: how do people and spaces affect each other as that living with others that are different from us becomes possible?

- 1. Fjell
 - 2. Farum Midtpunkt
 - 3. Telli
 - 4. Tscharnergut
 - 5. Lotto



Project Partners

- University of Copenhagen, Denmark
 - Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Norway
 - ETH Zurich, Switzerland
 - University of Naples Federico II, Italy
 - Hogeschool Antwerp, Belgium
 - Museum of Energy, Denmark
 - The Danish Society for Energy Sector (EEL), Denmark
 - E.ON Energy Research Center, Copenhagen, Denmark
 - Høgskolen i Sørlandet, Norway
 - Drammen Municipality, Norway
 - Swiss Association of Housing Cooperatives, Zürich, Switzerland
 - Condominium Devices, Zürich, Switzerland
 - Comune di Napoli, Naples, Italy
 - NSD (Nordic Cooperative Studies), Naples, Italy
 - Cittadella Penale, art. 163, Naples, Italy



Fiell

Publicness and democracy

Public spaces hold potential implications for democratic awareness, development, and activity as they may prove spaces for democratic performances and interactions. In this sense, public spaces are political spaces. Public space may encompass three aspects: from representative (Rep), deliberative (Del), participatory (Par) and critical (Crit) theories of democracy. We may not find the physical places which allow for "100% participation" in the public space, but we can find others (e.g. expression and defense of norms and symbolic representation). 2) Definition of and articulation of mutual interests and preferences (e.g. negotiating regarding vicinity areas and policies). 3) Definition of public space as a place of social interaction, negotiation, analysis or traction on substantive problems, defining existing arrangements (Rep). Deliberation over public issues (e.g. communication issues) can facilitate greater understanding and traditional forms of political participation. The public sphere may be effective in fostering cognitive learning based on debating the issues under political (Pub).



Final



Farum Midtpunkt



Ean im Midpunkt

Publicness
and Herit

Sites of Publicness

Timeline





Introduction: Exhibitions as a tool for researching sites of publicness in social housing

By Anne Tietjen

Exhibitions are a proven format for architectural communication, and also for stimulating dialogue and debate about architecture. With PuSH, we stand on the shoulders of exhibitions that examine the agency of architecture for social or ecological innovation.

We propose 'exhibiting' as an exploratory space to address urgent political challenges. Our use of exhibitions targets a wider audience and stimulates political discussion about what architecture does, could do and, should do. We interrogate public spaces beyond architectural objects, and throughout the course of the project we have made a series of physical and web-based exhibitions in and through which the publicness of spaces in social housing is examined, mediated, and discussed with different audiences. We focus on how interactions between people and the spaces they share create sites of public life, how spaces become a public concern and 'spark a public into being' (Marres, 2015), how they enable or prevent social and cultural encounters, and how they may become spaces where living with others who are different from oneself becomes possible. This is what we call *sites of publicness*.

Making social housing spaces public

In exhibiting how spaces become public, how public spaces work and what they do, we have developed new transdisciplinary methods that contribute to the understanding of public spaces in social housing, stimulate critical debate, and make the care for and development of public spaces in social housing a public concern. Exhibitions can 'make things public' (Latour, 2005): on one hand, by examining and conveying how physical spaces become public – how publicness occurs; on the other hand, by discussing and developing our results with researchers, residents, interested organisations, politicians, planners, architects, and other stakeholders, to reveal challenges, grievances and potentials, formulate issues, and simultaneously create an interested public to deal with those issues. Our exhibitions are about public space in social housing, and at the same time they create a public space themselves.

But how to make things – in our case, spaces in social housing – public and create a public space through an exhibition? Following sociologist of science Bruno Latour, this entails bringing together

two different meanings of the word 'representation' that were previously separate, at least in theory: (1) the scientific (re)presentation of matters at hand, where empirical accuracy is important; (2) the political representation of the people concerned by those matters, where legitimacy is important (Latour, 2005: 16). The phrase 'bringing together' is key, because it is precisely about combining ethical-political questions and approaches with empirical ones and finding suitable forms of communication and media representation.

Taking an exploratory approach, we have exhibited our continuously evolving research results as part of four transnational workshops where we have critically discussed the research with different audiences of participating researchers, non-academic project partners, other contributors, and guests. Through this critical dialogue in and around the exhibitions, we have clarified, rejected and developed research questions, discussed thematic, theoretical or methodological focal points for the next exhibition, and tried out forms of communication and media representation. The physical exhibitions are collected in edited form as a dynamic online exhibition on the website www.pushousing.eu

Representing sites of publicness

The question of media representation has always been central to architecture exhibitions, since immobile buildings can only be brought into the exhibition space in the form of mobile representations (Ruhl & Dähne, 2015: 12). In the PuSH exhibitions the question arises differently since we are interested in forms of representation that effectively articulate how spaces and people by interaction produce/maintain/disrupt sites of publicness in social housing.

To examine and convey dynamic socio-material relationships in space and time, we combine many common forms of media representation: texts, architectural drawings, maps, diagrams, photos, video, and spatial models. The basic format of our exhibitions is wallpaper made up of prints in A3 portrait format, which can be reproduced inexpensively on any office printer and whose arrangement can be adapted to different spaces.

PuSH Research Exhibition Issue #1: Defining the Exhibition as a Tool

The first PUSH Research Exhibition took place as a closed event at the first transnational project workshop in Copenhagen, 3-5 September 2019, where all academic and associated partners met for the first time.

The Research Exhibition Issue # 1 visualised the content and methodological structure of the project and thus established a platform for sharing and debating content and methods. It showed the five cases of social housing (by aerial photos, typical plans and sections, and fact sheets) and initial explorations of publicness on these estates guided by four analytical categories – **heritage**, **informality**, **democracy**, and **policies/practices** – each with its own colour code. A wallpaper displayed all the material on one long wall enabling participants to perceive and discuss potential connections across cases and categories.



Exploring Publicness and Heritage Together at Farum Midtpunkt

At the first transnational workshop the participants also explored publicness and heritage together at Farum Midtpunkt which became a common reference for working with aspects of heritage and heritage making in the following exhibitions, for instance in the contribution of the Italian team – Building memories in Lotto O as everyday life politics – to the fourth PuSH research exhibition on publicness and policies/practices in Bern, Switzerland in August 2021. Photo by Anne Tietjen

PuSH Research Exhibition Issue #2: Publicness and Informality

The second exhibition took place at the second transnational project workshop in Naples, 27-29 January 2020, which was a meeting of the academic partners and some of the local partners of the Italian team. The exhibition was open to staff, students and guests.

This second issue dealt with publicness and informality, the main theme of the Italian team. We proposed to engage the exhibition as a critical space where we confronted and discussed ideas.



Impressions from the second PuSH exhibition at the University of Naples Federico II, January 2020. Photos: Giovangiuseppe Vannelli

Rather than pre-defining concepts, we wanted to explore relationships between publicness and informality through differences arising from different contexts, cultures, and research perspectives involved in the PuSH project. As a contribution to this exhibition, we had therefore asked each research team just one (seemingly simple) question: What do you understand by informal publicness in your cases?

PuSH Research Exhibition Issue #3:

Publicness and Democracy

The third PuSH exhibition took place online at the third transnational workshop in September 2020 in collaboration with local partners in Drammen, Norway. Deploying theories of democracy that accentuate different core aspects of political interactions, the Norwegian team offered a springboard of four democratic performances that produce publicness in and around physical spaces: 1) articulating the mutual; 2) making claims; 3) deliberating; and 4) representing electorates.

To contribute to the exhibition, each research team was asked to consider publicness and democracy in their cases. The five case studies explored contexts for publicness and democracy,

Exhibitions as a tool for productive research dialogue

Three exhibitions took place at the University of Copenhagen (September 2019), the University of Naples Federico II (January 2020) and the Tscharnergut community centre in Bern (August 2021). They were accompanied by site visits and on-site dialogues with local experts, residents, community organisations, associations and institutions in the respective study areas (Farum Midtpunkt in Denmark, Lotto O in Italy, and Tscharnergut in Switzerland). Due to COVID-19 restrictions, the third exhibition – arranged together with the Norwegian research team – took place online (September 2020) with local partners from Drammen.

Making the exhibitions has stimulated productive dialogue to develop a new understanding of public space in social housing through different aspects of publicness. It has also been a way to engage and give a voice to local community actors and has been fruitful to engage students in education-based research. While the immediate impact is certainly limited, the exhibition format enabled a publicness to take place by providing a space for researchers, associated partners and external actors to share, communicate and critically discuss insights regarding public space in European social housing.

Politics of researching and exhibiting publicness

A recurring theme for discussion was the politics of working with exhibitions as a research tool. We have worked with innovative empirical methods that involve local communities to co-produce our understanding of the public and public space. At the same time, the neighbourhoods we have worked with are sensitive contexts that call for our ethical commitment and critical reflection. This raised critical questions that are worth further exploring in future research on public space in social housing: How and for whom are we ‘making things public’? How do we articulate information and share a critical understanding of living spaces where people – especially in the Italian case – are confronted with issues like poverty, criminality, marginality, cultural stigma and segregation? How do we manage sensitive data?

What can our research 'give back' to communities and places? More specifically for future work with exhibitions as a tool to share and debate knowledge, we think it is important to ask: How can we use exhibitions as a platform to create a public for improving living conditions in the places we work with and empowering those who need public recognition?

Bringing together and interrogating results in the final PuSH exhibition

The final exhibition of the PuSH project brings together our collected findings in the five European cases across the four analytical categories: **heritage, informality, democracy, and policies/practices.**

While the previous exhibitions focused on one of the analytical categories and stimulated focused thematic discussions, this exhibition reorganises all material by case to open new perspectives on publicness in social housing spaces across all categories and all cases.

Instead of presenting final results, we want to offer a public space once more to question and discuss our research results together with a wider audience.

Enjoy!

References:

- This text reproduces excerpts from Tietjen, A. (forthcoming 2022) Exhibitions as a tool for researching publicness in social housing, in Braae, E. et al., Examining the publicness of spaces on European social housing estates: A position paper, *Architectural Research Quarterly*.
- Marres, N. (2005). Issues Spark a Public into Being. A Key But Often Forgotten Point of the Lippmann-Dewey Debate. In: Latour, B. and Weibel, P. (eds.) (2005). *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*. Karlsruhe: ZKM and Cambridge: MIT Press, p. 208-217.
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- Ruhl, C. & Dähne, C. (2015). Architektur ausstellen: Zur mobilen Anordnung des Immobilen. In: Ruhl, C. & Dähne, C. (eds.) (2015). *Architektur ausstellen: Zur mobilen Anordnung des Immobilen*. Berlin: Jovis, p. 6-13.

democratic performances in sites of publicness, and how democratic publicness is being reshaped through urban renewal of physical spaces. Overall, this exhibition defined democratic publicness as socio-material interactions which have political content, including potential situations for political interaction, interactions resulting from democratic processes, and interactions sparked by democratic performances.

PuSH Research Exhibition Issue #4:

Publicness and Policies/Practices

The fourth PuSH exhibition took place on-site at the Tscharnergut community centre in Bern in August 2021. The research teams were invited to analyse the publicness of spatial situations in their cases with regards to the conditions and material structures that are (re-) produced through policies and practices – looking closely at regulations, norms, and prevailing paradigms in planning, as well as them being (re-)produced and transformed by uses, appropriations, imaginations of spaces in everyday life of large-scale modernist housing estates.

Three questions guided the work:

- 1) Which policies, regulations, and norms – with regards to the publicness of shared spaces – have been crucial in the initial planning and management of your cases, locally and/ or at a larger scale, and (how) did they change over time?
- 2) Which spatial expressions of these policies, regulations and norms can you find in everyday socio-material practices on-site – from using and appropriating, (re)producing, changing, negotiating or contesting to managing and materially transforming 'public spaces'?
- 3) How and where is the publicness of shared spaces constituted at the interplay of policies and practices in your case?



Impression from the fourth PuSH exhibition at the Tscharnergut community centre in Bern, August 2021. Photo: Johanna Bucher



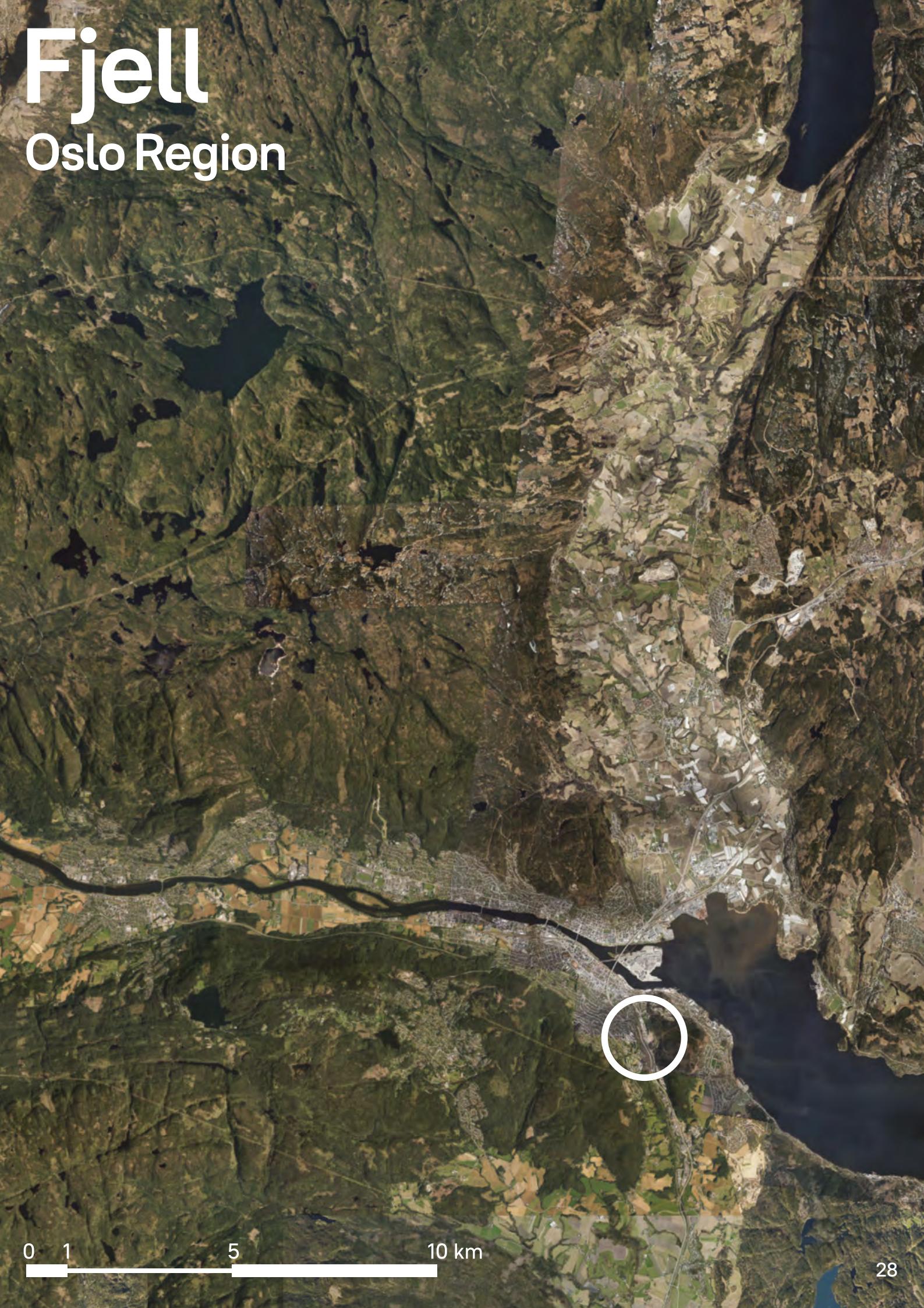


Fjell, Norway





Fjell Oslo Region



0 1 5

10 km



Fjell Drammen



0 100 500

1000 m



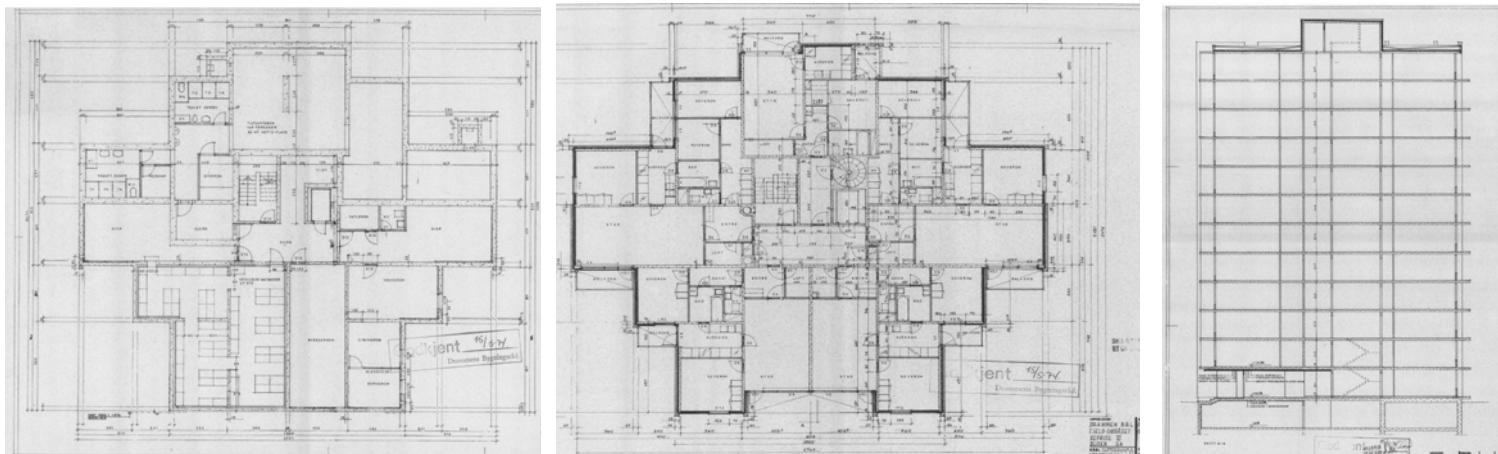
Image source: Drammen kommune, 2016 ©GEOVEKST (Statens kartverk) & Norsk institutt for skog og landskap

Fjell

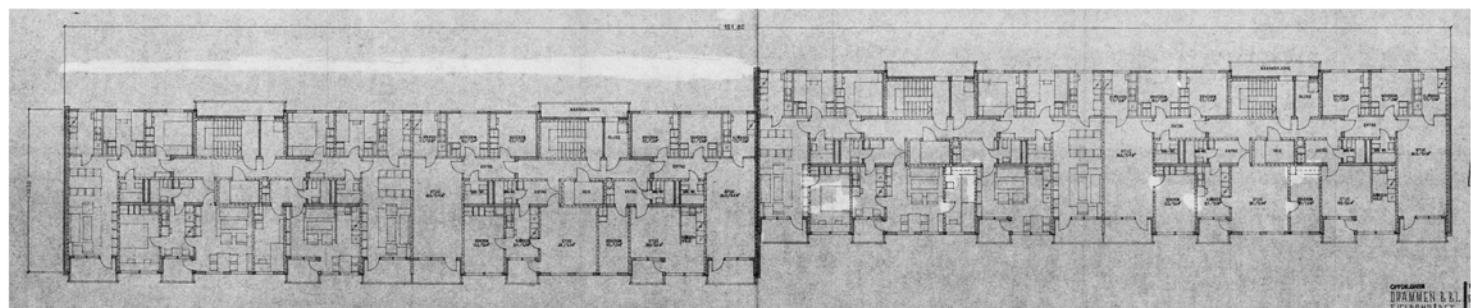
Drammen, Norway, 1966-76

No of units/inhabitants	1516 units / 3700 inh
Ownership	Four cooperatives own the ground and buildings. Residents own their dwellings
Organisation form	Owner-resident cooperatives (93 %), municipally allocated social housing (7 %)
Urban context	Suburban
Overall spatial typology	32 blocks, 18 low-and-long (4 stories) and 14 high rise blocks (10-12 stories) amidst green open spaces, characterized by drastic topography
Functions	Apartments, school, kindergardens, play grounds, shared squares, district house (library, assembly room, office space for locals, health centre), Pizza shop. No shopping centre or grocery store
Citizen diversity	Three out of four have immigrant background. Largest numbers from Turkey and Pakistan, growing numbers from Eastern Europe and Africa. Significant number of elderly Norwegians
Current initiatives	Renewal project based on participatory processes with upgrading of multiple public spaces and play grounds
<hr/>	
Apartment Sizes	80 m ² + (283/19%) 54-79 m ² (900/59%) under 52 m ² (198/18%)
<hr/>	
Building Types	80 m ² + (283/19%) 54-79 m ² (900/59%) Under 52 m ² (333/22%)

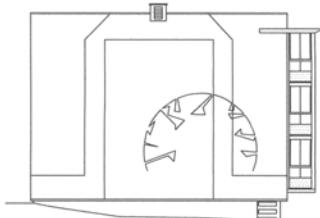
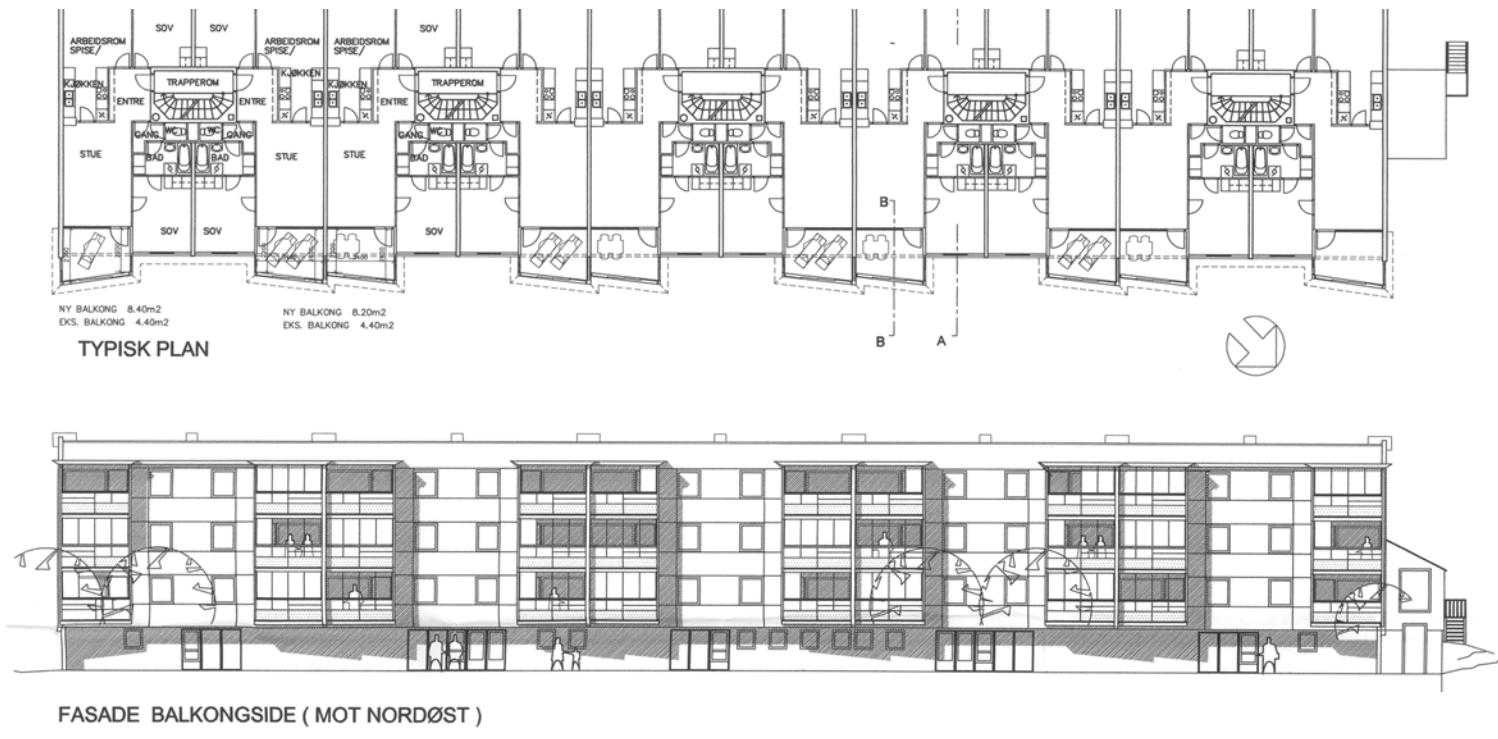
Cruciform tower type



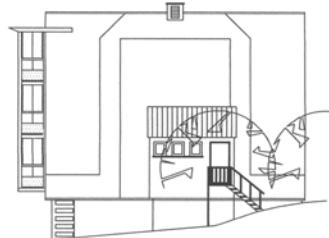
Horizontal high-rise type



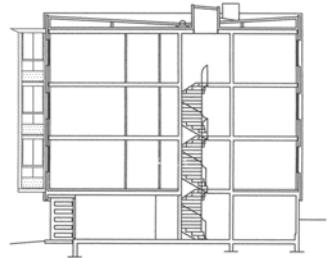
Low-rise type



GAVL (MOT SYDØST)



GAVL (MOT NORDVEST)



SNITT A-A

Democratic publicness at Fjell

Housing estates encompass substantial parts of residents' everyday lives. Physical spaces on housing estates are thus a starting point for drawing residents together in different collective "we"s. Using democratic theory, we explore how sites of publicness and the processes that shape them may encompass core aspects from participatory (Pateman, 1970), radical (Mouffe, 2005), deliberative (Dryzek, 2000), and the traditional representative theories of democracy. We seek these democratic performances: **PARTICIPATORY**: Formation of and articulating mutual interests and preferences (e.g., positions on local practices, policies and upgrades); **RADICAL**: Making of public claims (e.g., claims on resources, requesting action or inaction on collective problems, appropriating spaces); **DELIBERATIVE**: Deliberating over political issues (e.g., communicative action seeking mutual understanding); **REPRESENTATIVE**: Representing electorates and practicing democratic roles (e.g., running for election in housing boards or debating a housing cooperative's policies). Democratic performances can be catered for, grow over time, or erupt spontaneously. The spatial and cultural contexts of a housing estate may spur or inhibit democratic performances. The materiality of post-war archi-

ture and the organizational framework of cooperative housing in Fjell enable and limit potential democratic performances. While Fjell's recent comprehensive renewal held local democracy as a goal and included numerous participatory processes, the extent to which everyday democratic performances are enacted in Fjell is an empirical question still under scrutiny. We lay out our team's preliminary and intertwined reflections under these headings: Contexts for democratic publicness: Cultural, spatial and political aspects impact who can and will meet, take part in or witness democratic performances, and who occupies or is invited into the housing estate in general. Reshaping democratic publicness through urban renewal: Fjell has had several major physical upgrades and social schemes over the last decade with associated participation processes. These changes show ambitions for democratic participation supporting some forms of publicness. Democracy in sites of publicness: We look into democratic publicness in sites that have different dynamics and potentially support different publics: reshaped sites of publicness, and cooperative-owned sites of publicness.

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Timeline/Fjell

Fjell – from farm land to suburb

Pre 1960

The area of Fjell had three farms with fields and forests. It is part of the rural municipality Skoger.

1964

Skoger municipality was incorporated into Drammen municipality.

1960's

Drammen needs more dwellings.

Mid 60's

Fjell residential area was planned to house 7-8000 people. Four cooperative housing organizations were established in the area. The purpose was to give higher standards of living for working class people living in drought prone and unsanitary dwellings in central Drammen. Proper living accommodation and good parking were main goals, and there were no ambitions for public space and urban life in the area. No social infrastructure or green public space were planned (Vista analyse). Housing blocks were built around a hilly open area known as "Dumpa," which served as a play and sledding area for local children.



Photos from the construction period in the late 1960s.
© Drammens Tidende

1967-76

The first residents moved in in 1967, and the area was completely developed in 1976, housing 1509 apartments with a combination of high-rise housing towers and low housing blocks. A majority of the apartments are two bed room units at about 70m². There are also some larger three and four bed room apartments, some one bed room units and a few studios. People moved in from the region and from the inner city. The first residents were both working class and middleclass.

1970, 80's and 90's

Over the years the following services were established: two schools, a swimming pool, two kindergartens, a small commercial center (with groceries, hair dresser, pharmacy, clothes store, a café, dentist, post office, bank), a church and a community house with library. The cooperatives established playgrounds on their lots. Upgrades of exteriors, bathrooms, balconies, roofs etc. have been done by the four coops throughout the period. High mobility has been a trait of the area throughout its history. Many residents have seen Fjell as a starting point in a housing career. People with means and opportunity moved to other parts of Drammen, many to areas with villas or semidetached houses instead of apartment blocks. Since Norway's first labor immigration in the 70's, immigrants have been a large part of Fjell's community, first with immigrants from Pakistan and Turkey, later from many different countries.

1995-98

More and more shops and services in the commercial center closed down. In 1998 the flower shop, clothes shop and pharmacy closed, leaving only the grocery store.

2001

The grocery store in the commercial center struggles with theft and vandalism according to the local newspaper Drammens Tidende.

2004

The grocery store closed. Hair dresser, dentist and a vegetable store were the only services left in the center.

2007

Statistics indicated that Fjell had Drammen's lowest scores on parameters for living conditions such as income, employment, education, school results and social benefits. More than half of the population were non-Norwegians. Mobility was higher than in the rest of Drammen, and resourceful people that moved in had a tendency to move out again.

2008

Drammen municipality decided to have a community upgrading during the coming decade – later labelled 'Fjell 2020'. Local resident participation and broad involvement were considered key features.

2009

Local swimming pool closed

2009-2010

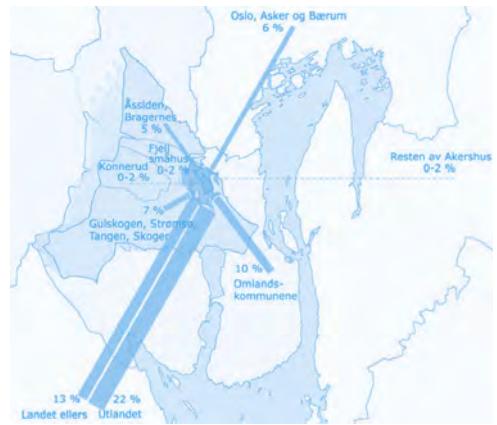
First participatory round with local residents were held to identify challenges in the area and possible actions. Involvement of the primary and secondary school, women's groups and multiple local groups to good ideas for the initiated upgrade.

2010

Multiple place analysis were done. The area analysis "Connecting Fjell", highlighted the following disadvantages in the physical environment: (i) the housing blocks are built to provide views and sunlight, not to create cohesion and social belonging, (ii) there is a lack of attractive walkways from the housing blocks to the community center, and (iii) important public functions are spread too far apart. One conclusion was that the area needed more public places for community building and substantial upgrading of through fares for pedestrians.

2014-2019

Fjell2020 in motion. A series of upgrades to the neighborhood's green spaces, as well as social and physical infrastructure. These upgrades have centered around providing opportunities for youth and for public health, and as such are heavily reliant on public spaces. They have redeveloped existing outdoor green areas, improved pedestrian paths, rehabilitated the local school, and built a new multiple-use indoor and outdoor recreation area.



Influx pattern to Fjell during 1994-2002 for the ages 25-35. Of the 33-35 year old's in 2002 (129 people), 37 % had lived there since 1994 (age 25-27) and 63 % had moved there between 1994 and 2002. They came from abroad (22 %), the rest of Norway (13 %), neighboring municipalities (10 %), Oslo (6 %), other parts of Drammen (12 %). Source: NIBR report 2010:21

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1. Contexts for democratic publicness

The geographical, cultural, spatial and political contexts of each case may impact who can meet and take part or witness democratic performances, as well as who the neighbourhood attracts in general. We see that the connectivity within a social housing estate and to its surroundings can be important for publicness, together with outsiders' perceptions of the neighbourhood, inhabitants' social and economic resources, and the workings of its housing model.

We present socio-spatial opportunities and limitations in context that affect democratic publicness in Fjell and the participation of Fjell's residents in publicness outside of Fjell through the following headings:

- 1-1) Perceptions of Fjell;
- 1-2) Fjell's public transportation connections;
- 1-3) Pedestrian connections within Fjell;
- 1-4) Fjell in statistics;
- 1-5) City-scale publicness;
- 1-6) Fjell's housing cooperatives.



**THE FUTURE IS OPEN
THE FUTURE IS DANGEROUS
THE FUTURE IS BOUNDLESS THE FUTURE IS DIVIDED
THE FUTURE IS HERE
#THE FUTURE IS FJELL**



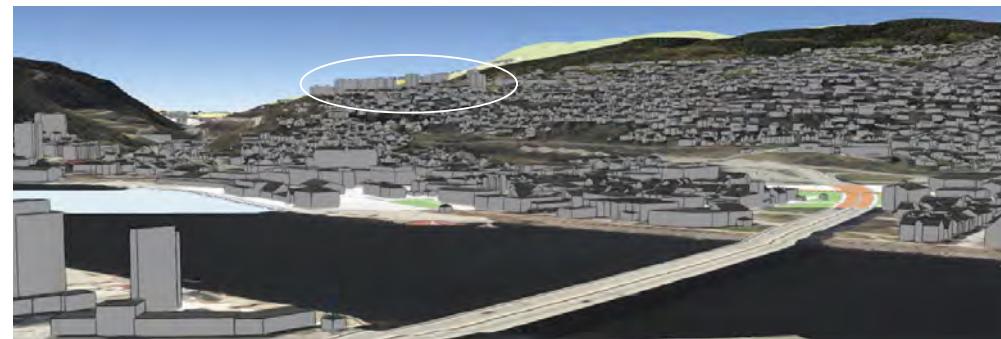
1-1.

Perceptions of Fjell

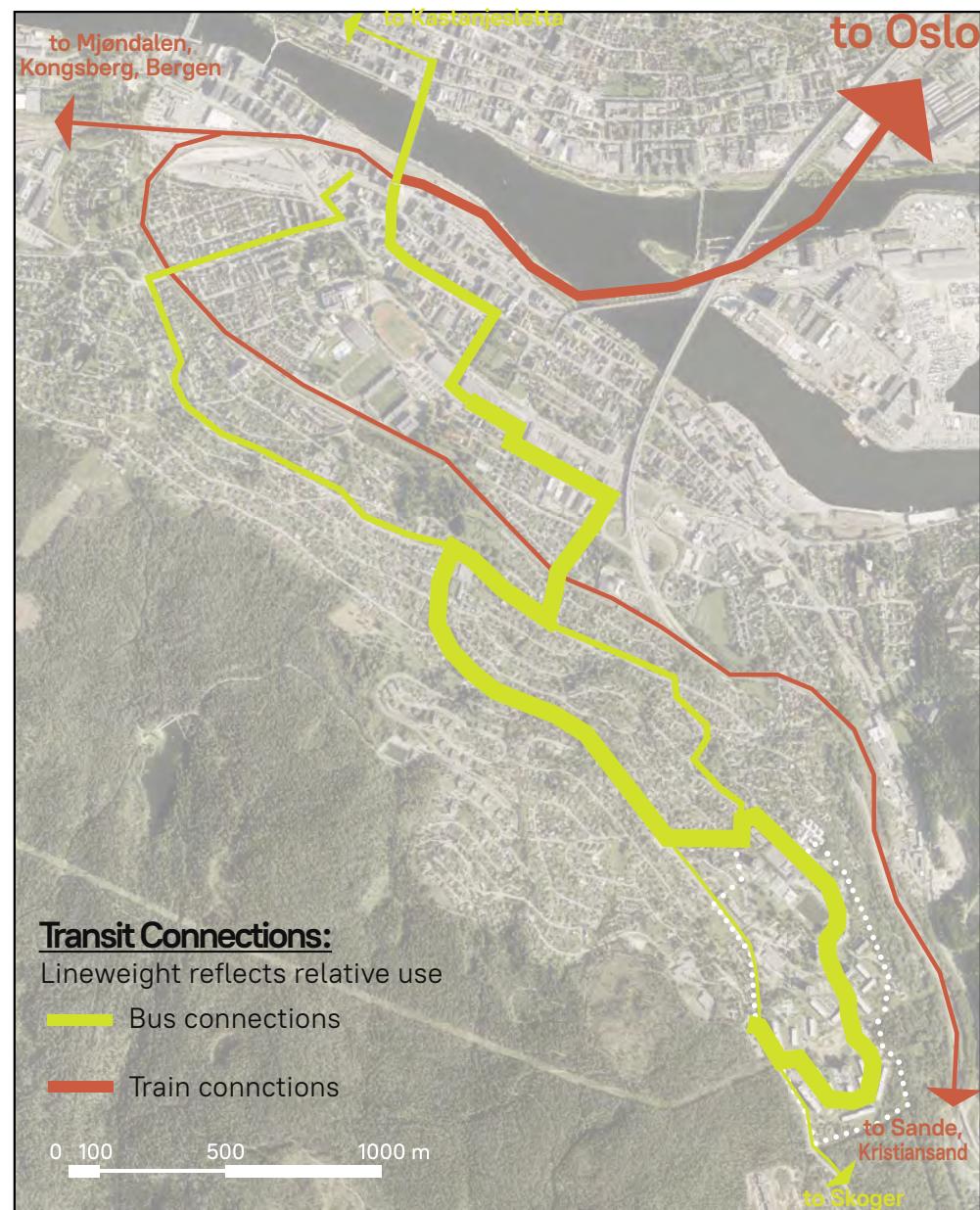
Drammen hosted a city-wide street art project "Ugang" from 2014-2018, where one of the commissioned wall murals brought Fjell into the city centre with the message "Fjell is the future." This image has been employed by many hoping to turn around Fjell's negative image, for example in a local rapper's youtube video of the song "Fjell Anthem."

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EcvJ0bWoMyk>

Fjell is one of several 1960-1970's housing estates perched on hills in Drammen. Its towers' high visibility from the E18 motorway is culturally significant, as the city of Drammen's pre-1990s reputation was a polluted place along the highway. Everybody living in Drammen knows where Fjell is because of its scale and placement on the top of the hill, in stark contrast to its small neighbouring single-family houses.



View of Fjell from the E18 motorway driving from Oslo towards southern Norway.
Source: drammenkommune.maps.arcgis.com



© Melissa Anna Murphy



© Melissa Anna Murphy



1-3.

Pedestrian connections within Fjell

The site's location at the far southeast of the city and steep surrounding topography define it as an outlying neighbourhood rather than one people commonly pass through. The municipality upgraded several walking paths to provide better connectivity within the area regardless of private land-ownership, but the neighbourhood's location and plan inhibits it from having convenient routes for non-residents to cross through.

1-4.

Fjell in statistics

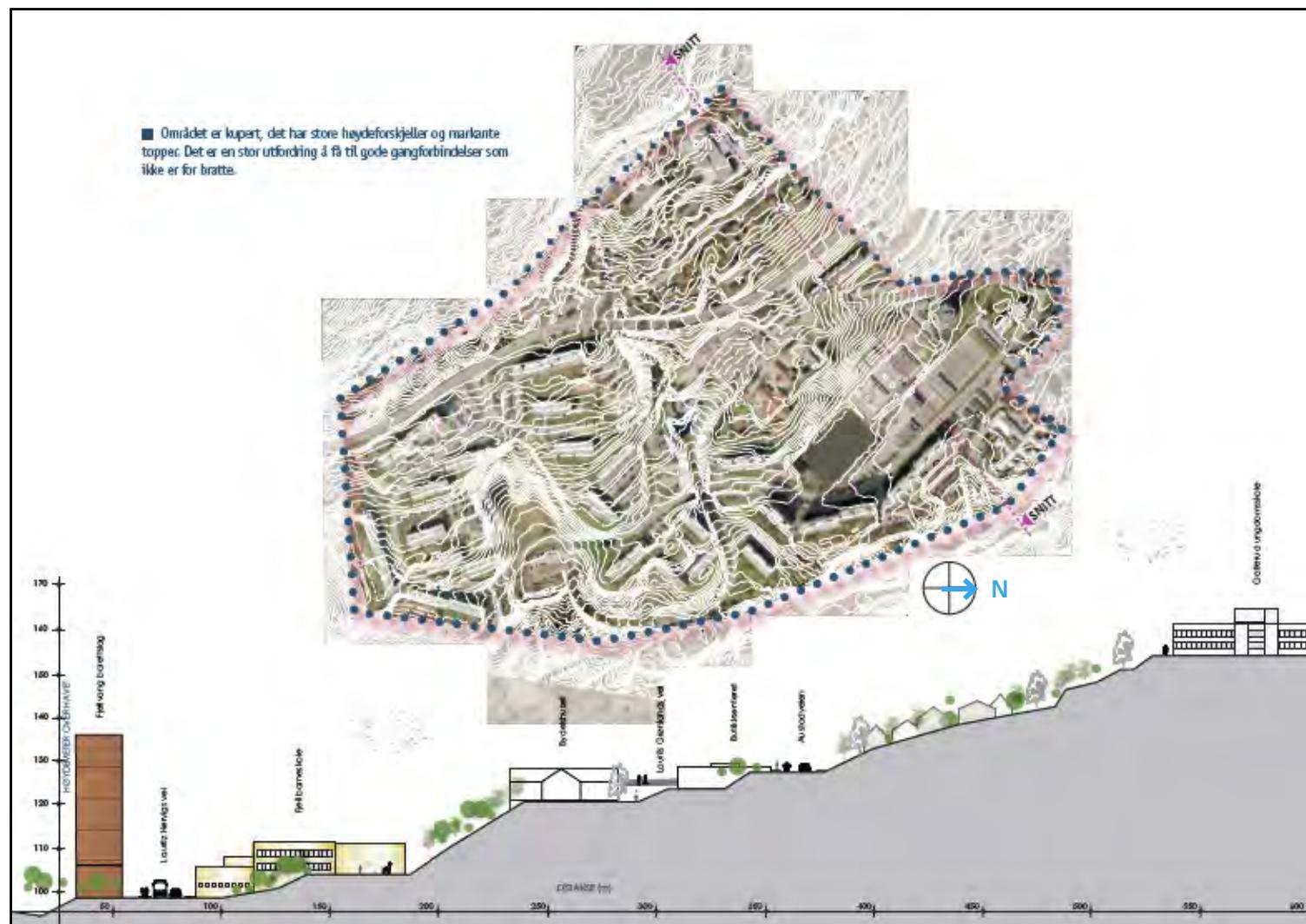
Fjell has a high percentage of residents with non-Norwegian background and low score in statistical measures of living conditions. Statistical reports from 2008-2010 and earlier were used to define many of the goals for Fjell's urban renewal project and were the basis of getting state funding. In that period, the neighbourhood's district ranked lowest in the city, particularly in education and employment. The local school district ranks amongst the highest in poverty among families with children in Norway. These issues contribute to a stigmatization of the neighborhood.

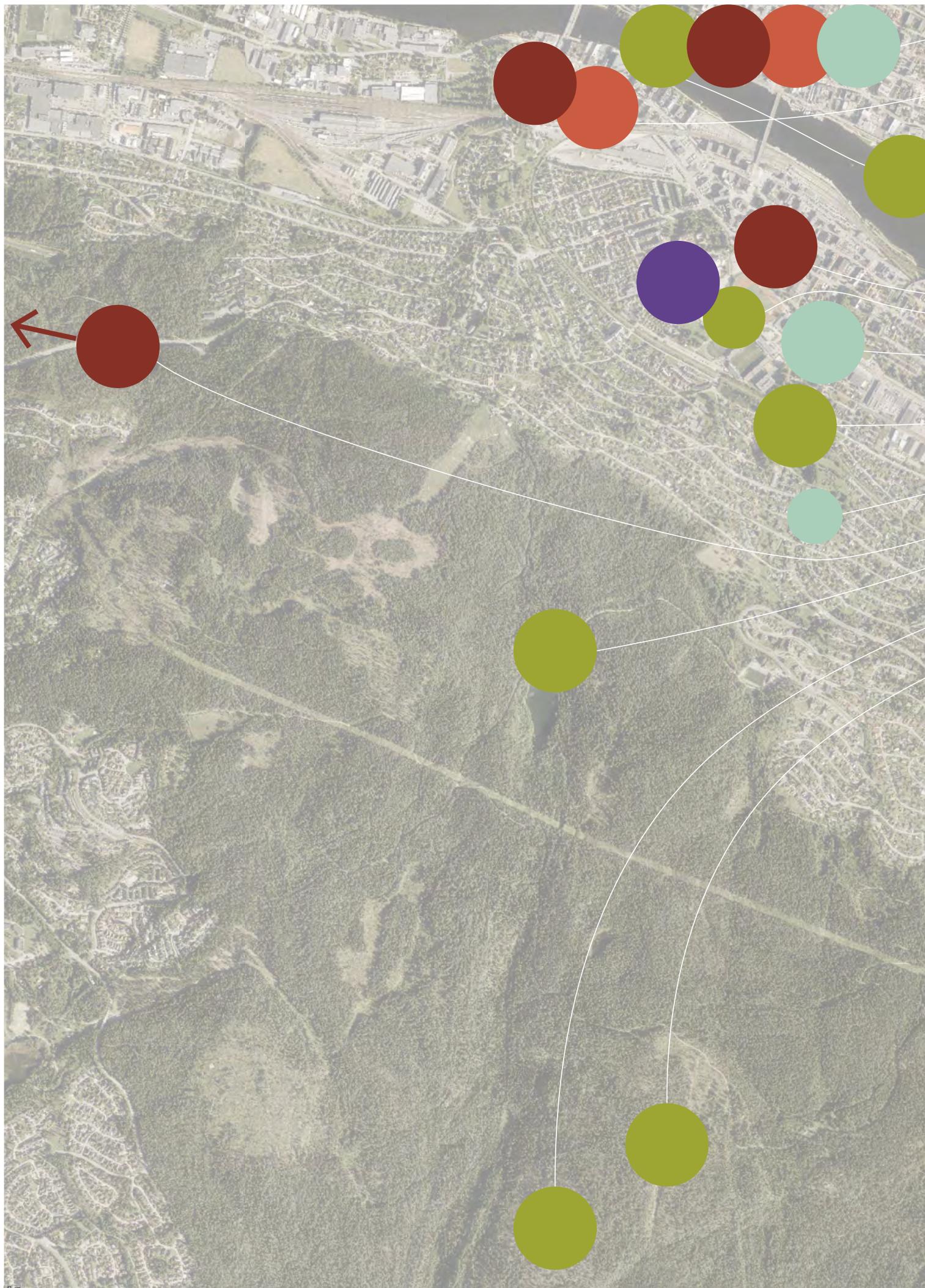
1-5.

City-scale publicness

Schools, preschools and district services have been established over time in Fjell, turning it into a location that many nearby residents visit for public administration purposes like voting, health and welfare services. The recent supply of new play and activity areas continue to primarily support the local residents, though sports, library and school facilities attract people from the greater district. The estate's shopping centre has recently acquired a small grocery after being nearly empty for many years despite originally hosting a larger grocery, dentist, post office, and even police station.

Extreme topography on the site limits its physical and visual connections as well as walkability – image from Drammen Kommune. 2010.
Connecting Fjell: Forprosjekt Fjell 2020 Stedsanalyse. Drammen: Byplan Drammen.





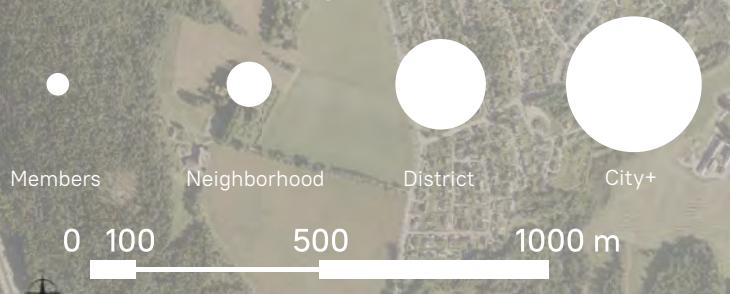
City-scale publicness for Fjell:

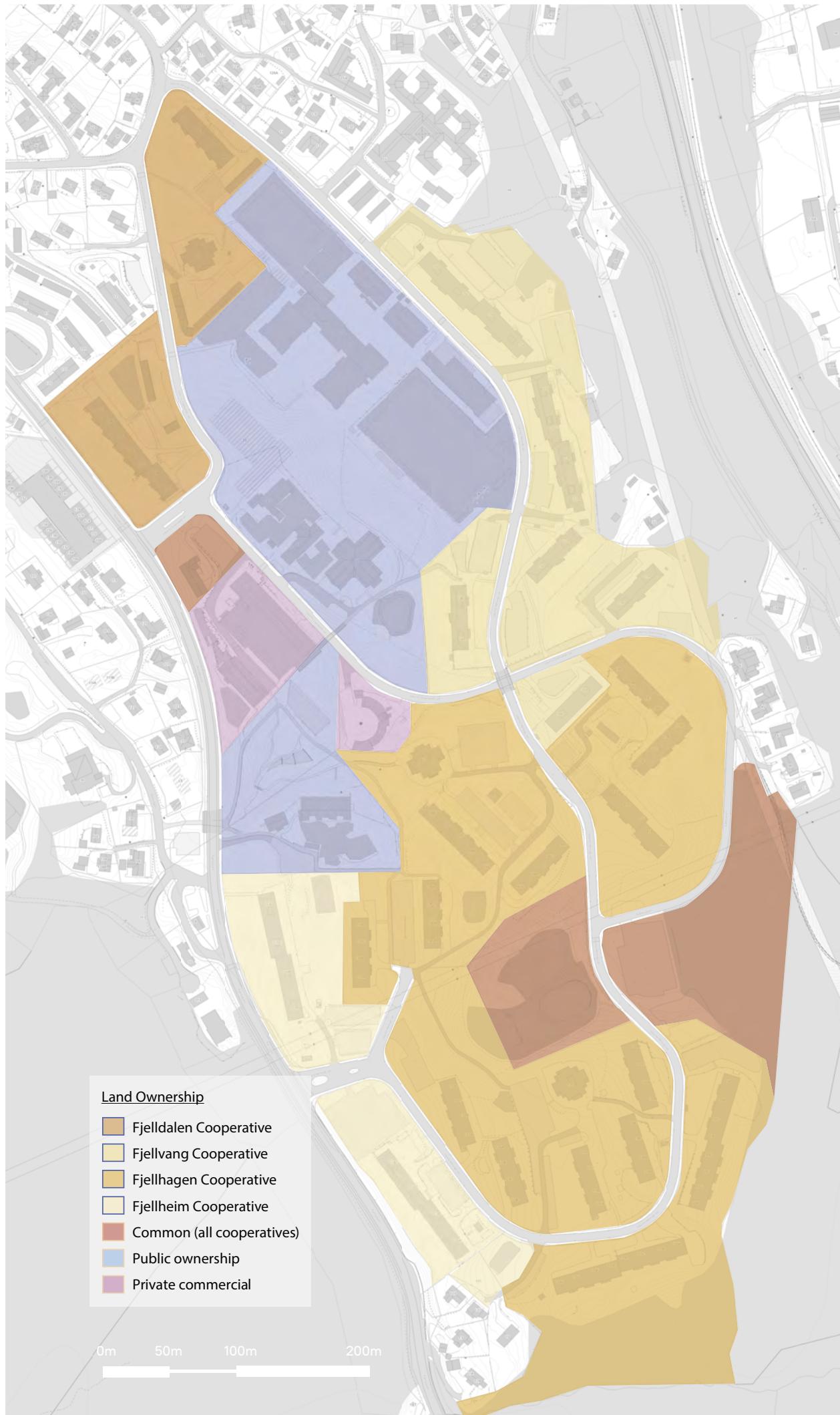
- City hall, courts, city center
- Cultural arts center, library
- Passport, police and immigration offices
- CC Shopping center
- River parks and city playgrounds
- Graffiti mural: "Fjell is the future"
- Drammen high school, City sports stadium, swimming, sports facilities
- Strømsø shopping center
- Austad park
- Coop grocery with post services
- Large meeting locales for rent in Mjøndalen
- Blekktjern lake and beach
- Risdalstårn - public hiking destination
- Hella hytta - public cabin
- Kiwi grocery
- Galterud middle school and upgraded sports hall
- Fjell church and Fjell mosque
- Kebab stand
- Public doctors' office
- Care home, assisted living center
- In Fjell: (4) preschools,
Elementary school with field,
Arena with sports, district library,
welfare, volunteers organization,
youth club, Turkish cultural school
and meeting, international grocery,
Milano pizza, district health services,
parks.

Legend:

- Schools and preschools
- Services (welfare, health)
- Culture and religion
- Recreation
- Grocery stores/shopping/restaurants

Point size reflects relative openness:





Division of the building cooperatives and overview of land ownership at Fjell. © Melissa Anna Murphy

1-6.

Fjell's housing cooperatives

own both indoor and outdoor spaces that can support varying degrees of publicness. Their co-op organisational structure has particular implications for democratic publicness in Fjell.

The housing shortage in Norway after the second World War was solved partly by housing cooperatives building affordable housing. The State Housing Bank* provided subsidized loans, and municipalities normally offered free lots or subsidized rent. Housing was built on the principle of "selling at cost" and taking no profit. Prices were originally regulated, but this was abolished in the mid-1980s as well as subsidies, grants and building sites.

Read more at:

<https://www.housinginternational.coop/co-ops/norway/>

Cooperative housing in Norway is an ownership model which is inherently quite democratic as the residents have control of their dwelling and may take part in collective property decisions. All unit own-

ers are members and served by an executive board which is democratically elected; hence the organizational model offers residents REPRESENTATIVE democratic power. Cooperative boards are elected/approved by the residents and critical information is given at annual meetings. Through the year, the boards typically make decisions on behalf of the cooperatives. Each apartment has one vote at the annual meeting, and it is illegal to privately own more than one. Board positions are paid positions, yet many cooperatives experience lack of interest amongst residents. Fjell's four cooperatives are quite large in the Norwegian context – two have over 500 units, one has about 300 units and the last almost 130 units. Managing these sizeable, 1967-76-built cooperatives has implied many large tasks of repairs and renovations over the years. Examples include new exterior cladding, expanding balconies and glassing them in to become insulated rooms, and upgrading plumbing, bathrooms, windows, playground equipment, parking areas and laundries.

Formally the cooperatives own the property and the residents own a right to live in a specific apartment. Hence the cooperative usually takes responsibility for upgrading bathrooms and plumbing to avoid leakages and water damage. The kitchens, however, are the responsibility of each resident.

Each building (or building section) has a designated resident who is responsible for helping new residents with rules and practices, as well as being the contact to the cooperative board. Every building also can request small amounts of funding from the cooperative to delegate themselves through house-meetings. Relevant issues for each building and adjacent yard are discussed at these meetings – from stair cleaning to parking issues, picnic tables and flower planting. This offers residents' potentials for DELIBERATIVE and PARTICIPATORY democratic performances in deliberating over issues or articulating interests and preferences.

* A combination of a Housing Directorate and a State Bank with no exact equivalent in other countries.



One of the board rooms created from a common room originally designated as a play room. © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon

2. Reshaping democratic publicness through urban renewal

Post-war social housing estates are often the target of urban renewal, which can change physical sites as well as local services, and activities. Since all of these affect where and how people interact, urban renewal reshapes publicness. Democratic publicness can result in different places through urban renewal processes, particularly when **PARTICIPATORY** methods are applied to determine and meet local goals. Urban renewal processes further often result in physical upgrades and new spaces which can change the potentials for democratic performance in specific sites of a housing estate.

Fjell's urban renewal had an underlying goal of local democracy which resulted in many participation processes, where residents were asked what they would like in physical spaces and for organized activities. The urban renewal used these processes to gain local knowledge, approvals, and allow identity among residents. It also targeted the central spaces where residents meet for physical upgrades. This section offers an overview of the renewal project, Fjell 2020, highlighting several of the democratic performances involved its process and potential reshaping of democratic performances in the estate. These results are preliminary as the renewal and empirical study are not yet complete.

2-1.

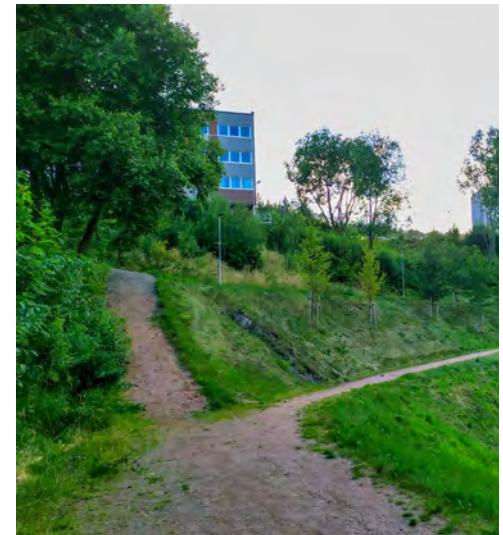
About the Project

Fjell2020 (2010-2020) is a ten-year multi-targeted area-based urban renewal project ("områdeløft"). The project had three broad strategies: physical transformations (more meeting places and choices for activity), better services (for better employment, health and life quality) and mobilisation of local resources (the cooperatives, NGOs and government). Fjell2020 has been co-funded by the national and municipal governments and contains social as well as physical measures. Improving language skills, supporting health and job-seeking, providing free childcare were local goals. Physical measures increased connectivity and physically transformed the school and selected preschools, playgrounds, park-areas, and footpaths. A new multifunction building was built to assemble several social functions and offer a community sports hall shared with the adjacent school. The building was first thought of as a neighbourhood living room ("storstua"), then

an Arena, before being branded as a Hub ("knutepunkt"), connecting it to other district hubs planned in Drammen. A new central plaza between the Hub and the earlier District House is the last physical transformation, currently under development.

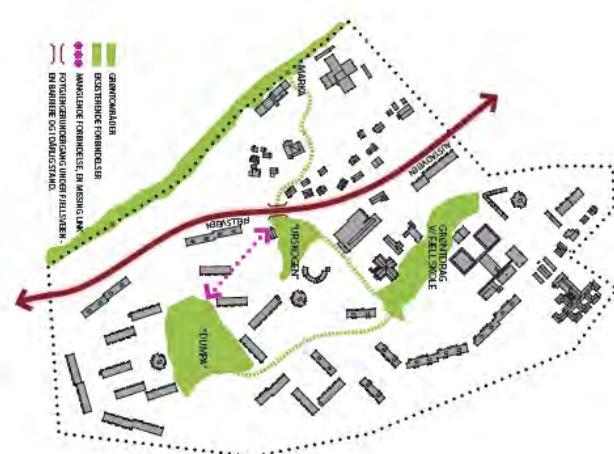
There has been public participation throughout the renewal planning processes and the project's administration had an office at the District House. The cooperative boards were thoroughly consulted from early on, supporting REPRESENTATIVE democracy since each board represented their resident-electorates. Several participatory workshops were run in the community and at the schools as Fjell2020 had pronounced ambitions for PARTICIPATORY democracy seeking the local residents' articulation of interests and preferences.

Requests by the community expressed at several different participatory events from 2010 to 2014, included more accessible pathways in the terrain, upgrading a dark and unsafe wooden area, more parking, more benches, a large hall to



Some of the pathways upgraded during Fjell 2020.
© Melissa Anna Murphy

rent for celebrations, better lighting, more colours on buildings, a cafe, volleyball courts, picnic areas, skating-area, ice-skating possibilities, small football fields, exercise apparatuses and places to meet in general. The project leaders state that it was an explicit goal to supply exactly the features that the community wanted, and many requests were met accordingly. The cooperative boards also stopped densification of the area proposed by the municipality through one of the participatory processes.



Strategically upgraded pedestrian connections and green areas in the Fjell 2020 project. Three main green areas were identified for renewal, together with paths connecting them and leading from the site through the neighbourhood of single family housing to the west where the high school and entry to the municipal recreational forest are located. – image from Drammen Kommune. 2010. Connecting Fjell: Forprosjekt Fjell 2020 Stedsanalyse. Drammen: Byplan Drammen.



Political premises behind Fjell 2020 as per 2012 – this diagram by Drammen Municipality shows the central development of public connections alongside a new multi-use hall (Fjell Arena), an expanded and rehabilitated school, new preschool spots, a vitalized centre area, and connections to public transportation. Source: <https://docplayer.me/9463573-Fjell-2020-omradeutvikling-reguleringsplan-for-fjell-sentrums-og-fjell-skole.html>



Fjell elementary school, as transformed during Fjell 2020, photo from summer night, 12. August 2020, 21:44. © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon



Fjell elementary school before Fjell 2020 renewal. The flags have not been reinstalled despite public media debate. © Øyvind Schou, Drammens Tidende, Image source: <https://www.dt.no/meninger/drammen/byutvikling/a-fjerne-flaggene-er-a-fjerne-en-del-av-identiteten/o/5-57-738505>





2-2.

From District House to "Hub"

"Hub Fjell" was envisioned as a new building to house many public functions together: a sports hall, large meeting room, youth club, combined school and district library, welfare advisors, and volunteer activity centre. Several of these functions are taken over from the former District House which had the district library, volunteer centre, community hall, local environment offices, one housing cooperative office, health station, midwives, family psychologist, and welfare office for employment. The District House's entrance had a counter where community workers and librarians were available

to point visitors in the right direction and assist them in a variety of areas. This entrance worked as a social arena according to one of our informants. Local residents are worried that the feel of a "house for the people" will be lost with the new Hub, which has been built with a much more constrained reception area only manned through the library (Rambøll 2020).

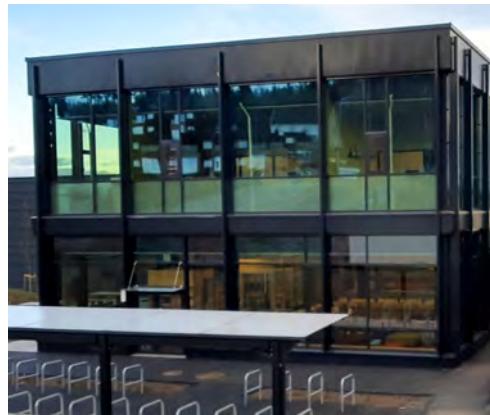
Construction of a central plaza between these two buildings – the last step of Fjell 2020 – necessitated the demolition of a run-down preschool. The project determined that this function would be moved into the ground floor of the former District House, sharing the building with the remaining functions of health station and family psy-

chologist. The neighbourhood loses the District House's open reception space with reception-help desk, seating and information boards, a coffee machine, internet connection, and public toilets.

Informants with experience in both buildings voice concern that openness and the inviting nature of the District House seems to have been lost in the design of the new Hub building. Indoor reception is compacted into a small library desk behind electronic kiosks. The stairs are separated from the entry, with narrow landings bound with locked doors. Public events and use of the meeting rooms requires key cards. According to the Fjell2020 spokesperson the new community building Hub Fjell is "built as requested



Fjell District House pre-renewal framed a plaza predominately used for parking during business hours. © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon



Fjell hub – youth club and volunteer offices have street-facing windows. © Lillin Catherine Knudtzon



Automatic solar shading also screens view into the hub. © Lillin Catherine Knudtzon

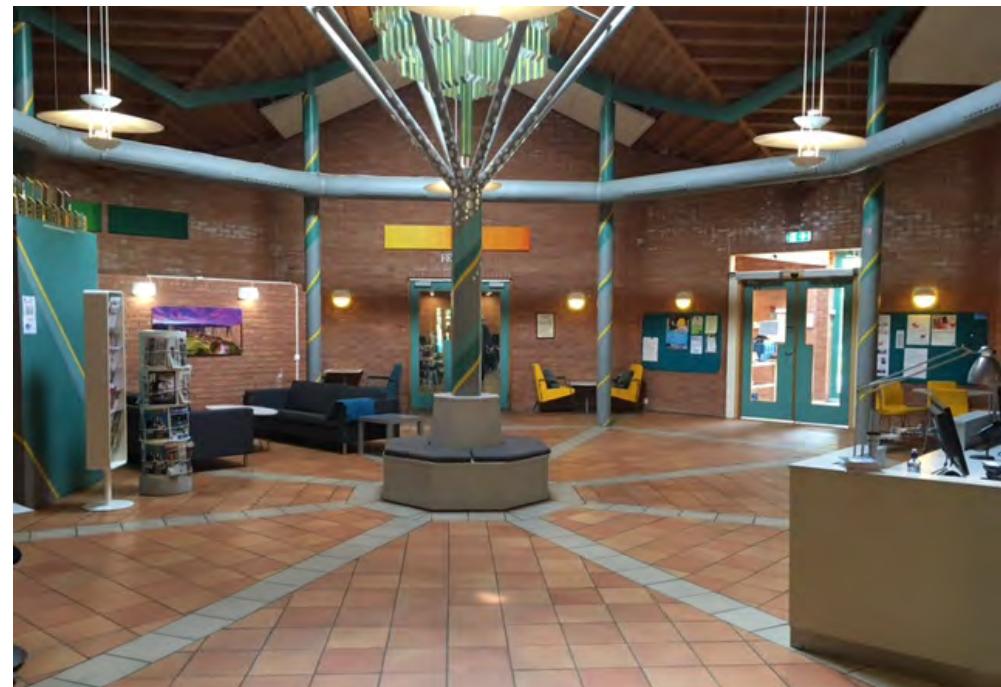


The hub's main entry is constricted and enclosed with secured doors at each floor. © Melissa Anna Murphy

by the residents". Many residents in the participatory processes wanted a hall for gatherings of at least 200 people, and they got it. As such this is a materialisation of PARTICIPATORY democracy. At the same time, early Fjell2020 intentions for an open and welcoming architecture with common spaces and active facades was not fully realized in the materialisation. Many organized activities find space in this building, but the architecture removes many possibilities for chance meetings and help outside of scheduled appointments or classes which the District House supported. As the building becomes more established and entry keys are provided to more people after hours, the building may prove itself more open than it has been in its first year of function. The Hub's culture hall will also be available for the annual meetings of the housing cooperatives and facilitate the workings of REPRESENTATIVE democracy.

Literature:

Drammen Kommune. 2010a. Connecting Fjell: Forprosjekt Fjell 2020 Stedsanalyse. Drammen: Byplan Drammen.
 Drammen Kommune. 2010b. Fjell 2020 – mot en bedre framtid: Forprosjektrapport. Drammen: Drammen Kommune. / Rambøll 2020. Sluttevaluering Fjell2020.
 Drammen: Rambøll



Fjell District House reception area ca 2010 – Photo reproduced with permission © Parminder Kaur Bisal



Fjell Arena utilizes the library as a building reception area. © Melissa Anna Murphy



Fjell Arena's entrance awaits construction of the neighbouring plaza as well as planned signage to make it more inviting © Melissa Anna Murphy



"Culture Hall" (kultursal) – loanable multipurpose room on the second floor of Fjell Arena, requested by residents and administrators in the participatory processes. © Lillian Cathrine Knudtzon

3. Democracy in sites of publicness

When looking closer at democratic publicness in specific sites, features of space and social interaction need to be assessed together. An important notion bridging the physical and the social is the “we” that occurs when a public or multiple publics gather in space. In considering public space’s capacity to support social inclusion, one can question the potentials and limitations for constructing diverse versions of collective “we”s in a social housing estate. While some spaces cater for similarly minded people coming together and enforcing each other as citizens and political actors with potential agency, other spaces expose the plurality of a community and multiple demands on space. The latter is especially central for public spaces intended for larger publics, such as those upgraded through the renewal (3A), whereas the former may be more prominent in the spaces owned by the cooperatives (3B). The renewed sites of publicness (R1-R4) and four examples of non-renewed cooperative owned sites (5-8) are indicated in the following maps and then briefly presented. Selected sites of reshaped publicness and democratic performances are thereafter reviewed more in detail.

Fjell/Sites of Publicness

 Fjell 2020 focus area for physical transformations and connectivity

Renewed sites

R1: Transformed neighbourhood centre: Fjell Arena and District House

R2: Transformed playground "Dumpa"

R3: Transformed football field area

R4: Transformed park "100 acre wood"

Non-renewed cooperative owned sites

5: Example common cellar room

6: Example board room

7: Resident vegetable garden initiative

8: Example picnic area by residents





Renewed sites of publicness



© drm24.no: https://drm24.no/images/DJI_0885_345654.jpg

R1. Transformed neighbourhood centre: Hub Fjell (right) and District House (left)
These sites of publicness will be connected with a plaza (late 2020). During the planning processes, residents gave input to the Hub's content, showing a materialisation of PARTICIPATORY democracy. The large hall in the Hub can host annual meetings of the housing cooperatives to facilitate REPRESENTATIVE democracy. Elaboration 3A-2.



© Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon

R2. "Dumpa" upgraded playground
This playground's renewal included input from local residents thus materialising PARTICIPATORY democracy. Today different age groups use the ground: children play, parents socialize, teenagers hang out, and young adults work out, picnic, or work on a lap-top, all opening possibilities for creating a sense of "we" amongst Fjell-residents, as well as sub-level "we"s among user groups, sparking diverse publics into being. Elaboration 3A-1.



© Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon

R3. Football field
This field belongs to the school but is openly accessible to all and one of the most often populated outdoor areas in Fjell. Many different activities can be seen taking place simultaneously, including football, walking, children's play, learning to bicycle, dog-walking. These coexisting uses and the field's high visibility offer both harmonious and contentious formation of multiple "we"s. The field is used in winter despite snow. Adjacent workout equipment and seating further gather onlookers. Elaboration 3A-2.



© Melissa Anna Murphy

R4. Upgraded park – "100-acre wood"
The area used to be dark, partly overgrown, littered, sometimes flooded, and perceived as an unsafe public space (Skutlaberg et al 2017). Upgraded in 2014, the park now targets younger children. The park has strong PARTICIPATORY democratic properties as local children's wishes were fulfilled in the park's equipment. The name of the park is a result of a local naming competition, possibly creating a local sense of collective ownership. Elaboration 3A-4.

3A. Renewed sites of publicness

In the renewed public spaces we look at how sites support multiple and diverse uses simultaneously – the plurality of a space's publicness. Plurality denotes the public space's capacity to support social inclusion, and the potentials and limitations for constructing a larger, collective "we". Furthermore, plurality exposes people for the need to negotiate conflicts that can occur due to the multiple demands on public space.

Fjell's public spaces were upgraded during its urban renewal and show a variety of enabling and limiting plurality in different sites. Urban space goals like clean, amenable aesthetics, high levels of activity, and diverse uses appear across all the upgrades, with equipment meant to attract often specific user groups and users. Redesign alone is not always enough to encourage plurality of use and that diverse publics meet and negotiate space together.

3A-1.

Spatial design for plurality?

The upgraded park (R4) named after Winnie the Pooh's 100-acre wood (100-meterskogen in Norwegian) attempts plurality in design with picnic tables for large gatherings and grilling, a zip line and water feature for play, and two roofed seating pavilions. The space is large enough to accommodate many, yet it is rarely used by more than one group at a time – young men in hoodies sit in the pavilions, or young children play around the water, or groups use the tables. The uses are separated temporally meaning the users seldomly encounter each other or need to interact in the space.

The redesign of "Dumpa" (R2) tells a similar story, yet here different uses are separated spatially. Often one group plays on the football field while another plays on the playground. They can use the space simultaneously with minimal interaction. This differs from Dumpa prior to the renovation, where the lack of equipment or specific program meant that every user group defined the space they needed for themselves and needed to negotiate with other users who might be there at the same time.



R4: Three separate publics gathered by the "100-acre wood" park after its redesign – illustrated from observations. © Melissa Anna Murphy



R2: "Dumpe" prior to renewal project, image source: Drammen Kommune Fjell 2020 Årsrapport 2015 (pg.5)



R2: Redesigned "Dumpe" has a volleyball court, football field, and playground for older children. © Melissa Anna Murphy

3A-2.

Plurality beyond design

The two parks in R2 and R4 differ again from the main football field by the school (R3), which was not reprogrammed during the renewal project. This large open space with several football goals is used by much more than the intended sport. The space is easily the most commonly populated outdoor space in the neighbourhood. On most evenings multiple uses can be observed simultaneously. One or several groups may play football using one or several of the goals in different orientations while older women walk in pairs and groups around the perimeter. Older kids and teenagers inscribe spaces for sitting and hanging out in groups, often mid-field. Dog walkers pass by and play ball with their dog, since this is the closest to a fenced-in space the neighbourhood offers. Smaller children play together or with parents, several learn to ride

their bicycles across the turf amidst the rest. The school football field does not need multiple equipment to support plural and diverse functions – it is a flat, open field with good lighting. An immense number of apartments overlook the field and neighbourhood traffic passes by, offering the space a sense of safety and transparency.

This football field is also commonly a site of contention. Neighbours complain about the dogs there, youth brawls happen there, when the COVID-19 pandemic forced people to shelter in place, on-looking neighbours sent out messages of distress on public media when the space continued to be used by large groups. Residents alternately accuse and support each other through what happens in this space, offering a truly democratic arena for confronting diversity and plurality in the local society.

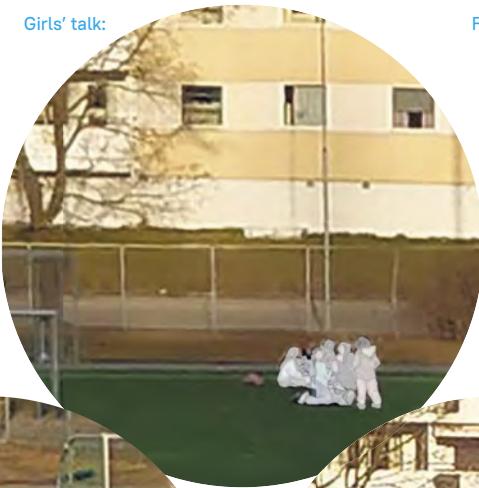


R3: The school's football field is always open to the public and often supporting multiple activities. © Melissa Anna Murphy

Family play:



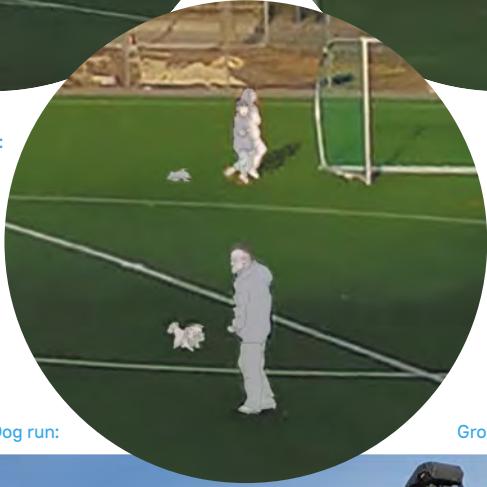
Girls' talk:



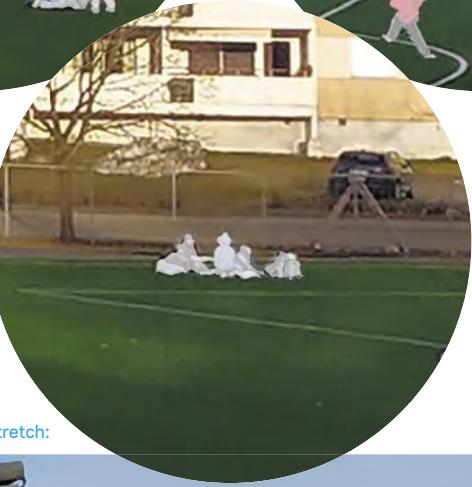
Football practice:



Shortcut:



Dog run:



Group stretch:



Non-renewed sites of publicness



© Lillin Catherine Knudtzon

1. Example indoor cellar room
These apartment blocks were designed with common cellars, where use must be negotiated. The extent and ways these areas are used today varies, with few converted for social use. The room pictured is two floors below the entrance level and windowless except for one curtained view into the adjacent bicycle storage room. In some cooperatives, resident requests to create such a room or socialize in common laundry rooms has been rejected, hindering potentials for RADICAL and PARTICIPATORY democracy. Elaboration 3B-3



© Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon

2. Example board room
Each of the four co-ops have a board room – two in converted apartments, one in a converted common area, and one in a separate building shared between the cooperatives. The board rooms include kitchen, bathroom, archive storage, offices and meeting facilities. Each board is elected by the residents at an annual meeting. Almost all board members are residents. The residents are welcome to visit the board room at office hours every week to discuss matters of concern in line with REPRESENTATIVE democracy.



© Lillin Catherine Knudtzon

3. Resident vegetable garden
A small group of residents have joined efforts and built a small vegetable garden. To protect the crops from moose and deer, and to protect small children from stumbling into the crops, they raised a fence. This appropriation might be regarded as an act of RADICAL democracy as the area was appropriated from the common and the fence was controversial, later replaced by one fitting an approved norm.



© Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon

4. Example picnic area by residents
Fjell's 32 apartment blocks all have designated outdoor areas with benches and tables. A few tables are shared between several different buildings. The use-frequency of these areas differs tremendously – some are almost always occupied in the summer months. Neighbours come together for a chat reinforcing local "we"s which may spur DELIBERATIVE conversations. Informants claim to "talk about everyday kinds of things" rather than politics or "co-op business" at these outdoor areas. Elaborations 3B-1 and 2.

3B. Democracy in non-renewed cooperative owned sites of publicness

In the public spaces owned by the cooperatives we look at the materiality of the furnished public sites and for the extent publicness is sparked into being as people meet and interact and form a “we”.

The four cooperatives at Fjell all have established outdoor social spaces for residents. Playgrounds, benches and picnic tables are customary facilities. Over the years they have been upgraded and changed, and sometimes new amenities are added. Some are often occupied while others seem to be unused – some are inviting, some not, some are shielded from the gaze of other residents and passers-by, others have full surveillance between parking and building entrances. Some spaces are carefully tended for a while by some residents, while others may be left to decaying and disuse. Initiatives to establish indoors social spaces also fluctuate.

We identify possibilities and limitations in both the physical design and how spaces are used which affect to what degree they may become sites of publicness. We present a typology of furnished areas where publics can come together (3B-1), discuss to what extent publicness is sparked into being as people meet and interact (3B-2) and focus on the shifting uses of indoor common space in cooperatives (3B-3) in relation to democracy.

3B-1. Typologies of publicness for outdoor furnished areas

Amongst the cooperatives' many outdoor furnished areas, and particularly picnic tables in Fjell, we propose six physical "typologies" of placement, which have implications for the extent of publicness the tables can support. Some of these enable small, intimate gatherings amongst close friends while others are both on display and placed to have an overview of comings and goings.



Left-over type © Melissa Anna Murphy



Edge type © Melissa Anna Murphy

Left-over furnished areas:

"Left-over" furnished areas- picnic tables are often scattered in Fjell dependent upon available level ground. These are commonly by dumpsters, around the tower and high buildings.

Edge furnished areas:

"Edge" furnished areas- make use of the quiet, private outer edges of the site which border green spaces and steep slopes. Picnic tables in these areas tend to be further away from the buildings they belong to.



Front yard type © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon



Shaped space type © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon



Side yard type © Melissa Anna Murphy

Front yard furnished areas:

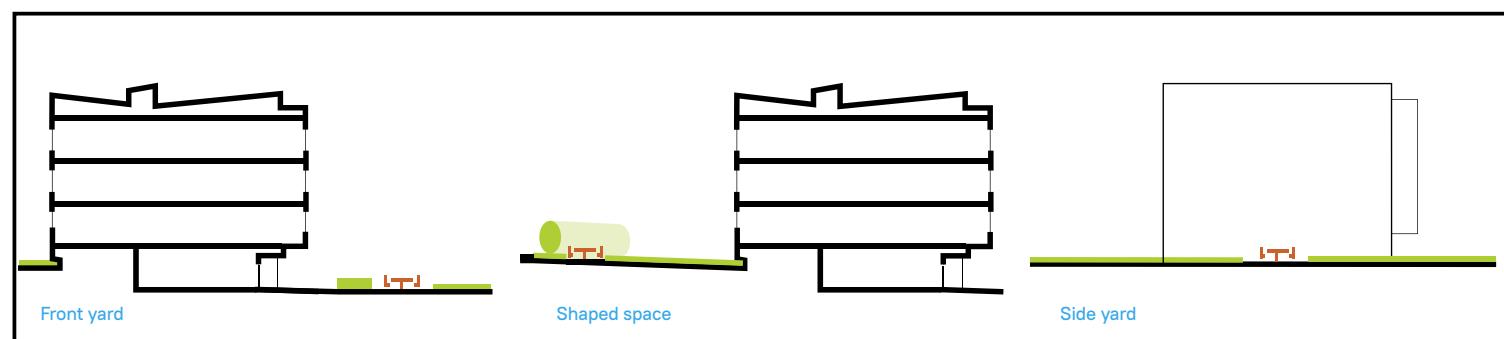
"Front yard" furnished areas relate to building entrances and tend to be the most elaborately cared for in Fjell. Apartment windows have clear views to the tables, and the tables offer oversight of everyone coming and going. These are common at the low, long blocks, but are also found at several of the high blocks.

Shaped space furnished areas:

"Shaped space" furnished areas – these are set purposefully in areas landscaped with elements to make outdoor rooms on the site. Picnic tables tend to be screened using hedges, while play areas are visually open yet bounded by ground cover and equipment.

Side yard furnished areas:

"Side yard" furnished areas – these are placed by blank side walls without windows and tend to feel somewhat more private, even when visible to others. Less pass by directly. There is more focus on which tables are in the sun or adjacent to play or garden areas to promote activity.



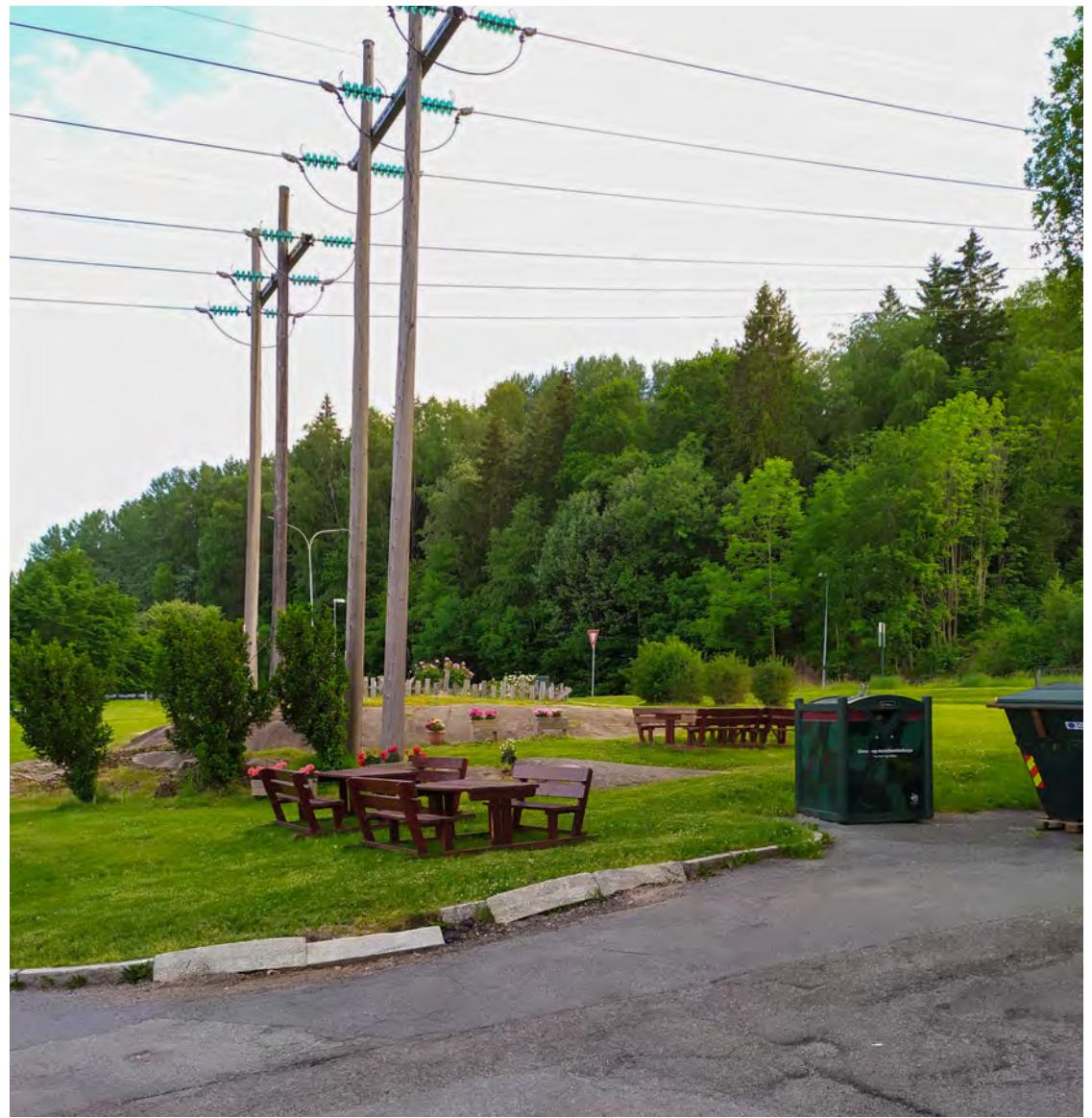
Section diagrams: Three of the typologies describe specific material and spatial situations that contribute to their potential degree of publicness enabled. © Melissa Anna Murphy

Lessons and hybridization:

As with any typology, these idealized types explain general characteristics of phenomena. Front yard types are the most visible and enable the most interactions with passers-by. They are sites where chance encounters between neighbours may occur and spur conversations about common concerns, in line with PARTICIPATORY democracy theory. Subject matters mentioned by informants when asked about matters that concern them collectively include cooperative policies and finances, the need for better parking, lack of benches on the pathways, and local vandalism. However, our interviews suggest that in chance meetings, the topics are rarely of such political nature. Rather, these chance meetings reconfirm the community and local "we" amongst residents with topics like the weather and good stories. Shaped space and side yard types are more controllable spaces, intimate with less visibility. Edge types are often hidden behind buildings and less likely to spur chance interactions. Users are often friends or relatives that arrange to meet up and create a closed community, strengthening a more narrow "we".

The appropriated furnished areas connect to RADICAL democracy theory and users' agency to shape spaces themselves.

In practice, these types vary and can co-exist. Many of the picnic tables that fall in the front yard type become appropriated with decoration due to regularity of use. Picnic tables of any of the types can spawn adjacent uses and appropriation of space – as with gardening or temporal additions like party tents or lawn furniture to support larger gatherings.



Hybrid © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon



Appropriated type © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon



Red picnic table moved and appropriated to "100-meter skog," despite new concrete picnic tables in the park
© Melissa Anna Murphy

Appropriated furnished areas:

"Appropriated" areas – these are dynamic and created by moveable furniture – either moving the property's picnic tables or adding ones' own lawn furniture. One picnic table has even been moved to a different (publicly-owned) property in the course of our observations.

3B-2. Publicness sparked in cooperative yards

The material structure provides possibilities, but the residents' responses and uses vary. Here are some stories and pictures showing how publicness might be sparked into being as people meet and interact in the cooperative yards. To ensure anonymity depicted places might and might not be related to the stories.





All photos © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon



Children own their neighbourhood:

Kids on their way home from school use the cooperative yards. After school hours and in the evening, youth meet up and hang at different play areas. Area children and youths describe feeling "at home" all over the neighbourhood, and wander from one playground to another. They have friends of all nationalities from their school, the site, and neighbouring streets. As with most Norwegian children, they attend local public schools (elementary on site and middle school nearby) regardless of social standing).



Resident sociability and networks:

In particular, the areas of the cooperatives' yards which are furnished with picnic tables can support a variety of sociability and local networks. Publics collect spontaneously when neighbours happen to join each other or engage in conversation at one of the tables. Many residents report inviting others to join them occasionally or regularly at their block's picnic tables, whereby one block might host residents from several blocks or even from other addresses outside of Fjell. We have found this pattern to be particularly important for minority groups' sociability and networks. Groups who share a common language apart from Norwegian meet for walks in the neighbourhood and use the picnic tables to share coffee, tea or meals throughout the year. They meet up at different places

in the neighbourhood, and during the summer months often gather in the cooperative yards. Many of these groups bring baskets with tea or coffee and cakes from their cultures to share and there are always extra cups. Several invite the occasional passer-by to join, as our researchers have enjoyed on multiple occasions in the field. Several interviews in these settings reveal their appreciation of the social community in Fjell, which they would miss if they moved to a detached house. Some have even moved and come back. These picnic tables in the yards support meetings of separate "we's" in Fjell. Internally among those who meet, the meetings may build democratic capacity. In addition, the different "we's" have the potential to overlap in these yards by seeing and experiencing the others, being invited or inspired by their practices in the yards.

Established "clubs":

There are a few table areas that are used regularly by groups with consistent members to the extent they may be perceived as closed publics. These groups can be found amongst Norwegians and other nationalities, and seem quite large (15-20 people). They are inclusive for those in the group and welcome friends, family and known passers-by. Many in these groups have lived in Fjell a decade or three, and some have moved internally as their flat became too small or too large for their needs. Some of these "clubs" are loosely familial and can consist of people of all ages, from children to older people and grandparents as extended families tend to buy multiple units in Fjell.

Others are more homogenous in age and represent good friends or neighbourhoods who spend a significant amount of time together. Members in these groups report using their specific area "all the time" even when the weather is not that nice. Other residents often know them and greet in passing, showing an external friendliness to neighbours despite not being "club" members. These clubs may be firmer regarding who belongs in a "we" (establishing a "them"), but their presence and interactions can also extend beyond group members. The regularity of use shows these groups more likely to take action in appropriating or formally requesting to upgrade areas around picnic tables, resulting in several particularly decorated and well-kept picnic areas. In these examples, the physical traces mark the space and tell other passers-by something about the presence, care, and preferences of the regular users.

Adversity and tensions, emphasized during the corona times?:

The Covid-19 pandemic may have resulted in different user patterns and both reports and observations show more use of the outdoors in Fjell during the strictest parts of the pandemic. During spring, Norwegians who normally visit their cottages were rather staying at home and used the outdoor space. Many told the researchers that they use the outdoors more – hiking in the nearby forest or staying outside the building. They further reported more people were outside during the entire day, whereas evenings were perhaps less active than usual. During the summer 2020, immigrants who usually travelled to their home-countries and Norwegians who usually travelled abroad all stayed in Norway. Social gatherings sprouted with the good weather, either with picnics on blankets on the lawns or with foldable furniture throughout Fjell's public areas and cooperative yards.

This increased demand and presence might have increased tensions in the area. Local social media sites filled with discussions about what other groups are doing in the outdoor spaces and how many people are meeting where. While there seems to be enough outdoor space and picnic-tables for everyone who wants to have a sit down, complaints came about preferred or regularly occupied tables now being occupied "all the time" by others. Likely to a larger extent than normal, different groups began taking turns using some tables – first come, first served rather than some tables feeling reserved by regular users. A resident we spoke to sat alone

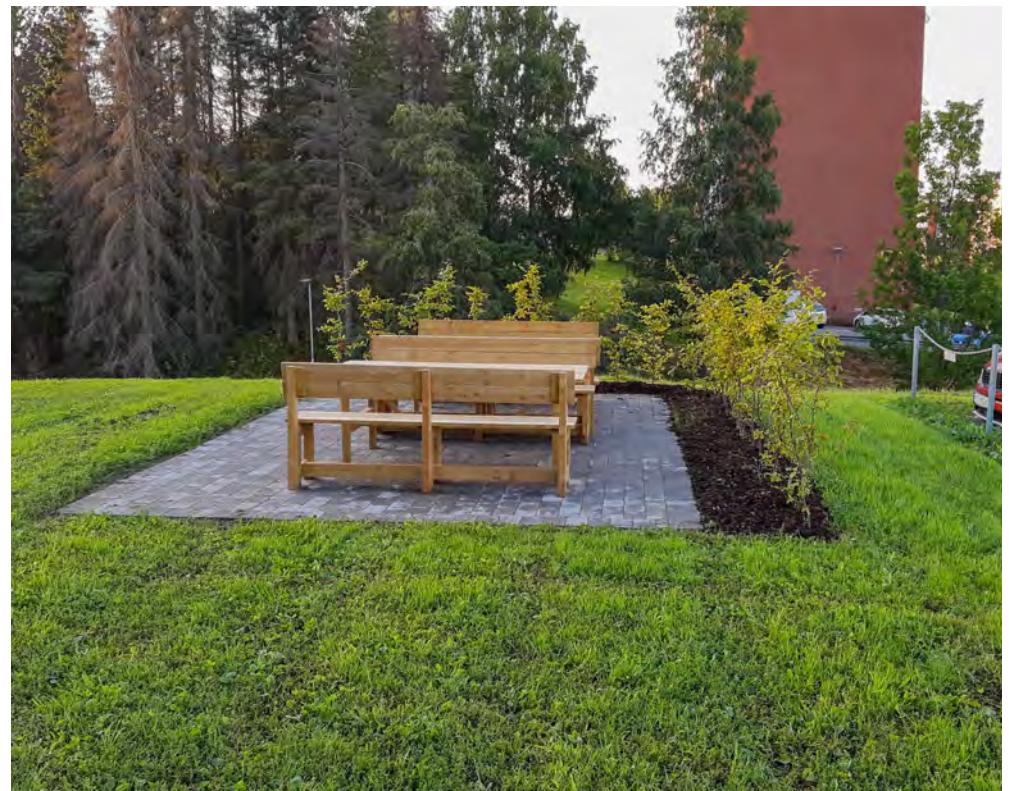


Photo of Dumba on a warm summer evening – perfect for a picnic while the children play. Despite being upgraded alongside public lands, Dumba is on a plot commonly owned by the four cooperatives at Fjell. © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon

at a table. She wanted to get shade and fresh air on a warm summer evening, but was neither invited nor had a desire to sit with the others of a different culture using another table that evening.

These tensions are typical of living densely together, and stories of increased tensions during corona are not uncommon elsewhere in Norway. Fjell's cooperative yards are shared amongst a significantly diverse population. Particularly during times of uncertainty, behaviour understood as problematic can come into focus and be attributed to those perceived as "other" with or without evidence. We have seen such "we/them" formations amongst the various users of picnic tables and elsewhere but also find repeatedly expressions of: "the others are nice when we get to know them." Across nationalities, our informants report mostly being quite happy with their community. There is some tension connected to the mix of many different cultures and customs. Some older Norwegian residents with a long history at Fjell may say the likes of: "there are a bit too many foreign language people here, and they don't take part in the social the same way as the old neighbours did." However later in the conversation from the same informants, we hear: "my neighbours are the best – my Pakistani neighbour across the hall always carries the grocery bags for me up the stairs", and "my Somali neighbour one floor up is always happy, greeting me, and asking if I need any help." We have heard stories of neighbours helping out in times of grievance or illness regardless of cultural background – bringing cakes, meals, and services to the door of those suffering.

The cooperative yards allow for community and publicness within limited groups. They seem important to ensure belonging, and they may spur engagement and action in issues that have to do with the closest blocks. While none of our informants report using these spaces to talk politics, the use of the shared yards and resources seem to spur some to action. When trash bins were removed from one block's yard, residents disapproved and managed to sway the block manager to reconsider. The bins now are a constant physical reminder that the democratic performance of making claims is a worthwhile RADICAL democratic thing to do. After several seasons of high-rise residents sharing a well-kept picnic area with an adjacent low-rise block, the high-rise installed two new tables with plantings. While the sharing was not reported as conflictual, some residents of the high-rise were uncertain if they could use the other block's table or not. The new tables supplement the high-rise's previous moveable picnic tables placed on the asphalt around the high-rise's base.



One of the newest installed picnic table areas with hedges. © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon





3B-3. Resident initiatives for indoor publicness

All these buildings have rather large common areas in the basements for common storage, for washing and drying laundry and for private storage. They also have bomb shelter rooms with double fire-doors. Several buildings have used parts of these common areas to arrange rooms for social gatherings, though most of these are without windows.

All photos © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon

One building had large ambitions when the block was new and applied to the planning office to furnish and upgrade its basement bomb shelter with carpets and wall dressing.

According to the submitted plans, the idea was to have social areas to the left, with a soda-bar, sofas and tables for bridge or chess, alongside space even for dancing. To the right there are activity zones – the first for little kids, then for youth and furthest to the right table tennis, work out appliances and wall bars. The planning authorities approved, and we find traces that at least some of the plans were realized. However, over the years the area has deteriorated and uses changed to the point that today's block

responsible were surprised at the idea of the basement being a social resource. We have not (yet) located a resident with enough history in the block to tell us the story, but

material traces show that resident engagement with publicness goals was active here. Today, parts of the area are occasionally used for house meetings and most of the rest is given over to storage. However, as of now this basement is mainly viewed as a "tire-hotel" by the residents (Norwegian cars are required to have two sets of tires – one for summer and one for winter, and the storage of the set not in use is a practical challenge).

One of the blocks have a room designated for informal chats and a coffee. It is used regularly by a group of women of different nationalities in the cooperative. In the floor plan, this room was designated storage for children's strollers.

The residents in this building have also made an effort to turn the entrance hall area into a social place with furniture and decorations.



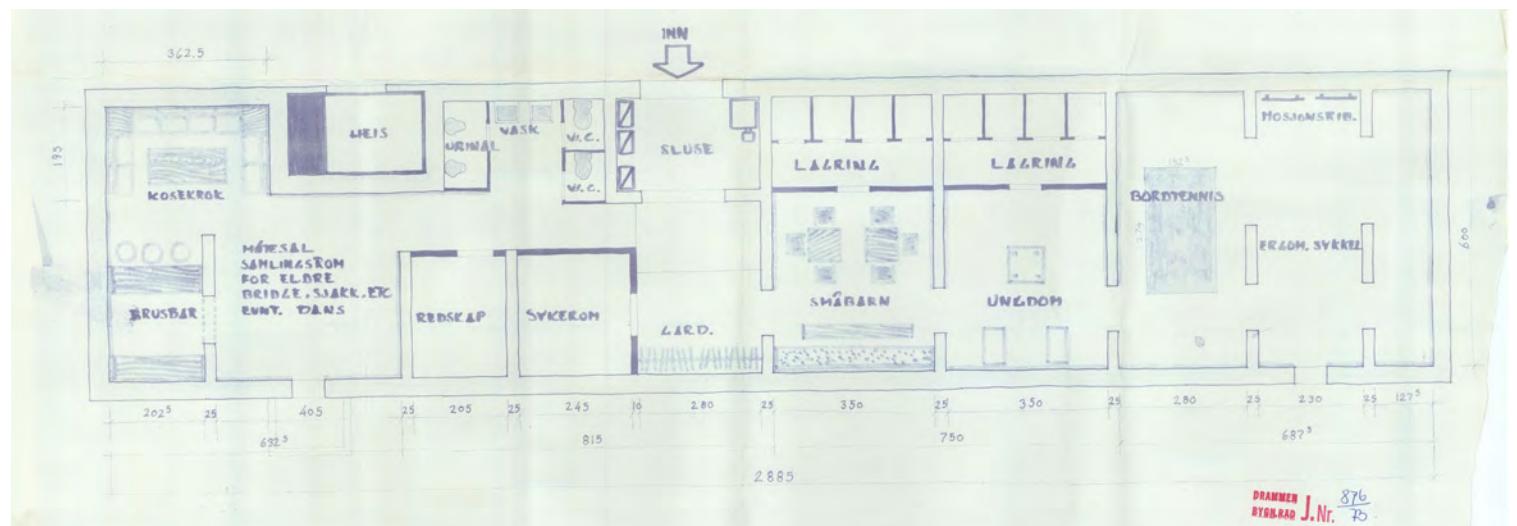
Room for social gatherings with cellar windows.



Plenty of sofas and seating possibilities, even a screen in the ceiling for sharing slides or films.



Traces of the soda-bar today.



Drawing of public record, available from Drammen Kommune building case archives.



Traces of the wardrobe despite loss of space for clothing



Traces of earlier gym equipment in the ceiling.



Resident-initiated social meeting room.



Decorated entrance hall.

Informal Publicness and Democracy at Fjell

We understand informal publicness through spatial manifestations where people's initiatives break with the expected and possibly with formal rules, resulting in appropriations of specific spaces. This appropriation may be physically manifested for a long or short period and may be accepted or rejected by management and other spatial users. In case of rejection, the space may become contested.

Informal publicness may be assessed (and perceived by those in power) as positive or negative. Furthermore, appropriative initiatives may be sustained or removed. This dynamic can be described through a two by two categorization. Appropriation through informality can contribute to democracy in being a way of expressing diversity in public spaces and establishing arenas for deliberation amongst residents and strangers.

At Fjell there are both written and more subtle regulations for how to use different spaces. Playground areas are designated for children's play to avoid noise and nuisance elsewhere. The indoor common areas can only be used for designated purposes. The prime enforcers of these regulations are the cooperatives through their boards or the apartment block responsible (blokkansvarlig). Empirically we find several examples of appropriations that are considered both positive and negative by the cooperatives.

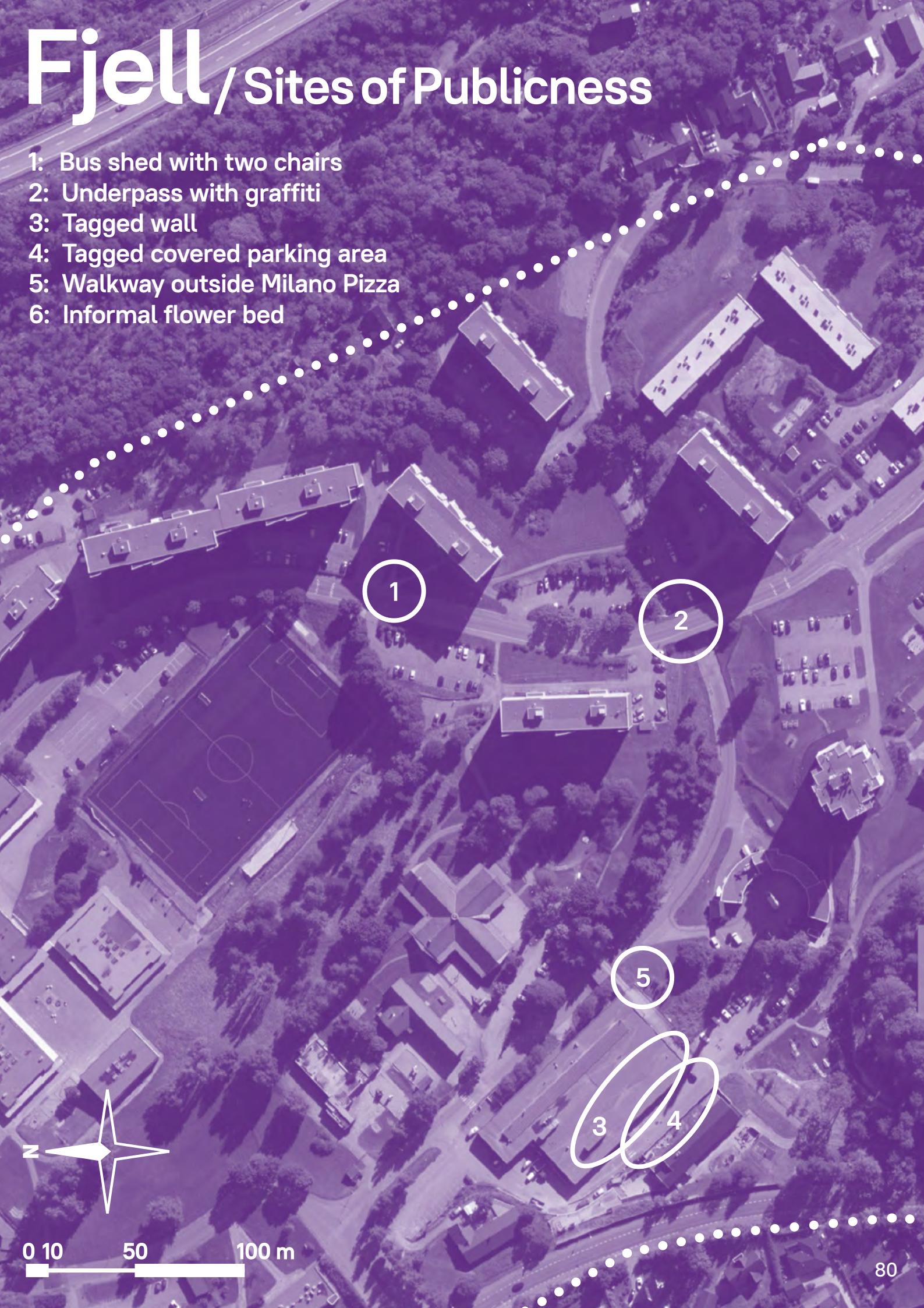
Informality in space	Short term	Long term
Informal appropriation considered positive for the community	Materiality resulting from positive informal initiatives disappears if no formal support is established (example if initiator fails to upkeep flowerbed)	Appropriation may transform into a long-term feature if the informal initiative is approved and supported
Informal appropriation perceived as negative for the community (by those in power)	Informal appropriation perceived as negative for the community (by those in power)	Space may degrade if informal appropriation takes form of vandalism and resources are not prioritized to react, thus resulting in negative spiral

Research Team:

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Fjell/Sites of Publicness

- 1: Bus shed with two chairs
- 2: Underpass with graffiti
- 3: Tagged wall
- 4: Tagged covered parking area
- 5: Walkway outside Milano Pizza
- 6: Informal flower bed



0 10 50

100 m

80



6

sites of Publicness



1. Bus shed with two chairs
Temporary informal meeting place at a bus shed. The two chairs are an appropriation of space making it suitable for longer stays (and for elderly who need the arm rests), thus facilitating conversations. The chairs were later removed.



2. Underpass with graffiti
Appropriation through graffiti at an underpass. The '03 Fjell' graffiti can be seen as an exclamation of identity confirming the connectedness to the area and the local bus – the number 3.



3 and 4. Tagged walls
Appropriation through graffiti at a parking area showing its unintended and informal use after preschool and shopping center hours. This usability is reinforced in the architecture by the deep overhangs providing shelter and vast blank walls. The municipality-sponsored mural demonstrates a formal reaction to the tagging and attempt to dissuade graffiti. The tags hold clear identities and may be subtly political.





5. Walkway outside Milano Pizza
Informal meeting place outside Milano Pizza restaurant. The area is sometimes used by restaurant guests, a Turkish male group connected to the shopping center, visitors to the mosque, and/the parked car pictured. Furniture is moved out and adapted as needed – chairs, tables, ashtrays – changing the publicness of the space.



6. Informal flower bed
Appropriation through a flower bed in front of one of the apartment blocks, reflecting the gardeners' identity. The area and practices of gardening invite to informal publicness with visitors passing by and striking up conversations about gardening, the weather etc.

All pictures © Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon, Melissa Murphy

Publicness and Policies/Practices at Fjell

At Fjell, we approach policies and practices in three overlapping strands: 1) how institutional policies affect planning practices that shape space, 2) how local policies and rules affect how people behave and their agency to represent their interests in space, 3) resident practices that follow or break with norms and local rules. These strands are investigated in Fjell through the role of framework agreements in the planning system steering the estate's renewal, the cooperative housing ownership model, and suburban, modernist housing estate planning. We see a two-way relationship between policy and publicness. Regulative and normative framework conditions work together to affect material and psychological accessibility – what people physically can and want to do at different physical sites. Simultaneously, what people do – resident practices and exercises of agency, or lack thereof – build norms that affect further

local behaviors and potentials for publicness. In many cases, these conditions may reduce the potentials for publicness by narrowing the public at a specific site (to smaller and less-diverse groups) and reducing the possibilities for frequent uses, encounters, and interactions (through limited opening hours, space available, or motivation to use and engage with the sites).

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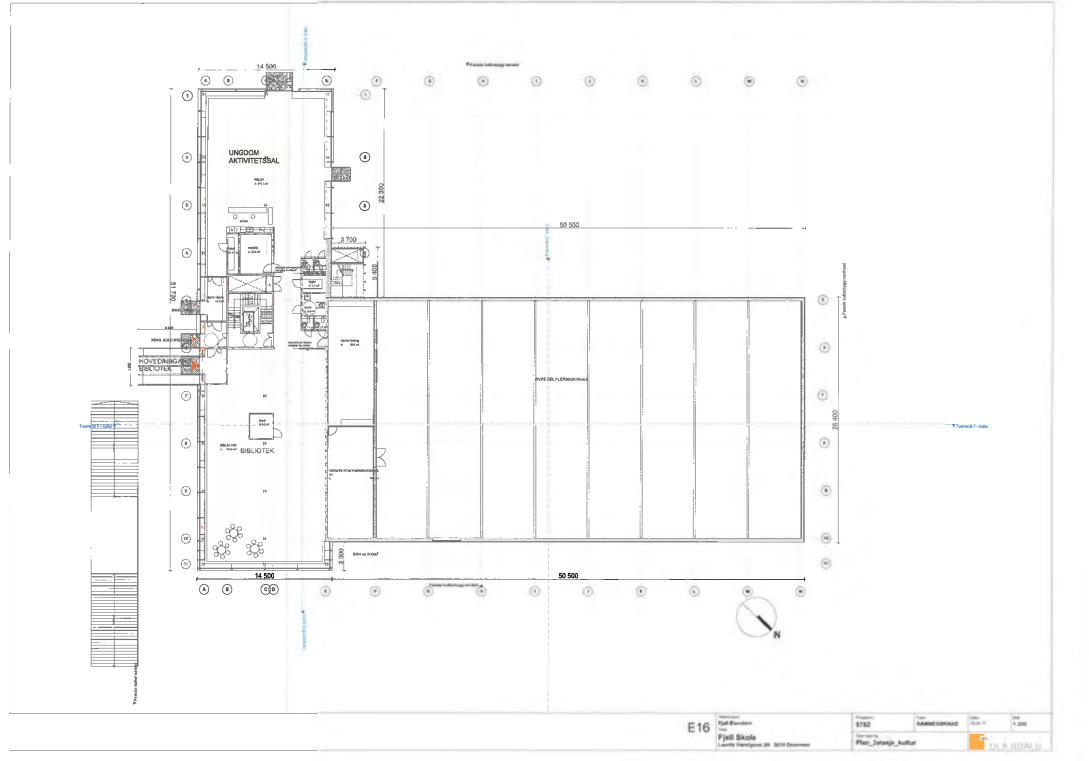
Fjell/Sites of Publicness

- 1: New school and hub
- 2: Ad hoc gardens and play
- 3: Fjellhagen parking lot





Public sites of



Entrance level construction plan for hub from public planning record. ©Ola Roald, 2017



The hub's doors are locked with key card access. Signs alert to opening hours and closing messages. The building has often been closed due to the Covid pandemic.
©Melissa Anna Murphy 2020

1. New school and hub buildings: Framework agreements and policy that standardizes

An important part of renewal in Fjell was to create new outdoor spaces and to upgrade the school building which was long due. It was also a policy in the renewal to particularly target children and youth to ensure their education and further possibilities on the labor market. Another policy in the renewal was to engage the citizens in participatory processes in order to influence the changes in the materiality. Based on these premises a number of participatory processes were carried out, and many concrete wishes were translated into planning guidelines finally adopted by the politicians in Drammen city council.

Then the process of realizing the intentions in the physical upgrading started. While the renewal was organized as a separate cross-sectoral project with extensive participation, the design process and actual building were in hands of the usual municipal department, following their usual policy for building processes. This led to "mainstreaming" and standardization of the design, without public participation. The outdoor playground and equipment were standardized, because of the financing scheme that supported equipment for activity. A main element was a new building, Hub Fjell, where both the need of the school and the local community



The dark panels around the school show traces of temporary chalk and stone drawings as well as permanently scratched tagging. These marks do not appear on the colored panels.
©Melissa Anna Murphy 2021



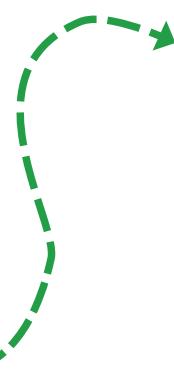
Colorful aesthetic from the renewal's place analyses
© Drammen Kommune, 2010

was to be achieved. The building program included sports hall for the school and youth club. In addition, the library, meeting facilities and offices for the various local organization was to move to this new building. They had so far been located in open and inviting public spaces in the former District House, which was to be transformed into a kindergarten, to replace a dilapidated public property on the site.

However, in practice, this move meant less accessible and inviting public spaces and facilities due to the differences in the lay-out of the two buildings as well as stricter policies on locking of doors in the new building. The design came from a firm with a framework agreement with the municipality rather than one of the three firms invited in for a design competition and involved in early participation processes. While the municipality objected to several of the design moves in the Hub building – including large blank walls, an absence of color, and the locked, unwelcoming entrances – these elements are still apparent in the built result. Municipal informants from the property development department explain the building's issues through concern for the budget and security. A former employee from the planning side explains it as inconsistency in anchoring the project and renewal goals when the project passed from one department to another.

"I'm just happy I got them to add the colored panels at the ground level. The people in Fjell appreciate a bit of color!"

– earlier Fjell 2020 leader about the hub and school buildings



Three different architectural expressions from the first architectural competition by teams involved in early participation processes with residents and school children (paralleloppdrag)



© DRMA, COBE & team, 2012



©C.F. Møller, Dronninga Landskap & team, 2012



©Eriksen Skajaa Arkitekter, Hindhamar AS & team, 2012

A green dashed arrow points from the bottom left towards the final construction proposal.

Initial proposal for construction by firm with a municipal framework agreement:



Publicness sites of

"During Fjell 2020, the municipality offered that they could upgrade our lawns and buy trees and vegetation, as well as bettering the pathways but we were not interested in accepting anything that would require more maintenance. They got to upgrade Dampa only after agreeing to take over the upkeep."

-Cooperative board member



Most of the space between the housing blocks at Fjell is anonymous lawn or asphalted areas.
©Melissa Anna Murphy 2021

"We moved here because this was the only place that was affordable for us to enter the housing market. I am from closer to Oslo and didn't have any connection to Drammen. When we moved here I was commuting to Oslo, but I got a job in Drammen(...) We do like the outdoor spaces. Every building has something but no one has everything, so we use a lot of the different play areas. We feel welcome everywhere, I don't think residents here know who belongs to which building."

-Resident

2. Ad hoc gardens and play: Cooperative anonymity
Fjell follows the Norwegian cooperative model of home ownership where the right to use a specific unit is sold at market rate. A monthly fee covers common costs such as interest on building loan, maintenance, electricity, TV/broadband, hot water, administrative costs and trash collection. This means that each unit within a building has an owning resident – or in seldom cases, an owner sublets for period limited by law. The unit owner is a member of the housing cooperative, with voting rights in yearly meetings and the potential to be elected to the cooperative's board. The cooperative board manages the property as a housing association, making decisions on behalf of the residents. The housing association formally owns all the buildings and outdoor areas of the cooperative's property. In Fjell, each cooperative encompasses several buildings and outdoor areas, so they also have named building- or entrance-responsible residents – "wardens" – who help to coordinate residents with the cooperative board. To what degree the different wardens are responsive to wishes from the residents varies.

We speculate that this ownership structure might have implications for publicness at Fjell. Residents do not own a share in the outdoor space or other common areas of the property. Many express not knowing which outdoor areas belong to which buildings or their rights to use different areas. In some cases, that means that residents use all



Pressure regarding maintenance, combined with the formality of asking building, board, and Fysentralen (maintenance company) permission yields ad hoc, temporary initiatives, but few more permanent resident-led installations. ©Melissa Anna Murphy 2021

the spaces on the housing estate without consideration for which cooperative or block they belong to (as reported for the adolescents in the Democracy exhibition), while others are leery of using spaces not belonging explicitly to them. This mixed approach to use of common space can also be found in similarly managed Norwegian condominium housing despite owners holding shares in common land, so may be more connected to other spatial and cultural aspects.

The use of outdoor public and common space is in transformation in Norway. While few used parks and gardens for sunbathing or picnics before the 90's, a steady change has occurred especially in cities. The Covid pandemic has further spurred this development. Since 2020, parks and common lawns alike in Oslo are packed with groups of people, but Fjell has not yet followed suite.

The relatively few resident initiatives we find in the outdoor areas are normally taken by people who have lived at Fjell for a very long time and are well connected in the community. Initiatives have either been planned and approved, or are ad hoc, temporary installations that attempt to bypass potential complaints. The process for approval goes through the building warden to the cooperative board. Outdoor initiatives often require further coordination with the company that maintains the outdoor spaces. Both board and maintenance company informants report that they are amenable to initiatives that promise to maintain part of the area, pending that they do not pose any obstacles for the regular maintenance around. Keeping costs low and avoiding conflict appear to be strong motivations of the cooperative boards.

During the area's renewal, the cooperative boards declined offers from the municipality to upgrade parts of the cooperative owned land. Dumpy's rehabilitation by the municipality on land owned in common by the four cooperatives showed the need for the municipality to take over maintenance responsibility as well as design and construction in order to upgrade the space.



Ad hoc resident garden and outdoor furniture initiatives at different cooperatives ©Lillin Catherine Knudzon



Typical benches tend to be moveable and standardized by building or cooperative ©Lillin Catherine Knudzon



Signage at one cooperative: "Ball play forbidden" ©Melissa Anna Murphy





Publicness sites of

"We have a car but we rarely use it. We usually walk to the grocery store and kindergarten with the pram and the bus is convenient for everyday use, even when commuting to Oslo."

– Resident

4. Fjellhagen Parking lots: Parking interactions

We see throughout Fjell that the area needs for parking squeeze out social uses, particularly in sun-filled areas of the estate. While there are social interactions that happen in the lots, like greeting neighbors in passing and performing minor mechanical tasks, the publicness potentials within a parking lot are reduced to those who own personal vehicles. As the site is well-served by public transportation, not every resident owns or regularly uses a car.

Although much of Fjell's area is already used for parking, the cooperative boards acknowledge the need for more. Some cooperatives have one designated parking spot per

housing unit, while others have less. In addition, "many units own more than two cars" – for example the residents who drive delivery trucks for a living or the extended families sharing apartments. When the municipality ran participation processes for the future of Fjell, early in Fjell 2020, the boards were consistent in not desiring densification or more housing on their properties, as well as expressing the need for more parking.

The original plan for Fjell placed a parking garage on the site of the Dumpa playground, which was never built. Sometime before 2003, a parking lot for paid public parking was built across the street from Dumpa, contrary to the zoning. This lot was expanded with 38 spots in 2013. In 2019, one cooperative board filed for and received a formal dispensation from the municipality for that lot and to build several new lots on what was originally zoned for small houses and for green space, bringing a total of 575 spots for the cooperative's 550 housing units. Hence the municipality has been pragmatic and allowed the expansion of parking even though formal procedures were previously not followed. Furthermore, it has agreed to changed use of area from green space to parking without a formal rezoning process that would normally take place.



Signage at new lot: "Reserved parking, unauthorized vehicles will be towed without warning." Vehicles must be registered to an address in the cooperative.
© Melissa Anna Murphy



© Melissa Anna Murphy

▶ Vi som er fra FJELL

Dec 26, 2020 - G - Ved parkering på gjesteplasser i LH 120 i kveld får jeg gebyr på 600,-. På gebyret så står det, Står over 2 plasser. Ved nærmere undersøkelse under snøen så ser jeg har parkert på en skråparkering. Er det slik med gjester i LH 120 at vi bør måke P plassene for vi benytter dem? i så tilfelle så orienter o...

27 50 Comments

Gjester kan parkere i 3 døgn(gjelder ikke firmabil, de kan stå 3 timer) og det hjelper ikke å flytte bilen da alle P-plasser anses som som et under hele borettslaget. Men for gjester som skal være på besøk mer enn 3 døgn kan dere kontakte borettslaget... See More

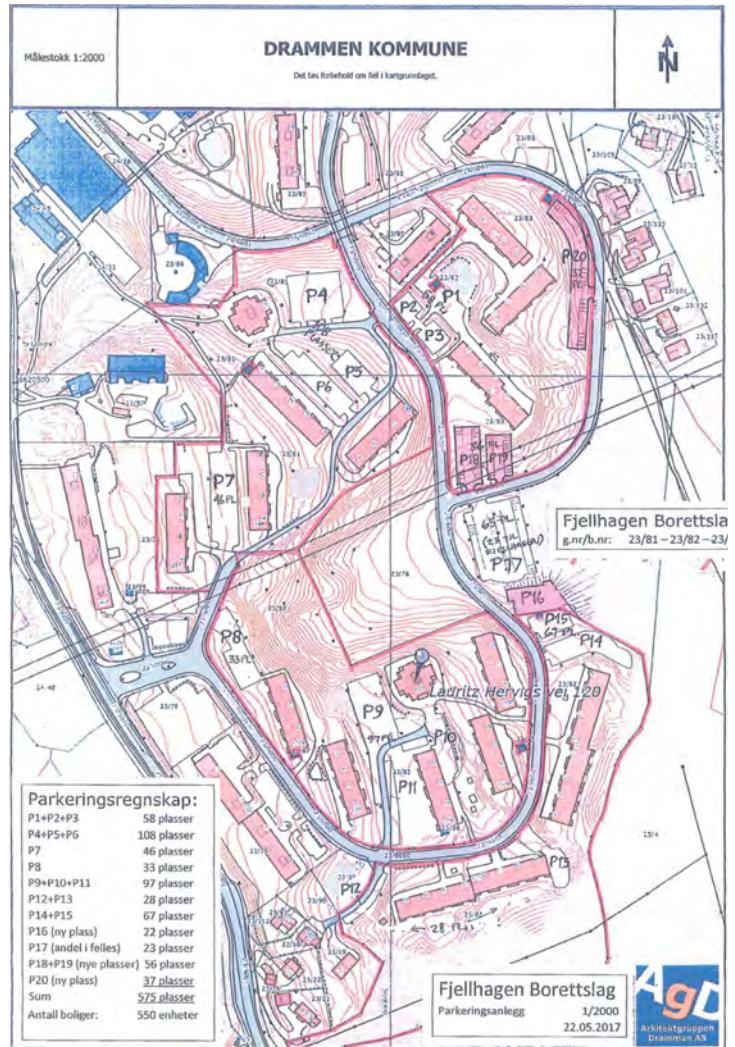
FJELL BORE FJELLAGEN.NO
Parkeringsanlegg - Fjellhagen Borettslag

Like · Reply · 21w

From social media, frustration over getting a parking ticket on wrong ground is aired. Most comments support the complainant and share other experiences of wrongful tickets. The story connects to the Fjell area Facebook group being a way for residents to share information about policies, as those who know where to find appropriate regulations will share those in the comments section for enlightenment.

Parking is a source of conflict at the cooperatives, particularly reported as problematic prior to designating specific spots per unit. Guest parking is also difficult on the estate and often a source of social media discussions. In such, we find both solidarity with the sharing of frustrations and opinions, as well as normative corrections. One parking discussion shows the comment: "Strange with so many Teslas at Fjell – they cost more than the apartments...", which was responded to in a manner telling of the group and Fjell residents:

"I don't often comment or share in this group, but I read next to everything that is written here. I grew up at Fjell and live here today. I like that we have these kinds of groups allowing those who LIVE here or VISIT to share what is good about Fjell and give constructive feedback on issues one disapproves or wish to improve. But there is a major difference to what you are contributing to this group."



Drawing from application for new parking, public record, Drammen Municipality 2017. Lot P16 is recently built, P18, P19, and P20 have been approved but not constructed.



Parking lot, completed 2020 resulting from resident participation © Melissa Anna Murphy



Site approved for future
parking, dispensation from
regulation plan



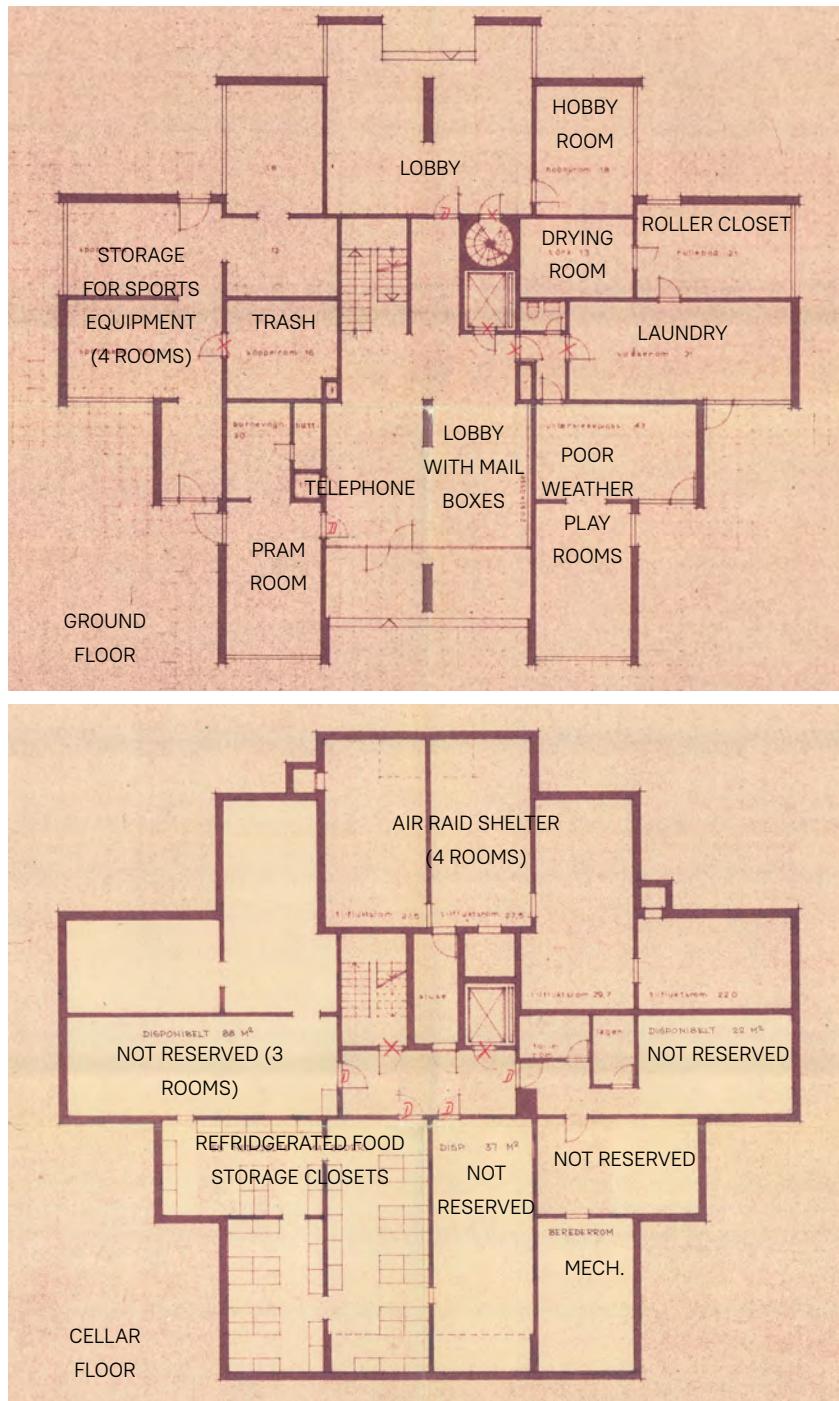
Changing common rooms

At Fjell, our case study area in Drammen, shared interior spaces from the original plans include common laundries, playrooms, social meetings or parties, bicycle and cold food storage. All of these are located in the ground floors and basements. We have witnessed many of these common spaces being adapted for individual unit storage and increasingly locked for security and ease of maintenance over time as society becomes more individualized and technology develops.

While it is not a goal for all spaces to maximize publicness, it is interesting to see how common spaces contribute to publicness at Fjell. In the high-rise, largest and most commonly accessed of planned common rooms that are locked – like baby carriage storage and bicycle rooms – can operate more like unlocked rooms if they are populated often enough to spark chance exchanges. An informant tells about kids bicycling through some of the storage rooms while their parents watch and chat. These potentials are further emphasized where there is furniture or shared amenities that encourage residents to spend more time – increasing the chances of meeting and interacting with others.

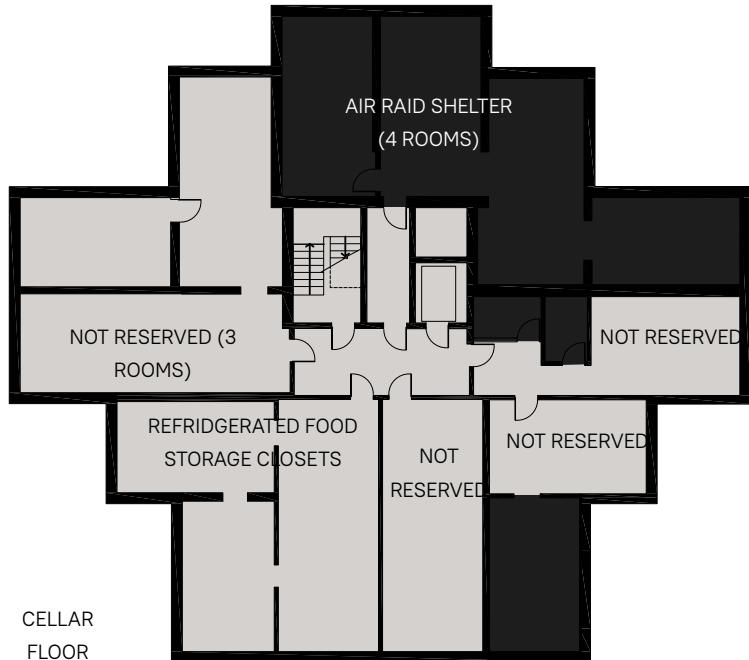
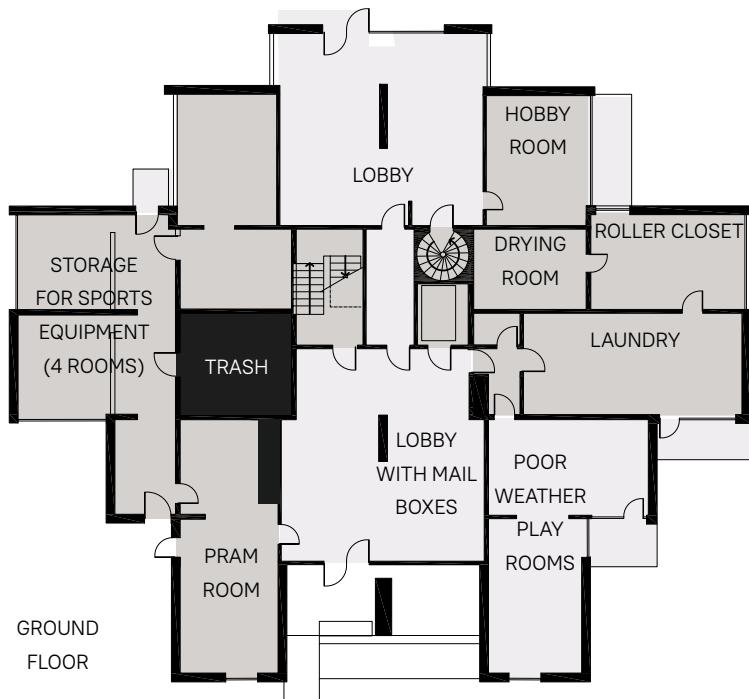
On the other hand, several spaces intended for common and low threshold use have become locked and require booking for use. While continuing to be a resource for residents, the threshold for use has been raised and they become less likely to support informal, chance encounters.

Building Plans 1965



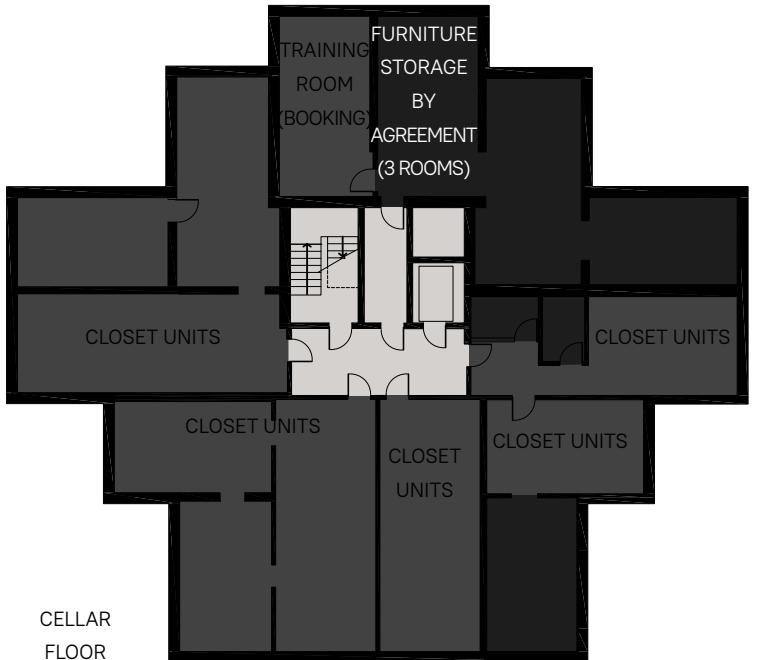
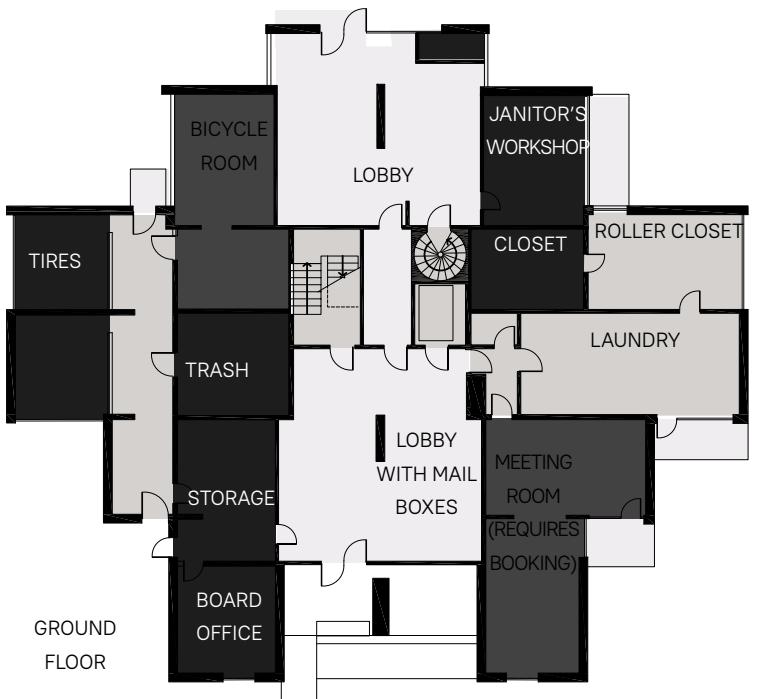
Degrees of publicness 1965

(darkest as least accessible for social interaction)



Degrees of publicness as used in 2021

(darkest as least accessible for social interaction)



1965 Play Room, 2021 Bookable Meeting Room

In 1965, this space was designated as a "poor weather playground" just off the reception of one tall block. Many of Fjell's buildings had play rooms planned, either by the reception or off the laundry or ironing rooms so that mothers could watch the children while doing collective chores. © Melissa Anna Murphy

"I knew this room existed, but I have never been in here. You have to book it by talking to the board. They have office hours one evening a week and make sure it's unlocked for whoever has booked it."

– Resident





Spatial preconditions for publicness

This spread is based on a conference paper presented at the Optimistic Suburbia II conference in June 2021. An expanded version with theory, images and data are published in a short paper in their conference proceedings (Murphy, forthcoming).

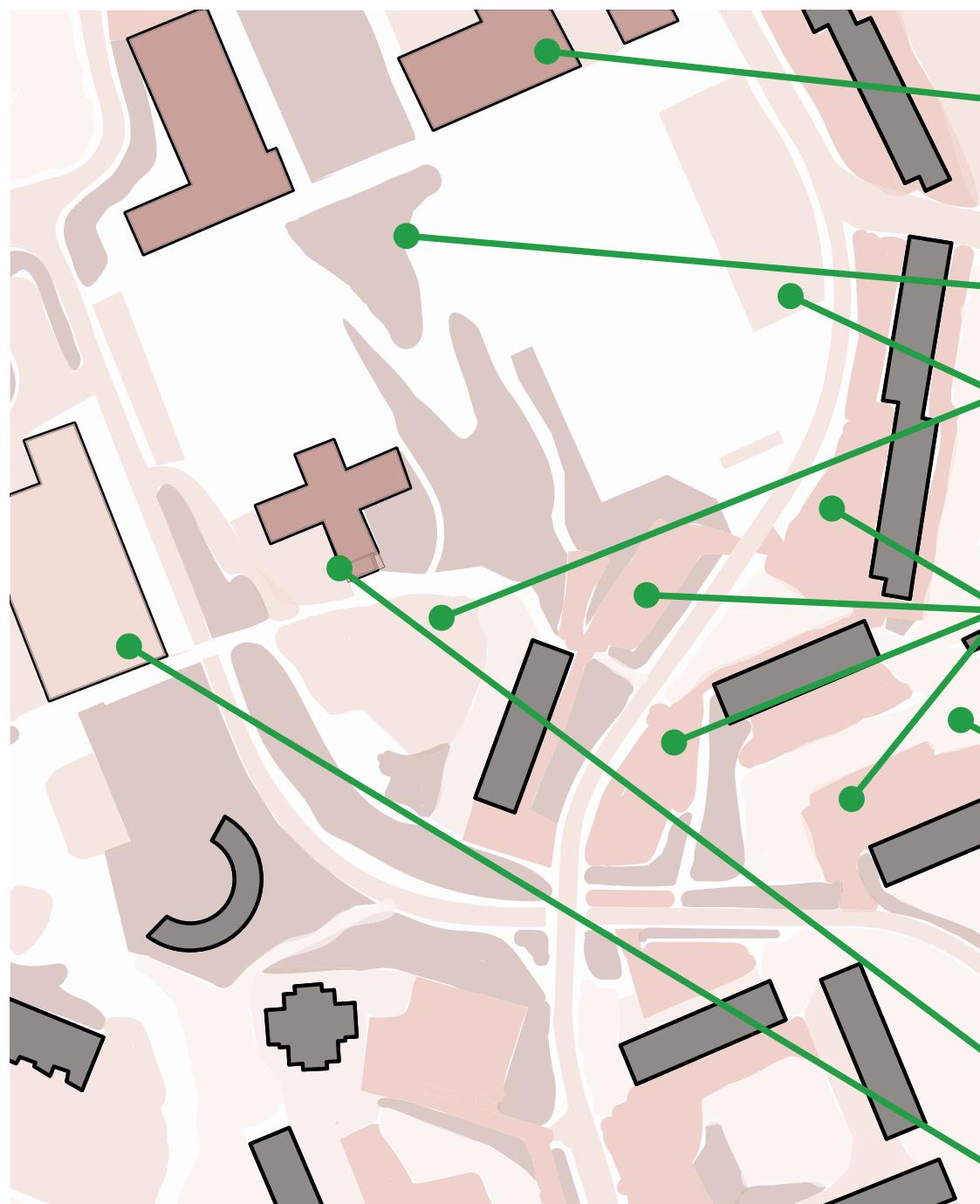
Policies and practices cause shifts between different zones of publicness, identified through policy access, material access, and psychological access rankings. The rankings are explained in the table and several of the policies that work through space are identified in the map. Several of these are results of the Fjell 2020 renewal.

Policy access – affecting the breadth of who is allowed to access a space, by level: 0 – access by one person at a time; 1 – access by an individual household and their personal invited network; 2 – access by residents sharing building floor; 3 – access by a defined subset of residents, for example one building's residents; 4- access by all estate residents; 5 – access by a subset of the general public, for example by reservation or membership; 6 – open access to all.

Material access – physical locks or restrictions on access, by level: 0 – locked, requiring access; 3 –

unlocked with deterrents to access; 6 – no material restrictions on access.

Psychological access – incorporating social norms, comfort, experiences, and perceptions encouraging spending time in a space, by level: 0 – high sense of discomfort, non-belonging, or otherwise discouraging to those without invitation, 3 – vague feelings of discomfort or being out of place to outsiders, 6 – comfortable and welcoming for all.



Policies and practices working through and upon the spatial to limit potential encounters:

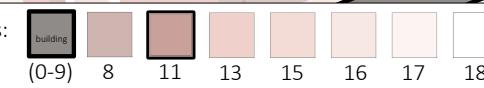
- Municipal tool framework agreements detach the final architect from early renewal planning goals: school and hub buildings locked with little transparency;
- Renewal goal of improving accessibility: makes useable space of a steep hill;
- Renewal goal focus on children and practice of separating programmes and age groups: new small, fenced soccer fields and several upgraded playgrounds do not accommodate for other synergistic uses or users;
- Parking need for flat terrain: dominates many outdoor spaces that could have afforded other uses
- Cooperative ownership: encourages low-maintenance, anonymous lawns
- Relocation of kindergarten to former district house fences and locks previously public spaces;
- Private ownership and costly upgrade needs: removed the central shopping center from renewal efforts despite promising preconditions for publicness.



0m

50m

100m

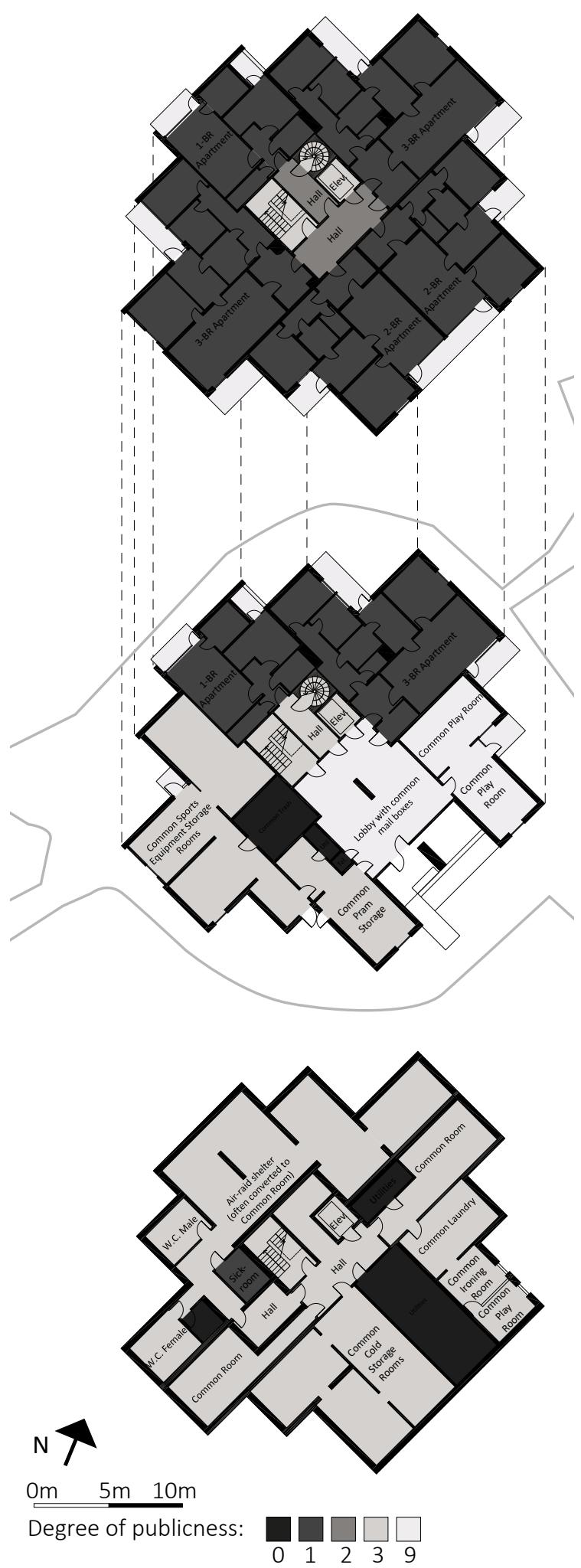


Indoor zones of publicness degree in a high-rise block (as planned) defined by policy, material, and psychological access:

Spatial description	Policy access	Material access	Psychological access	Sum
Interior spaces where people cannot meet due to access or size limitations.	0	0	0	0
Interior spaces where one must be a resident or invited for access accommodate the narrowest of publics.	1	0	0	1
Common hallways support chance meetings of all those living on the same floor of a building, plus their invited social network.	2	0	0	2
Locked, and very specific rooms common to a building or building entrance can support meetings amongst anyone in the building.	3	0	0	3
Unlocked indoor common rooms, stairs and elevators, including landings, lobbies, and private balconies that may support exchange amongst residents.	3	3	3	9

Outdoor zones of publicness degree defined by policy, material, and psychological access:

Spatial description	Policy access	Material access	Psychological access	Sum
Uncomfortable outdoor spaces that lack amenities and are too steep or wooded to be commonly used.	5	3	0	8
Elementary school, district house, and new hub building all invite a broad public for specific reasons and during restricted opening hours.	5	0	6	11
Appropriated spaces that are highly decorated and used almost exclusively by few residents with their invited guests.	4	6	3	13
Residential parking areas	4	6	3	13
Streets, driveways, and public parking	6	6	3	15
Shopping centre central in the site has a pizza restaurant and Turkish grocery with a great deal of potential to support chance meetings.	6	6	3	15
Extroverted appropriated spaces can also be found by most building's entrances with benches and picnic tables.	4	6	6	16
Playground areas designated by specific sport and age group and lacking amenities for a broader public than interested children and their caretakers.	4	6	6	16
Open lawns, local paths, free-situated picnic tables, shared waste sorting areas, and small playgrounds easily mix residents from nearby buildings.	5	6	6	17
Large central football field that accommodates many different types of uses and users simultaneously.	6	6	6	18
Sidewalks, bus stops, and main circulation paths through the site.	6	6	6	18



Farum Midtpunkt, Denmark





Farum Midtpunkt

Metropolitan Copenhagen



0 1 5 10 km

106



Farum Midtpunkt

Farum



0 100

500

1000 m

108

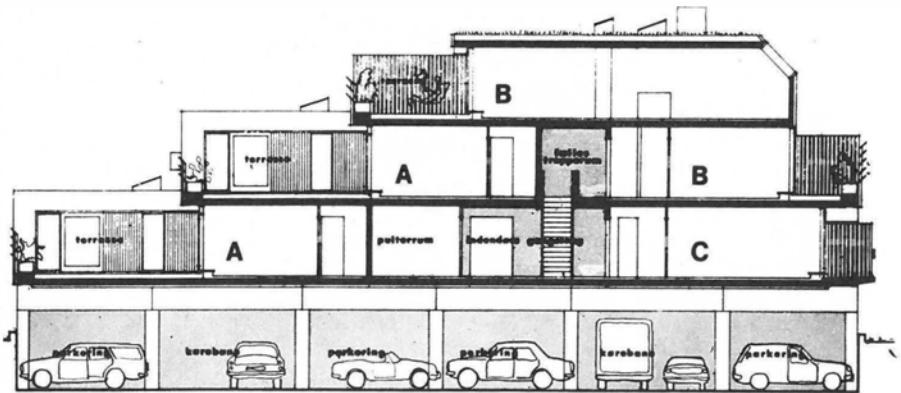


Farum Midtpunkt

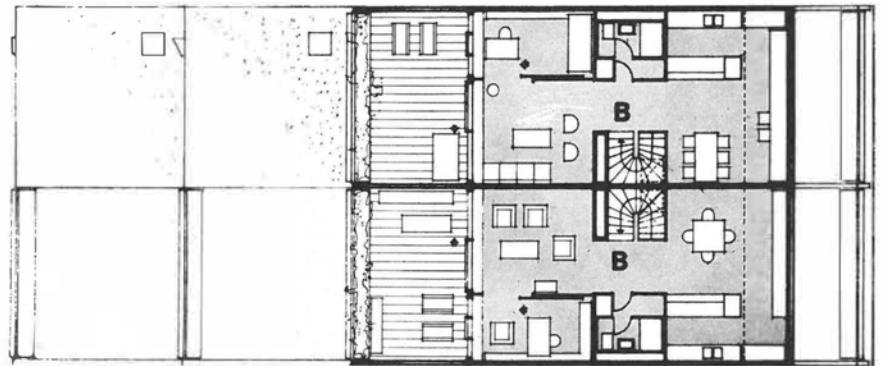
Metropolitan Copenhagen, Denmark 1970-1975

No of units/inhabitants	1580 units / 3500 residents
Ownership	Housing Association. A few buildings to the south owned by the municipality, containing care center for elderly, a rehabilitation centre and a cultural activity centre (in former school)
Organisation form	Non-profit rental housing including up to 25 % municipally allocated housing
Urban context	Suburb in metropolitan region
Overall spatial typology	Terraced megastructure with 24 3-storey blocks and 3 4-storey blocks on top of car deck
Functions	Apartments, kinder garden, bars, clubs, assembly rooms, municipal care center for elderly, senior co-housing, corner shop, parks and gardens, outdoor squares, playgrounds, and other communal spaces.
Citizen diversity	High. Residents with many cultural and language backgrounds. A large variety of income groups, agegroups, small and large households etc.
Current initiatives	Recent social and physical projects with a high degree of resident participation
Apartment Sizes	Type A and D/130 Sqm/ 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms Type B and Type C/55 Sqm/ 1 bed-and-living-room, 1 bath Type E and F/129 Sqm/ 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms Type EV/ 70 Sqm/1 bedroom, 1 bathroom Type G/98 Sqm/2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type Qth and Qtv/ 80,5 Sqm/ 2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type T/ 81 Sqm/2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type E3/ 99 Sqm/2 bedroms, 1 bathroom Type E1R2/ 61 Sqm/1 bedroom, 1 bathroom Type 'Dobbeldekker' 1.3'/99 Sqm/2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type E1R3 'Dobbeldekker' 2,2'/ 73 Sqm/2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type E2 'Dobbeldekker' 2,3/87 Sqm/ 1 bedroom, 1 bathroom Type 'Dobbeldekker' 3,1/ 87 Sqm/1 bedroom, 1 bathroom Type E1R4/85 Sqm/2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type 'Dobbeldekker' 3,3/ 87 Sqm/ 1 bedroom, 1 bathroom

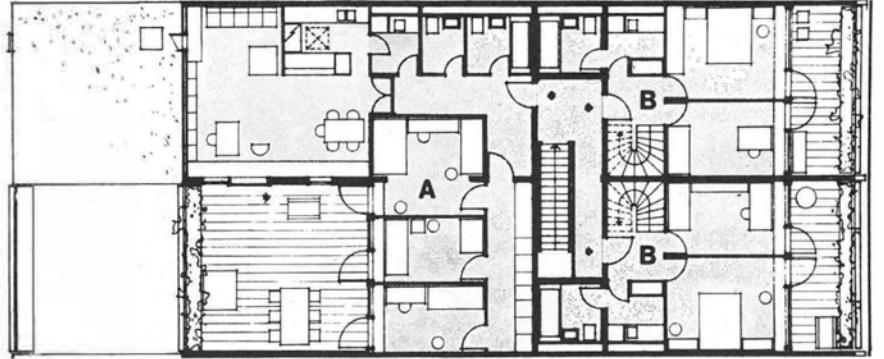
Typical section



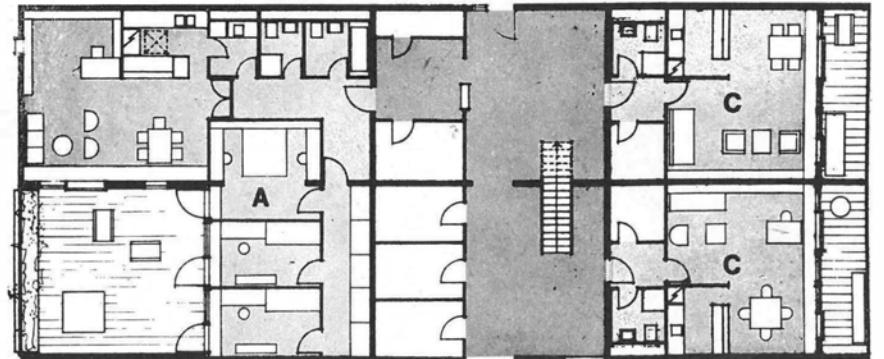
Floor plan Type B



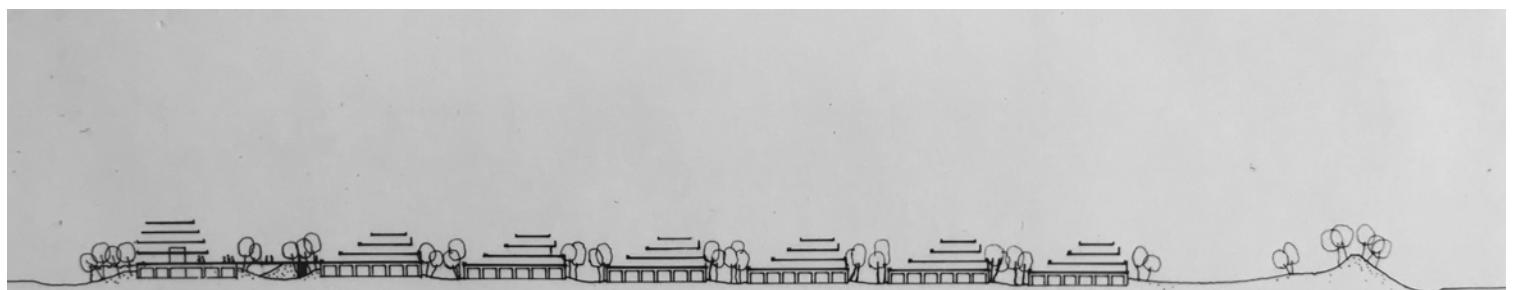
Floor plan Type A and B



Floor plan Type A and C



Diagrammatic section



Publicness and Heritage at Farum Midtpunkt

Just like many other large-scale housing areas from the 1960s to 1980s in Europe, Farum Midtpunkt is subject to polarising viewpoints on heritage; on the one hand, it is criticised for being a historical failure whose architecture has caused segregation and social problems, and on the other hand, it is being included in the architectural canon where it figures as a valuable document of Danish brutalism. What both of these positions share is that they leave little room for the local and diverse ways of life over time. Our research draws from heritage work that starts from the local – from the multiplicity of memories and concerns of residents and other local actors. Such perspectives, we believe, can empower disregarded residents and contribute to more just histories and futures. We are interested in how residents, employees, and visitors have practiced, understood, and altered the communal and public spaces 'on the ground', paying special attention to the negotiation of publicness and privacy in a long-term perspective. We ask: how has publicness been imagined, contested, and enacted in specific sites from the 1970s to today? Using microhistory as a research strategy we

chose to zoom into a particular spatial typology; the corridors within each of the building blocks. The micro-historical strategy allowed us to create a better understanding of these corridors as living heritage – as sites that have facilitated conflict and cohesion, and a multiplicity of different modes of privacy and publicness over time. We chose the corridors because they are one of the most contested spatial figures in the present – some residents experience them as spaces of danger, others mourn these corridors as a memory of the good old days with communal activities. They were also an important part of the original design concept and were celebrated during Farum Midtpunkt's initial years. With this micro-history, we aim to (1) add temporal depth and nuance to the understanding of the social capacities (or lack thereof) of Farum Midtpunkt, and (2) explore how the notion of publicness can expand and contribute to existing debates about Farum Midtpunkt as a form of heritage and its futures. Our diachronic studies involved archive research, oral histories, guided polyphonic tours and on-the-ground studies of the interplay between the material and the social.

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Research team:

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Timeline / Farum Midtpunkt

The landscape surrounding Farum Midtpunkt has been inhabited for thousands of years. Farum means river fjord, and the isthmus served as a crossing between the lakes Farumsø and Furesø. The many lakes in this area were rich in fish.

1100

Farum Church is built and the parish serves four former villages. Farum develops as an agricultural and market town.

Late 1800s

The landscape and lakes around Farum become a popular recreational destination for the cultural elite in Copenhagen.

1906

A railway line between Copenhagen and Farum opens, stimulating the development of Farum as a market town.

1936

to present. Regional plans (later the "Fingerplan" for the Copenhagen metropolitan region) are drawn up to protect the existing green zones and lakes in Farum from becoming residential, industrial or commercial zones.

1960s

Farum develops rapidly and becomes a suburb in the growing metropolitan area around Copenhagen. A growing need for housing in the region as well as local plans to place a new shopping center in Farum were used as arguments in favour of building a large housing

estate here to ensure a large customer base.

1966

Farum municipality designated 25 hectares of farmland for the housing estate and named it *Farum Midtpunkt*. It is situated the north of the planned shopping center, between a recently developed industrial area and a planned motorway. First sketch of *Farum Midtpunkt* (*midpunkt* can be translated as centre or midpoint).

1971

Construction begins on *Birkholm Terrasse* in the northern part of the plot.

1972

Farum Midtpunkt is acknowledged in architectural magazines for two characteristics in particular: 1) large sheltered terraces that enable residents to withdraw from public view, and 2) the interior streets and other communal spaces that were intended to support community engagement among residents. Housing exhibition *Farum Midtpunkt: A new idea for living* invited the public inside to view one of the first buildings in the project. Stylists from the lifestyle magazine *Bo Bedre* furnished some apartments

and an "interior street" to give an idea of what living there could be like. Both the exhibition and a special issue of the magazine featuring Farum Midtpunkt under the headline *Everyone is Welcome!* highlighted the options of withdrawing on the private terrace and of taking part in



Farum Midtpunkt presented in the lifestyle magazine *Bo Bedre* in 1972 with the headline "Everyone is Welcome".
/ © Bo Bedre, Benjamin Media A/S

various community activities. The interior streets included a "children's zoo with hamsters, fish and birds" and playrooms. The first residents move in. Farum Midtpunkt becomes popular among young, idealistic middle-class families with children. From the start, Farum Midtpunkt also houses Turkish "guestworkers" who are primarily men who live alone. A Turkish club is later established on Farum Midtpunkt's main street alongside other facilities for residents including cafes, bars, day care centres, laundry facilities and a housing administration office.

1973-1976

Ongoing discussions in Farum Midtpunkt about how to develop a "resident democracy" in the estate so that residents could take part in decision making processes. Resident democracy was a hot topic in Danish social housing at the time, and Farum Midtpunkt was an impor-

tant pilot project referred to in these discussions.

1974-1978

New residents of Farum Midtpunkt contribute to a landslide in Farum politics. Left wing parties and the new Environmental List (*Miljølisten*) became influential in the otherwise conservative market town. This change in the political makeup contributed significantly to pausing plans for a new shopping centre to the south of Farum Midtpunkt.

1974

Journalist Michael Meyerheim from the national newspaper Politiken enthusiastically describes the residents of Farum Midtpunkt "... many sociology and psychology students, who find it exciting to engage in the community and also to potentially use these experiences in their own studies." The inauguration of the construction of the primary school Bybækskolen to the south of Farum Midtpunkt which was built in response to the rapidly growing number of children.

1975

Farum Midtpunkt is completed. Residents of Farum Midtpunkt expand the number of residents in the town of Farum by more than one third.

1977

Located just south of Farum Midtpunkt the shopping centre *Bytorvet* opens, despite massive critique from shop owners in the old town centre and from the residents of Farum Midtpunkt who support left-wing, anti-capitalist policies. Over time, the shopping centre offers alternatives to or replacements for some the public functions of Farum Midtpunkt's shopping street, such as stores, cafés, etc.



First-generation residents in Farum Midtpunkt in its large green park, 1977. / © Henrik Fog-Møller

Farum Midtpunkt is a popular place to live for many young families. The landscape design plays a major role in an exhibition about housing shown in Copenhagen for the International Federation for Landscape Architects. Its green parks and playgrounds are featured in contemporary photos. Residents of Farum Midtpunkt demand more green space for the densely built housing area, namely the area north of the housing complex, for recreational uses such as a park and allotment gardens. After years of effort, a park and daycare centre open in the area north of Farum Midtpunkt.

1970s

New national policies make purchasing a house more attractive financially. Many middle-class residents move out of the rental apartments in Farum Midtpunkt.

Late 1970s-1980s

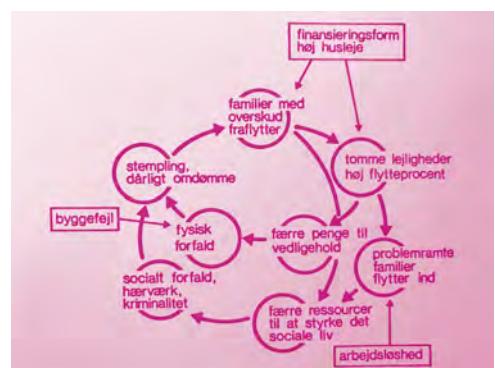
Residents of Farum Midtpunkt diversify and many of the well-educated, highly engaged pioneers move away. The average income of residents in Farum Midtpunkt lowers. Questions about public safety in Farum Midtpunkt are raised.

1970s-1980s

Farum Midtpunkt was planned for two-car households, but this never becomes reality. The extensive spaces for parking on ground level are partly unused and some residents report feeling unsafe in these spaces.

1983

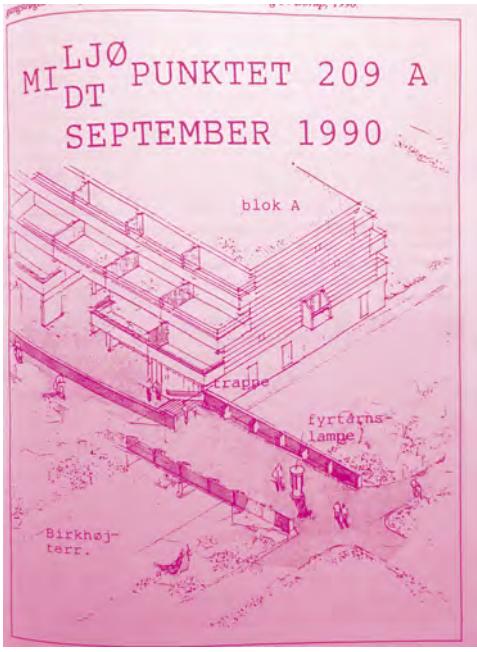
A survey shows that every third resident in Farum Midtpunkt is receiving social benefits. This survey contributes to an increasingly negative perception from the outside, characterized by questions about crime, vandalism and segregation.



Vicious circle in Farum midtpunkt, as identified by researchers in 1989: Unemployment leads to new residents with fewer resources, who are less able to contribute to the social life in the area, making it even less attractive, which leads to crime and decay and even more expensive rent and so forth. / Visual by Kirkegaard and Kaaris, from the 1989 report by the Danish Building Research Institute SBI.

1989

The Danish Building Research Institute publishes a report about Farum Midtpunkt, mentioning it as an example of a vicious circle, in which unemployment leads to many new residents with fewer resources, who are less able to contribute to the social life in the area, making it even less attractive, which leads to crime and decay and even more expensive rent and so forth. The report identifies problems of crime, structures falling into disrepair, vandalism and physical and social segregation.



New elevated walkway to connect Farum Midpunkt with the green park and the childcare centres to the north around 1990. / © Blokraadet Farum Midpunkt/KAB

1989-1992

First large-scale renovation of Farum Midpunkt is undertaken due to disrepair and damage to the experimental buildings. The cost of repair and replacement was approximately what it cost to build Farum Midpunkt originally. The project included a new elevated walkway to connect the main street with the green park and the childcare centres to the north of Farum Midpunkt.

1993

A new stairway and square to the south connects Farum Midpunkt with the shopping centre Bytorvet.

1995

The first historical exhibition of Farum Midpunkt is presented by the local historical society in Furesø, including the narratives of residents of Farum Midpunkt. The exhibition provides an alternative narrative to the increasingly negative outside perception. The group applies linguistic reappropriation to the pejorative nickname *Rustenborg* (rusty castle) and reclaims the term with a positive association.

Rustenborg i vore hjerter

- Minder og stemninger fra 1970'ernes Farum Midpunkt

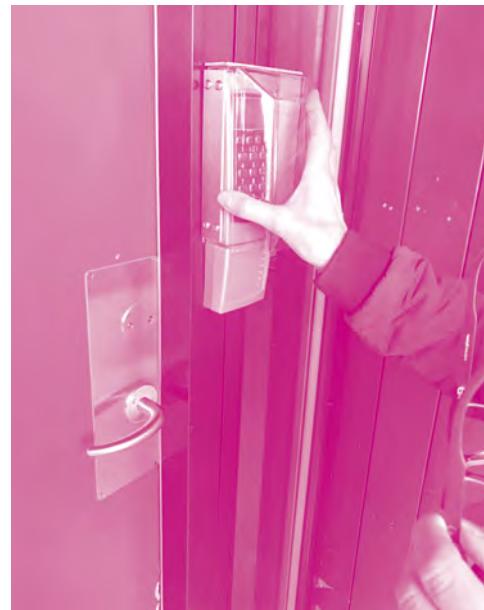


Farums Arkiver og Museer

In 1995 Farum Midpunkt's history was presented by the local historical museum, including the positive narratives of residents. / © Susanne Néve/The Museums of Furesø

2008

The building of the school Bybæk-skolen closes due to disrepair and a decrease in the number of children. Children from Farum Midpunkt attend schools outside of the housing area. This is regarded by some as a means of avoiding social segregation. The former school building remains empty for five years.



Lock on one of Farum Midpunkt's doors, which were open until 2012. The locks have been replaced multiple times and this image shows a more recent one. / © Svava Riesto

2012

The residents of Farum Midpunkt decide to prevent access to all interior streets so that only residents of each building have a key for access. The result is that many public north-south pedestrian routes in the complex are lost. The locks have been replaced multiple times and this image shows a more recent one.



Architectural competition to connect Farum Midpunkt better to the city, 2012. / © Vandkunsten

Architectural competition is held for the renewal of Farum Midpunkt and the school Bybækskolen, with the objective of connecting them better to the rest of Farum. The competition was a collaboration between Furesø Municipality and the philanthropic association Realdania. It served as a pilot project of the nationwide project *Future of the Suburb*. The winning competition proposal by Vandkunsten Architects has not been realized.



The five northernmost buildings in Farum Midpunkt are completely renovated to remove PCBs. / © Enemærke & Petersen

2012-2015

The five northernmost buildings in Farum Midpunkt are completely renovated to remove PCBs. Affecting 295 apartments, this was the biggest PCB renovation in Denmark

to date. PCBs were used in the first building phase of Farum Midtpunkt until the health dangers connected with this material were discovered. The rest of the area was built with lower amounts of PCBs.

2013

The derelict primary school Bybækskolen building reopens as a culture and activity center named *Stien* and houses cultural events, workshops and youth clubs.

2015

Svanepunktet opens as a municipal institution in two of Farum Midtpunkt's existing southern buildings facing the former school. *Svanepunktet* is a nursing home for the elderly, a rehabilitation centre and collective housing for residents 50 years old and up. Some residents of *Svanepunktet* were among the first generation to live in Farum Midtpunkt and have since become senior citizens; other new residents come from the town of Farum. The transformation of the building into new uses is nominated for the Award for Best Danish Building Renovations (*Renovérprisen*).

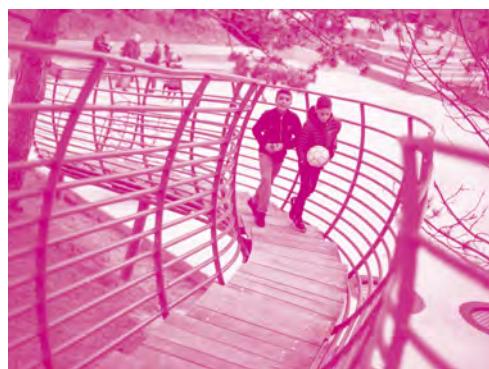


Image from the urban renewal project *Farum opens up*, by the foundation Realdania. As a series of design interventions, or "hot spots" are made for new activities in the outdoor spaces as well as a renewal of the large activity square. / © BoGL

2012-2015

Farum opens up is the name of a renovation and open space renewal project by the housing association of Farum Midtpunkt and the philanthropic association Realdania. The project aims to make Farum Midtpunkt's communal spaces more attractive again, to increase a sense of public safety, and to improve connections between different areas within Farum Midtpunkt, while also strengthening its connection to the town of Farum. The project involves creating new ways of moving through the area from north to south through the previously inaccessible green spaces (in response to the locking of entrances to the individual buildings and thus to the interior streets). Also, a large opening is made in one of the large housing blocks on the east end in order to provide better access to the road and bus stop. As a series of design interventions, or "hot spots" are made for new activities in the outdoor spaces as well as a renewal of the large activity square. The project is developed in close collaboration with the members of the residents' board and several workshops are held to involve residents in the design process.

2017

Farum Midtpunkt is appraised as being of national significance for its architectural and cultural historical heritage in a publication called *Rammer for Udvikling* (Framework for Development) by the Danish National Building Fund. Discussions on safety and vandalism are ongoing.

2018

Karens Plads is inaugurated on the site between the activity centre (the former school) and the nursing home and residence for the elderly, *Svanepunktet*.

2019

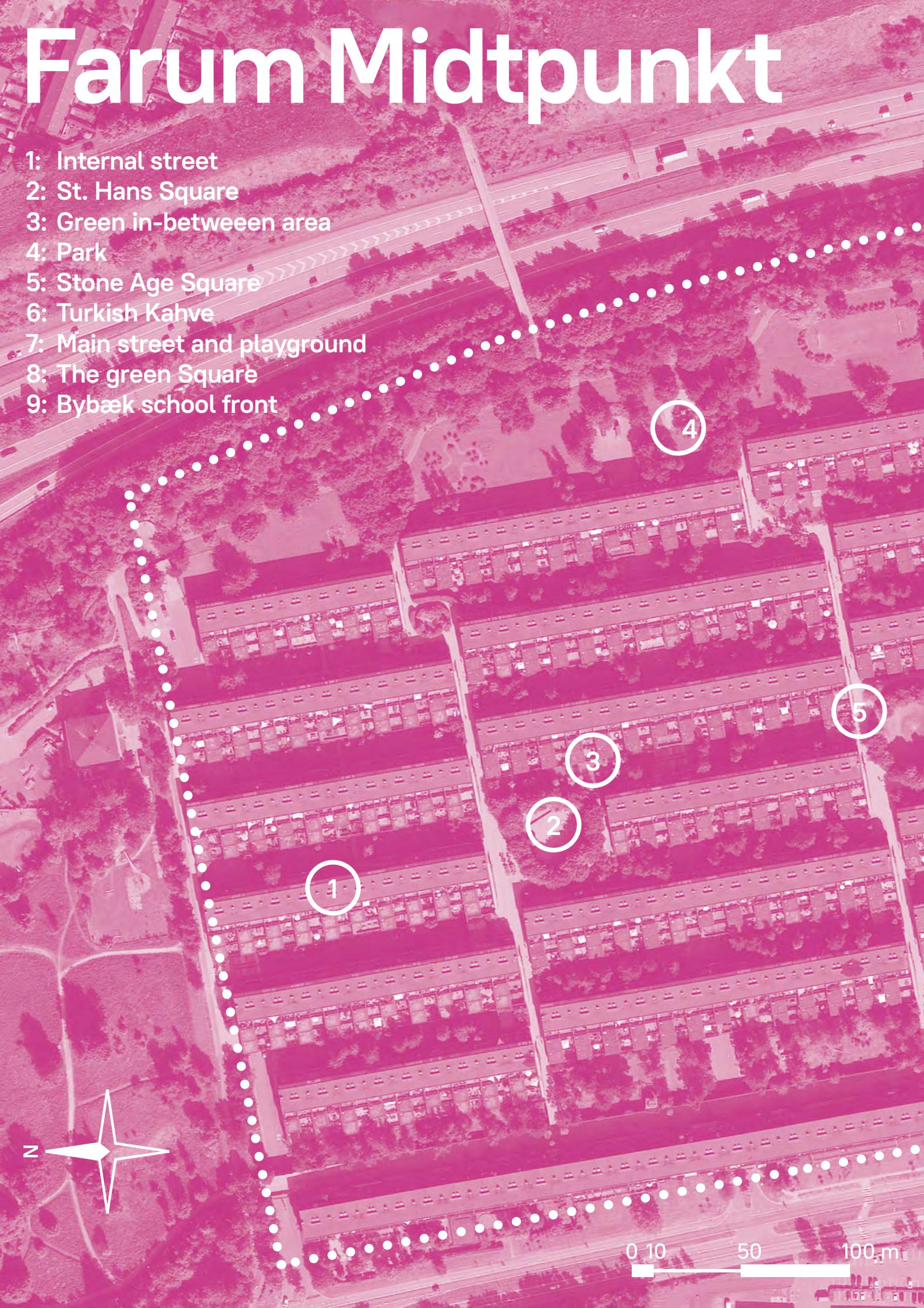
A new nursing home and residence for the elderly is under construction on the site south of the school.

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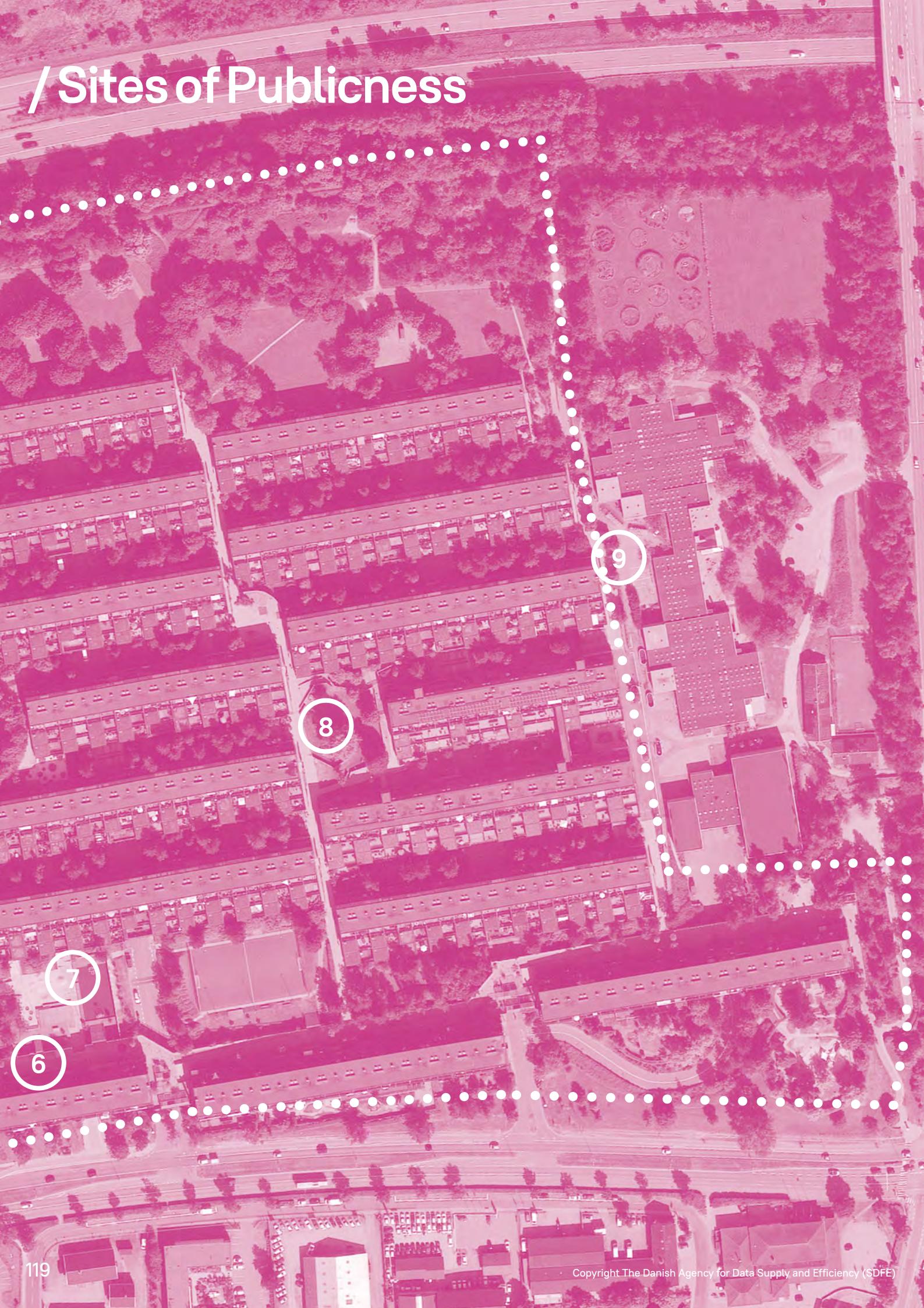
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Farum Midtpunkt

- 1: Internal street
- 2: St. Hans Square
- 3: Green in-between area
- 4: Park
- 5: Stone Age Square
- 6: Turkish Kahve
- 7: Main street and playground
- 8: The green Square
- 9: Bybæk school front



/Sites of Publicness



Publicness of interior streets

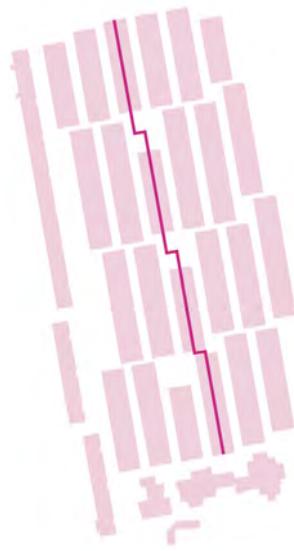


Diagram by Sara Folvig, Svava Riesto

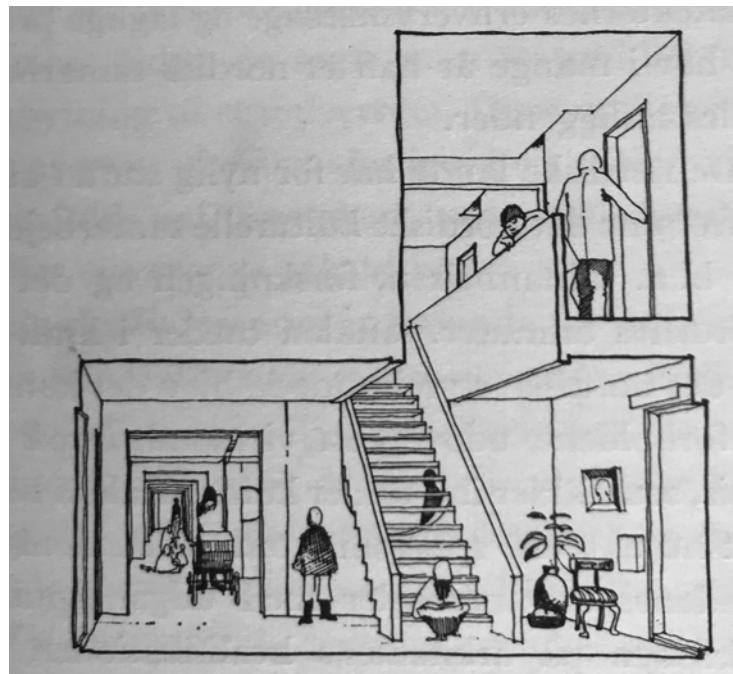
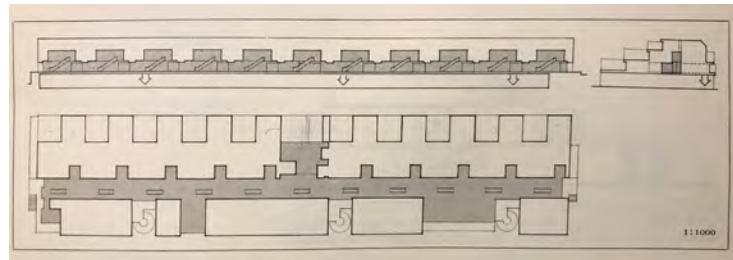


Diagram by Fællesteegnestuen, from Arkitekten 1972, p 453

© Bo Bedre, Benjamin Media A/S



Internal streets

The publicness of the wide corridors inside the Farum Midtpunkt buildings has been a subject of contestation over the years. Following ideas from international architecture at the time of design, the corridors inside Farum Midtpunkt were conceptualized as "interior streets" that would facilitate socializing opportunities for residents in small and large apartments. All apartments had entrances facing the interior streets, which also served as publicly accessible pathways through the area. The interior streets were the main pedestrian routes that ran in a north/south direction. The broadest parts of the corridor, the "interior squares", were planned as community spaces that the residents of each building could furnish, use and manage together. This idea became an important aspect in the many communication efforts to attract residents in the first years. Residents of some of the buildings transformed the interior squares into film clubs, art workshops, playgrounds, etc. These spaces were open to the public. Over time the common activities diminished. In the 1980s new fire safety regulations prohibited furniture in the corridors. In the same period, some residents and administrators expressed increasing concern about vandalism and public safety. The interior squares were then increasingly used for bicycle parking. After years of controversy, in 2012 the residents voted to lock the corridors so that only residents of each building have a key. Today, the future uses of these corridors remains contested.

The corridors of each house were conceptualized as "interior streets". All of the apartments have entrances that open to these streets – some from the lower floor, some from the upper, some large, some small. In the centre of each building, interior streets expand into open spaces, referred to by the architects as an "interior square".

The architects designed the interior streets to serve as social spaces that would encourage social encounters among the residents.

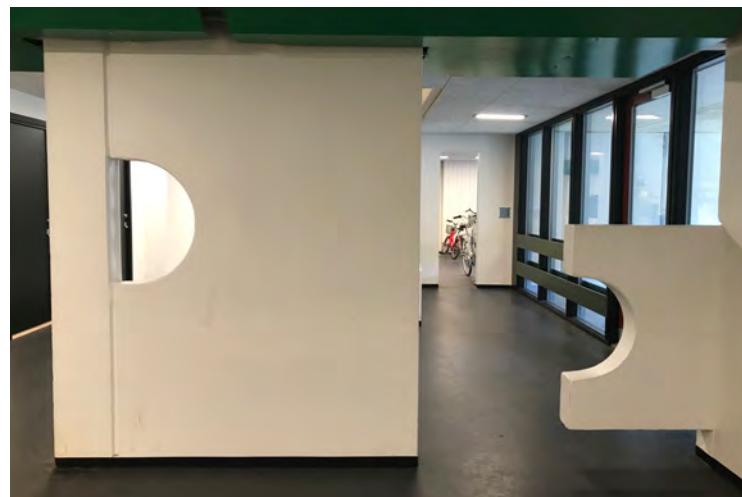
When the first part of Farum Midtpunkt was built in 1972, people were able to visit an exhibition in one of the buildings and sign up for an apartment. An interior street was furnished to suggest future uses by residents, who were encouraged to furnish and arrange these streets however they liked as long as the passage remained open for the public to pass through. The exhibited interior street had a shelf for a used book exchange and a wall where lost children's clothing was hung. The "front terrace" of an apartment – a concrete element to mark the transition between the apartment's entrance and the public street – had flowerpots and a hand-written sign on the door. Architectural details such as a circular wall opening at eye-level and the concrete element marking the front terrace were designed to encourage social encounters.



Drawing from the 1972 exhibition catalogue *Farum Midtpunkt – en ny bo-idé*,
©: KAB/Furesø Boligselskab



© Susanne Néve/The Museums of Furesø



© Svava Riesto

© Svava Riesto



This image from a brochure in 1972 shows how the interior squares were imagined as spaces that residents could use for multiple purposes, such as play areas for the many children living in Farum Midtpunkt, or woodworking workshops, jazz clubs and spaces to host parties. In the early years, some of the interior streets and squares served as gathering places.

During the 1980s and 1990s new concerns over public safety and vandalism made many residents stop using the interior streets for communal activities. The interior streets functioned simply as corridors for residents to walk to and from their apartments. This image from 1995 shows an interior street without any personal items and furniture, yet the photographer has captured two boys playing football and one sitting on the concrete element of what had been designed to be a "front terrace".

The interior streets are closed to the public and only the residents of the building have a key. In the newly renovated buildings to the north, *Birkholm terrasse*, the interior street has a new design that signalizes an "indoor" character that differs from the original concept of a "street". For instance, floors that were made from raw concrete tiles in the original design are now made of linoleum. The many architectural details remain true to the intentions of the architects to encourage people to linger, to lean over the concrete elements for a chat and to be able to see neighbours through the wall openings.

At present, the interior squares are used in a variety of ways. Many are used for storage and bicycle parking so residents can protect their bicycles from rain, vandalism and theft.

Farum Midtpunkt

Between the Formal and the Informal

In Farum Midtpunkt, everything was planned down to the last detail, from how individual terraces should be planted, to how craft tools should be shared among neighbours. These authoritative, strategic planning ambitions are highly present in the spatial organisation, landscape and architectural elements. Yet over the years, through numerous everyday activities, people have begun to use the spaces in ways that were not planned. Reacting to some of these often rigid spaces, people have invented new ways of using and being, of doing publicness, privacy and communalty in Farum Midtpunkt. Some intended spaces of publicness have become privatised, and new forms of publicness have begun to take place in spaces that were meant for parking, schoolteaching or shopping.

But this has not been the simple replacement of authorised intentions with informal uses. Rather, Farum Midtpunkt is characterised by multiple both/and situations. For instance, the authorised plan intended from the start to stimulate informal social encounters and creative uses. And some spaces that seem informal are actually highly planned and regulated. This allows an intermingling of formal and informal that characterises Farum Midtpunkt. Informalities are defined here as situations where people and other actors, such as dogs or plants, act in ways that counter the authorised initiatives, plans and narratives.

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Farum Midtpunkt

- 1: Car Park
- 2: Terrace
- 3: Green space
- 4: Mobility space



/Sites of Publicness



sites of publicness



© Svava Riesto

1. Car park – negotiating publicness
All of Farum Midtpunkt's buildings stand on a parking space that is roofed with decking and supported by large columns. Keeping all the cars on ground level was a way to ensure traffic separation, and there are car-free zones above the parking space, with pedestrian walkways, playgrounds and more. The parking space is connected to the three roads that lead in and out of Farum Midtpunkt, and it opens towards the forest-like areas between the buildings, which are also on ground level.

Planned for 2.5 cars per household, the vast parking space reflects the optimistic planning regime, which had little though for the ecological concerns raised by car use, or for the oil crisis that arose while Farum Midtpunkt was being built. The idea that all residents would be able to afford cars also proved to be too optimistic. Instead, because many parking spaces remained empty, the parking space became an empty space – for some people, a rather uncanny one. For others the space offers a shield from the public eye, which some young people in and around Farum Midtpunkt seem to find particularly attractive. The local newspaper has reported several cases of drug dealing in the car park.



© Bettina Lamm

© Svava Riesto

Today, large expanses of graffiti can be found in some parts of the parking space. This may seem to be an informal appropriation, a secret intervention by young people. However, although it looks informal, it is the result of a highly planned process: elected representatives (mostly seniors) from the tenants' association wanted to make physical interventions that would attract young people. They proudly present the graffitied wall and columns on guided tours.



A number of new 'hotspots' with installations to promote teenage play have been established – colourful swings, table tennis, etc. This was part of the Realdania renovation project in 2014, and was one of many attempts to stimulate informal activities and an informal look through planning.



© Svava Riesto



© Bettina Lamm

2. Terraces as borders between private and public

Privacy was an important guiding principle for Farum Midtpunkt's planners. Most of the flats – both the small ones of 50 square metres, and the large maisonettes of 150 square metres – have large shielded terraces (some flats even have more than one) that can be accessed from multiple rooms in the home. The terraces' borders are designed to prevent neighbours from seeing into the flats.

However, community spaces in the buildings that have different terraces. These were designed as more open towards the streets, squares and green forest-like spaces. The idea seems to be for community spaces to have more contact with the public than the private terraces have. Nevertheless, there are numerous signs that residents have intentionally changed the borders between their community spaces and the public domain of the streets. These small-scale variations are visible highlights in the otherwise uniform structures of Farum Midtpunkt.

Sometimes, planting boxes facing a public walkway represent a tactical approach to variation within uniformity, intended to shield even community spaces from the public eye, or perhaps from theft. Little by little, these small changes have helped to diminish the community spaces' public appearance.

© Svava Riesto



Many terraces on corners facing the green planted spaces and the pedestrian walkways tend to be shielded by curtains, furniture or other objects that block view by by-passers.

Publicness of sites



© The Museums of Furesø

3. Green happenings between privacy and publicness

When the first tenants moved into Farum Midtpunkt, these green spaces were without use. The housing association KAB suggested that eventually some of them might be developed into playgrounds, yet this idea was dismissed as it would be on the same level as car parks and roads would compromise the traffic separation, and thus the children's safety.

The landscape architect Søren Harboe called these planted spaces 'green happenings' where anything might occur over time. He planted tall pines, which later became a characteristic view from the flats above and the parking space at ground level, obstructing visual access from beneath or across the blocks.



© Svava Riesto

Although officially planned and maintained, the planted spaces between each of Farum Midtpunkt's blocks mimic wilderness. The forest-like areas between the buildings establish distance, shielding the flats' private terraces while also providing a green view. These spaces were an important element in creating the privacy that the planners assumed tenants would want, making the flats an attractive alternative to single-family houses for middle-class dwellers. The densely packed vegetation and lack of paths discouraged people from gathering in these in-between spaces on warm, sunny afternoons and evenings.

These forest-like areas are today one of the things that many residents treasure the most. Teeming with squirrels and a broad variety of bird species, they give the impression of shared 'natural areas' – for looking at, but not for entering.



© Svava Riesto

In 2014, however, the shape and official programming of many of these areas changed radically. The Realdania Foundation – Denmark's largest foundation for the built environment – initiated a renovation project to 'open Farum up [...] to increase the experience of community and the perception of safety'. The project was an attempt to make Farum Midtpunkt more attractive to new residents and new social groups. At the time it was difficult to attract tenants, due to e.g. the odd-sized flats, which did not fit people's needs, as well as problems of vandalism, perceived unsafety, and stigma. As part of the project, a new 'playful' path was designed in collaboration with the official tenants' association. This encouraged access through the green forest-like spaces for the first time. It also fostered publicness in various 'hotspots' with urban furniture and installations that encouraged play. These in turn led to new discussions, as many who lived nearby felt disturbed by the noise of people hanging out there. Not many people use these paths today, and the green spaces remain quiet, yet with a lot of birds and squirrels.



Unknown photographer



© The Museums of Furesø/Susanne Neve



© Svava Riesto

4. Creative mobility in the face of traffic separation

When realised, Farum Midtpunkt received praise for its strict traffic separation, which keeps cars away from the central street, playgrounds, community spaces, park etc. In line with ideas circulating in international architecture at the time, Farum Midtpunkt's planners wanted to ensure that children could play freely, and that neighbours could meet on the pedestrian walkways and squares without noise from cars.

But despite all the good ambitions of the official planning, the traffic separation also presented residents with numerous challenges. If you are moving from one flat to another, or if you have bought furniture at the local second-hand shop, you might wish that you were able to transport things by car or some other wheeled vehicle.

The adjacent shopping centre of Bytorvet, to the east of Farum Midtpunkt, has become the local place to go shopping. For most residents, it would make little sense to descend into the underground car park and then drive the few hundred metres to Bytorvet for groceries. Rather, they walk – but that can mean carrying heavy shopping bags over a relatively long distance. Such challenges are perhaps the backdrop for a special practice that characterises Farum Midtpunkt: people take supermarket trolleys from Bytorvet to bring their groceries home. This is a handy solution, since Farum Midtpunkt's concrete streets suit the trolley wheels, and all the buildings are accessible by ramps as well as stairs. The wide internal streets and many empty parking spaces are appropriate places to leave a trolley until the next time it is needed – or at least, trolleys can often be found here. This spatial practice, which seems well suited to Farum Midtpunkt's particular physical spaces, may even have enhanced the estate's relationship with the nearby shopping centre, making it a convenient place to shop. Undoubtedly, however, this informal practice amid the highly regulated traffic separation has been an efficient everyday solution. Yet, it has also provoked conflict over the uses of Farum Midtpunkt's spaces – and the ownership of the trolleys.

Renewed sites of publicness at Farum Midtpunkt

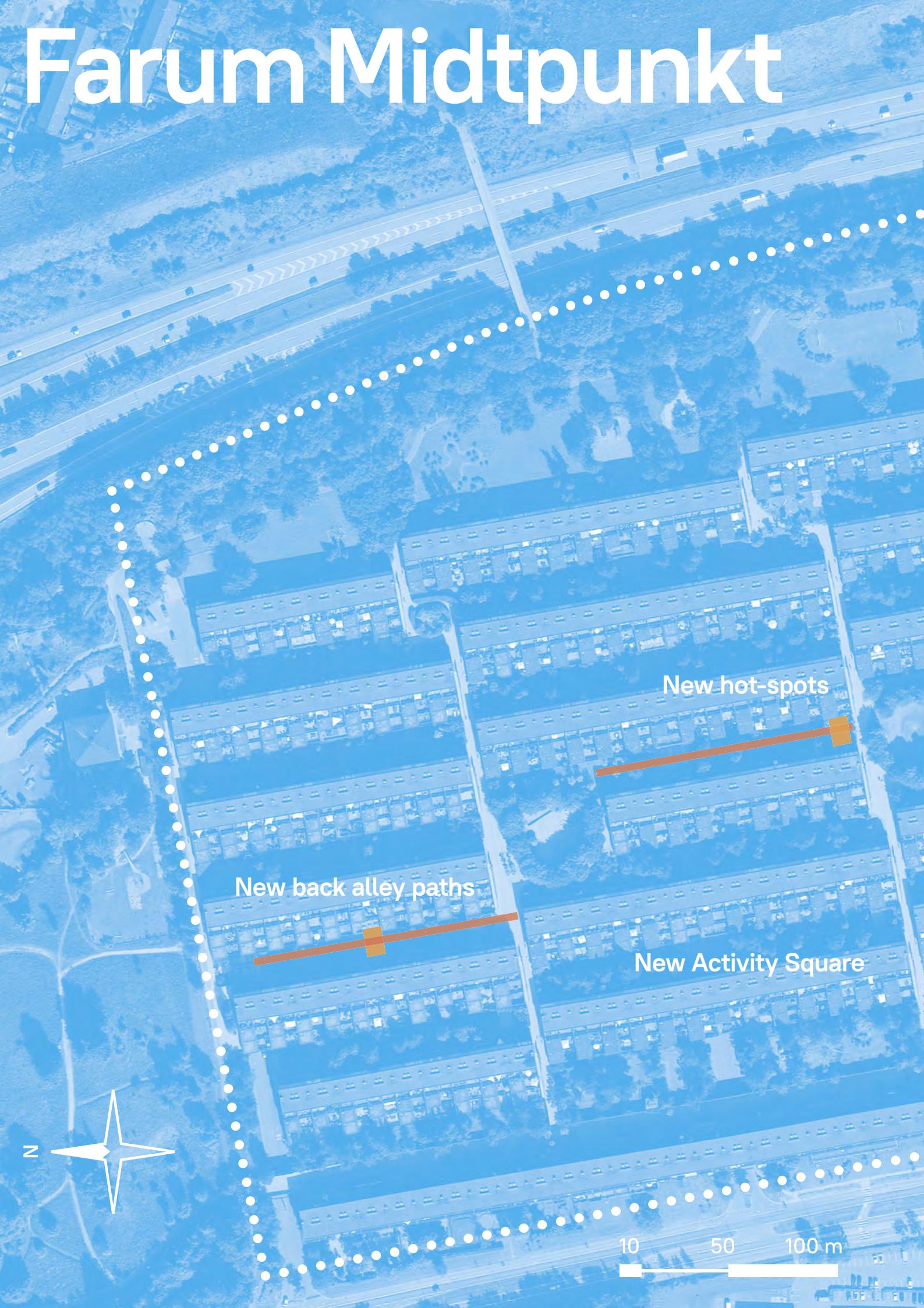
In 2014, many of Farum Midtpunkt's shared spaces were radically transformed. Realdania – Denmark's largest philanthropic association for the built environment – in collaboration with the local housing association Furesø Boligselskab and residents' representatives initiated a public space renovation project to "open up Farum [...] to increase the experience of community and the perception of safety". At that time it had been difficult for many years to attract tenants, due to the odd-sized flats as well as problems of vandalism, perceived unsafety, and stigma, among other factors. The project was one of many actions to renew and rebrand Farum Midtpunkt as appealing, active and safe in order to attract new socio-economic groups and new generations to live in the area. The redesign aimed to increase activity in the outdoor common spaces, open up central sites to the surrounding town of Farum, and thereby introduce new and intensified modes of publicness

in Farum Midtpunkt. The main investment was put into a new central space – Activity Square – and the reconfiguration of pedestrian circulation into and through Farum Midtpunkt. Designed by BOGL Landscape Architects and WITRAZ, the renewal introduced a bold aesthetic with materials such as wood, steel and brightly coloured play surfaces, in a clear departure from the 1970s architecture. The redesign works as both a continuation and a critique of the historical Farum Midtpunkt. Its materialities and architectural details partly reflect the penetrated concrete walls and round windows used on the estate in the 1970s. And just as in the original planning, the focus is on spaces where people meet, especially spaces for children's play. Yet the design also reconfigures the spatial order of the entire estate in radical ways that critique of the legacy of the 1970s. By focusing on one central square, it introduces a strong new hierarchy of public spaces to the modernist structure, whose shared spaces were previously much more decentralised and distributed in clusters adjacent to residents' homes.

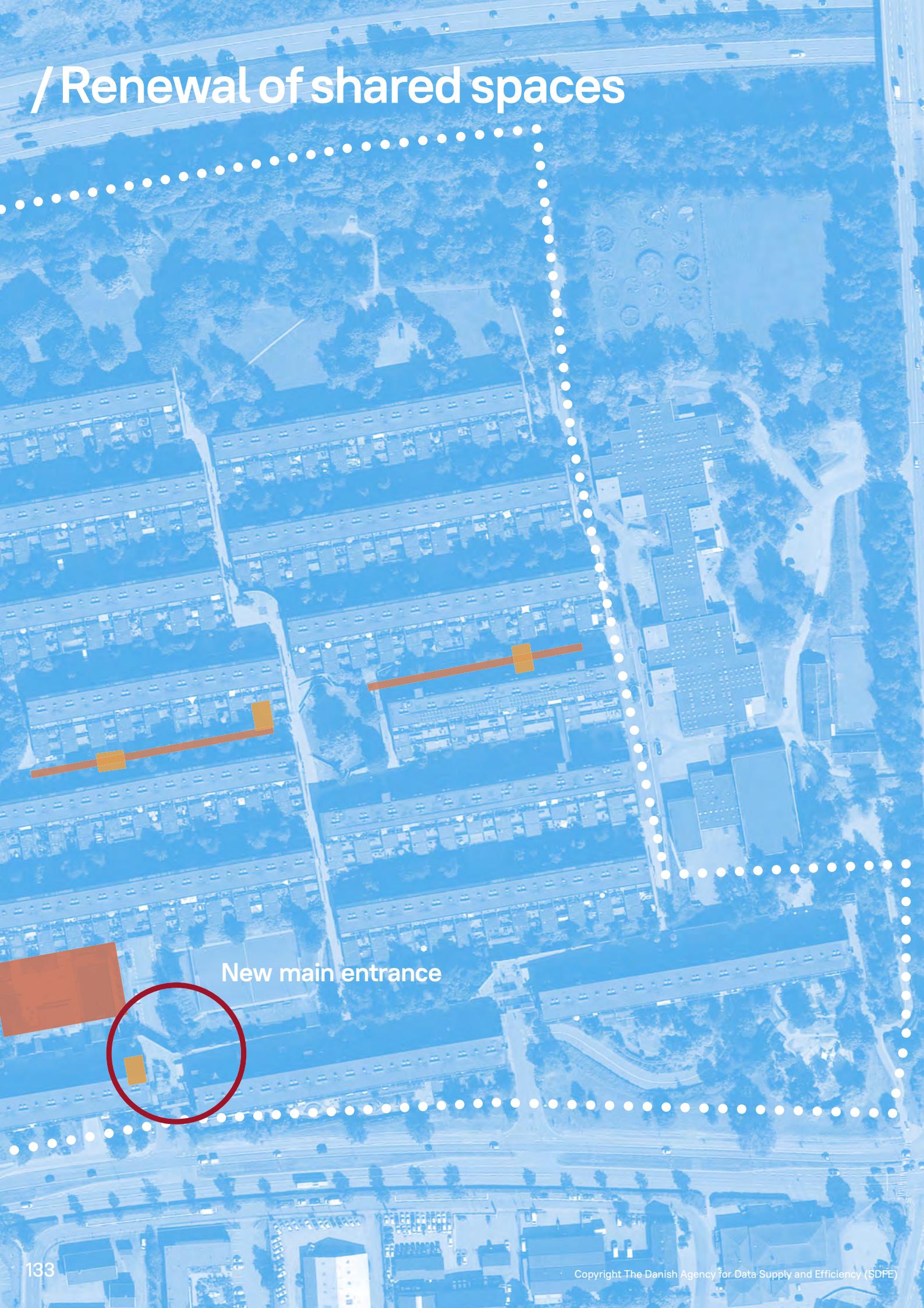
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Farum Midtpunkt



/Renewal of shared spaces



Renewal Process

Local aims meet those of large foundations

During the last decade, Farum Midtpunkt has undergone multiple simultaneous projects of renovation, transformation and physical renewal. These range from the almost total replacement of five buildings (295 apartments) due to PCB contamination to small resident-driven gardening projects and the making of a new exercise park for the many dogs in the area. These projects have been driven by residents' ideas and/or by strategic efforts to deal with the area's many vacant flats and the concomitant stigma, vandalism and decay. The most visible of these projects, which explicitly targeted modes of publicness in the area, was an open space renewal project carried out 2012–2015. Initiated by the housing association and particularly its resident representatives, this project – initially named The Environmental Ca(u)se (Miljøsagen) – aimed to make life in Farum Midtpunkt more attractive to those who already lived there, and to spark the interest of potential new tenants.

The project aimed at:

- making communal spaces more attractive through new design interventions.
- intensifying existing uses and stimulating active new ways of using communal spaces.
- increasing the sense of public safety.
- signalling a young, exploratory atmosphere.
- improving connections between different areas within Farum Midtpunkt while also strengthening its connection to the town of Farum.

The last two aims became increasingly important to the project, especially in its quest for funding. Realdania had issued a call for projects across Denmark on ways to renew social housing that might serve as pilots nationwide. Through this funding initiative, Realdania wanted to create exemplary physical renewal projects that were "innovative and creative" (nytænkende og kreativ), offered "high quality in form and content" and could create new connections with "adjacent urban areas".

The Farum Midtpunkt renewal project (which had meanwhile changed its name from "The Environmental Ca(u)se" to "Farum Midtpunkt Opens Up") now emphasised its focus on a young, exploratory atmosphere and on creating new physical connections to the surrounding urban areas – two selection criteria for Realdania's funding programme.

Farum Midtpunkt's Realdania application was successful, and it also received funding from the National Building Foundation. Thus, the renewal of open spaces took place without any rise in rents. This distinguished it from some of the other renewal and renovation projects in the area during the same period, and contributed to its largely positive reception among residents.



The Farum Midtpunkt residents magazine MIDTPUNKTET played a vital role in communicating the renewal process.



Stills from video following and documenting the collaboration process between architects and residents.

Representative democracy and other ways of engaging people in the renewal

From 2013 onwards, the designers, housing associations, residents and other stakeholders worked closely together to define where and how to make physical interventions to renew Farum Midtpunkt's open spaces.

The residents were active agents in this process in different ways:

Some were highly involved throughout the entire duration of the project. These were representatives of the local tenants' association, who in Danish social housing have a large say in all legal questions about physical renovations. Indeed, in Farum Midtpunkt the local tenant representatives have an especially strong role: every house chooses representatives for the formal block council (Blokrådet), which acts on behalf of residents and distinguishes Farum Midtpunkt from other housing associations. The most active members of the block council were seniors with

Danish cultural backgrounds who had lived in Farum Midtpunkt since they were young. This group served as commissioners on the project, doing a lot of voluntary work and gaining a strong voice in the process.

Other residents became involved on an ad hoc basis in less formalised ways. For a week during 2013, the designers BOGL moved all their employees into a space on Farum Midtpunkt's main street that was normally used for the housing association's activities. The designers conducted daily workshops with residents throughout the week. They also documented their work in a series of films posted on YouTube – a reflection of how important the designers considered the participatory process to be for the narrative of the project.

During one workshop, recorded on film, a designer exclaims: "There are no young people here!" They are sitting in a room with resident representatives who all look like seniors.



Workshop with children developing ideas for the activity square.

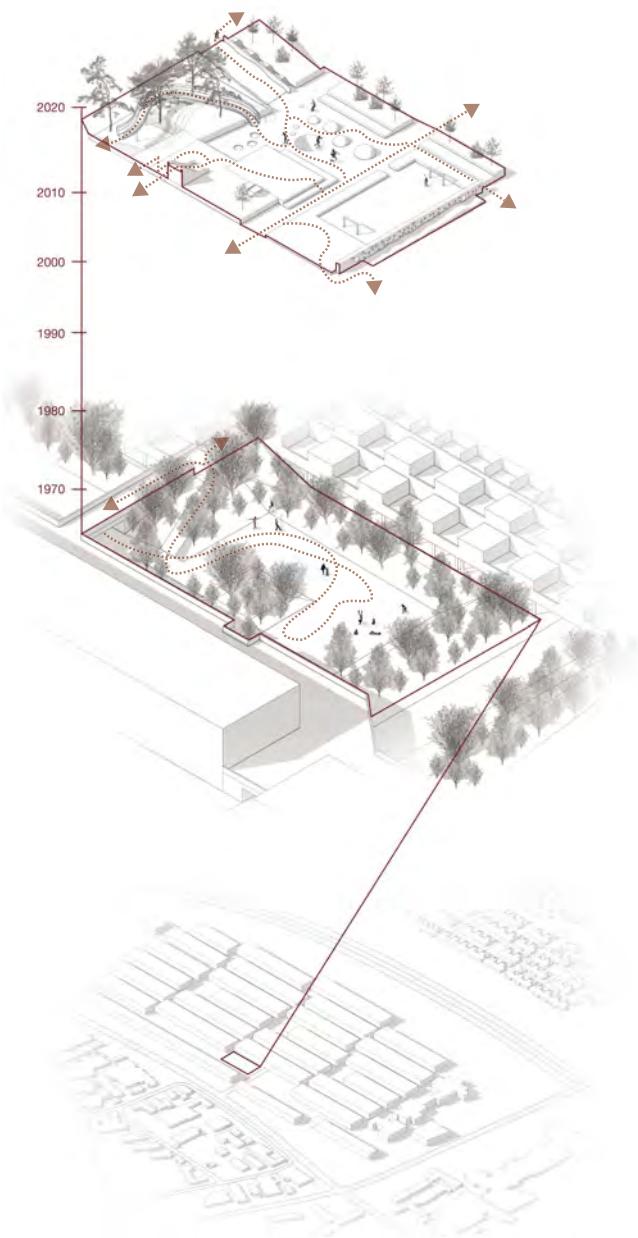


Workshop with children developing ideas for the activity square.

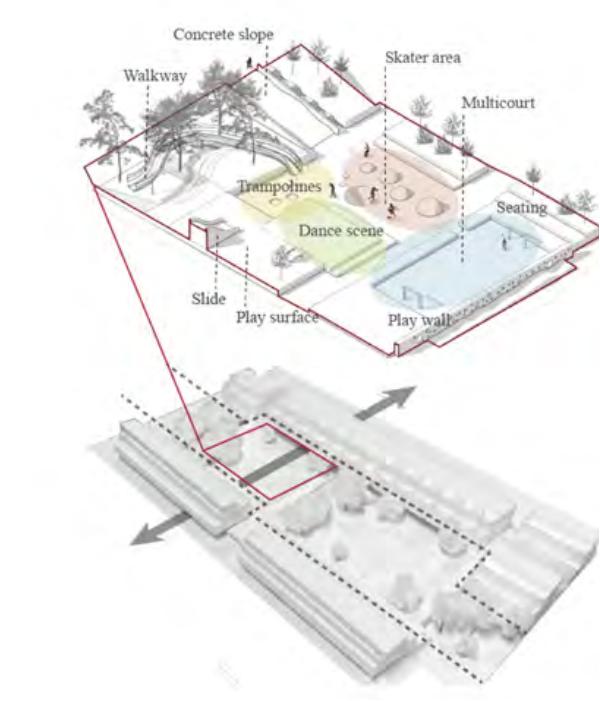
The film shows how the designers decide to go out and look for young people. If children and teenagers are the target group of the design, the designers say in the film, then they need to be part of the design process. The architects then interview some young people whom they seem to have met on the streets of Farum Midtpunkt. This is the only instance in any of the films where residents with non-Western backgrounds are part of the participatory process.

The architects conducted workshops with teenagers in the nearby Regnbuen youth club, where pupils go after school. Here we see the designers hosting a workshop around a table of models and drawings, discussing the placement, materials, shapes and usefulness of specific design interventions such as benches, slides and more. Gardeners and other employees are also involved in the discussion, the videos show.

One central space



A. © Leander Olkner



B. © Rikke Olivia van der Meer

A stage for publicness

The main investment in the renewal of Farum Midtpunkt went into the central public space: the Activity Square. Formerly a football pitch and lawn enclosed by trees and bushes, the redesigned space has a concrete ground surface that is modelled as a landscape juxtaposing a host of new spatial figures and arrangements. It introduces playable structures such as a climbing wall, a street basketball court, a skating area, trampolines and slides, as well as wooden and concrete elements that can be used for sitting, lying, jumping and more. The new Activity Square is organised as a stage for activity and movement, a place that attracts the attention of passers-by and has many more openings – both to enter and to look through – than were present before the renewal.

Its design is mainly oriented towards children and young people, and staging their play as a new core and an important mode of publicness in Farum Midtpunkt.

Although the new central space resembles the historical open spaces with their focus on children and sports activities, it does so in a radically new way: its colourful architectural language, and its many overlapping spatial figures, focus not only on play, but on performative modes of being. The architecture encourages skating, running and climbing, being seen by others, and watching others.

This penetrated, floating space introduces contemporary ideas about urbanity and liveability into the modernist housing estate by curating play, in order to activate public spaces and promote a performative public life.

A: The Activity square is placed in the western part of Farum Midtpunkt. It has always been an open space and was first a green lawn surrounded by trees (middle). With the renewal it has been redesigned into a paved area with multiple spaces planned for several activities (top).

B: While the activity square has been redesigned, the green space to its south has remained open (bottom). The new activity square design is envisioned to stimulate multiple activities (top).

Play, performance and urban liveability

The renewal of Farum Midpunkt rests on the idea that spaces come alive when people (especially young people) gather, play and interact. This is strongly in line with the prevailing ideas of Copenhagen City Council, which has guided many urban space design projects in the inner city since 2009. Copenhagen, which has famously been hailed as a "liveable city", has a strong brand as a site of contemporary ideas about urbanity, vitality, quality of life and "urban life". The open space strategy for Copenhagen's city centre says: "Urban life is what happens when people walk around and hang out in public space. Urban life happens in squares, in streets and parks, in playgrounds or on a cycle trip through the city. Urban life is: experience, expression, movement, as well as people meeting".

These ideas of "liveability" and "urban life" are echoed in Farum Midpunkt's renewal – in its imagined activities, its colourful and "young-style" materials and spatial design, its new centrality and its photogenic performativity. The renewal thus introduces a set of ideas about publicness that differ from those implied in the original design.

Sources

Metropolis for People, Municipality of Copenhagen 2009



The renewal introduced a bold aesthetic in materials such as wood, steel, and bright colored play surfaces that created a significant look, clearly distinguishable from the 1970s architecture. © Bettina Lamm



Plan drawing of the redesign of the shared space Activity Square. © BOGL Landscape Architects

stage for Publicness



Long wooden decks act as benches for informal seating, for lone individuals or small or large groups, along the edge of the square. From here, you can participate in the life at the square as spectator. © Bettina Lamm



The architects envisioned that the new design would stimulate multiple new activities. © BOGL Landscape Architects

Seating around the edges

Long wooden decks act as benches for informal seating, for lone individuals or small or large groups, along the edge of the square. The material makes them attractive to sit on, even on cold days.

Seating at the edges fulfils a vital function: it provides the imagined activities in the space with an audience, in addition to the passers-by who might look down from the main street or through from the car parks, and the performative spectacle appears complete.

This significantly changes the historical Farum Midtpunkt, whose terraces and facades were more introspective and did not give open spaces the same performative nature.

The edges also become spaces where parents can sit and supervise their children, who may be much further away from home than in the smaller local playgrounds of the original design.

In Farum Midtpunkt and many other sites in Denmark, football and spaces for it have a dominant position. Here a small court for ball games is integrated into Activity Square, with the football pitch next to it. An ongoing discussion is whether the terrains these occupy democratically represent the citizens in terms of who uses them.

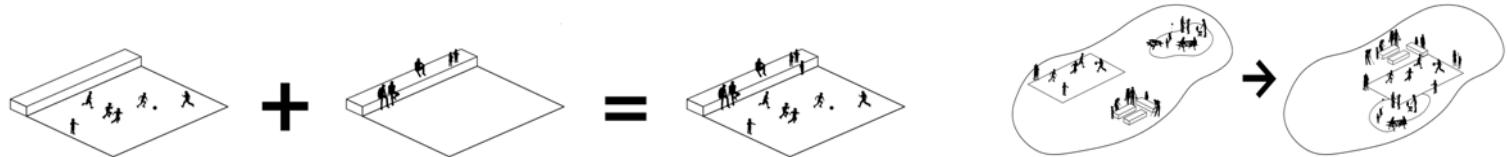
Aesthetics, materials and surfaces

With a strong focus on aesthetics and visuality, the renewal introduces a boldness in form and materials – including wood, steel and brightly coloured play surfaces – that

creates a distinctly visible division between past and present architecture. Activity Square introduces a new level of detailing and articulation to Farum Midtpunkt's design vocabulary. Surfaces are tactile, designed to interact with and respond to the body through touch and movement – sliding, jumping, running, sitting, playing, climbing and rolling. It is high quality, colourful and visible, and can be read as a critique of the housing estate's existing materialities, which are primarily rough surfaces of concrete and green vegetation. Yet the light concrete surfacing in Activity Square also works as a continuation of the 1970s architecture.

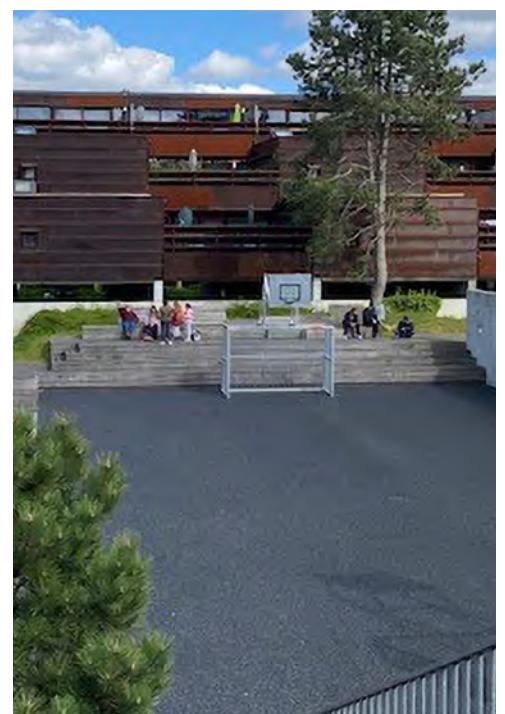


Looking down at the Activity Square from the ramp, you can see that the new space has multiple access points – stair, paths, slides and more – which seek to draw people to the space and create a sense of publicness. The modulated concrete surface is framed by trees and bushes, and works as the stage for the new and playful public life and playful interactions. © Bettina Lamm



The architects envisioned how the combination of seating and sports would create situations of publicness. © BOGL Landscape Architects

The strategy was to combine multiple activities in one square to enhance the sense of publicness. © BOGL Landscape Architects



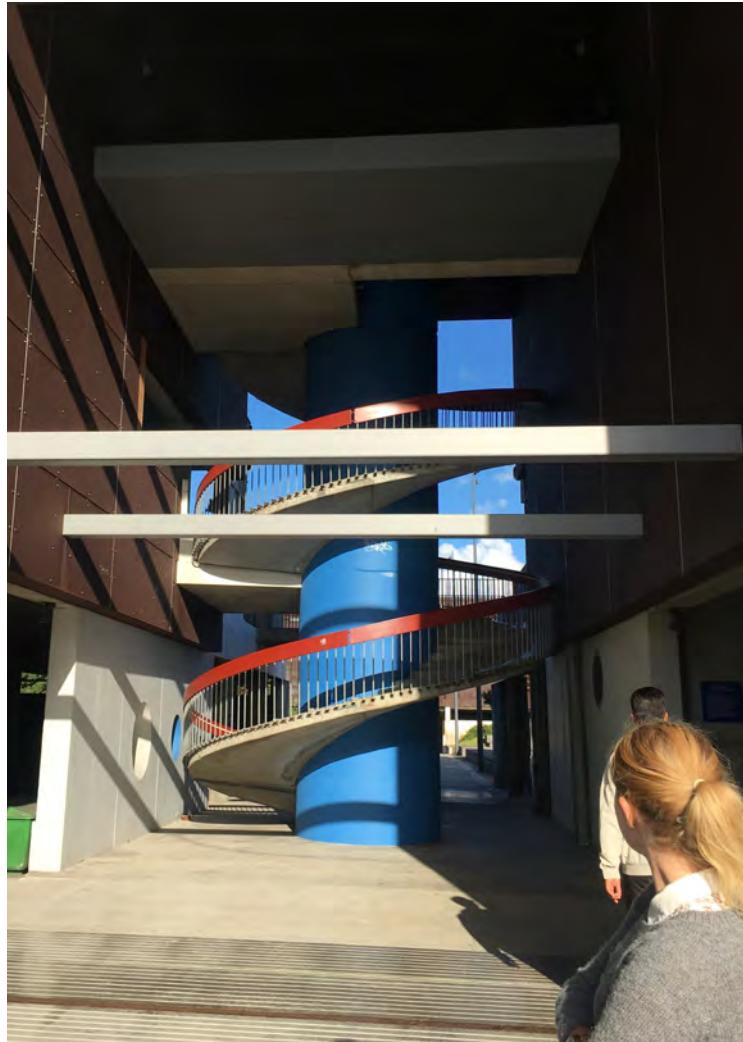
Play and performance as site animation / Aesthetics, materials and surfaces / Seating around the edges. © Bettina Lamm

Connecting levels

Excavating staircase

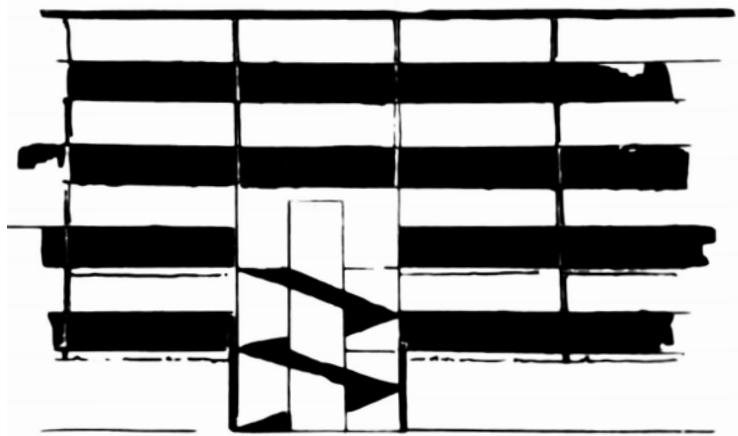
One of the entrances to Farum Midtpunkt – the main entrance for cars, although it is not very visible from the outside – has literally been cracked open, cutting through one of the building blocks. This new port or hole in the wall creates a new penetration of the border between Farum Midtpunkt and the surrounding neighbourhoods. It sits right at the junction between Activity Square and the large road and bus stop.

The staircase's blue colour and its lighting at night make this entrance not only a new connection, but a significant sculptural spatial icon for Farum Midtpunkt and the stated aims of drawing others into Activity Square and creating new connections with the city more broadly.



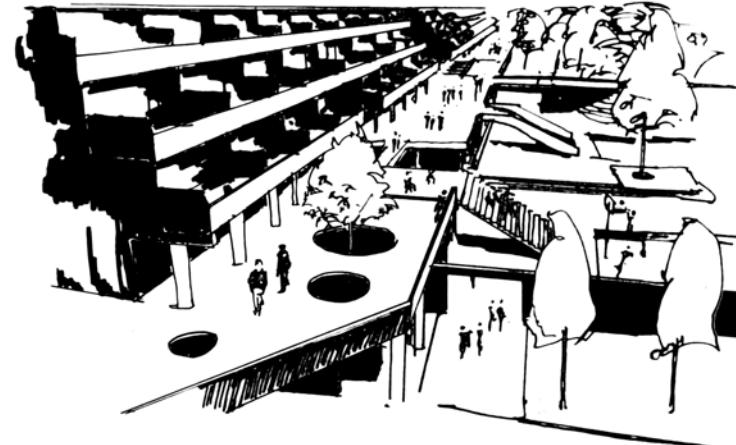
© Bettina Lamm

Following the project's strategy to open Farum Midtpunkt up towards its surroundings a new entrance was made by penetrating one of the buildings with a big hole just at the Activity Square. This reveals the existing staircase and showcases it as a unique cultural artefact.
Drawings and model photos
© BOGL Landscape Architects





© Bettina Lamm

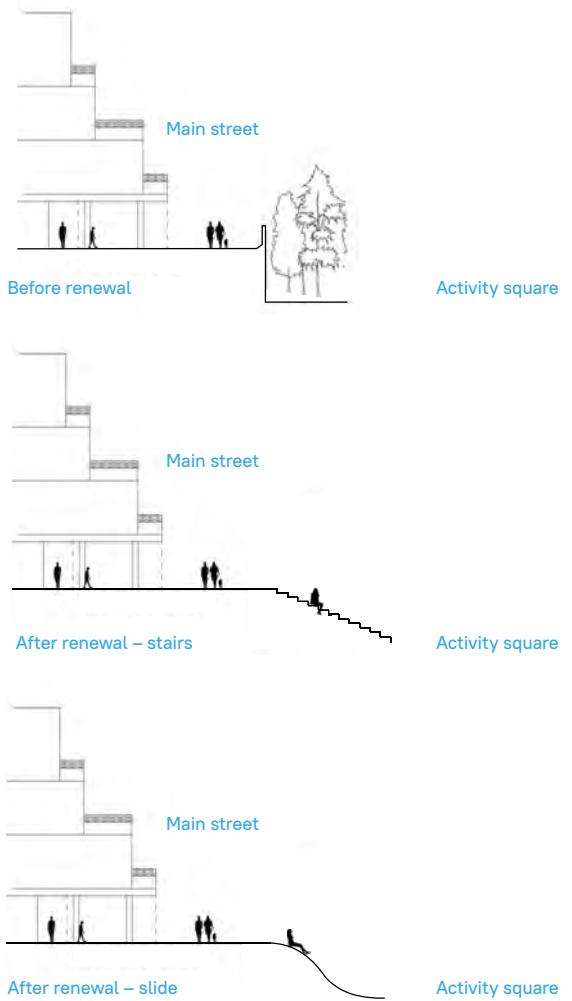


Connecting levels

The new central square design is characterised by its many entry points. Set in the ground-level car park, a variety of spatial elements connect it to the upper levels of pedestrian pathways and the main street, which includes central functions such as the housing association's administrative office, the nursery school, a shop, community spaces, a pub, a Turkish kahve and more.

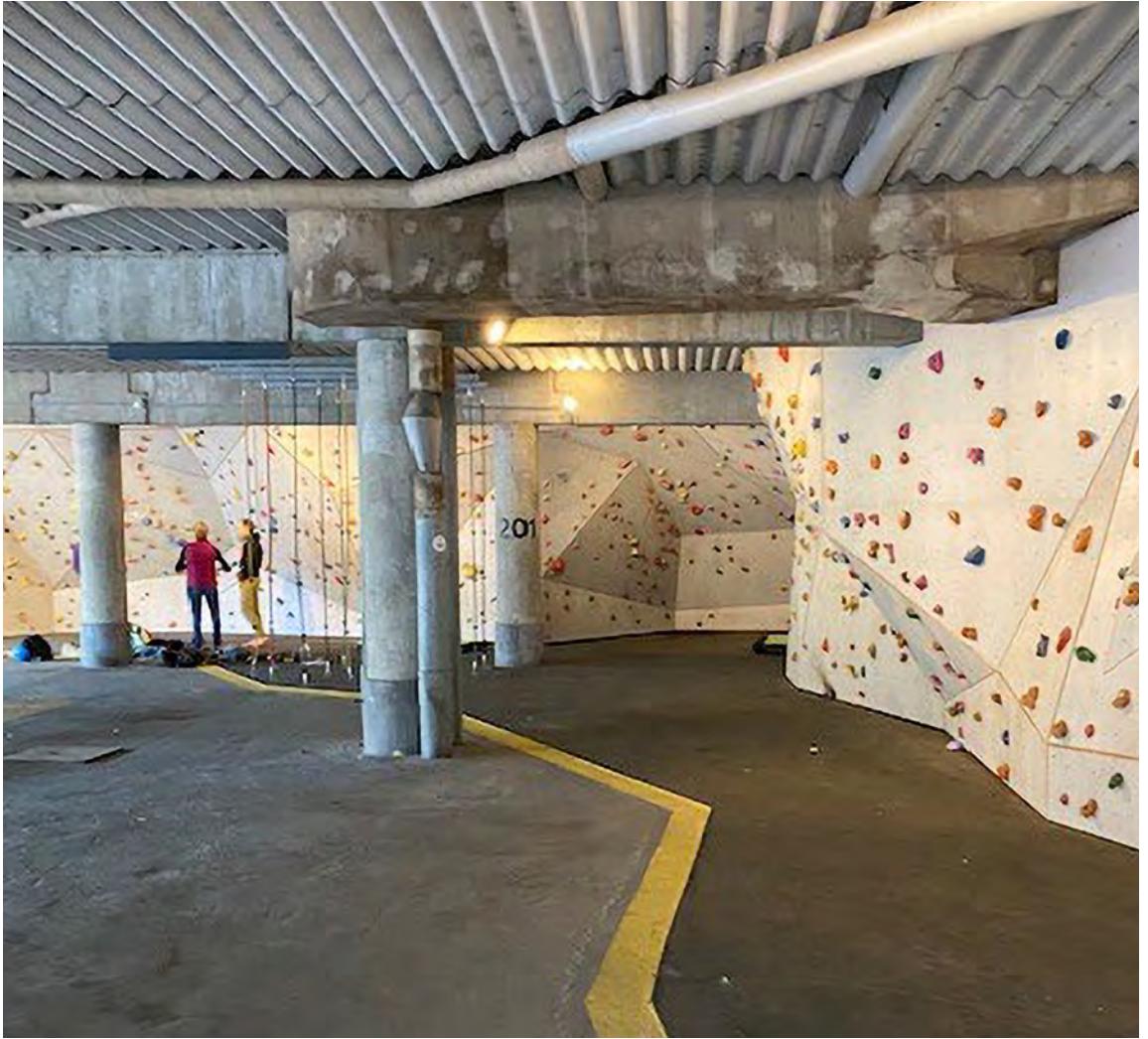
These new connections fulfil a functional need, providing easy access between the two levels. On the other hand, they are distinct architectural props. A slide, a wavy concrete deck, a broad staircase and a spiralling ramp all stage the site in different ways, with a new opening up of the ground-level car park towards the central Activity Square.

Each element offers a distinct experience: when viewed from outside, they display people on the move; when viewed from inside, they offer an embodied experience as part of the playable spatial programme.



© Rikke Olivia van der Meer

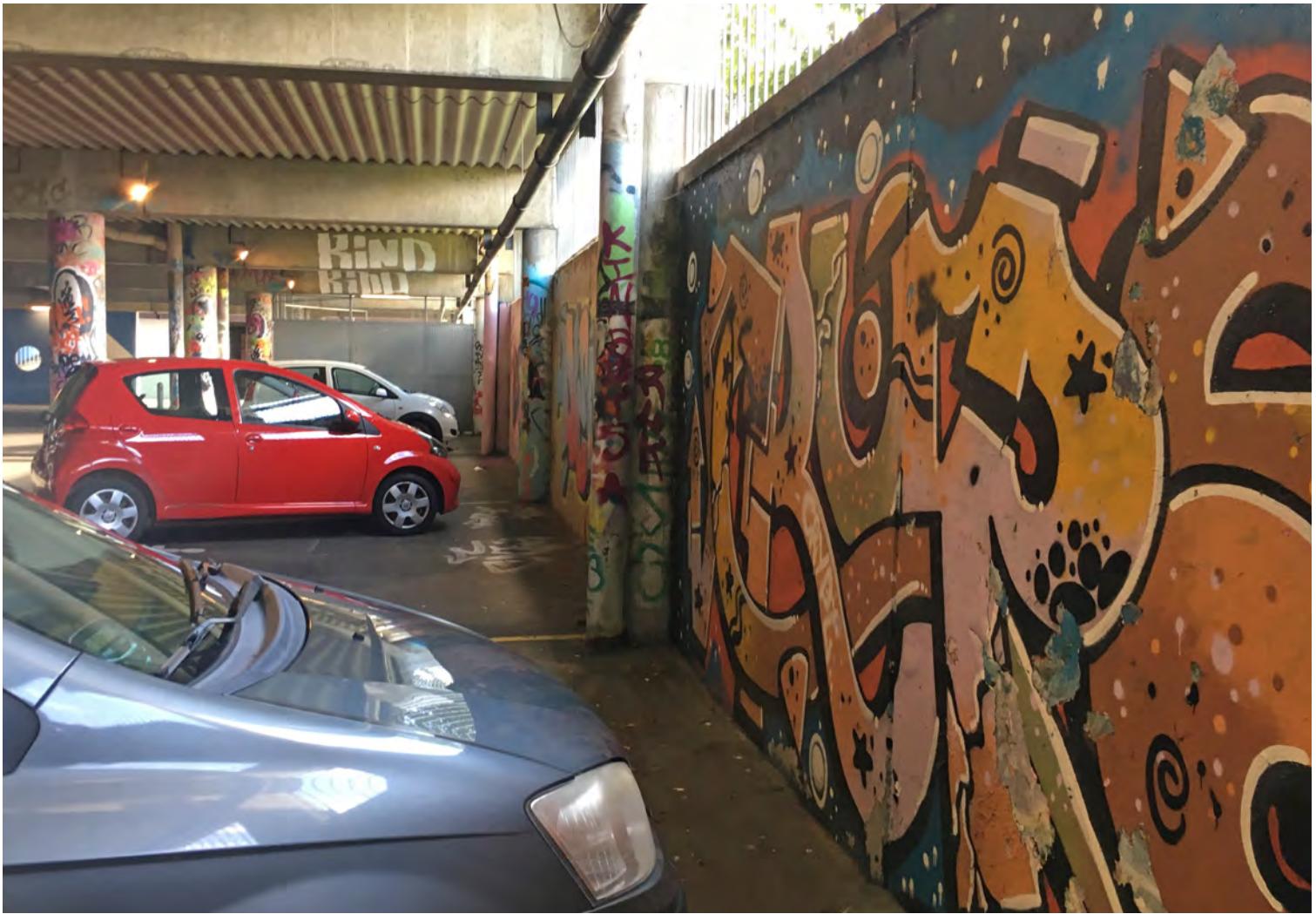
Hotspots



Photos: © Bettina Lamm



© Svava Riesto



Ground-level hotspots

The renewal included several "hotspots": selected parts of the abundant ground-level car parks were redesigned for new uses, with bright colours and visible spatial invitations to dwell and play.

This connected the originally mono-functional underground spaces with potential sports activities. A large graffiti wall in the main parking area transforms the atmosphere of the space. Concrete walls were changed into bright coloured surfaces as a way to brighten up the space and prevent car theft. The site has become a popular spot for graffiti artists in the region.

These redesigned parts of the car parks are sometimes used by people seeking out a specific activity – here a group practising their climbing skills. Others, especially teenagers and young adults, use the redesigned ground-level spaces for hanging out in small groups. Here they can partake in public life from a distance, or can gather in ways that feel shielded from the public eye.

Some residents describe this as having led to new tensions, since people in the nearby flats feel that the sounds and gazes from the new hotspots disturb their sense of privacy.

New pathways



Situation when first built



Around 2000, prior to renewal project



Situation after renewal project
© Sine Krogsbaard Ballisager

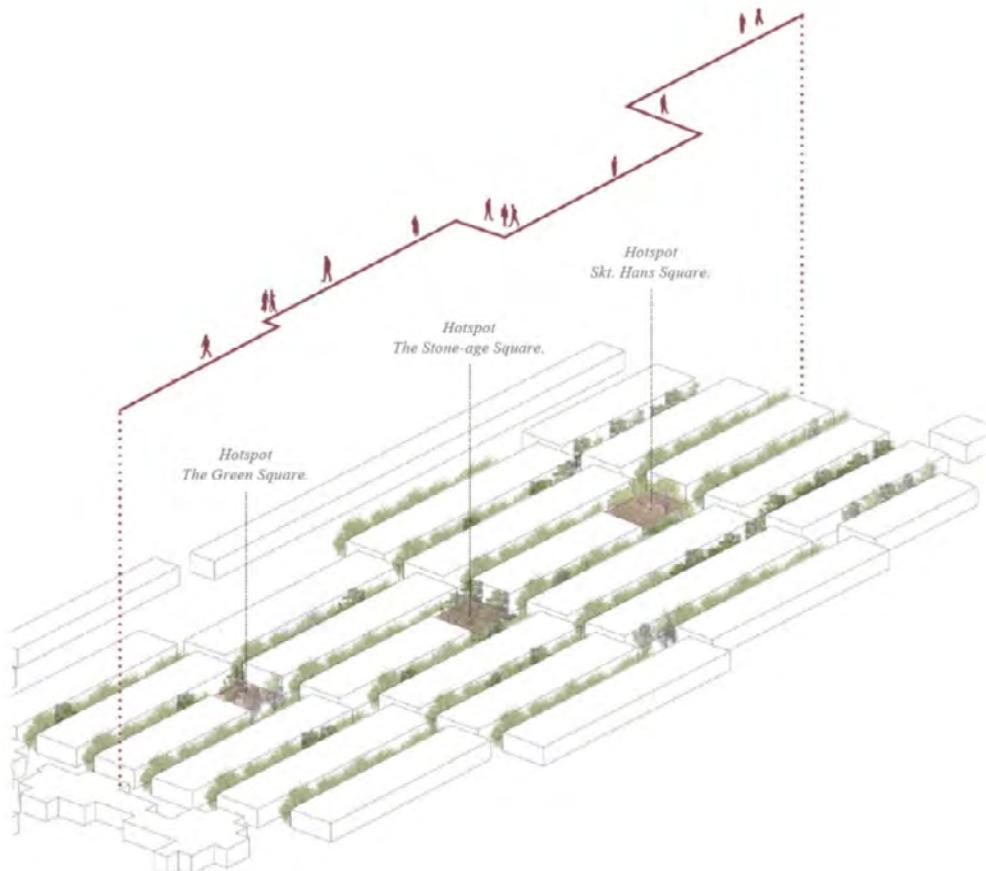


© Bettina Lamm





© Svava Riesto



© My Louise von Christierson

New pathways through green alleys

A new floating path was set into the green back alleys, for the first time encouraging access through the green forest-like spaces.

The paths are constructed from a metal grid, which is deliberately uncomfortable for dogs to walk on – some residents wanted to avoid having too many dogs passing through. To walk on these paths, you have to go up and down a few steps, which hinders people with shopping trollies, pushchairs, wheelchairs and others. They are thus not meant for everybody.

Rather, these narrow paths offer the opportunity for people to take a stroll alone or in small groups. Many residents say that they are hardly used, as it is quicker and more efficient to use the street. Others describe the paths as peaceful and pleasant places to be in; the green spaces remain quiet, albeit with a lot of birds and squirrels. The paths also compensate for the now locked hallways through the building blocks.

The renewal included the design of a few hotspots along the route, including a shared herb garden.

Publicness and Policies/Practices at Farum Midtpunkt

This contribution examines Farum Midtpunkt's sites of publicness following two different tracks; First, we present some of the most significant urban and housing policies that have affected Farum Midtpunkt over time. We ask how these plans have affected Farum Midtpunkt and its relationship with the city and how people have acted in relation to these policies, formally and informally. This relationship between policies and spatial practices at Farum Midtpunkt cannot be reduced to a mere opposition between top-down and bottom-up. Rather, policies and people's practices engage in complex relationships, where for example, during the 1970s the residents of the then new neighbourhood became a strong voice in the local city council and acted as policy-makers in the municipality. The second track begins on the ground and examines specific sites where practices and policies make way for particular ways of sharing spaces. A special

characteristic for Farum Midtpunkt is that there is a large number and extent of community spaces. These are used by a broad variety of different interest-groups who have gained the right to use these spaces through formal policies and regulations by the tenant board and the municipality. Such uses can also have occurred because specific groups have simply been occupying particular space over time until it became habitual and accepted.

We have chosen three sites where such interest groups meet:

- 1: Clubs and hubs at the Main Street**
- 2: Collaboration and exchange close to home**
- 3: Community and garden at former school grounds**

We ask what policies and practices, and what spatial structures have made the specialized uses of these sites possible. And what happens between them – i.e. how is different group's and individual's uses of space mediated spatially and what situations of negotiation and exchange are going on?

Research Team:

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University of Copenhagen, Denmark

Farum Midtpunkt

- 1: Clubs and hubs at Main Street
- 2: Collaboration and exchange close to home
- 3: Community gardens at former school grounds



/ Sites of Publicness



public policies in midtown

Residents making local policies
The policy decision to build Farum Midtpunkt at the outskirts of the merchant town Farum was a comprehensive change in 1966 in the local community and its demography. The predominantly conservative local city council had imagined that attracting 3.500 new residents would provide the necessary customer base for a planned huge shopping centre. Building Farum Midtpunkt increased Farum's number of inhabitants by 30%. Many of the new Farumers were against the shopping centre, which they found

capitalist. It was ultimately built, but much smaller than initially planned. Bjarne, who moved in during the 1970s, remembers

"The city mayor would never have guessed that there would be a bunch of left-wingers (venstresocialister). The parking garage at Farum Midtpunkt was packed with 2CVs".

Young, well-educated families with children or students moved in, many of whom were inspired by the new political and social ideas of the late 1960s. These residents, then began to engage in local politics and gain increasing influence, making the local city council much more left-wing.

Who lives (and who should live) in Farum Midtpunkt?

Farum Midtpunkt's residents quickly became an active political force and since many of them worked or studied in Copenhagen, they were concerned with creating a public transport connection to the city while the traintracks were still being constructed. In 1974 residents organized a busroute from Farum Midtpunkt's southern main entrance to the city of Copenhagen, and while the national bus-and-railcompany (DSB) complained and raised a law case, the self-organized bus remained until the train was built and a formalized busroute was established.



The first-generation Farum Midtpunkters were highly occupied in forming a local democracy for residents in the new housing area. While the Danish Law of Social Housing developed formalized modes of representational democracy for all tenants, Farum Midtpunkt's residents developed their own version, which was even more decentralized and gave elected residents much more agency in decision-making and administration than described in the general law. Every housing block chooses two representatives who can vote in the tenant board (Blokrådet) which decides on issues such as budgets, economy, administration, maintenance, renewal and much more. Hans Lausten, who is here depicted at a guided tour through Farum Midtpunkt is elected representative of the tenants, chair of the tenant democracy and has lived here since 1978. Photo @Bettina Lamm



@Susanne Neve, Furesø Museer



"Better an apartment than a house!"
Brochure from when Farum Midtpunkt was still under construction featuring graphic designer and new resident Poul Andersson, who says that he has considered buying a house, but dropped the idea in favour of Farum Midtpunkt. Danish well-educated nuclear families seem to have been the main target group when Farum Midtpunkt was new.

Economic housing policies and Farum Midtpunkt's demography

Next to supporting non-profit rental housing, the Danish welfare state has subsidized home ownership from the 1930s onwards. In the 1960s the state gave interest deduction of privately owned homes and since many families also began experiencing economic growth home-ownership became increasingly attractive for people who could afford it. Farum Midtpunkt was one of several social housing estates around 1970 that made a big effort to attract tenants who could also afford to buy their own detached house.

The 'ghetto plan'

The 2018 governmental policy One Denmark without Parallel Societies – No Ghettos in 2030 (publicly known as the "ghetto plan") is a significant policy document for social housing in Denmark. The policy targets a small selection of social housing areas in Denmark that are categorized as 'vulnerable' based on numerical data such as incidence of crime, unemployment, education levels, levels of income, and percentage of residents with a non-western background or descendants thereof. In order to work against a culture of 'parallel societies', the policy prescribes radical physical changes in these areas, such as demolition, privatisation and other means to change their demography. The policy also presents other acts which the government thinks can improve these areas, such as requiring doubled sentences for

crimes committed within them. Farum Midtpunkt does not match the policy's criteria for classifying as such a 'vulnerable area'. Yet, this policy document is part of a larger discourse in which large-scale social housing areas in Denmark are associated with vulnerability, crime, and –as the prime minister said it in a new year's speech in 2018 to introduce the policy – as 'holes' in the map of Denmark (meaning being outside of the national community). According to the plan these problems can be addressed through a set of generic social and spatial changes aiming at integrating social housing areas better into the larger city as well as creating more diverse social mix of residents within them.

Farum Midtpunkt's apartments are designed to provide a high degree of privacy, and thereby providing residents with some of the amenities known from single family detached housing. The large terraces are shielded and window details are designed to prevent neighbours from looking in and to contribute to a sense of privacy, enabling residents to withdraw from public spaces and into the private realm in the apartment and on the terrace.

Photo left @Bettina Lamm, right @Svava Riesto.

17. maj 1972
udgivet
af KAB

Hellere lejlighed end hus!

Grafiker Poul Andersen om hvorfor hans familie valgte at bo i lejlighed.

Vi har boet i lejlighed i 20 år og det er ikke noget vi vil have op. Og det har faktisk ikke noget med storstørrelsen af huset at gøre. Når vi valgte denne bolig først, så var baggrunden, måske noget for en stor del, at mit barnedsøn stod som et af de få børn der eksisterede på det af værre huse.

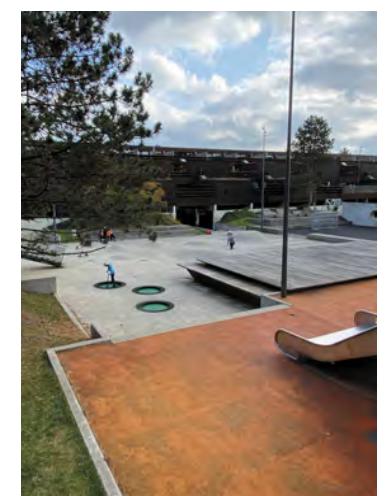
Denne »idealstiske« bue

Utvældsomt, men jeg kan næppe nog si det, da man bygger en familiehus på, er spild. Det der med at man skal kunne gå ud og spille i haven, jeg ved ikke, hvad det er for en synd. På et eller andet tidspunkt bygger de jo sammen.

@ Farum Midtpunkt Avisen
(KAB, 17 May 1972)



National housing policy document publicly known as the Ghetto Plan. Farum Midtpunkt is not designated as a 'vulnerable' housing area in line with this plan, but the discourse around it influence how social housing areas are perceived in the public.



In the face of stigmatized perceptions from the outside, the renewal project in 2014, explicitly sought to 'open up' Farum Midtpunkt, strengthen its connection with the rest of the city and invite people to come in and use its Activity Square. Photo @Bettina Lamm

Main Street

Main Street

The Main Street was a central part of Farum Midpunkt's design. The idea was for the area to be not only a housing area but a city with a long pedestrian street that could serve as central meeting point and service area. The main street has many chairs and edges on which one can sit and have a chat. All building facades to its western side are reserved for communal functions in different spaces – most of them with an open glass façade towards the main street.

The uses of these many communal spaces have changed over the years. When a shopping centre was built just next to Farum Midpunkt it took over some of the services at main street leaving many spaces empty. Yet, these spaces appear flexible in the sense that many different groups each with their interests have made them a space of their own, next to one another. The tenant board administrates these rooms and makes appointments about their rent.



The tenant's board, Blokrådet, is a visible element at the main street. This is the space where the elected representatives can work and where their meetings take place. The Housing Administration's office is open two days a week. The space also houses various exhibitions and a historical archive. Photo @Bettina Lamm

In 1974, when the first residents had moved in to Farum Midpunkt, the main street was used by unemployed men to sit and drink beer during daytime. Seeing this, the tenant board quickly decided to open one of the community spaces for this group and established 'Varmestuen' (meaning the warm house or living room). Yet, after decades, varmestuen closed and now other groups occupy teh space including aknitting group Nørklere i FM. Most recently, the room was converted into a space for teenage girls who could use a strengthened network and empowering. This came about through local initiative by a group of women in Farum, and was supported through a collaboration between the municipality and the Farum Midpunkt tenant board. This photo show a displaying things that have been created in the space but it also covers the window so that not all the activities inside are on public display. Photo @Bettina Lamm





There has always been a local grocery store in this space, centrally placed at the main street (Nærbiksen). As one resident told us "You can find yourself missing the cream for your dinner on Christmas eve, and then you go up to Nærbiksen and it's open and they have it". The shop works as a hub for many different people who stop for a chat or to linger close to its entrance. From the street outside it, you can look down at the Activity Square with contributes to the sense that this is a central spot in the otherwise decentralized Farum Midtpunkt. Photo @Bettina Lamm

One of the many activities in the community spaces along the main street is the Kahve, where Turkish men meet to play board games and hang out. During the 1970s many men came from Turkey to Denmark as so-called guest workers and some of them moved into Farum Midtpunkt. The local tenant board soon decided to reserve one of the community spaces to the growing group of Turkish men, who have rented it ever since. The club is situated close to Spisehuset – a restaurant/bar; both of them seemingly used as specialized spaces for different groups that co-exist along Farum Midtpunkt's main street.

Photos @ Bettina Lamm







Nærbiksen (the local grocery shop) is a central destination in the streetlife on the main street. Sometimes people stop for a chat outside it, covered by the roof above on rainy days.



The main street's Turkish men's Kahve – one of the many spaces used by particular groups along Farum Midtpunkt's main street. Picture from a guided tour for participants in the PUSH research team. Hasan Yilmaz introduced to the Kahve, the Turkish community and its history in Farum, and translated the conversation between people at the Kahve and the researchers. Not a resident in Farum Midtpunkt himself, Hasan Yilmaz is engaged in multiple social initiatives that seek to strengthen citizens' involvement in the local community. He is elected member of the city council and of multiple political boards, while also engaging in community work in less formal ways by connecting different individuals and groups in Farum.



close to home

3. Collaboration and Exchanges

Close to Home

Farum Midpunkt's housing blocks are situated on top of a large parking area to which they are connected by spiral staircases. The corridors within each block are wide and, as we showed in the heritage section, they were conceptualized as public streets with squares in which neighbours could come together. Yet, today, these corridors are rarely used in that way. However, people meet and interact close to their apartments in multiple other ways in other

ways: in the parking spaces on ground level, in community spaces inside of the buildings, in outdoor community spaces or even online. We present here some of the ways in which people meet in or close to the apartments. The starting point for the following presentation is resident Susan Skinneholm Engstrøm, who kindly guided us through the hubs and clubs close to her home.



Susan Skinneholm Engstrøm – caring for the community

Age: 54. Has lived in Farum Midpunkt for 19 years with her husband, children and dog. Her son, who is now student, lives in a separate part of their large Farum Midpunkt-flat with his girlfriend. This picture was taken at Susan's terrace. As a nurse, she works at Farum Midpunkt's nursing home for the elderly, Svanepunktet. Susanne loves to live in Farum Midpunkt ('wouldn't change it for detached housing. It is so nice here') and engages in municipal politics and in the tenant democracy. Susan does many different things to care for neighbours who seem lonely, anxious or in other ways needing her help. Particularly in her own building ('we take care of each other, check up that neighbours who haven't left home for many days are ok'), but also in the rest of Farum Midpunkt. Photo @Svava Riesto

Safety, surveillance and care

Many describe Farum Midpunkt's large parkin space as the perfect spot for drug dealing. It enables you to be away from the public eye and the broad road enables cars to enter easily, sell, turn and leave the place quickly. The parking spaces just below Susan's block are used as a hub for exchange of drugs for the entire region. This has made many residents feel unsafe and video cameras have been installed in most of the area. Yet, Susan describes the men who hang out in the cellar as 'young boys who

behave nicely if you just greet them'. Susan has begun her own care-work to support neighbours: She invites those, whom she knows feel very unsafe in the parking space to a 'coffee club' where they can sit and have a nice chat just at the spot where the somewhat uncanny activities take place. Being there together, she thinks, can help everyone experience that it is ok to be in the parking space and also help strengthen their feeling of being cared for and belonging to a group. Photo @Svava Riesto





Exchanging and meeting online

A lot of the exchange between people takes place via online fora. Farum Midpunkt has numerous specialized web-based-groups in which people can meet and communicate around specialized interest. For example, a group of birdwatchers upload images and chat about birds. While the printed resident magazine Midtpunktet is mainly a forum for official communication by and with the administration and tenant board, the various online fora provide spaces for a broad variety of decentralized communication. Susan tells us about the group 'Farum Midpunkt, buying and selling' where people can announce if they want to sell or give away old furniture or other objects. This is a way to learn about other residents, to exchange and finally an opportunity to meet in the flesh when you come and pick up things at your neighbours.

n Midpunkt: Køb og salg | x https://www.facebook.com/groups/2455571921395818/ C Search Facebook: Sava

The bulletin board in each housing block is a central place for information about the tenant democracy, local community events and other issues. Photo @Svava Riesto

At the Facebook page Farum Midpunkt køb & salg residents buy and sell between them. It is one out of many online foras where residents meet around interests, exchange and debate. At "Danmarks Figle og Natur" (Danmarks Figle og Natur) observations of wild plants and flowers detected in and around Farum Midpunkt are shared by a resident.



Each housing block has a community space on the ground floor. These can be used in different ways and it is up to the residents in each house to agree on what to do with it. In Susan's block, the community space has a bar and various furniture and fitness equipment. Residents can book the room for private parties. Sometimes they organize parties for all neighbours in the building. Photos @Svava Riesto



3. Converted school

3. Converted School and community garden

The school Bybækskolen, situated to the south of Farum Midpunkt, is structurally part of the same building complex, standing on the same deck above the parking space as the other buildings. Since the 1970s, it has been a central spot in the everyday life of Farum Midpunkt – a place where children from Farum Midpunkt, as well as from adjacent areas would meet and get to know each other. Bjarne Zetterström, who has lived in Farum Midpunkt since 1973 and has been active at the school's board for parents, remembers: "We were a really good school. Pupils got high grades and there was a good sense of community. Yet, as the years went by we had to fight

a growingly negative image amongst people from other parts of Farum. People who had never been here and who didn't know the school worried about sending their children to us. It was an ongoing struggle against a bad reputation. A reputation that didn't match the reality". Finally, in 2008, the school closed. The decision was made by a large majority in a city council and based on disrepair and a decrease in the number of children in Farum Municipality at large. Now, children from Farum Midpunkt begin to attend other schools in adjacent parts of the city. After closing, the former school building stood vacant for five years. Its football fields and paved outdoor areas were not used much.

Yet, for more than a decade now the school has gained a set of new purposes. Local residents, in particular Karen Palsgaard, came up with ideas of how to use the empty school building and proposed it to the municipality, who owns it. In 2013 the municipality opened the culture centre Stien (the path) in the former school building. This gives room for various multiple cultural and social activities, such as a youth club, art classes, woodwork crafts workshops and community spaces that residents in Farum Midpunkt can book and use, for example to cook and eat together. After local residents came up with the idea, the school's football fields are used as a community garden.



The newly redesigned square at the school's entrance is now named Karen's Square after Karen Palsgaard, the resident who began the cultural transformation of the former school, but who passed away before the square was renewed. This naming is a way to keep the legacy of a local initiative alive – a heritage practice that is more concerned with living histories within the neighborhood than with Farum Midpunkt's place in larger architectural or national histories. It is characteristic for Farum Midpunkt's living memory that such local initiatives are remembered, storied and even put on display through official naming and signs. Photo Bettina Lamm.



The cultural centre Stien in the former school building encourages local people to come and use the space for social and cultural activities. Here, a group of women living in Farum Midpunkt and beyond meet to cook Turkish food together on a regular basis. Photo Svava Riesto.



A sign tells the story of the Community gardens: The initiative came from five active women in 2012, and later opened by Farum Midpunkt's mayor. A local architect drew the sketch from the garden. People from Farum Midpunkt and/or elsewhere can rent a garden here, and the flexible structure of a lawn with oval gardens (heavily inspired by C.Th.Sørensen's famous allotment gardens in Nærum) enables new gardens to be made if desired. Photo top Svava Riesto, right Bettina Lamm.



Parts of the school's former football field has been left to grow into a meadow while other parts of school's former football fields have been converted into a site for community gardens. People play football at the newly renovated fields close to the Activity Square, more centrally placed in Farum Midpunkt. Photo Bettina Lamm.



Sources:

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Conversations and oral history interviews with residents, employees, neighbours and other local actors, in particular Susanne Skinneholm Engstrøm, Hans Lausten, Hasan Yilmaz, Bjarne Zetterstrøm, who we quote in this exhibition. We wish to thank them for sharing their experiences and insights with us.





Telli, Switzerland





Telli Aarau

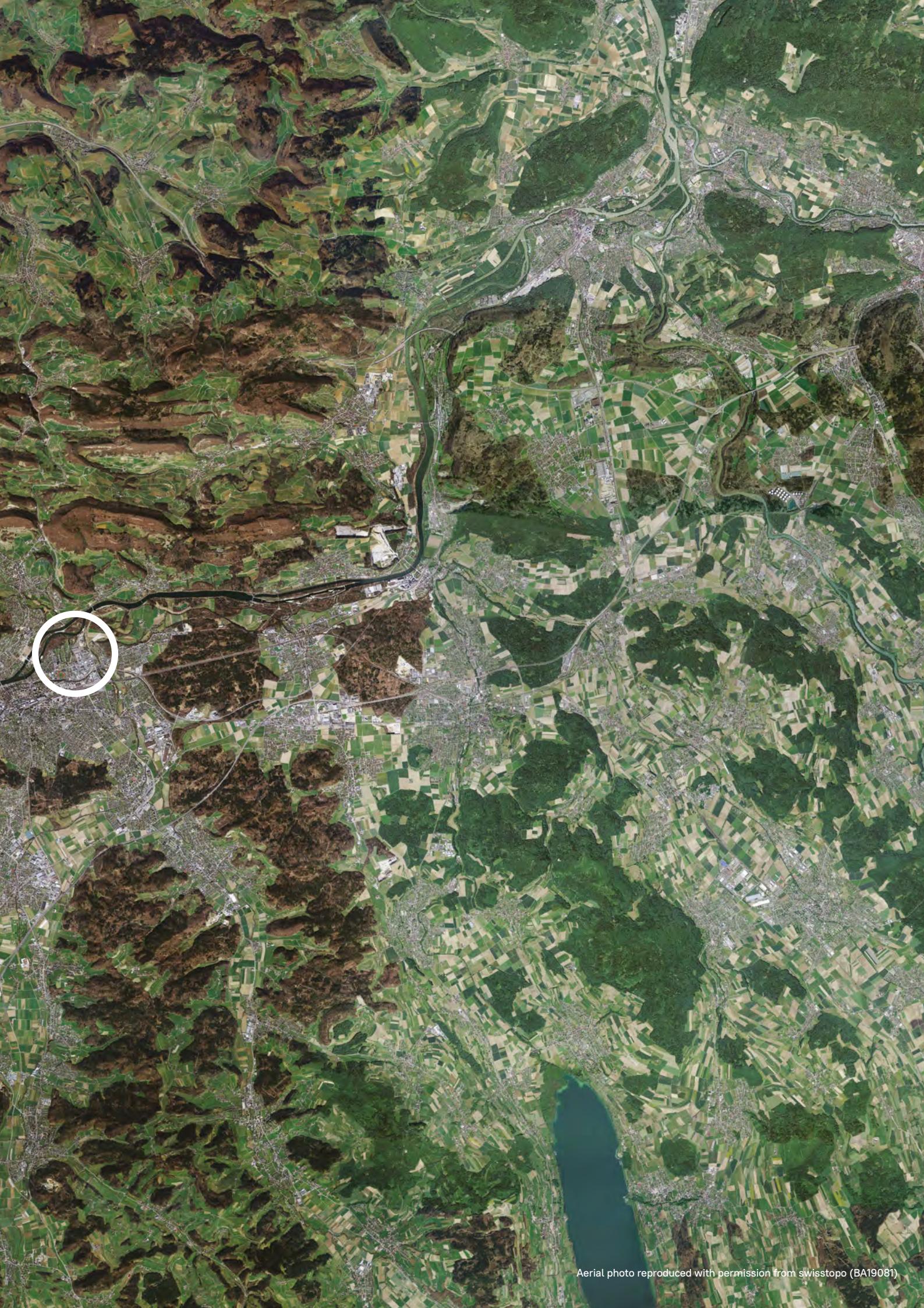


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Aerial photo reproduced with permission from swisstopo (BA19081)

Telli

Aarau



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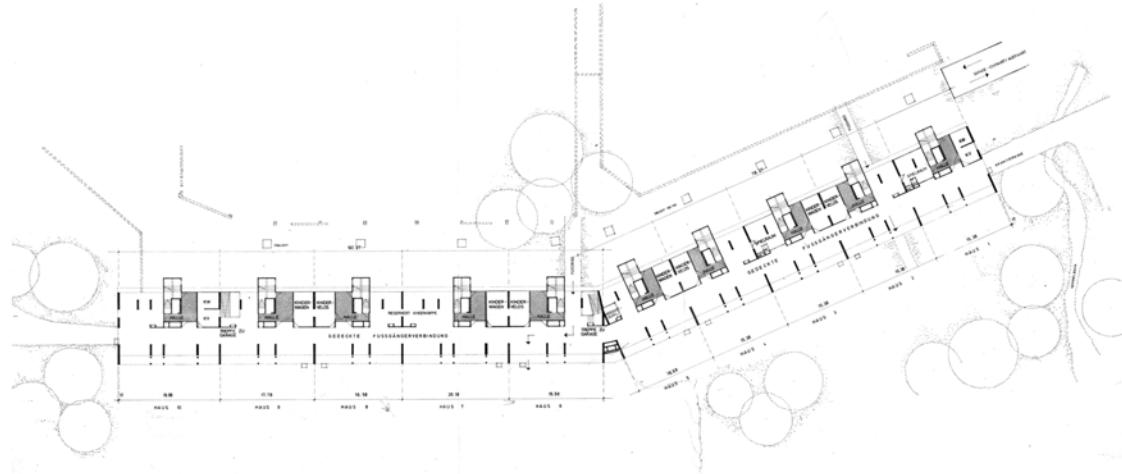
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Telli

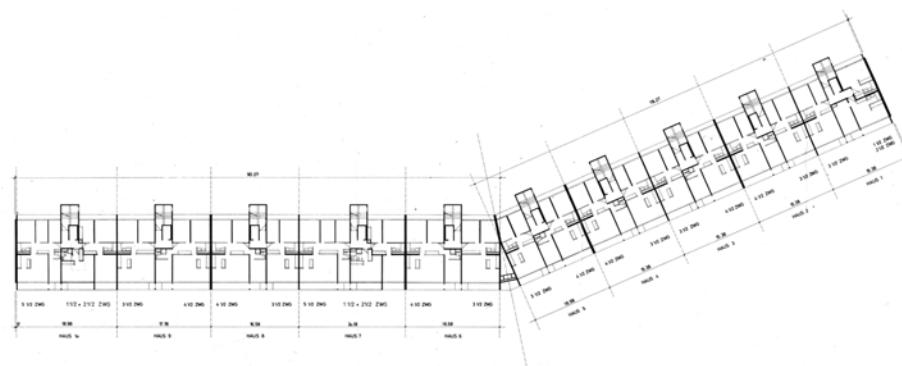
Aarau, Switzerland, 1971-1991

No of units/inhabitants	1258 units / 2360 inhabitants
Ownership	Mixed ownership: institutional owners, private home owners; municipal rental housing
Organisation form	Rental housing (institutional, municipal, cooperative) and private owned condominium
Urban context	Outskirts of a small town
Overall spatial typology	4 extended blocks megastructure with generous green outdoor spaces
Functions	Apartments; sports and shopping centre, restaurant, community centre; school, kindergarten, bank, petting zoo, youngs people's leisure club, small shops
Citizen diversity	High. 28% of inhabitants with foreign nationality (city average: 20%), various income groups
Apartment Sizes	1.5–5.5 bedroom apartments
Building Types	4 residential high rise blocks (8-19 storeys) 1 high rise tower with shopping center and offices (27 storeys)
Surfaces	Total area surface: 150,000 sqm Overbuilt area: 13,300 sqm Open spaces: 136,700 sqm Gross floor area: 128,850 sqm

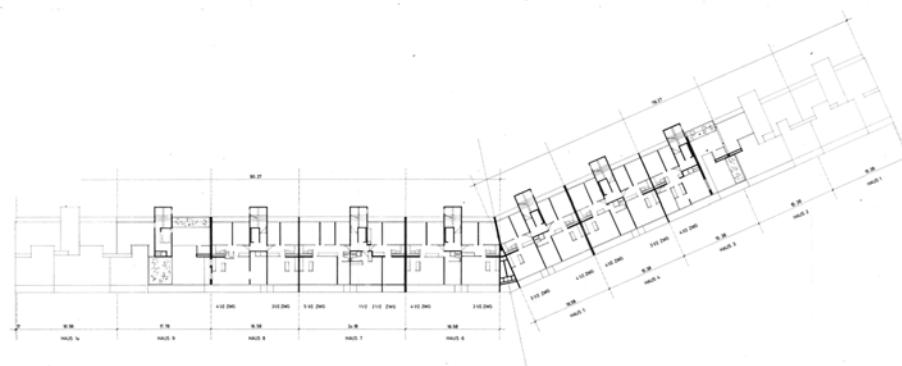
Ground floor
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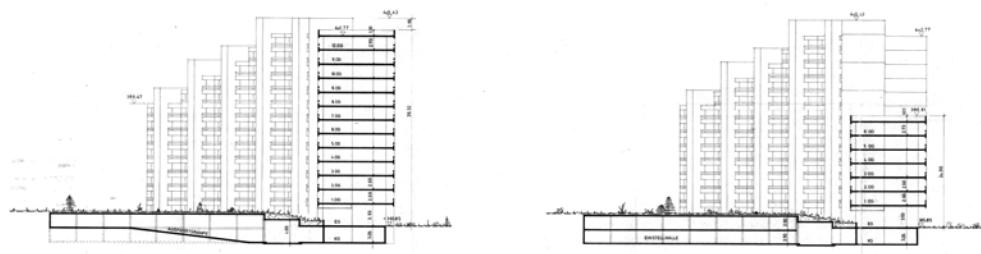
1–5 floor
1:1,000



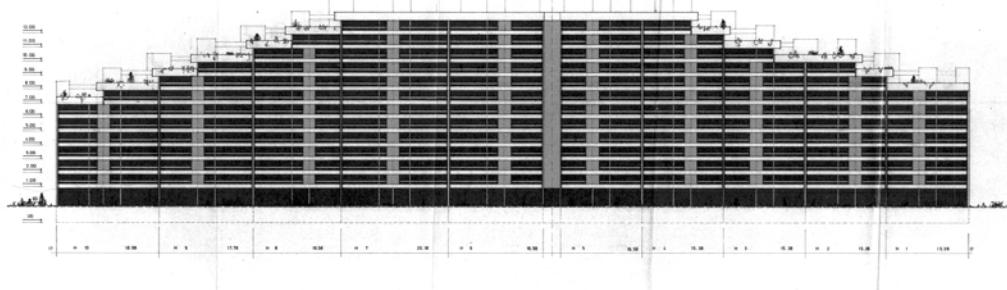
10–12 floor
1:1,000



Cross section
1:1,000



Elevation west
1:1,000



Tscharnergut, Switzerland





© Brigitte Marti, one of the winners of the photo competition at Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut.

Tscharnergut

Bern



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5

10 km



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Tscharnergut

Bern



0 100

500

1000 m



Aerial photo reproduced with permission from swisstopo (BA19081)

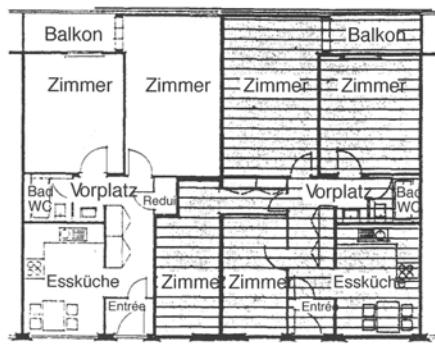
Tscharnergut

Bern, Switzerland, 1958-1966

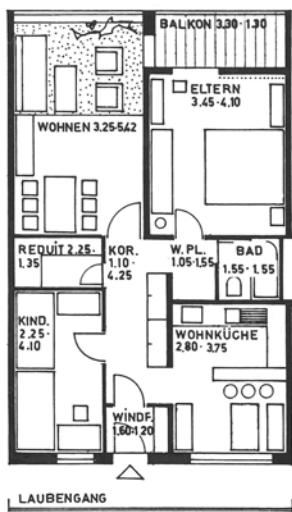
No of units/inhabitants	1208 units / 2563 inhabitants
Ownership	Mixed ownership: institutional, private, pension fund; cooperative housing; municipal housing
Organisation form	Cooperative rental housing and municipally allocated housing
Urban context	Urban neighborhood with various postwar high-rises
Overall spatial typology	5 high rises, 8 blocks, 3 multifamily complexes, 2 rowhouse complexes
Functions	Apartments; community centre; shopping infrastructure; gym; school, kindergarten, restaurant, library, petting zoo, daycare, children's leisure club
Citizen diversity	High; large share of persons aged 65 and over and of persons with migration background
<hr/>	
Apartment Sizes	20 x 1.5 bedroom apartments 33 x 2 bedroom apartments 31 x 2.5 bedroom apartments 830 x 3.5 bedroom apartments 72 x 4 bedroom apartments 162 x 4.5 bedroom apartments 60 x 5.5 bedroom apartments
<hr/>	
Building Types	5 residential high rise blocks (20 storeys) 7 residential blocks (8 storeys) 3 residential blocks (4 storeys) 2 rows of single-family-houses (2 storeys)
<hr/>	
Surfaces	Total area surface: 180,000 sqm Overbuilt area: 25,460 sqm Open spaces: 154,540 sqm Gross floor area: 121,139 sqm

Ground floor plan

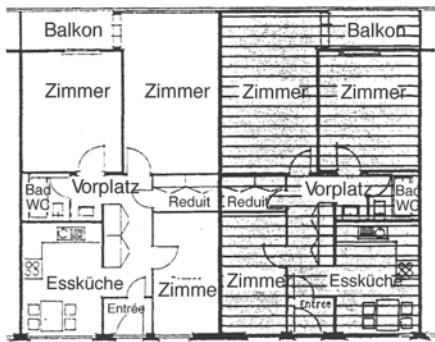
2 room-apartment



3.5 room-apartment



4 room-apartment



4.5 room-apartment



Publicness and Policies/Practices at Telli/Tscharnergut

Switzerland's postwar welfare society built large scale housing estates in urban environments to mitigate the population growth and increased immigration both from rural areas to the cities, and from outside Switzerland. Owned and managed by municipalities, housing cooperatives and private investors (e.g. pension funds, insurance companies), these housing estates provided affordable and comfortable homes for workers families and the new (lower) middle-class, who started to earn regular and better salaries due to economic growth in these decades. Until today they represent a large share of Swiss cities' affordable apartments and house residents with heterogeneous social backgrounds. Calling on an anthropology of policy in order to tease out publicness of spaces in large-scale housing estates

means looking at how the ways of living together on site are produced, performed and negotiated as processes of governance and power. In the PUSH project our analytical lens anchors in an understanding that policies and practices form place and space over time in a dynamic and performative manner. Policies in this sense are seen as instruments that create or consolidate social, semantic and physical spaces. They structure action by connecting people, institutions and concepts into specific relationships. Vice versa, policies are being transformed, consolidated or questioned through the practices of different actors. As we are interested in "Publicness and Policies & Practices at Telli and Tscharnergut" we focus on how "people make sense of things, i.e. what policy means to them" (Shore, Wright et al. 2011). In what way does the diverse actors' frame of reference affect their everyday lives, how do different people engage with different policies and what do they make of it? How have these policies evolved over time and which practices engage with them? From our theoretical positioning, we use the idea of publicness not as a designated "container"- public space, but rather as a situational spatial setting within the context of site-specific policies and practices, may they be formal or rather informal. Hence, publicness emerges where the interplay of policies

and practices shapes space in Telli and Tscharnergut. These policies can manifest themselves at a formal national and city level, at the property/estate level, at the level of house rules, but also at the less formal level of unwritten policies in management and social work practices. Employing methods such as document analysis, expert and resident interviews, and media analysis, we filtered out which policies related to housing and neighborhood life have been at play in Tscharnergut, Bern and Telli, Aarau since the initial planning. In the context of increased economic and population growth and migration to cities during the years 1960s–1970s in Switzerland, social welfare has been further developed – highly influencing the creation of the policies at stake in the housing estates. On this basis, we have identified six policies relevant for the analysis of Telli and Tscharnergut. All of them have an impact on the social and the spatial dimension on site.

These policies are aimed at promoting:

- 1) social mix
- 2) family orientation
- 3) neighborhood participation
- 4) affordable housing
- 5) community building and
- 6) heritage preservation

Each of the policies is connected to local practices and narratives embedded in the multiple shared and collective spaces of the housing estates. We are “reading” these spaces in Telli and Tscharnergut through the lens of policies and practices to explore the tangible and intangible sites of publicness. By doing this, we aim to reflect upon the interdependency of built and lived space over the course of time and the changing meanings and relevancies of what is considered ‘public space’. Our exhibition contribution is structured as follows: The identified policies apply to both Swiss cases and are described in a cross-case introduction. For each policy, the practices that engage with it and create sites of publicness in this interplay will only be addressed in depth on a case-specific basis, either for Telli or Tscharnergut.

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Research Team:

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Students: Leonie Wagner and Antonia Selva. ETH CASE Centre for Research on Architecture, Society & the Built Environment, ETH Zürich, Switzerland.

Timeline/Telli

1930

From the 1930s on in the so-called "old Telli" area of the city of Aarau a new neighborhood is built, mainly with detached single family houses and three-storey row houses.

1959

The city of Aarau introduces a Building Act (Bauordnung) that explicitly allows the construction of high-rise buildings and large housing estates. This kind of planning regulation was quite new in Switzerland at the time.

In the Building Act, the area of the "Telli" is divided in two zones: one for housing and the other for industry. However, only few factories are still operational in the Telli (a former industrial area of Aarau).

1966

The last factory in the Telli, the Chocolate factory "Frey" moves to another municipality.

1969

The municipal assembly endorses a Special Building Act (Spezialbauordnung) that allows the re-zoning of the former industrial to a residential zone in the Telli.

1970

The municipal planner of Aarau (Stadtbaumeister) René Turrian invites the four land owners to negotiate about a comprehensive planning of the area. According to the general town-planning orientation (städtebaubliches Leitbild), the idea is to use the last remaining large portion of land in Aarau for the construction in the size and function of a new neighbourhood (Stadtteil). Subsequently, the four landowners invite six architecture offices to submit their proposals for a comprehensive construction plan of the Telli. With regards to the growing criticism of monofunctional large housing estates at the time, the architectural competition requires to plan not only for housing but also for facilities and services such as a shopping center, kindergarten and a school, leisure activities, communal spaces and a community center in the neighborhood.

1971

The architects "Marti + Kast" win the competition. Hans Marti at the time was a prominent figure in Switzerland for his efforts to strengthen urban planning.

The four landowners work out a contract to regulate the financing, administration and operation of common facilities. They furthermore commit to ensure a uniform appearance and maintenance of the buildings.

The municipal authorities approve the planning application of the project.

1972

In January the general contractor Horta AG (which is also one of the four land owners) starts the construction of the first housing complex A and a tower block, which is proceeding very quickly. On working days in three eight-hour shifts there are about 500 workers on the construction site.

Next to the tower block (which will offer space for a shopping center and parts of the public administration of the canton Aargau), a community center is built.

1973

The first residents move in the newly built apartments in housing complex A (Rüttmattstrasse). Target group are the middle classes which were strongly growing at the time. From the 17 houses that are attached to each other, five are sold to homeowners. Initially there are some difficulties to rent out all the flats, since the rents (especially for the larger flats) are quite high.

Preparations start for the construction of housing complex B and C (Delfterstrasse).

1974

The first (and until today only) community center in Aarau opens its doors, with a big party. The center is owned by a foundation that includes four paying members: the municipality and the citizens' municipality (Einwohner- und Ortsbürgergemeinde) such as the Reformed and the Catholic church (which abandoned the idea to build a new

church in favour of supporting the community centre). A social worker is hired to manage the center and to foster a lively neighbourhood in the Telli.

1974

The neighbourhood association Telli (Quartierverein Telli) is founded. Among its many activities it publishes until today a monthly local newspaper for the neighbourhood (with 2700 copies).

1976

The general contractor Horta AG goes bankrupt due to the economic recession following the 1973 oil crisis and its lack of liquidity. The insurance company "Winterthur" buys the housing complex B and assures that the construction works continue and the workers get paid their salary.

1979

Due to the turbulences after the bankruptcy of the Horta AG, the construction of the third housing complex C (also at the Delfterstrasse) starts with a delay. Owner of this housing complex is also the insurance company "Winterthur" (today AXA Winterthur).

1987

A mixed owner group (municipality, association of home owners, private investors) starts the construction of the last housing complex D (at Neuenburgerstrasse). The complex is built along the original master plan – nonetheless the widespread criticism of large highrise estates at the time.

1991

After completion of housing complex D, the last residents move in the estate.

1991

In the building of the neighbouring former poultry farm "Kunath" opens the concert and event hall "KIFF", which attracts people also from other regions.

2000

The city of Aarau starts a six-year long program for the development of the district (Quartierentwicklungsprogramm) – called "Allons-y Telli!" which is partially financed by the Federal Office of Public Health. The program aims at tackling the challenges related to the growing disparities among the residents (which are especially visible in the school with up to 70% of non-German speaking children) and the deterioration of the facilities and the communal spaces (e.g. playgrounds).

The program entails various projects targeted at children, young people, migrants and includes the regeneration of the outdoor spaces.

2001

Along with the program "Allons-y Telli!" the community center repositions itself and hires the social worker Hans Bischofberger who initiates in the following years together with residents several new projects, events and services for the neighborhood, especially for children, young people, the elderly and migrants.

2002

Renovation of the roofs, roof terraces and facades of the housing complexes B and C (owned by AXA Winterthur).

2005

Interior renovation in apartments of the housing complexes B and C (with new kitchens and bathrooms, apartment doors, window gaskets, lifts, pipe systems and electronic installations).

This leads to a moderate increase of the rents (e.g. from 1170 CHF for a 3.5 room flat of 84 m² to 1370 CHF).

2018

The social worker Andreas Feller is elected as the new manager of the community center, after the retirement of Hans Bischofberger.

Planning for a second comprehensive renovation of the housing complexes B and C owned by AXA Winterthur starts, carried out by Meili + Peter architects.

Housing complex A, which is in fact older than the complexes B and C, did not yet undergo a comprehensive renovation (e.g. of the façades), also due to challenges in the negotiations of the many owners involved.

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Telli / Sites of Publicness

- 1: Social mix
- 2: Family orientation
- 3: Neighborhood participation with regard to outdoor spaces



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ANSICHT VON NORD - WEST

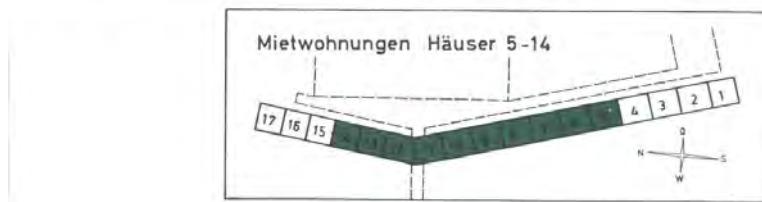
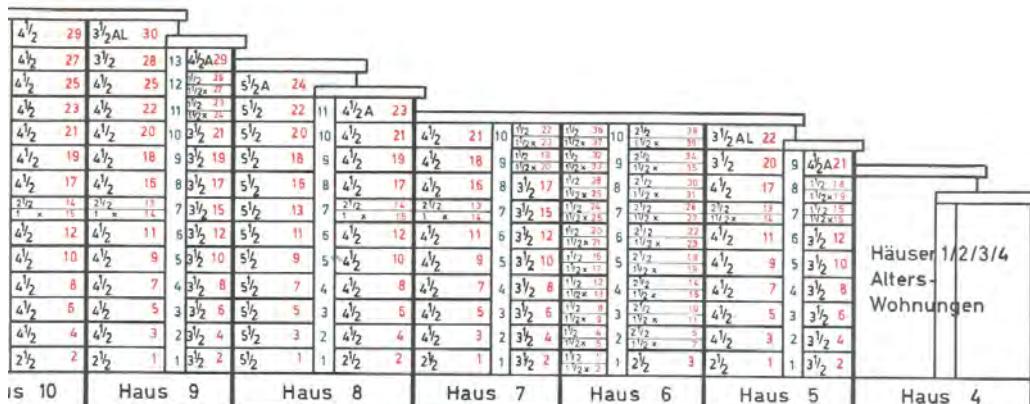


Marti + Kast, Architekten und Planer, Sophienstr. 2, 8032 Zürich, Tel. 01/34 85 11
Norbert Zibulewski, Architekt SIA, Schönbühlstr. 14, 8032 Zürich, Tel. 01/32 81 44
Mitarbeiter: Bruno Demuth, Architekt

soziales Stadtbild

1 Social Mix

With a home ownership rate as low as 36.4 %, Swiss households are more likely to be renters than owners of the dwellings in which they live. In contrast to many other European nations, Switzerland does not have a national or cantonal policy for the provision of so-called social housing. Larger cities and communes developed local programmes and options for affordable communal housing and cooperate with non-profit house-builders. However, the market provides the majority of housing in Switzerland. Accordingly, the two Swiss cases of Telli and Tscharnergut are not "social housing" in the literal sense of government-provided housing for financially disadvantaged and vulnerable households. Both offer affordable rental housing and feature a mixed ownership model with private and institutional owners, non-profit housing cooperatives, and a share of municipal housing. The promotion of socioeconomic diversity was a fundamental feature in the planning of both housing estates from the start. Telli expanded their target market to encompass the middle class, whereas Tscharnergut focused on lower-priced apartments. This is primarily due to the ownership structure: housing cooperatives dominate Tscharnergut, whereas Telli has a mixed, but mainly profit-oriented ownership. Both housing estates continue to place a strong emphasis on social mixing, which is primarily manifested in the policies and practices of the property owners.



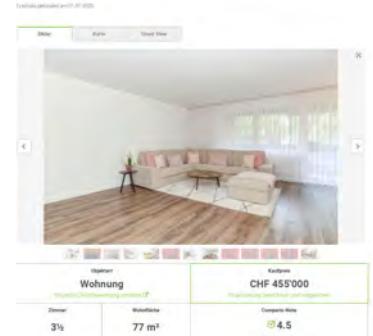
BARRIER & CO. NOV. 72. H.W.

The great variety of housing types and sizes in Telli has contributed to a broad social diversity of the residents. © Horta Holding AG

Promoting and negotiating diversity at Telli

In Telli, construction began in 1971, six years after Tscharnergut had been completed. As Switzerland's largest housing project at the end of the 1950s, Tscharnergut played a pioneering role. The building was widely discussed in public and professional circles and served as a work of reference for following planning projects, including Telli. The construction of Telli differs most clearly from Tscharnergut in that more variation was introduced into the mass housing construction. Not only structurally, but also in terms of housing options, which in turn has implications for the resident structure. In contrast to Tscharnergut's rectangular houses, which are precisely structured in relation to one another, Telli's architectural language is more organic. Telli consists of four extended residential complexes, each slightly bent, which are arranged offset from each other. With the stepped form, the architects intended to relativize the imposing mass of the buildings. Compared to Tscharnergut, where about 70 percent of the apartments are 3.5 room apartments, the architects aimed for a larger mix of apartments in Telli. Even if the functionality of the apartment floor plans was to remain standardized, a mix of apartments ranging from 1.5 to 5.5-room apartments ensured a diverse housing supply. Additionally, Telli provides both homeownership and rental homes (in the profit as well as the non-profit sector).

Top renovierte 3.5 Zi. Wohnung mit neuer Küche und neuem Badezimmer
Neumünsterstrasse 5, 5000 Aarau



Condominium for sale in Telli. The housing stock of Telli includes both rental apartments and condominiums.
© Comparis



5th class students of the Telli school, who had a pen pal exchange with the students of Lotto O in Italy. © Viktoria Ruckstuhl

Promoting social mix of residents through allocation policies and practices

The mix of tenure and units has resulted in a high heterogeneity among the residents in Telli. From the very beginning, the promotion of social mix was a key element in the planning of the housing complex. Over the years, this has been reproduced by the allocation policies and practices of the property managers that are aimed at a balanced tenant mix – “in terms of nationalities, age structure and occupancy” (Interview with owner’s representative).

Particularly in terms of origin, Telli has a striking level of diversity. In fact, compared to the city average of 20 percent, as many as 32 percent of Telli residents have a foreign passport. Whereas the socio-demographics of the estates were mainly characterized by Swiss and Southern European (lower) middle class families in the early years, the spectrum of nationalities is broad today and spread over almost all continents. 55 different nationalities are represented among the approximately 2'000 residents in Telli (Stadtbüro Aarau 2021). The large number of binational couples and families in the estate illustrates that the residents do not live in separate groups according to their nationality. Largely due to the occupancy policies and practices of the property management emphasizing diversity and social mix no concentration of a single national group among the migrants’ population can be observed.

Aarau, 19th October 2020

Hello,

My name is Muhammed.
I'm 12 years old.
I was born in Pakistan.
I can speak German, Urdu, English and a little bit of French.

I live with my family in a big apartment.
I have one sister and one brother. My brother is 18 years old and my sister is 15.
At home we speak Urdu and German.
My Family comes from Pakistan.

I'm in the fifth grade and my favourite subject is sports and also maths.
In geography we're learning about the canton of Aargau at the moment.

I want to be a software engineer when I'm older.

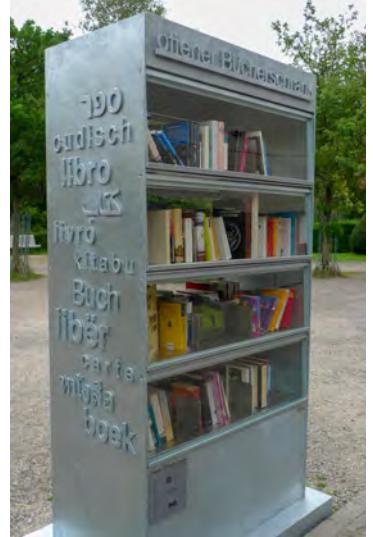
My hobbies are gaming and football
If you want to play with me you can add me on PS4. My name is: ITAX_I

I would like to get to know you.
[REDACTED]

Muhammed ☺☺☺☺ ☺☺



One of the letters written by the Telli students.
Scan QR code to listen to recordings of all letters



The open bookcase in Telli contains titles in many different languages. Everyone can bring their old books and take new books from the bookcase free of charge. © GZ Telli

Negotiating diversity in everyday practices

While some forms of diversity have become a taken-for-granted part of everyday neighborhood coexistence, other forms of diversity, such as origin, are more emphasized, either positively or negatively. Most of the interviewed residents stress the benefits and horizon-expanding qualities of living together in a ‘multicultural’ neighborhood. To some extent the ‘multiculturality’ is part of the self-image of the Telli residents and is often highlighted as a positive distinguishing feature of the housing estate. However, prejudices against people of other origins sometimes prevail, especially among some older long-time residents, that have difficulties with accepting the growing diversity. Indeed, research has shown that social relations tend to be more distanced in very heterogeneous neighborhoods, especially if they go along with differences – be they imagined or real (cf. Althaus 2018, 415).

The head of the community center assesses the social coexistence of the many different nationalities as follows:

“The majority of the residents see it as an enrichment. Of course, there are genuine friendships and acquaintances that transcend national boundaries. However, it is also understandable that Portuguese speakers and Vietnamese speakers are more likely to meet and get to know one another. This is due to the linguistic or cultural background. From this point of view, I would rather speak of a “tolerant coexistence” than of a “together”. However, with families in particular, contacts and acquaintances naturally occur – I’m not sure about friendships – through the kindergarten, which is really very mixed. After all, they sit at the same table 15 times and discuss issues with the children. Naturally, they greet one another thereafter. And beyond that, it sometimes goes further, in the sense of “I make lunch for the children, also for yours, and then they can all come to you the next day”, things like that.” (Interview with head of Telli’s community center)

Interviews with residents confirm that many of the contacts among residents occur through children and child-oriented institutions or activities.

Sites of Publicness





Cultural diversity in school

– benefits and challenges

The Telli children's light-hearted approach to migration-specific diversity shows that a generational change is underway, and that migration is gradually being recognized as a social reality within a 'post-migrant society' (Yildiz 2019). For the children of the estate, cultural diversity is meanwhile a natural and unproblematic aspect of everyday coexistence. A long-time resident with Spanish roots, who volunteers as a tutor at Telli School, notes a difference in children today compared to the past:

"I never hear what I used to hear: "Why does your mother talk so funny?" That's what children used to say to my son when he was a child. Today, no child would say something like that. That open-mindedness... Today the kids are so cosmopolitan compared to the past." (Interview with resident).

A cross-case collaboration in the PUSH project consisting of an exchange of letters between 5th grade students in Telli and Lotto O provides an insight into the everyday lives of the students and shows how multilingual the children in Telli grow up today. Although the high level of diversity has the potential to be a valuable resource for children, it is also linked to societal inequities and disadvantages. It begins in kindergarten and continues until graduation, where the proportion of students continuing to higher education in Telli is lower than the city average. Besides the school itself, the community center is also addressing this issue. It has developed several programs to improve the chances of Telli children, including pre-kindergarten courses, vocabulary training for kindergarteners and the coordination of school volunteers.



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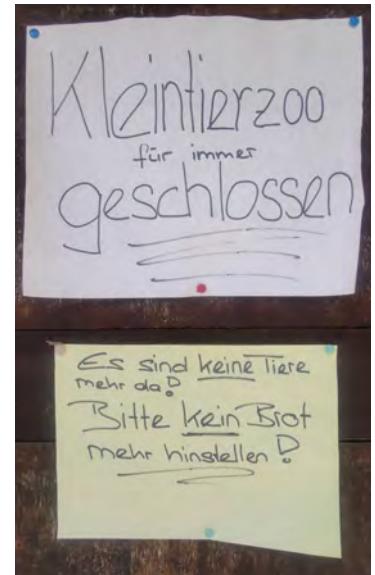
Publicness of Estates

2 Family Orientation

Owing to the baby boom generation of the 1940s to 1960s, children made up a significant portion of the population in postwar Switzerland. When Tscharnergut and Telli were planned and built the main emphasis was on families with children, which translates most visibly into space in the provision of common outdoor facilities. The entire area of both housing estates is traffic-free and is intersected only by pedestrian and bicycle paths. However, the nuclear family was not viewed as an isolated entity. In keeping with the values of community prevalent at the time, many large-scale housing estates incorporated facilities and spaces for the residents' free and communal use. Each of the expansive open spaces between the building blocks offers a variety of activities for children, including playgrounds, petting zoos, paddling pools, and sports fields. Indoor recreational facilities for younger children have also been integrated into both estates, offering them a place to meet in the afternoon. Schools and kindergartens are located on the site and can be reached within a short walking distance, without the children having to cross any streets.



The timeworn petting zoo facility when it was still in operation
© Aargauer Zeitung



Signs saying "Petting zoo closed for good" – "There are NO animals left. Please do NOT leave any more bread"
© Liv Christensen



A Telli resident fighting the closure of the petting zoo has launched a social media campaign to rally supporters © Instagram

Transformation of Telli's petting zoo through the course of time

Among the community spaces that were integrated into the estates from the beginning and oriented towards children, the small petting zoos are particularly noteworthy. Both Telli and Tscharnergut have had small children's zoos since the time they were built, which is rooted in a particular educational norm prevalent at the time. In the 1950s, when Tscharnergut was developed, many children in Switzerland kept rabbits, and at that time it was considered inconceivable that children could grow up without animals. Because the house rules in Tscharnergut prohibited the keeping of pets, the small animal park had the task of maintaining and promoting the relationship of the children to animals.

Today, both zoos face the challenge of adapting to current and future needs. While the petting zoo in Tscharnergut is mentioned by many interviewees as an important and valued place of encounter in the neighborhood, it is at the same time not a place free of controversy. For instance, animal welfare authorities have already intervened and reviewed animal welfare. Yet the petting zoo in Tscharnergut will be retained for the time being due to its recognition as an important community meeting place in the neighborhood.



Dissolving the long-time petting zoo

In Telli, however, the situation is different. Here the owner of the two middle blocks, a large pension fund, is responsible for running the zoo as a common facility. This was settled in the landowner's agreement for the entire estate in 1971 which stipulated that each owner was responsible for the construction, operation and maintenance of a common facility on his property. Last year, the owner decided to dissolve the Telli zoo as part of a massive redevelopment of its residential buildings and seized the opportunity presented by the retirement of the long-serving zookeeper. The owner believed the zoo to be outdated and no longer in keeping with the times. Compliance with current animal welfare regulations also posed an increasing challenge. In the end, the zoo did not necessarily attract the target group that was once intended:

"On the contrary, more seniors have been sitting there all the time, if at all, and that's simply because they knew the zookeeper and had been looking for someone to talk to. But the animals were there simply because they were there." (Interview with Owner's representatives)

Our on-site observations also confirm that the zoo ended up being more of a gathering place for seniors, and families with children were rather passing by than staying for a long time.

When the zoo was closed, it caused resistance among some of the residents. Many wished to continue seeing the animals – a wish that was accommodated in that the animals can be visited on the adjacent farm of the former animal keepers.

Despite the owner's arguments for closure and their efforts to involve residents in the participatory process, resistance continues. One resident, in particular, is strongly committed to reversing the process, i.e., keeping respectively bring back the zoo, and is organizing a social media campaign to gather supporters for the cause.



Community gardening and a 'participatory summer bar' as one of several activities planned on the former zoo grounds
© Leonie Pock



Transformation of the former zoo area into a place of encounter on an interim basis
© Leonie Pock

Opening of communal spaces to an outside public

With the residents' participation in the large-scale participation process associated with the redevelopment of the two residential blocks, new uses for the former zoo area are being sought. Just recently, the area of the former zoo was transformed into a place of encounter on an interim basis with several community events planned, such as summer bars and urban gardening projects.

The company commissioned to conduct the participation process explains in an interview that they have learned through experience that a stigmatized estate's reputation can only be changed if people visit and experience it by themselves. Therefore, they envision to make a lighthouse project on the old zoo area, which radiates beyond the estate and brings external visitors into the area. According to the person in charge of the participation process, this would be the only way to show what Telli has to offer. New conceptions of public space are at work here, resulting in a shift in emphasis away from estate autonomy and toward an opening to an outside public, including a participatory process (see policy 4). In the initial estate planning the focus was on parochial spaces dominated by communal relationships, i.e. spaces characterized by "a sense of commonality among acquaintances and neighbors who are involved in interpersonal networks that are located "within" communities." (Lofland 1998, 10). Meanwhile, this example shows that the shared spaces within the housing estate are increasingly perceived as public spaces in the traditional sense.

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Publicness of spaces

3 Neighborhood Participation

The policy that people concerned should have a say in the creation or renewal of their housing environment gained more and more recognition in the last years and decades. The residents in both Swiss estates have some, albeit limited opportunities to influence their (semi-)public outdoor and indoor spaces. If a resident wishes to change something about these shared spaces, he or she typically approaches organized bodies such as the neighborhood association. The neighborhood association's extensive network and established structures for exerting influence can assist residents in advancing their initiatives. However, such bottom-up initiatives are quite rare. More frequently, residents' direct influence on their estate's built environment occurs through top-down participation processes associated with concrete (re)construction projects. This was recently the case in a renewal project for the playground in Tscharnergut and is now partly also the case during the extensive renovation of two blocks in Telli. In Telli, participation has also been a key policy for implementing the neighborhood development project "allons-y Telli!" that was taking place from 2001 – 2006. The experiences show that measures of participation create (ephemeral or longer-term) sites of publicness, by initiating, coordinating and accompanying processes of ideation and negotiation among residents with regards to the present and future of their collective spaces.

Participation in the renewal process of Telli

Two of Telli's four apartment blocks are currently undergoing renovations. Along with the energetic renovation of 581 occupied apartments, the project includes the renewal of the blocks' indoor and partly also outdoor public spaces. In contrast to the other multi-owner blocks on the estate, both blocks undergoing renovation are owned by the same pension fund, which simplified both the decision to renovate and the process.



Facades and floorplan © Meili, Peter + Partner Architekten AG

Providing professional support for better acceptance and image enhancement

The pension fund is assisting and involving residents at various levels of participation in the renovation by providing professional support. Apart from a comprehensive communication strategy with elaborately designed brochures, websites and posters providing detailed information on various aspects of the redevelopment, a participation process was also initiated. A company that specializes in community identity was commissioned by the pension fund because they wanted to avoid tenants giving notice due to the redevelopment, as is often the case in redevelopment projects, when insecurity arises. In addition, the owner's goal is to improve Telli's reputation in order to attract new tenants and achieve full occupancy of the apartments, once the project is completed. From a drop-in tenant café to the option of introducing change requests in a model apartment and suggesting future uses for the outdoor spaces, the commissioned company facilitated numerous ways of participating.

Creating a point of contact on site

A key issue was to accompany the tenants during the renovation process and to support them if they had any worries or concerns. For this purpose, a tenant café was set up, that is open twice a week and staffed by a social worker and a representative from the tenant administration. Tenants can drop in unannounced with their concerns, which are then taken care of. While the tenant administration is responsible for planning and construction issues, the commissioned company is responsible for social and psychological issues. Casual chats during fieldwork with tenants, who were standing in line to enter the tenant café, showed that the opportunity to discuss their concerns regarding the reconstruction was highly appreciated.

Responding to residents' requests

A couple of examples show how the appointed company, in collaboration with the pension fund, was able to respond to requests placed by residents. First, during the first wave of the Covid-19 pandemic, everyone was at home, but at that time the construction site was extremely noisy. Tenants then approached the company several times, claiming that they were unable to concentrate at work or that families and the elderly were suffering from the noise. Eventually, the company and the pension fund arranged for vacant apartments near the construction site to be converted into quiet apartments: one apartment was converted into a co-working space, another into a space for children who require rest during nap time, and a third into a space for elderly people to retreat and linger. Second, throughout the renovation, a new network of paths, including graveled paths, was established throughout the construction site. A senior citizen requested that the path be tarred because it was difficult to navigate with a rollator. The appointed company easily accommodated this request with the construction managers and tarred the path. Then a rumor spread that the path had been renamed after the elderly gentleman. They then decided to actually rename the path and print a sign featuring a photograph of him and the official name (Hans-Keller-Weg). According to the company, such actions were very well received by the residents, because they actually felt heard.



Renaming a street after a resident requesting a rollator-friendly pathway © Liv Christensen



Participation process and arts project with children during renovation
© Itoba (top)/ Liv Christensen (bottom)

sites of Publicness

Partly involving people in planning

Furthermore, the commissioned company has begun a participatory process with local stakeholders and residents to determine what should happen to the former petting zoo and the numerous green spaces, e.g. playgrounds that had to be demolished to make way for the construction site. The process – organized in workshops and working groups – is primarily focused on the outdoor spaces of the blocks undergoing renovation. It aims at residents directly concerned but other Telli residents may also participate. Children have engaged in their own participation process. To begin, they were able to express their visions for the outdoor space and their preferences for playground equipment. Additionally, the commissioned company conducted surveys on the same subject with all primary school students and walk-throughs, noting which areas made the children feel at ease and which made them feel uneasy. This involvement also is supposed to extend to major planning.

Such efforts to involve residents in planning and to respond to their – at times urgent – needs and requests can be seen as examples of participatory publicness. In general, the residents have responded well to them.



People involved in the participation process during Telli renovation. © Itoba



People involved in the participation process during Telli renovation. © Itoba

Who is included? And the risks of sham participation

However, time constraints on the developer's part have put pressure on participatory decision-making asking for results quite quickly and giving scant regard for in-depth plan development and inclusion of difficult-to-reach residents, such as those with limited German language skills, limited education, irregular work shifts, or those with health issues. In a diverse and multinational estate like Telli, this is problematic. A person active in the participation process puts it this way:

"If you put a flyer in the mailbox, (...) you reach the Swiss who are used to participate or to have a say. You do not reach migrants. If you had explicitly wanted to reach them even more, you would have had to have more time on the one hand, and on the other hand you would have had to visit them directly or have coffee with them in their apartment in order to create trust."

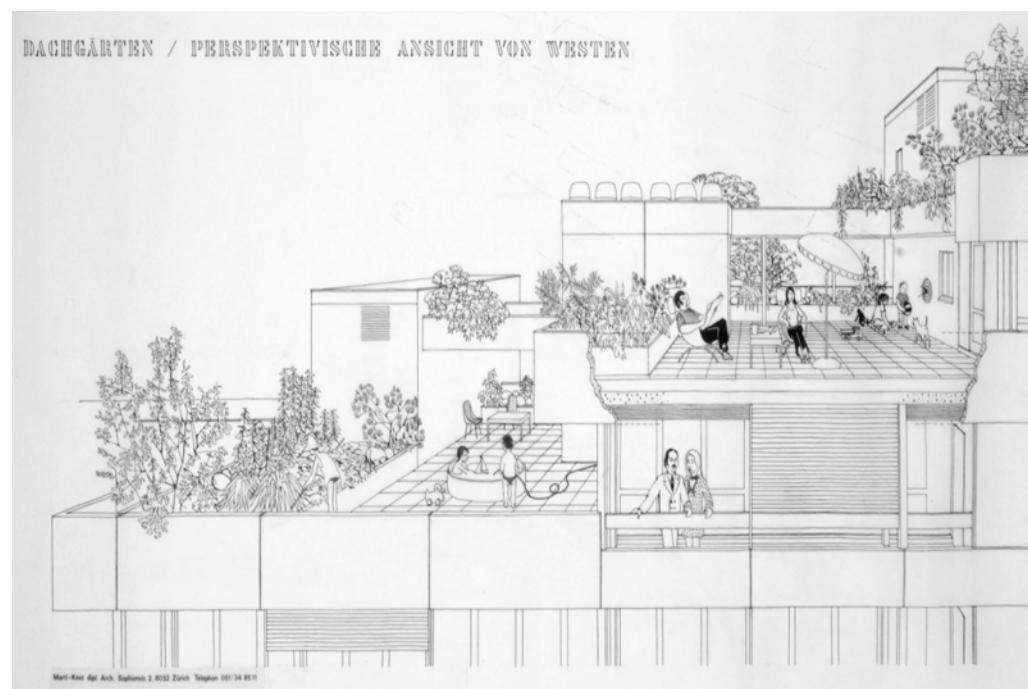
This might also be a reason that only a limited number of people reacted to the invitation to participate. Residents generally appreciate efforts to engage them, but some view them as mere lip service. If there is a suspicion that it is being done solely for image purposes and that the residents are not being taken seriously, trust will quickly erode. One of the interviewees, a younger student, expresses general support for the efforts for participation undertaken, but at the same time suspects that the reason behind is mainly part of an appeasement strategy and therefore rather sham participation:

"As you begin to see through that, your trust and positive attitude begins to wane slightly. Indeed, I would like to be involved in the design of the green spaces, to ensure that they do not become so sterile afterwards, or to ensure that you at least listen to the opinion of people. Of course, it is completely clear to me that you cannot accommodate every tenant's need, and that you may only be there temporarily; but that you are taken seriously is what I would find important."

In another interview, a retired resident expresses her displeasure and disappointment. According to her, the participation posters hanging in the estate saying "Tell us what you need, and we will take care of it" are merely lip service to appease the tenants, as the pension fund is simply rushing to complete the construction site's schedule despite the pandemic. Added to this, many residents were for a long time concerned about how much their rent would increase after the renovation, and this issue overshadowed all participation efforts. In general – with regards also to other experiences of participation processes in Telli and Tscharnergut – it can be said, that participation processes that are professionally moderated and transparently coordinated, and that allow residents to have a real say, can result in better adapted and more acceptable solutions. On the other hand, conflicts can arise, when residents sense that it is only sham participation. Establishing trust seems to be particularly crucial.



Invitation to participate for realizing a summer bar. © Itoba



© Marti & Kast Architekten und Planer, gta Archiv, ETH Zürich

Timeline/Tscharnergut

1954

Due to an acute housing shortage, especially for families with children, a postulate demanding the city to promote affordable housing, is submitted and accepted by the city council of Bern.

1955

The city council of Bern announces an architectural competition for the planning of the new project. The competition program calls for "housing for all population groups". In addition to apartments, services such as a primary school, a kindergarten and a pre-kindergarten. Playgrounds and a retirement home are also to be built. The Bern architecture office of Lienhard&Strasser wins the competition. In line with the postulate of 1954, the city leases a part of the Tscharnergut site for 99 years to three non-profit construction companies. In exchange for the favorable mortgages, the city receives the right to use fifteen percent of the apartments for social housing.

1958-1966

In the late 1950s the Tscharnergut estate is built in the west of Berne. The quarter is a typical housing estate of its time and the first large housing estate in Berne to be designed for 5'000 residents.

1962

The neighborhood's own newspaper "Der Wulchechratzer" (The skyscraper) is published for the first time. It still exists today and is published once a month.

1962

In November 1962 the new elementary school building Tscharnergut with fourteen classrooms is inaugurated.

1963

For the first time the "Tscharnifest", a large neighborhood block party, takes place. The whole population, women, men and children, all groups and associations participate.

1964

The first generation children become teenagers and so there are new problems to solve. The need for separate rooms for this age group emerges.

1964

The library on the Tscharnergut area is the most used library in the city of Berne.

1966

A committee for youth issues is established.

1968

The "Zyschtigclub" (Tuesday Club) is founded as a meeting place for pupils and the first disco events with up to 450 young people from all over the city are organized. During the next twenty years these events were an integral part of the community center's program.

1970

Extension of the community center begins in order to meet the new requirements of a café and a room for a youth disco.

1989

The women living in Tscharnergut found Switzerland's first mother's centre (MÜZE) as a self-governing meeting place for women and children.

1994

The green outdoor spaces of the Tscharnergut are classified as an "exterior space of interest" for monument conservation and included in the building inventory of the city of Berne.

2003

Coop Switzerland (a grocery store) closes its branch in Tscharnergut due to rationalization.

2004

A new grocery store opened.

2017

The Fambau cooperative wants to demolish and rebuild an apartment block in the Tscharnergut housing estate. A renovation is not considered economically viable. Experts and conservationists have a different view and prevent a demolition.

2018

Refurbishment of two buildings by the architects Rolf Mühlethaler and office Matti Ragaz Hitz. Due to changing needs, some 3.5 room apartments were converted into larger apartments. As a result, the proportion of apartments falls from 1208 at the time of construction to 1186 in 2018.

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Tscharnergut

- 4: Affordable Housing
- 5: Community Building
- 6: Heritage Preservation



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/Sites of Publicness







Publicness of Estates

4 Affordable Housing

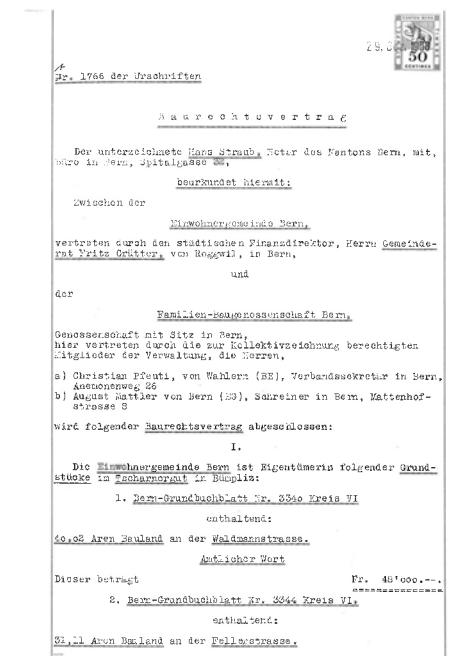
Switzerland's postwar years were marked by a severe housing shortage. The population expanded significantly during those years, owing to the baby boomer generation's birth surpluses and increased immigration from southern and southeastern European countries. At the same time, the migration from the rural areas to the city increased considerably during this period. The economic boom led to skyrocketing real wages and a significant increase in wealth, which went hand in hand with rising housing comfort requirements. The excessive demand for modern housing compelled the building industry to develop new strategies and methods for quickly and cost-effectively constructing much-needed homes. The postwar industrialization of the construction sector accelerated the standardization of floor designs, prefabrication, and mechanization of houses.

Built in the postwar years of acute housing shortage, both Telli and Tscharnergut were constructed with the aim of providing affordable housing for broad sections of the population. Policies of affordability had a strong influence on the construction techniques of the housing complexes, which were to be as efficient and rational as possible to keep costs down.

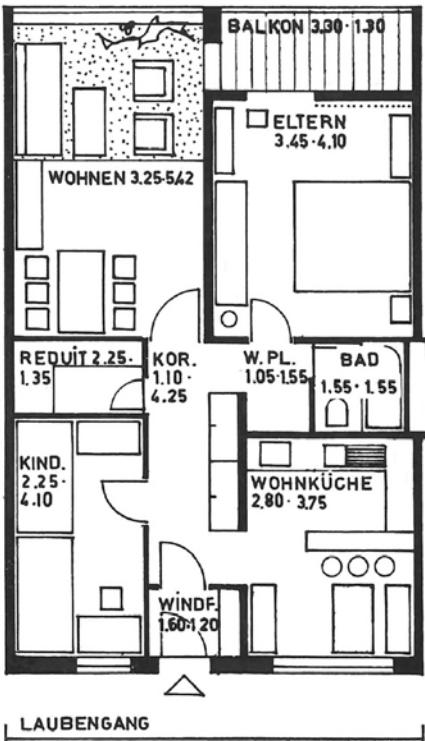


Tscharnergut provided modern housing for numerous families
© Archiv Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut

Cost-effective mass housing and its effect on publicness and stigmatization at Tscharnergut
In response to an extreme housing crisis, particularly among families with children, a proposition was made in 1954 to the Berncity council requesting that the city promote affordable housing. The idea was not for the city to develop municipal housing, but rather to assist non-profit housing cooperatives in constructing low-cost apartments through the lease of a building site. The city of Bern approved the concept and a year later announced an architectural competition to design the project. The competition program called for "homes for all segments of the population, in a variety of apartment sizes, but at least half of them three-bedroom apartments." In accordance with the 1954 postulate, the city leased the Tscharnergut site to three housing cooperatives for 99 years, including construction rights. The city of Bern obtained the right to use fifteen percent of the units for social housing in exchange for the advantageous mortgages.



Excerpt from the building lease contract between the Municipality of Bern and the Family Housing Cooperative Bern, 1959.



Floor plan of a 3.5-room apartment accessed via the open-air corridor. 70% of the apartments in Tscharnergut are 3.5-bedroom apartments, which were considered family apartments at the time.

© Bäschlin 2004.

Keeping construction costs as low as possible

One requirement of the city of Bern in the architectural competition was to build as many apartments as possible at a low rent for families with children. One of the architects, Ulyss Strasser, describes this in an interview on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the estate:

"We had the clear mandate to build very cheap apartments. The city determined the rental costs in advance and derived the construction costs from this. In order not to exceed these, we had to save everywhere." (Interview with Ulyss Strasser, Kunz 2009).

In order to arrive at the favorable rent of 180 Swiss Franc for a 3.5 room apartment at that time, various measures were taken to keep construction costs as low as possible. These are particularly reflected in a rational construction method that allowed few variations in floor plans. The facades are partly made of prefabricated sandwich concrete elements. Thanks to the element construction method, it was possible to avoid complex and cost-intensive scaffolding during construction. In addition, the number of elevators could be reduced by providing access to the apartments with open-air corridors. The elevators only stop on intermediate landings, each serving two floors. This form of access was chosen to keep construction costs as low as possible and to preserve more living space inside due to the lack of access cores. As a result, access to the apartments is not barrier-free.



Affordable housing could be built thanks to the cost-effective prefabricated construction method.
© Archiv Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut

Sites of Publicness

Sites of publicness are formed as a result of cost-saving construction techniques

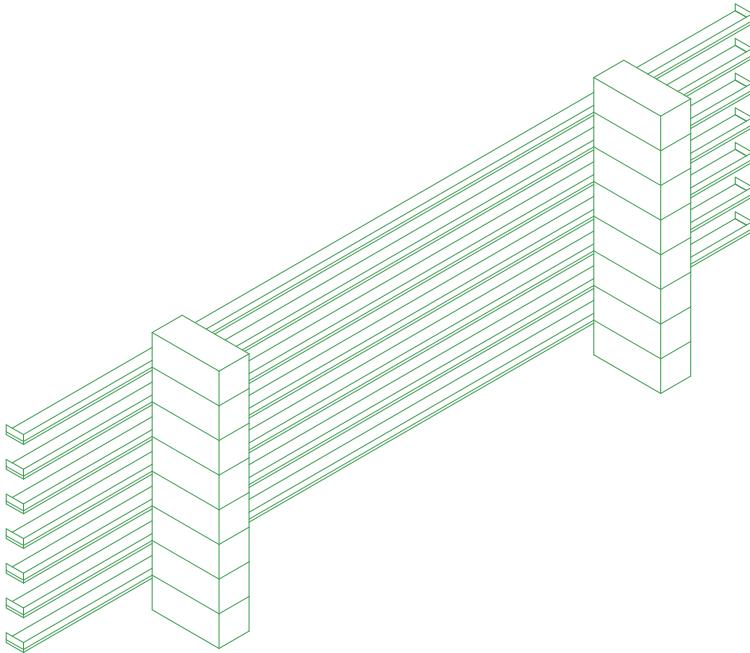
The specifications from the authorities and the resulting low-cost construction had long-term consequences for neighborhood life inside the estate, but also for the outside perception of the estate. For instance, the development through open-air corridors created a meeting place in the estate, i.e., a site of publicness, where informal and random encounters among neighbors could take place. In the past, residents were responsible for cleaning these spaces, which led to more encounters, but also to conflicts and social control among neighbors – as some long-time residents reported in the interviews.



Monuments of the postwar period: the large Tscharnergut housing estate next to the freeway, 1982
© Comet Photo AG



Tscharnergut under construction.
© Walter Studer



Affordable housing thanks to repetition and prefabrication: isometric scheme, open-air corridors and access towers. © Leonie Wagner



Historical photo of the open-air corridors, showing that they also served as a play area for children
© Archiv Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut

Stigmatization of mass housing remains despite positive inside views

The rational, prefabricated construction method influenced the later outside perception. Although the mixed construction style with the alternation of high and low, large and small buildings was supposed to prevent a monotonous appearance, the rational construction method and the use of concrete led to the large housing estate being perceived as a "monotonous place". The renunciation of luxury, for example through regulations such as the ban on television antennas, contributed to a negative image of deprivation.

In general, however, the apartments were highly appreciated, as they provided modern, hygienic living at an affordable price. Even low-income households had access to contemporary dwellings and a piece in the economic boom. The low rents are one of the reasons why a large part of the population has lived in Tscharnergut for many years, sometimes with the second or even third generation. This contributes to the strong attachment to the neighborhood expressed by many residents in the interviews. Nevertheless, the gap between the stigmatization from the outside and the appreciative internal view of the residents persists to this day.

"It's frustrating. Nobody's really interested in the good things. People want to see the bad things about Tscharni, they want to see this as a ghetto, it has the label." (Interview with head of TIAG).

As the quote from the head of Tscharnergut Immobilien AG illustrates, it can be very difficult to get rid of the longstanding negative image once you have it.



The open-air corridors, which function as meeting places for the residents, are the result of a cost-cutting measure.
© Angela Birrer

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Publicness of Soziesit

5 Community Building

Community building is a key policy in many large housing estates of the 1960s and 1970s in Switzerland and a crucial part of their development. Initially, it has been a response to the widespread assumption that high-rise and large-scale housing estates are anonymous per se – and that therefore a “community” and “community spirit” needs to be built in order to counteract possible negative outcomes of the “massification” and presumed “anonymization” in the newly built housing estates. Measures to implement this – and a material expression of the policy – was the construction of various indoor and outdoor common facilities and rooms for communal use by residents, such as community, leisure and craft rooms, sport and picnic areas, libraries, cafés etc. As a key practice of community building, community centers have been built in the estates, in which from the very beginning until today professional community workers have been employed for building and strengthening publicness, conviviality and neighborhood networks. The policy of community building often went along with normative idea(s) that equated community with solidarity and highlighted the importance of encounters and “meaningful” leisure activities. This can be understood within the initial context, which went along with a significant socio-structural change. The economic boom triggered domestic and international migration to urban and suburban areas in Switzerland, while transformations in the labor market led to more time for leisure.

Community Center Tscharnergut – a pioneer in Switzerland

The community center in Tscharnergut was the first of its kind in Switzerland and played a pioneering role for the formation of following community centers in Bern but also other large-scale housing estates in Switzerland, such as Telli in Aarau. Both community centers until today are a key sites of publicness, organizing and coordinating possibilities for encounters, leisure activities as well as moments of conviviality and solidarity in the neighborhoods.



First Tscharnergut Festival 1963
© Archiv Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut

Planning policies emphasize community-building

In the mid- to late 1950s the team of architects led by Hans and Gret Reinhard that designed Tscharnergut had an idea in mind that in Bern was still unusual for the time: a dense area development with a strong social imprinting and a community-promoting structure. While the city's main concern was the intensive use of the area and increasing the number of floors, the architects used their negotiating power to build a community center in return. Furthermore, generous semi-public and public spaces, a library, a restaurant and large green areas, were planned and built to compensate for little personal space.

The architects envisaged these spaces to promote the emergence of community life in Tscharnergut and make it easier for residents to settle in. Seen as a response to concerns about massification and anonymity, the city and the municipal council welcomed the construction of a community center (or leisure center as it has initially been named) also for educational reasons. Rooms for handicrafts and repair workshops, for reading and various further training opportunities (such as language courses) or meetings of clubs and associations etc. were intended to counteract “questionable” behavior (such as watching too much TV) and to involve residents in “valuable” activities. Important in setting up the community center behind the scenes has been Xander Bäschlin, the priest in Tscharnergut at the time.

Policies and practices of community work – and importance of key person

The community center (short QZT for "Quartierzentrums") in Tscharnergut was to be run and led by a key person. This was found in Hans-Jörg Uehlinger, who pursued a progressive approach to community work. In the Netherlands he had experienced how community work supported residents in actively implementing their own concerns and projects and providing them with the necessary infrastructure rather than treating them as passive receivers of care. For Uehlinger, the promotion of social relationships, encounters and the creation of a good atmosphere were key, but also public relations work and taking a position of advocacy for Tscharnergut in a city-wide context. Soon an office help and social work trainees and many volunteers have been included in the team to support and organize the manifold activities that emerged.

The community center opened its doors in 1962 and was met with broad interest – also beyond the country's borders. In 1964 for instance, the Mayor of Moscow and the Swedish Foreign Minister visited it.



First Tscharnergut Festival 1963
© Archiv Quartierzentrums Tscharnergut

Making it happen: broad-based financing

A central achievement in financing the QZT was the so-called "tenant franc", introduced by Uehlinger together with a notary and the city president of Bern, where one franc of the monthly rent of each apartment directly went to the QZT. This custom operates until today even though it is five francs now. In return, residents can rent rooms in the center for half of the price. As Otto Wenger – Uehlinger's successor and today's director of the community center – states in the interview: "so in a way we give the money back". The salaries of the collaborators of the center are financed by the City of Bern within the framework of multi-year service contract with the VBG (the Bernese association of Community Work), of which the QZT is part of. Furthermore, there are incomes of own activities, such as the rental of rooms, sales of day tickets for public transport for the municipality and running the wood workshop and café. This café, which offers also menus for lunch, is an important place of encounter in the neighbourhood, nowadays especially for older residents.



Operating income in total:

2020: 659'042 CHF >-29% in COVID-19 year
2019: 925'433 CHF

Source: Annual financial statement 2020, Verein Quartierzentrums im Tscharnergut

Annual financial statement 2020.
© Verein Quartierzentrums Tscharnergut

Being dedicated to initial principles and open to new ideas

Professional community work plays an important role in Tscharnergut until today – and is still dedicated to the initial approach "to help people to help themselves" by encouraging and supporting the residents' own initiative and participation. In addition to the freedom of agency and the joy of experimentation, this requires flexibility, openness, social skills – but also the acceptance that not every project will succeed or be continued on the long run. The offer is therefore highly dependent on the demand and interest of residents as well as the commitment of individual people (Interview Otto Wenger). For instance, the offer of a time-and-skills-exchange platform amongst residents came to a halt when the initiator left, while new ideas emerged – such as for instance the project "por amor al arte" in 2019 in which foreign-language children and their parents could meet for creative activities and an afternoon snack. Other offers such as the information center and the open wood workshop, supervised by volunteers, continues to exist since many years.



Summerparty Tscharnergut 1982
© Archiv Quartierzentrums Tscharnergut

Publicness of spaces

Named after the Bernese tourist attraction, the "Bärengraben" in front of the community center is a popular meeting place for young people in Tscharnergut. Initiated by the community center in 1983, a class of the then school of arts and crafts decorated the gray concrete walls with paintings. This practice continued during the 1990s when the community center made use of the originally subversive and often illegal practice of graffiti by calling on residents to present their draft and, if approved, embellish the bare concrete walls with colorful scribbles and paintings. To this day, new ideas for graffiti are submitted and implemented four to eight times a year. Since 2008, the community center has worked with the youth center (TOJ) to hold the so-called "Youth Culture Factory", an event with break dancing and rap battles in the community hall that takes place every spring. During this event, the entire Bärengraben is redesigned and young people spray their artwork under the guidance of "seasoned" artists. In 2021, the de_block group also redesigned parts of the wall with graffiti to celebrate their 1-year anniversary. This example illustrates the double-edged nature of practices moving between community building, participation and control.



In the 1990s, the community center organized a spray event with youths and seniors.
© Archiv Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut

Adapting according to socio-demographic changes

From the 1990s onwards, socio-demographic changes led to an adaptation of the services offered at the QZT. In the first years of the 1960s the offers were mainly concentrating on families with children. This was also due to the fact that initially families interested in renting an apartment in Tscharnergut were required to have at least 1-2 children, resulting in the fact that most families selected by the building cooperatives had at least three children. Accordingly, a large number of families with small children lived in the housing estate at the beginning. In fact, children made up about half of the 5'000 residents in Tscharnergut.

As the children of the first years became teenagers, they began to claim spaces of their own. From 1964 youth work and a meeting place for young people was introduced, first as an interim solution in air-raid shelters under the school gym. The so-called "Gipsy-Keller" (Gypsy basement) was a place where the young people of the neighborhood were allowed to play music and organize discos. According to one of the long-term residents who was a teenager during this period, there was a strong focus in community work on the young generation: "Back in the day, when I was young, you had everything for young people: Youth clubs, youth discos, associations, scout divisions... there was everything for the young people" (Interview Thomas Uehlinger).

From the mid-1970s, the community center provided official spaces for youth discos. Each Saturday, between 600 and 900 young people met in a large, soundproofed hall beneath the community center, including the fact that the majority of young people rode their mopeds, which generated a lot of noise. Thus, it was part of the community center manager's job at the time to calm upset residents during "noise meetings", remaining committed to the needs of young people (among others also by supporting a mopeds repair workshop).



Information Center and contact point in Tscharnergut today (left) and after its renovation in 1991 (right)
© Jennifer Duyne / Archiv Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut

Today, the residents of the Tscharnergut are aging: the young people have left since many years, while the parents' generation gets older and remains due to the affordable rentals, retail choices, and high quality of life. Today, an above-average number of senior citizens live in Tscharnergut. 37.7% of Tscharnergut-residents are 65 years or older, compared to the average of 21.8% in Bern (Monitoring Statistik Stadt Bern 2017). This is also reflected in the events and activities offered by the community center, such as "senior dance" events or card game evenings.



Advocating for inclusion and against stereotypes

42% of the residents in Tscharnergut have a foreign passport, compared to Bern's average of 24% (Stadt Bern 2021). With the increasing diversity in Tscharnergut, the QZ over the years has also been involved in a number of overarching integration projects in the larger district – and just recently decided to offer rooms to the young activist group "de_block", that is advocating for the rights and the inclusion of migrants with no legal residence status in Bern. Furthermore, the community center rents out rooms to migrant or diverse groups and supports cultural initiatives and encounters. In addition to celebrating cultural festivals, the community rooms are also used to practice dances, for art exhibitions or simply to get together.

The community-promoting work until today is dedicated to build a counterbalance to the still rampant negative external perception of Tscharnergut in Bern, countering stereotypes and providing important moments of resilience and 'caring for each other' – but also of dealing constructively with possible and emerging conflicts – taking on a position of advocacy for Tscharnergut until today through cultural activities and community work.



Café, library and wood workshop at the Leisure Center Tscharnergut, 1960s. © Archiv Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut

Challenges and potentials in times of crisis

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, the community center had to close partially (and twice also completely), which resulted in a sharp decline in the number of visitors and income. Thanks to the city's service contract, the collaborators did not lose their jobs. Most projects stopped and public activities couldn't be carried out. Thanks to the long-term established neighborhood networks, the offer has been adapted – and could quickly provide help. The QZT built up a coordination hub for neighborhood help in no time, which was also portrayed in several Swiss media. Furthermore, the café has developed a take-away offer and together with the old-age organization Pro Senectute a meal delivery service. In order to express gratitude for the great solidarity and neighborhood help experienced in these difficult times, the QZT together with the Schlachthaus Theater Bern – which had also planned and been obliged to cancel several projects in the neighborhood – organized a musical and performance surprise to the residents, at the "day of the neighborhood" on May 29th 2020 – an event that was repeated in 2021.



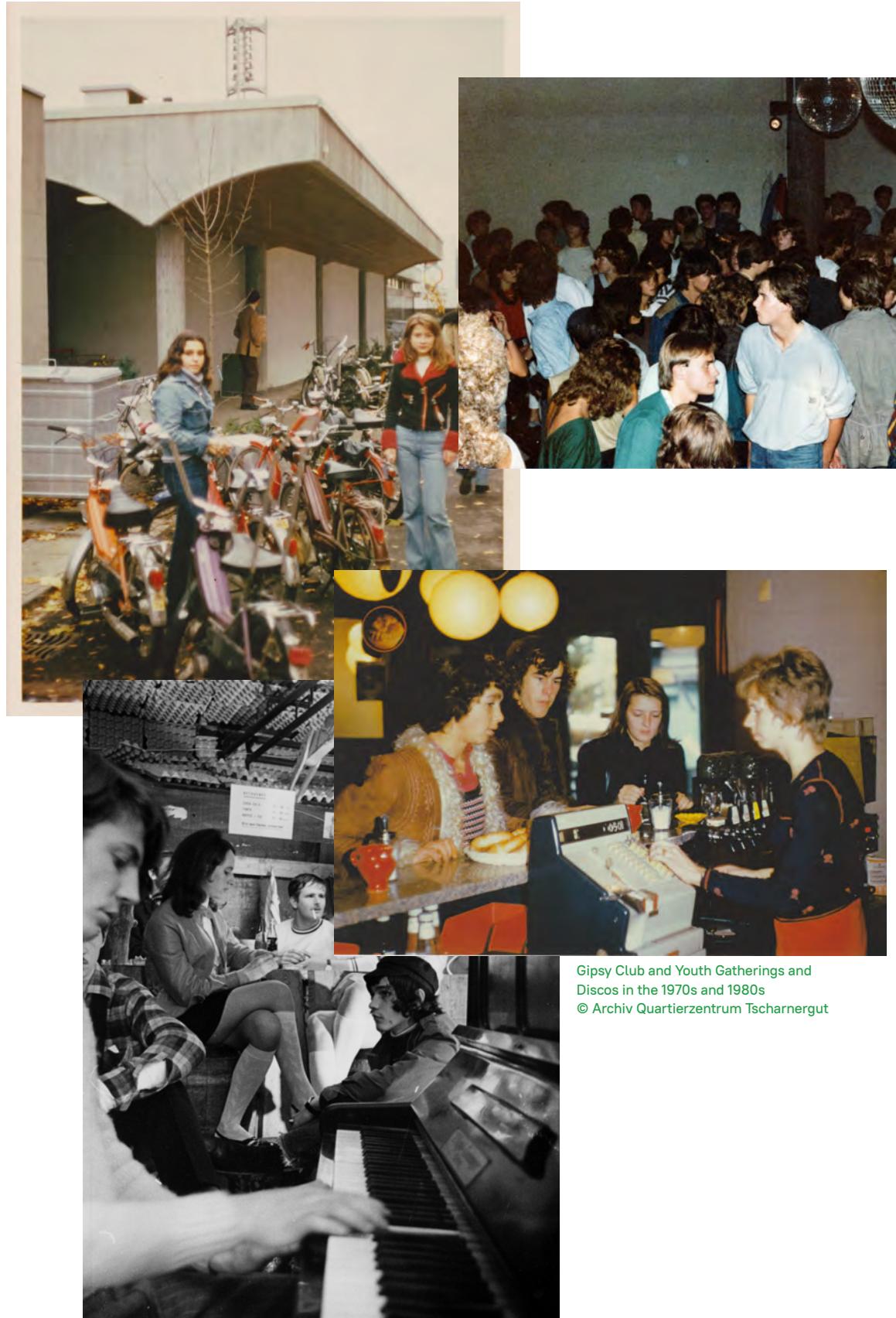
In the beginning most activities of the community center aimed at families and kids (such as soap box races, celebrations for St. Nicolas or hot air balloon races)

© Archiv Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut

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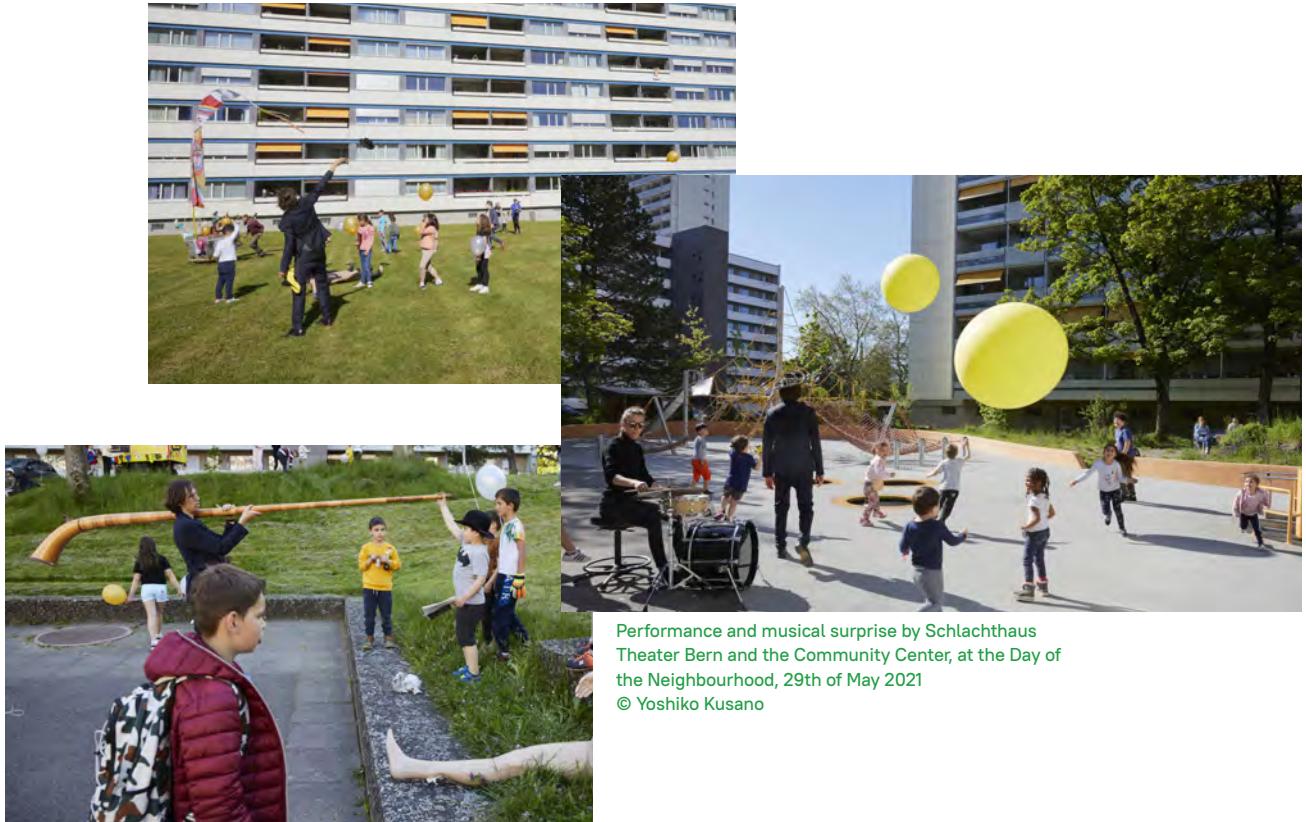
sites of Publicness



Gipsy Club and Youth Gatherings and
Discos in the 1970s and 1980s
© Archiv Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut



Events and activities for and with older residents
© Archiv Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut



Performance and musical surprise by Schlachthaus
Theater Bern and the Community Center, at the Day of
the Neighbourhood, 29th of May 2021
© Yoshiko Kusano



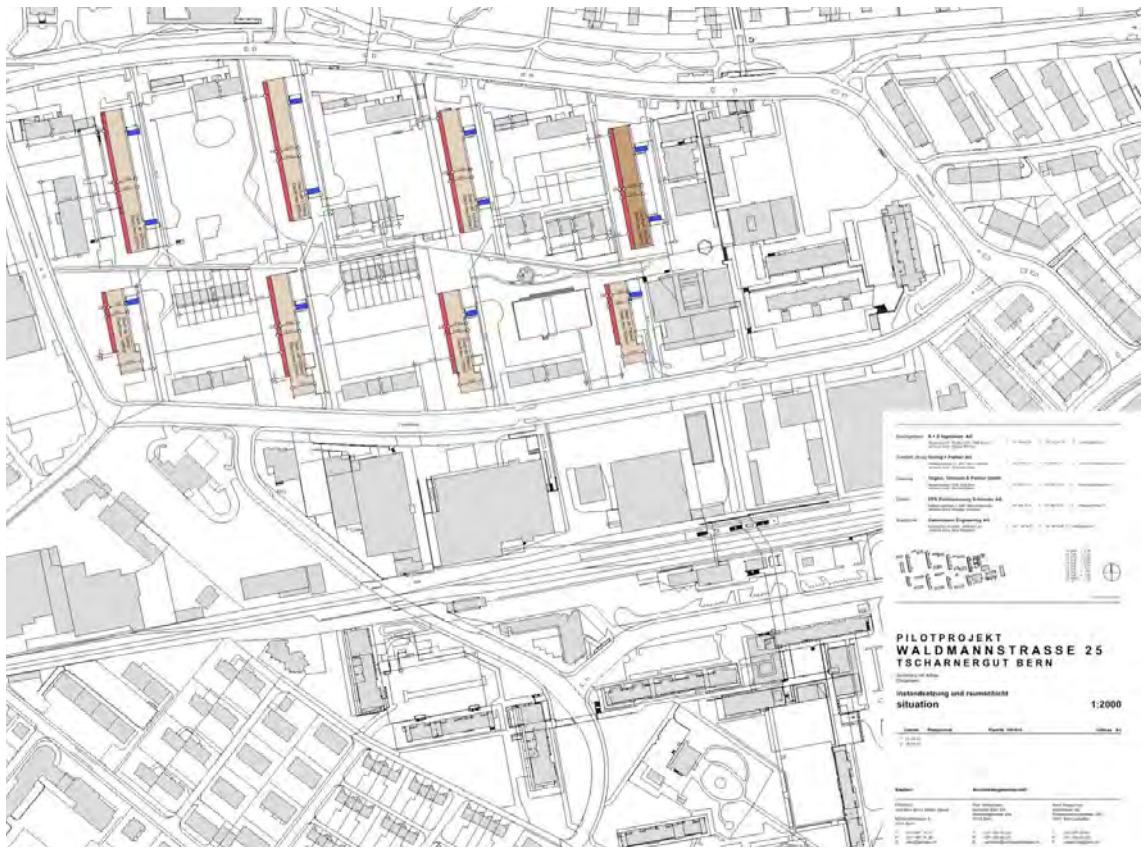


Publicness of sites

6 Heritage Preservation

The legacy of the post-war construction boom is ageing. Today, Tscharnergut is over 60 years old, the Telli estate will celebrate its 50th anniversary. Cyclically buildings need repair and renovation measures for the technical installations, the interior fittings and the roof and façade elements. Furthermore, the living and comfort requirements change. Whereas a 3.5 room flat was a standard family flat in the 1960s, this does not fit any more today's living space requirements of families with several kids. In addition, the application of rationalized construction methods and prefabrication has involved experimenting with materials and technologies that are in parts proving to be problematic. Ecological and energy considerations have hardly been taken into account at the time of the construction, which poses a challenge today. On the other hand, the postwar large-scale housing estates play an important role in providing affordable housing for people with smaller incomes. Both, Tscharnergut and Telli, are recognized from heritage authorities as places of special architectural value. The ensemble is protected in both estates, in Tscharnergut in addition to that, the buildings are listed too.

The question of how to deal with this housing stock therefore is the subject of a lively discussion in architecture, real estate industry and monument preservation. The discussion is complicated if – as in the case of two blocks in Telli – many owners have a say. But even when there is only a single owner it can also turn out to be highly conflictive, as the example of Tscharnergut shows, where a heated debate emerged about the demolition and identical replacement of a building.



"Exemplary" redevelopment of a listed building done by Fambau in 2011

Debate about replacement or refurbishment in Tscharnergut

The listed building Fellerstrasse 30 in the Tscharnergut estate needs to be redeveloped, in order to meet today's living standards and safety requirements. How exactly this should be done, however, is the subject of an ongoing public debate between the owner, the Fambau cooperative, the city of Bern, the monument protection authorities and other stakeholders. The case of Fellerstrasse 30 is highly charged because it probably will become a precedent for other Tscharnergut buildings (MacKenzie 2020, 9; MacKenzie 2020a, 7) – and might also influence future ways of dealing with this built legacy in general.



Scan QR code to watch news report by Swiss public television (SRF) on the current debate

Adapting to today's living standards

In 2011, the Fambau, which owns around 40% of the more than 1'200 flats in the Tscharnergut, renovated in a pilot project a similar building in compliance with the requirements of monument protection. Praised as an "exemplary" redevelopment (Christl 2017, 6), the different developers of the Tscharnergut then signed the "Tscharnergut planning agreement" together with the city and the monument protection authorities. It was agreed, that in the future, all buildings should be redeveloped according to this model.

Six years later, however, the Fambau now sees itself unable to redevelop Fellerstrasse 30 according to its previous approach. The renovation had not proved financially profitable, had neither met the needs of tenants nor the current energy, fire prevention and noise standards. In addition, Fellerstrasse 30 had too many defects in the building fabric to justify a redevelopment (*ibid.*). The Fambau therefore pleads for an identical replacement building with contemporary residential qualities such as more generous room layouts, universal design, sound insulation, earthquake safety and fire protection. An approach that is also shared by some residents. An interviewed resident for instance, who used to live in this building, is in favor of demolition mainly because of the lack of environmental standards:

"In my flat it was always very hot in winter and the corner flats were always cold and damp. If anyone walked around in the flat, you could hear it all over the house."

For a resident of another similar redeveloped building in Tscharnergut, preserving and promoting an intergenerational and social mix is a priority.

Staying true to the original concept through a replacement building

In the original concept, Tscharnergut was especially intended to be a place for families. Due to today's demands on family housing, the original floor plans had turned out to be too narrow and small for nowadays living standards for families, which led to the situation that hardly only low-income migrant families moved in the vacant flats. In line with the high living satisfaction and low willingness to move of the long-time residents, this had led to a demographic ageing of the Tscharnergut over the years.

The architect, Jörg Sollberger from the Reinharts' successors architectural office, who is involved in the planned replacement building, therefore argues for the protection of the idealistic original idea, namely the creation of affordable housing for a mixed population, rather than the preservation of the "original bricks" (MacKenzie 2020a, 8). The Fambau sees the preservation of the original concept – with a focus on giving affordable housing to families – only viable in the replacement building. Others emphasize that the small Tscharnergut-flats are still attractive for single-parent families or for flat-sharing, like a former representative of the neighborhood commission Hans Stucki – who pleads for a rethinking of the family image (SRF 2017).

Fambau argues that in case of the redevelopment of the estate, they might on the long run no longer be able to provide affordable housing due to the high costs involved. Given their arguments, the government governor of Bern-Mittelland attested, based on an expert opinion, "unreasonable costs" for a redevelopment and gave the Fambau in July 2020 the permission for the replacement of an identical building (SDA 2020, 3). Staying true to the original structural concept is uncontested by Fambau and the owners' coordination board TIAG.

"As an owners board we are unanimous: nothing must change in the structure or the peculiarities of the Tscharni. No cars in the neighborhood, nothing completely different. It has to be a building that fits in with the surroundings." (Interview representative of TIAG).



Stakeholder mapping



"Exemplary" redevelopment of a listed building done by Fambau in 2011

Publicness of Sites



Visualization of the optical identical replacement building by Fambau

Preserving an architectural icon in its materiality

The City of Bern and the Bernese Heritage Society had a different opinion and filed an appeal against the decision. For them, it is about the protection of the ensemble, which is classified as "worthy of protection" in the Bernese building inventory, and about the preservation of the four-storey apartment blocks on Fellerstrasse, which are classified as "worthy of preservation" (Christl 2017, 3). For them it is also about preserving the materiality. As an architectural heritage of international repute, a visually identical replacement building would be out of the question, as this would be "dishonest" with regard to the original building fabric (Wohnungspolitik Schweiz Medienschau 2021). The Bernese Heritage Society disputes the unprofitability of a redevelopment with reference to a similar building refurbished in 2017, whose rental had proven profitable despite extensive renovations (Mentha 2020, 4-5).

In contrast, the representative of the owners' cooperative in question points out that the redevelopment at that time took place before the revision of the Cantonal Building Act, which now sets stricter guidelines (MacKenzie 2020a, 4-5). The managing director of the Fambau, Walter Straub, also struggles with the fulfilment of these official requirements: "From the point of view of monument protection, the massive measures necessary for this [the compliance with official requirements] are not allowed at all, because they would visually change the interior and exterior of the building. Accordingly, it is simply accepted that the building regulations are not fulfilled. This troubles me." (Interview Fambau).

However, for the Association of Swiss Architects the building of a new building is "completely nonsensical" from an ecological point of view (MacKenzie 2020, 10). Moreover, among young people "the architecture of the 1950s, 60s and 70s is becoming very trendy again" and the housing stock is also needed for migrants and people with low incomes in search of affordable housing (*ibid.*, 8). Some architects who carried out the renovation, such as Rolf Mühletaler and Matti Ragaz Hitz are therefore convinced that a solid and intelligent refurbishment can ensure and bring new living quality to Tscharnergut, offering simple, bright and affordable flats, which meets the housing needs of many (Herzog 2016, 15f). This is also emphasized by the Bernese Heritage Society, which

predicts a “positive future” for buildings in concrete like the Tscharnergut given their improved reputation (MacKenzie 2020, 8). The architect and daughter of the builders of the Tscharnergut Hans and Gret Reinhard, Sabine Schärrer, counters: “The aesthete fraction is obviously indifferent if the neighbourhood proves to be a catchment basin for precarious cases that cannot find accommodation elsewhere.” (Schärrer 2020, 7).

The debate continues

In May 2021, the cantonal building authorities rejected the Fambau’s demolition and construction plans (Hämmann 2021, 1). But the discussion is not over yet. The Fambau is taking the matter to the Administrative Court and, if necessary, to the Federal Court of Switzerland (Wohnungspolitik Schweiz Medienschau 2021). With its legal continuation, the public debate with the opposing positions – monument policy in the name of identity and sustainability versus the social housing policy of the Fambau – creates an even larger site of national publicness. What is conspicuous in the heated public debate, however, is the absent voice of the residents and civil society – the people who will ultimately live at Fellerstrasse 30. In interviews, some representatives of neighborhood associations also consciously decide to stay out of the debate, arguing that they can just highlight today’s living qualities in Tscharnergut and do not have the technical and architectural knowledge needed to really assess the situation for the future and take a position pro or contra refurbishment/replacement.

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Newspaper coverage on the debate during the last five years



Visualization of the modern and family friendly interior

Publicness and Informality at Telli/Tscharnergut

How are different ways of living together on site produced, performed and contested as processes of governance and power? How does this create publicness(es) and what is the status of informality in a Swiss housing context? Studying publicness in large scale housing estates following anthropology, we put focus on how different people make sense of things. Of interest is the diverse actors' frame of reference, how it affects their everyday lives, i.e. how people engage with policies and what they make out of them. In this understanding, informality in publicness is something situational, which is (re)produced by the actions of all people who deal with or challenge formal intentions. In a rather over-regulated Swiss housing context, informality is realized in everyday practices of coping with, neutralizing, maybe resisting policies and regulations or also transforming them from below in the physical and social realm of a large-scale affordable housing

estate. As everyday practice, informality is an ephemeral process. In the Swiss case studies, caretakers following strict norms and house rules keep spaces clean and “in order” on a daily basis. Therefore, we have to focus everyday anew on traces and configurations of informality on site: collective events, spontaneous maneuvers or also temporary appropriation techniques that differ from the formal purposes that define how a specific place should be used. Informality in this sense, exists within the dynamics, in which spaces are created in “border-pulling orders and negotiation processes”.

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Löw, Martina (2016; deutsch 2004): The Sociology of Space. Materiality, Social Structures, and Action, London

Research Team:

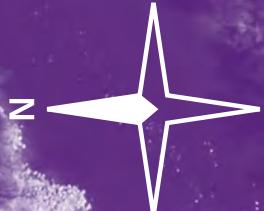
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Students: Maria Bazzicalupo, Iakovos Birdas, Elaheh Iranmanesh, Joanna Lawson, Charline Lefrançois, Jooyung Koag, Efjeni Kokëdhima, Mariia Kushchenkova, Drizona Maçani, Eleftherios Papamichelakis, Sabeen Shahid Salahuddin, Laura Sanchis Estruch and Anastasia Tzompanaki, MAS in Housing, ETH Zürich, Switzerland



Telli / Sites of Publicness

1: Petting Zoo Breakfast Club

2: Shopping center



0 10

50

100 m



sites of Publicness



Group of elderly, who are friends with the zoo keeper, meet daily for breakfast at the petting zoo.



The petting zoo is usually a meeting spot for mothers and their toddlers.

© Efijeni Kokédhima and Sabeen Salahuddin

1. Petting Zoo

A place intended for children and families is also 'appropriated' by older residents who meet there every morning for a drink and some chats – also when temperatures get colder. This informal and temporary 'appropriation' of the zoo by the elderly also reflects the ageing of the structure and the people taking care of it.

They come daily to take care of the goats, chicken and donkeys. They usually come at 9.00. At 10-11 am two men and a woman visit them and have breakfast together. If it is snowing they don't go out. They have a dog.

Meanwhile, the ones who pass are either jogging, riding a bicycle, walking their dog, walking with their baby. Most of the users of the space or passengers are 50+. The ones, who walk their dog, claim to do this itinerary daily or even twice per day.

Toddlers like to play with the goats with wooden sticks. Their parents like to socialize while toddlers play. They don't usually sit, they rather stay with the baby carriages or leaning. However, when it is cold or rainy, they don't usually socialize here. Some of them enter the stable even though there is a note saying that they are not allowed to enter. They like to say hi to the people working inside.

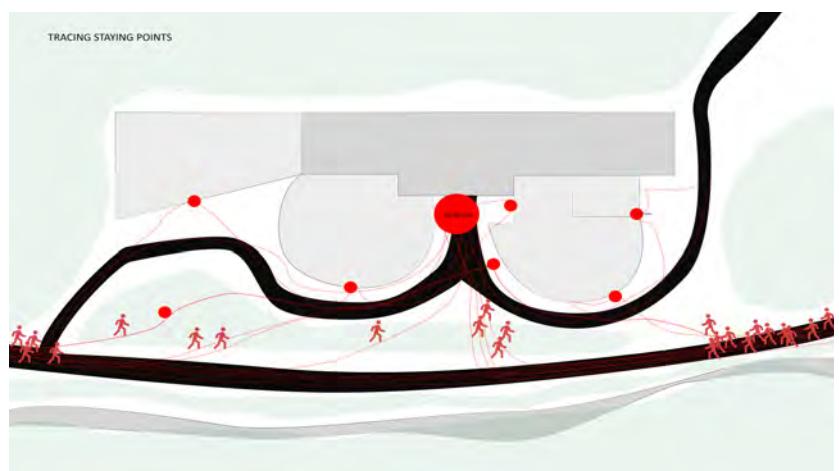
A total low number of users due to the cold.

Observation notes by Efijeni Kokédhima and Sabeen Shahid Salahuddin, students in the MAS ETH in Housing: Friday, 15.11.2019, Telli, Aarau

Temperature: 2°C – 7°C

Cloudy/Rainy

7.30 – 17.30



Observation sketch 'Tracing of staying points': The most active times in the zoo during day are 8:00-10:00 am and 1:30-4:30 pm. The most frequent users of the space are the elderly in the morning and mothers or fathers with their toddlers in the afternoon.

© Efijeni Kokédhima and Sabeen Salahuddin



The petting zoo has a variation of space adaptations that is motivated by the composition of the space, vegetation elements, enclosures and openings, and seating elements.

Part of this variation is 'the breakfast spot' for a group of residents, interacting spots for parents while their children use the space, place for the elderly to socialize while feeding the animals or walking the dogs.

■ Informal Publicness

■ Passing through for other activities

Feeding/Interacting with the animals

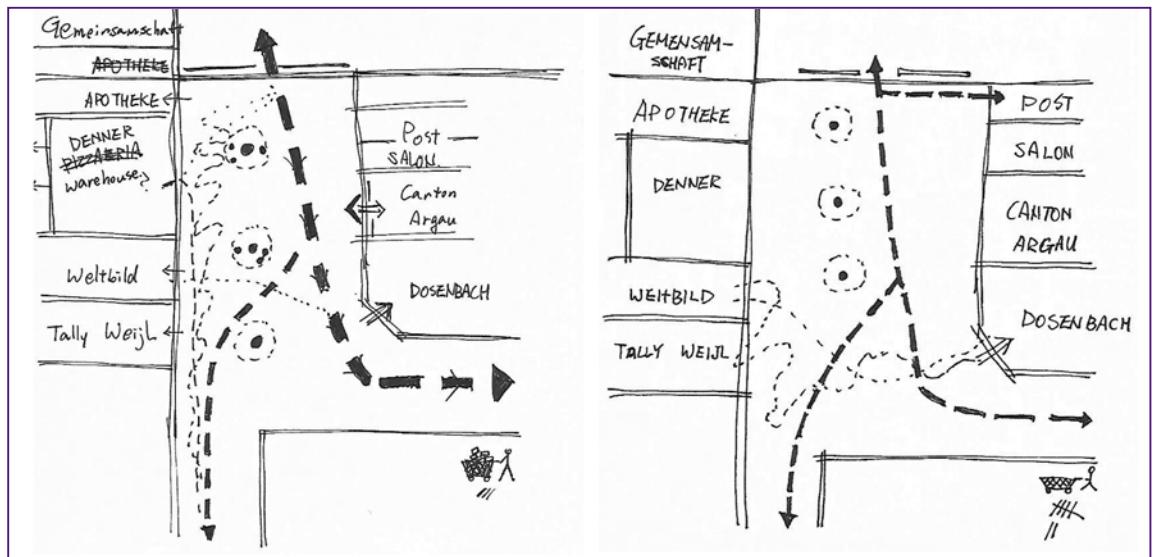
1 Every day, from 10-11, a group of residents over 65 meet and have breakfast together. They sit around a plastic table, in their improvised space.

2 Because of a tall tree that is close to the main path that transverses the Zoo, many brief encounters and short talks happen between the users of the space that walk their dogs.

3 While watching over their toddlers playing and interacting with the animals, parents socialize, usually standing and chatting with each other.

sites of Publicness

Initially it was an informal practice of the Telli residents to 'abduct' the shopping trolleys from the mall to carry their groceries all the way home. © Eveline Althaus

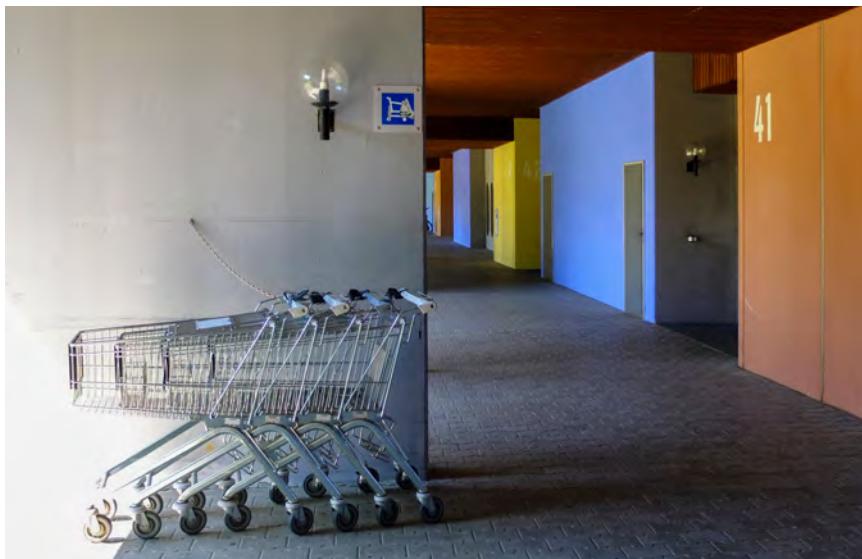


2. Shopping trolleys

– from an informal practice to an 'identity marker' of Telli
The shopping trolleys are omnipresent in Telli and one of the particularities of the estate. Since the whole structure has been planned and built barrier-free, residents are able to push their shopping trolleys directly home. Some people even bring the trolleys into their flats to empty them there, without needing to carry any bags. The supermarket "Coop" reacted to this initially informal practice and formalized it by installing pick-up areas on the ground floor of the estate, from which supermarket employees bring the trolleys back. Although several postings on the walls ask people to leave the trolleys in these designated pick up areas, residents use and appropriate them for other informal purposes. A resident for example says: "I also use the trolley for washing, it's very practical, if I have a lot of laundry I don't need to carry it down to the laundry room". Another resident explains how she used the trolley to carry a lot of her belongings when she was moving from one flat to another within the estate. Occasionally you can even observe older people using it as a rollator or kids 'misusing' it as a toy (see also Althaus 2018, p. 265).



Nowadays, the shopping trolleys can be found everywhere in the estate and are part of multiple informal uses and everyday practices.
© Matteo de Mattia



The supermarket chain "Coop" reacted to the regular loss of their trolleys by installing 'pick-up stations' in the corridors of the estate so that residents can now officially use them within the whole area.

© Sketch Maria Kushchenkova
and Jooyung Koag. Photo Eveline Althaus



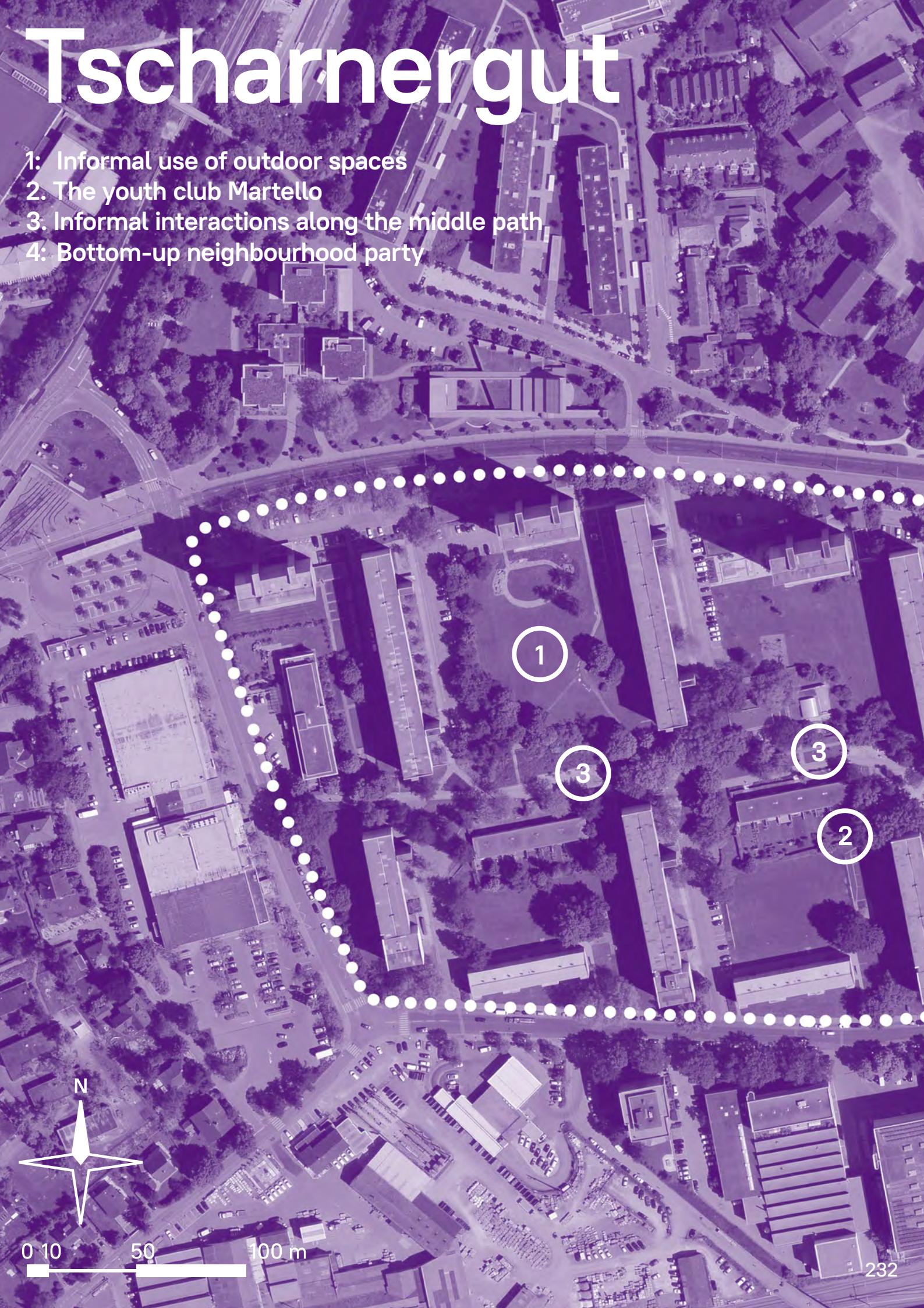
Tscharnergut

1: Informal use of outdoor spaces

2. The youth club Martello

3. Informal interactions along the middle path.

4: Bottom-up neighbourhood party



/Sites of Publicness



sites of publicness



Children playing on the "sledging hill" with a tent and a baby carriage
© Anastasia Tzompanaki and Laura Sanchis Estruch

1. Informal use of outdoor spaces
Outdoor spaces in Tscharnergut usually have clearly designated functions. In the everyday use, however, they are adopted in various different ways. Especially children are creative in informally using and changing the outdoor spaces in their play. Be it by setting up a tent as a little 'play house' on a cold November afternoon or by putting a self-made plug in a water supply's runoff in order to create their own "pool" in summer.



2. The youth club Martello
was part of Tscharnergut since 1978 – existing in different forms and going through different phases. Due to several difficulties in recent times the organizers of the club decided to close its doors in June 2019. Currently there are no leisure activities for young people provided by professional youth workers in Tscharnergut. Challenges such as learning how to deal with alcohol, drugs or internet consumption remain the same. Due to this lack of a facility where young people can meet and spend time together in the estate has – according to several interview partners – accentuated some problems and more teenagers are "hanging around" in public spaces of the estate and nearby squares, preferably in places where they are protected from the weather and out of the controlling gaze of adults. These ephemeral "sites of informality" change regularly and can sometimes be recognized by traces of waste. Noise coming from music, laughter and chatter occasionally also leads to conflicts with other residents of the estate.

Since the youth club "Martello" closed last summer, teenagers in Tscharnergut only have informal opportunities to meet and hang out in their spare time within the estate
© Top/mid: Jennifer Duyne Barenstein, Bottom: toj Bern, <https://www.toj.ch/treff-bern-west/atelier-im-tscharnergut>

3 Men, 1 Woman, 65



Saturday morning, coffee time, Migros restaurant
"I come from Tscharnergut, the three others here, they are from other areas around Bern. We didn't plan two weeks ago to come here, you know we just decide spontaneously to come and have a coffee. We also meet sometimes in the church, they have services in Italian several days a week."

8 Men, 65+



Saturday morning, coffee time, Migros restaurant
(Did not want to speak to us)
We leave, they go back to their discussion.

2. Intensity of use according to day and time

Method: Counting and tracing



Fig. 1: total intensity of use (weekday+weekend)

During our observations we did not perceive a significant difference in the intensity of use according to day and time. Nevertheless, it is possible to observe a more intense use in the weekend [56%] compared to the weedy [44%]. The peak of intensity is during Saturday evening [20%] and the minimum is Friday midday [12%].



Friday 08.11.2019 | 9:00-9:30h



Friday 08.11.2019 | 12:00-12:30h



Friday 08.11.2019 | 16:00-16:30h

Saturday 09.11.2019 | 10:00-10:30h

Saturday 09.11.2019 | 11:30-13:00h

Saturday 09.11.2019 | 17:00-17:30h

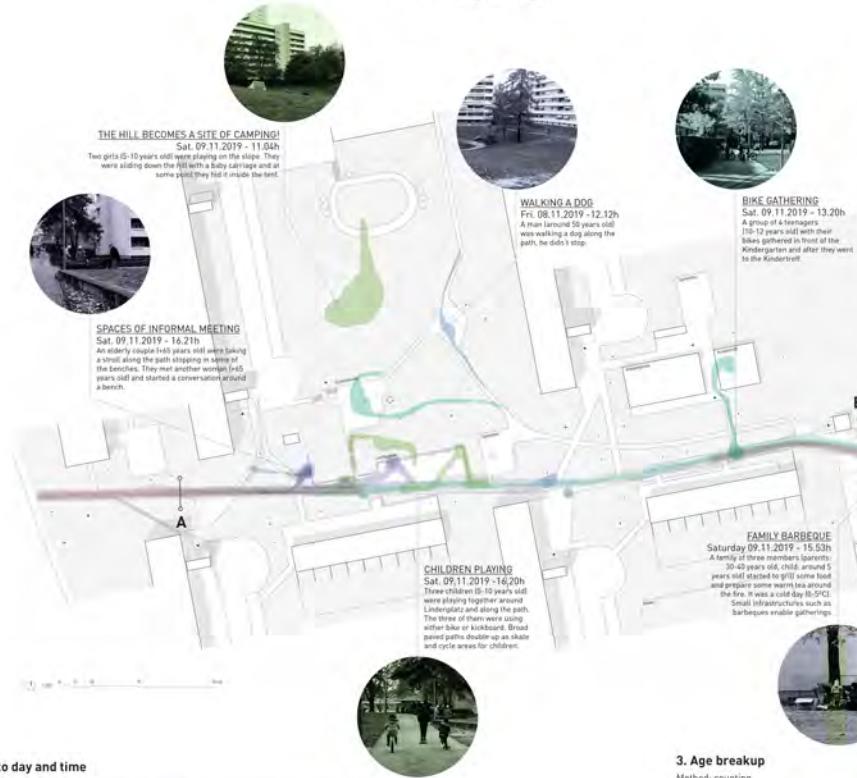
Fig.2: intensity of use along the path during selected timeframes

3. Informal interactions along the middle path

The middle path acts like the spine of the Tscharnergut linking together the public areas and the private buildings within the estate.

Beyond that, it also connects the estate with the wider neighborhood, working as an extension of the demarcated residential area into a more open, public space. The middle path has proved to be an important transitory zone where informal interactions take place. Rather than simply moving through this space, the path becomes an important place to connect with other people, even for just a moment.

more than just a path



1. Activities along the middle path

Method: Activity mapping, field notes and photographs

The activities in the middle path are influenced by the program and uses that are surrounding it (e.g. Kindergarten, main square, shopping centers sportsfield, playgrounds, Kindertreff, zoo...)



ANIMAL OBSERVING
Sat. 09.11.2019 - 11:38h
Several people were stopping in front of the zoo to observe the animals.



INTERSECTIONS OF:

CASUAL TALK!
Sat. 09.11.2019 - 15:56h
Two women (65 years old) were talking to each other from two opposite directions. They greeted each other and started a small conversation.



BALLGAME AREAS OFF THE PATH

SAT. 09.11.2019 - 11:38h
A group of 3 children (around 10 years old) were playing with a ball on the sports courts; another child (10) joined them spontaneously and they were playing home. They seem to know each other from before.



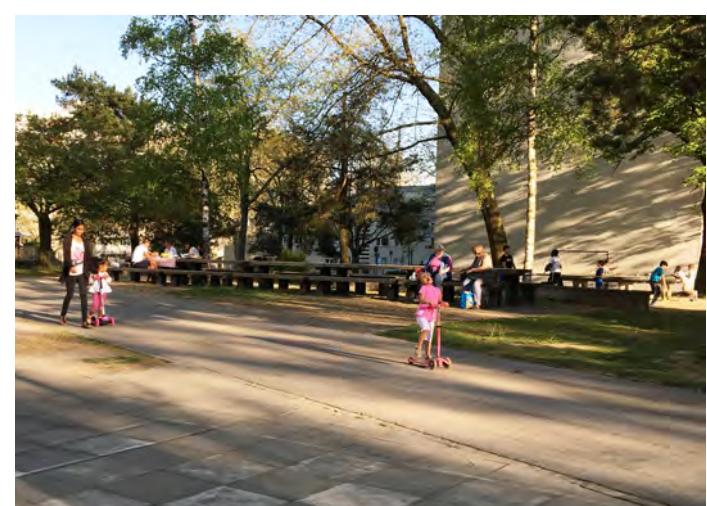
4. Perception of sites of publicness

Method: Interviews

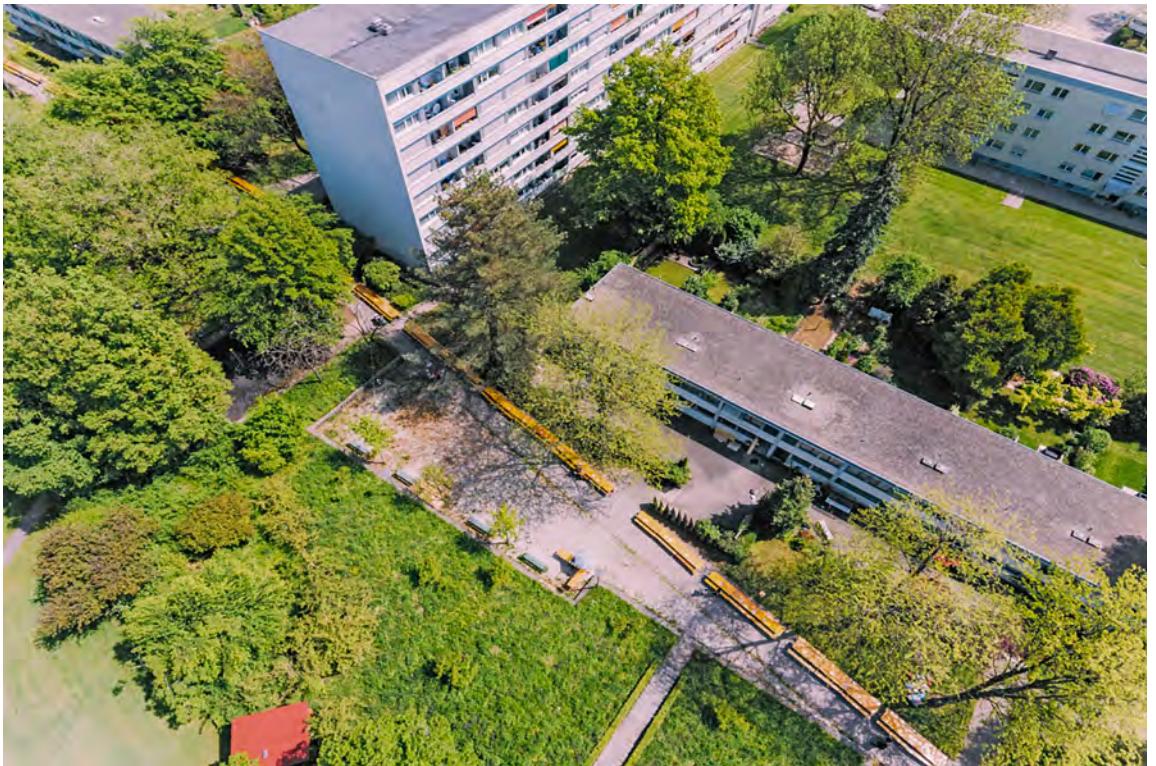
"The idea of the Tscharn Fest was to bring the inhabitants

Due to its central position within the estate the middle path is a place where many residents pass through during the course of daily life. Observations and interviews showed how the path encourages a range of informal encounters on and activities adjacent to the path.

© Top: Excerpt from poster by Elaheh Iranmanesh, Joanna Lawson, Charline Lefrançois, Eleftherios Papamichelakis, Laura Sanchis Estruch and Anastasia Tzompanaki – MAS ETH in Housing 2019/20. Mid: Excerpt from poster by Anastasia Tzompanaki and Laura Sanchis Estruch, students MAS ETH in Housing 2019/20. Bottom: Liv Christensen and Eveline Althaus



sites of Publicness



4. Bottom-up Neighborhood party

A long table along the middle path to celebrate the 60 years of Tscharnergut

For the 60th birthday of the Tscharnergut estate, various organizations of the neighborhood (community center, school, restaurants etc.) organized a long table, where people of the estate and surroundings could meet and celebrate. All the food but also accompanying activities and events were provided by residents and locals, the housing management offered drinks. This event intentionally also marked a statement to the official "Day of the Neighbourhood", which the city of Bern has tried to promote for a few years, providing residents with a check-list and ideas how to have a party as well as a "party kit" (consisting simply of the template for an official flyer/ poster and some table napkins and festoons). The organizers of the long table proved that they don't need these measures by the cities' authorities in order to make a great party – bottom-up.





Excerpt of account of event on community center website:

The neighborhood meets at the table 2019
On 24 May 2019 we celebrated the Bethlehem Cultural Day, 60 years Tscharnergut and the Day of the Neighbourhood. It was a complete success and exceeded all our expectations. If you wanted to walk along the neighbourhood table, from one end to the other, you had to take a lot of time into account: There was a lot to see, to hear, to taste and every few metres you met someone with whom you wanted to exchange a few words. There were always vacant seats, but each table section never seemed deserted. The weather, the people, the range of activities, the atmosphere... it couldn't have been better.

Source: <https://www.tscharni.ch/projekte/impressionen/das-quartier-trifft-sich-bei-tisch/>



Publicness and Democracy at Telli/Tscharnergut

Democratic performances in housing estates are tied to local policies and everyday practices. They take place as social interactions and are intertwined with the material structures and physical conditions – spaces on site and beyond – as well as with the social, cultural and ideological context and its diverse configurations like regulations, laws, norms, habits, visions, public discourses etc. In the Swiss cases democratic publicness in housing estates must be considered in the context of the Swiss political system, in which federalism and direct democracy enable citizens to launch initiatives and have a final say in a number of factual issues. On a national, regional and local level, citizens participating are familiar with petition making or a membership in clubs and societies as common democratic practice. Both case studies show multiple sites of constructing democratic publicness(es). Analytically, they relate to the dimensions of "articulating the mutual", "making claims", "representing electorates" and "deliberating" (Knudtzon et al. 2020). "Articulating the mutual" is closely linked to different residents' initiatives as well as neighborhood clubs and associations.

In both estates there is an official neighborhood association, which is closely linked to the community center and represents the mutual interests of the neighborhood. This leads to questions of representation and distribution of resources: Who becomes a member of the association? Who gets involved and is represented? How to organize a more just representation in local democratic processes and include the diversity of the population – especially also people with lower education levels and with a migration background?

In the recent past, the neighborhood association of Telli – professionally supported by the community center – raised these questions and restructured itself accordingly. Over the years, few public-space related petitions have been initiated in both estates, “making claims” via bottom up democracy: residents and associations in Telli for example fought successfully against the closing of their post office and in Tscharnergut there is currently also resistance to the closure of a postal service. “Deliberating” can happen in performing the written word as a contribution to information and local debates in neighborhood newspapers, as it is the case in Telli (for the “Telli Post”) or in Tscharnergut (for “Wulchechratzer”). Principally, these newspapers are open for contributions of every resident and thus provide the possibility to participate in local discussions and political opinion building. “Representing electorates” furthermore, has an impact on decision-making. In Telli and Tscharnergut, decision making processes are challenging due to their specific multi-ownership situation, which not only means that a multitude of owners need to be addressed in case of an alteration of public/ common spaces, but which also implies dealing with different uses and understandings of participation. Participation varies in its level of intensity from information, communication, participation in discussion and opinion building to (real) participation in decision making and active implementation (following the model of Maier-Rabler and Hartwig 2006). Owners or authorities can

deliberately initiate participation processes, as it has been the case in different renewal projects for outdoor spaces or playgrounds in Tscharnergut or Telli. Conflicts can arise when the level of participation is not clearly decided (or communicated) or when residents have the feeling that it's only a lip service. If residents have a real say and participation processes are moderated and coordinated professionally and transparently, they can lead to better and more accepted solutions. With the community centers, both estates have such professional structures, which since the very beginning are bringing people from the neighborhood together and ascribe great importance to participation and inclusion.

In both cases, Telli and Tscharnergut, evidence shows that decision-making processes among multiple owners are challenging and can affect and complicate the renewal of common and public spaces. Owners can block or delay decisions for several reasons: either they don't have enough funds or are not willing to finance a more comprehensive renovation, which is especially a challenge in case of the many homeowners in Telli. Difficult is also if owners haven't been involved in a decision-making process at an early stage. Owners might also have concerns about plans for a new facility, for example they may fear more noise or trouble if a new public playground is planned close to their property. But complications can also arise, if a property owners' agreement leaves too much room for interpretation or if there are other latent conflicts between the involved parties – maybe also from previous projects. Furthermore, it can be challenging if one owner's say weighs more than others (economically or also regarding professional competences, e.g. in housing management). But decision-making processes among multiple owners are not only difficult. Sometimes mutual consent can be found quite easily, as it is often the case during the common walks through Tscharnergut, that take place during the property owners' meetings, in which the responsible parties assess necessary works for maintenance and repair together and – especially if not too costly – implement them afterwards avoiding long discussions as everyone is convinced that this will enhance the value of their property. Since the managers of the community centers in Tscharnergut and Telli are also invited to the property owners' meetings, not only structural but also social measures are discussed, which is important for comprehen-

sively renewing a large housing estate. As experience in Telli and Tscharnergut shows, decision-making processes among multiple owners can be facilitated, if they are moderated and coordinated by a third party. If the relevant authorities or – like in the case of Telli – even the president of a City are taking up this role, they also symbolically convey the message, that the estate is important to the City and to them.

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Maier-Rabler, U. and Hartwig, C., ePartizipation – Jugend aktiv, Salzburg 2006

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Telli / Sites of Publicness

- 1: Public space-related petitions: 1A:
School yard, 1B: Post office
- 2: Participation in neighborhood associations:
Office/meeting place of QV Telli
- 3: Neighborhood newspaper: Location of GZ Telli and QV Telli,
that publish the Tellipost
- 4: Participation in renewal projects:
One of the two rows undergoing renovation



0 10

50

100 m



Telli / Ownership structure

Einwohnergemeinde (Municipality of Aarau)

53 condominium owners

171 different owners (6 parties)

55 condominium owners

66 different owners

60 condominium owners

AXA Winterthur (pension fund)

AXA Winterthur (pension fund)

Aargauische Pensionskasse (pension fund)

AXA Winterthur (pension fund)

Einwohnergemeinde (Municipality of Aarau)

State of Aargau

Einwohnergemeinde (Municipality of Aarau)

State of Aargau

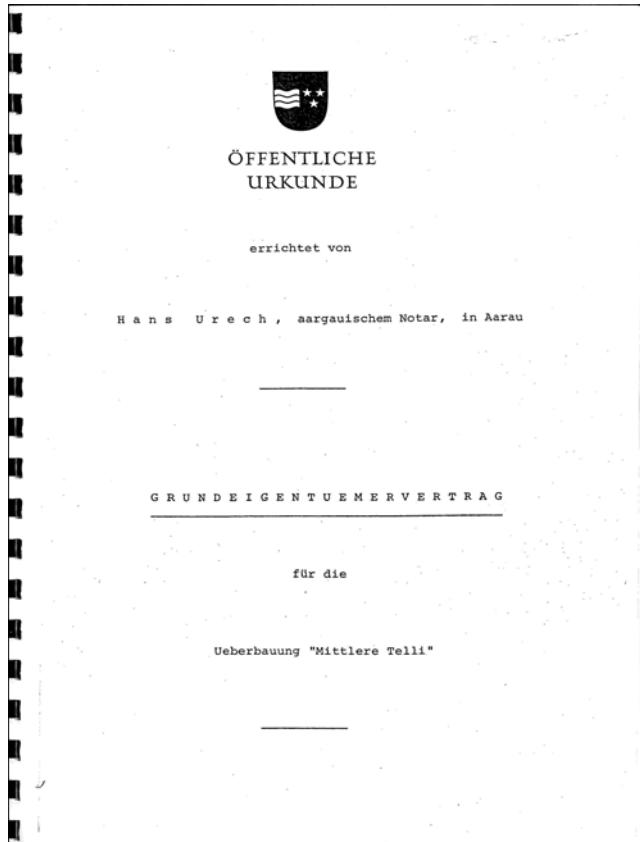
Pensionskasse der Stadt Aarau (pension fund)



sites of publicness



The property owners' forum is taking place in the City Hall of Aarau, chaired by the City Mayor © Frei Architekten



Property owners agreement © Hans Urech

Decision-making processes of multiple owners
 Telli has a very complex ownership structure. Under the direction of the City of Aarau, initially four land owners have organized an architectural competition and worked out a property owners' agreement. This contract regulates the construction, management and maintenance of common facilities and a coherent appearance of the buildings. The ownership diversified after the general contractor Horta AG – who was responsible for the construction of the estate and who was also one of the land owners – went bankrupt after the oil crisis. The two middle blocks went into the possession of a pension fund of a large insurance company (AXA Winterthur). The first and the last block are owned by several institutional investors, but partially also by the municipality of Aarau (Ortsbürgergemeinde) and a housing cooperative for older people. More than a fifth of the apartments belong to private homeowners. The property owners' contract specifies which owner is responsible for which of the common facilities, such as for instance block A (the first) for a playground, block B and C for the petting zoo and block D for the minigolf course. Furthermore, the owners are responsible for the maintenance and care of the outside spaces of their parcel of land. In 2006, the City Council of Aarau initiated the property owners' forum "Mittlere Telli" – as implementation of one of the measures of the neighborhood development program "Allons-y Telli!" (2001-2006). The purpose of the property owners' forum is to coordinate and negotiate the maintenance and renewal of the common infrastructure and outdoor spaces as well as to discuss overarching tasks and interests of the estate. The meetings of the forum take place twice a year and are chaired by the City Mayor of Aarau.

Owners	Block A Rüttmattstrasse	Block B + C Delfterstrasse	Block D Neuenburgerstrasse
Private Homeowners A	Nr. 11-17		
Private Homeowners D			Nr. 2-6
AXA Winterthur (Pension Fund)	Nr. 3+4, 7-10	Nr. 21-40	
Aarg. Gebäudeversicherung (Pension Fund)	Nr. 5-6		
Ortsbürgergemeinde Aarau (Municipality)			Nr. 7-12
Allg. Wohnbaugenossenschaft Aarau (ABAU) (Housing Cooperative for Older People)	Nr. 1-2		

Responsibility	Playground in front of Block A	Petting Zoo	Minigolf course
	Co-owners meetings		Co-owners meetings

Ownership structure at Telli

sites of Publicness



Representing the diversity of the neighborhood © Quartierverein Telli



New years apéro 2011 © Oltner Tagblatt

2. Participation in neighborhood associations
In Telli, the neighborhood association "Quartierverein Telli" was founded on 31 January 1974 with the goals of:

- Protecting and promoting the common interests of the Telli-residents towards authorities and administration.
- Maintaining and improving the quality of life in the neighborhood.
- Promoting and maintaining contacts among the residents.

Everyone who lives in Telli or who feels connected to the neighborhood can become a member. The Management Board is composed of 6 volunteers. Whereas in the past, the board was mainly composed of older Swiss men, today people from different generations, gender and cultural background are part of it. This change has been consciously decided in order to better represent the diversity of the Telli residents in the neighborhood association. This also has an effect on the social life in the neighborhood. Whereas for example the Tellifest, the annual neighborhood party, used to appeal to mostly long-time Swiss residents in the past, today, the Tellifest is carried out as a cultural festival where the diversity of the neighborhood is celebrated with culinary delicacies and musical and dancing performances from around the world.



Tellifest 2015 © Tellipost

3. Neighborhood newspaper

In Telli the neighborhood association together with the community center is publishing a neighborhood newspaper. This newspaper also works as a platform, in which residents, clubs, organizations or companies of the neighborhood can participate, publicize a project, a party or an event or write a guest article. "Tellipost" is jointly published by the community center and the neighborhood association 10 times a year since 1974. It is run by voluntary editors of people from the neighborhood. Tellipost appears in a circulation of 2800 copies and is distributed to all mailboxes in Telli. External people interested can subscribe to Tellipost at a price of CHF 30 per year (including the annual fee for the neighbourhood association Telli).

TELLIPOST

NR. 463 SEPTEMBER 2019 | 46. JAHRGANG

Mitteilungsblatt des Quartiervereins und des Gemeinschaftszentrums Telli

Europa blickt auf die Telli



Local newspaper at Telli © Tellipost



The major redevelopment project at Telli © Liv Christensen



Master plan for the renewal of the surrounding green areas © AXA Winterthur



Model apartment demonstrating how it will look after the renovation

© Liv Christensen



Professionally led communication on the changes for the residents © Liv Christensen

Two of the four apartment blocks at Telli are currently being redeveloped. In addition to the energetic renovation of 581 apartments while occupied the project encompasses the renewal of the public spaces surrounding the blocks. Unlike the other multi-owner blocks within the estate (A & D), both blocks (B & C) undergoing renovation are owned by the same pension fund, which has made the decision for and the process of renovation easier.

The interviews show that there is a conflict between the financial considerations of the renovation and the socially acceptable implementation. While the performance of the pension fund has to fulfill certain financial criteria, the interests of the tenants have to be taken into consideration at the same time. The dominant topic in the interviews with residents is currently the construction site and all the restrictions it entails in terms of noise, dust and detours, as well as the uncertainty related to the increasing rents.

The pension fund is providing professional support for the renovation with all kinds of measures that assist and involve the residents at various levels of participation: From information via apps, websites and brochures, to a tenant café staffed by a social worker, to the possibility of introducing change requests in a model apartment and making suggestions for the future use of the outdoor spaces.

In participation processes, the population is asked what uses they need around the buildings, e.g. the children are asked what equipment they would like for a new playground. Also, with the dissolution of the long-standing Telli Zoo, new possible uses are being sought, which ideally will have an impact beyond the estate, attract outsiders and thus improve its image. However, the process shows that time pressure on part of the developer can mean that hard-to-reach residents, such as people with limited German language skills and unregular work shifts or people with health issues can hardly be reached and included in the participation process.

Generally, the efforts to involve the residents are appreciated by the residents, but there are also those who consider them mere lip service.



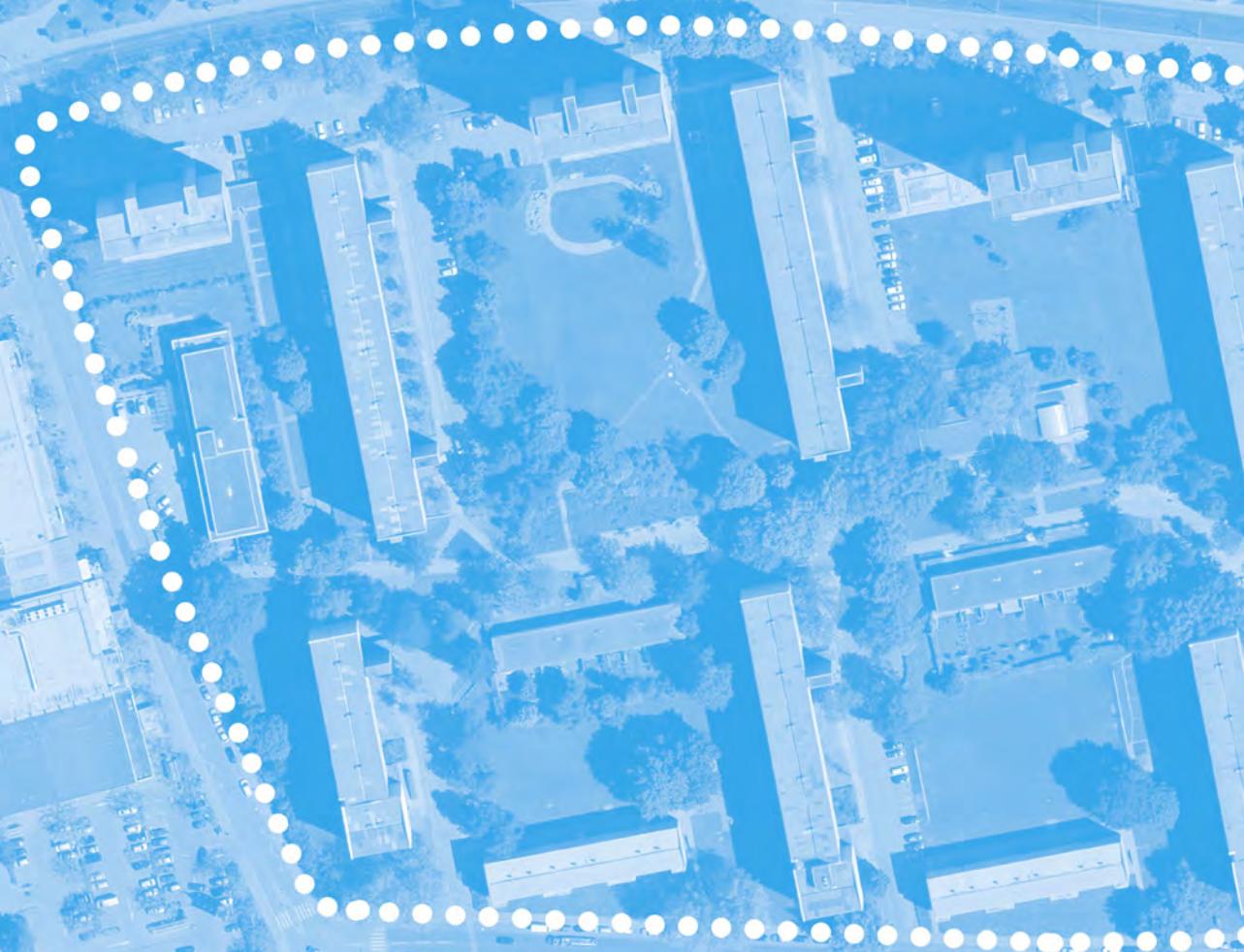
GZ TELLI

GEMEINSCHAFTSCENTRUM TELLIAARAU



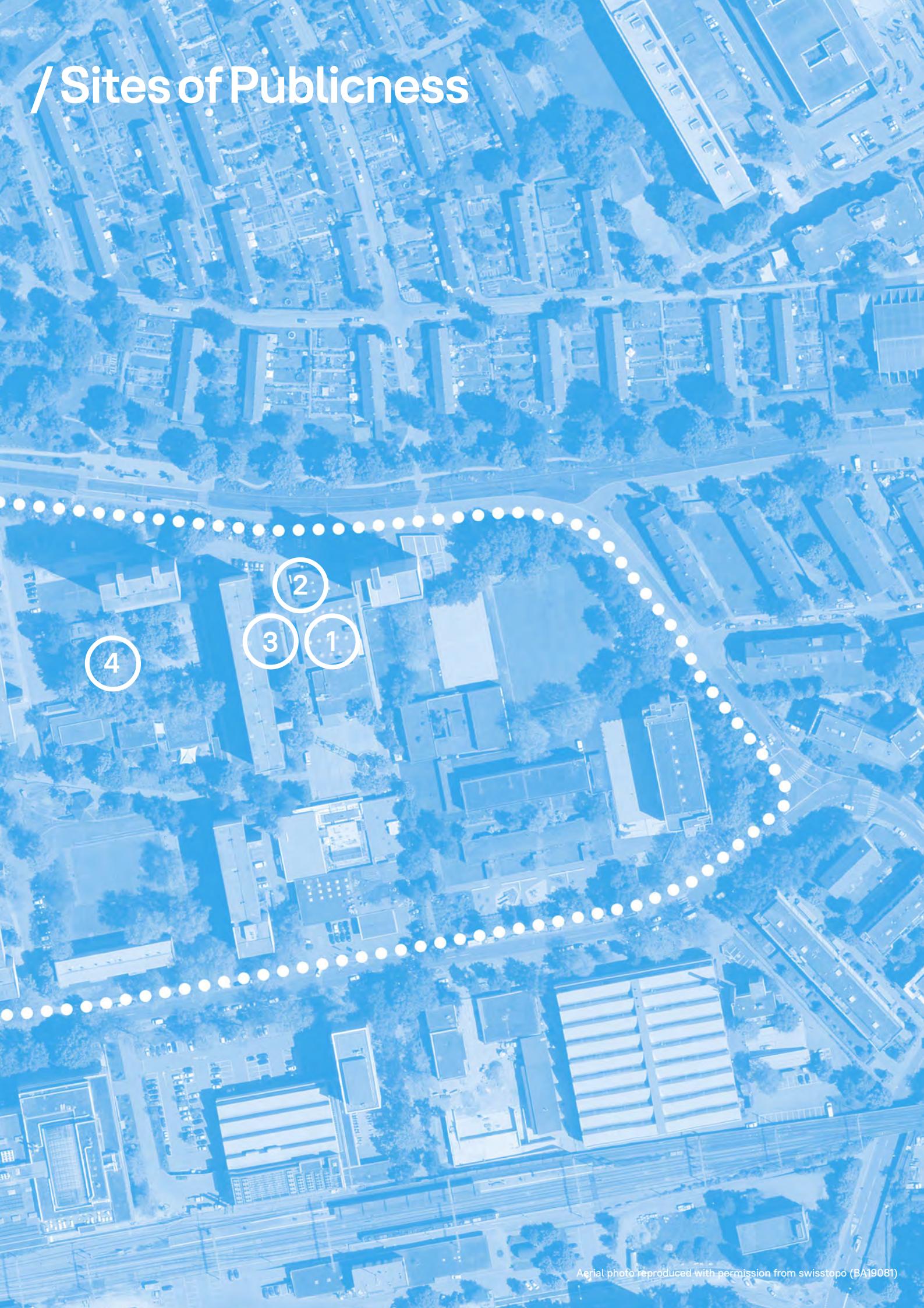
Tscharnergut

- 1: Public space-related petitions
- 2: Participation in neighborhood associations
- 3: Neighborhood newspaper
- 4: Participation in renewal projects



0 10 50 100 m

/Sites of Publicness



Tscharnergut



/ Ownership structure



sites of publicness



Documents and notes of meetings © Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut



TIAG is for instance responsible for the maintenance of the little shopping centre © Elaheh Iranmanesh & Papamichelakis Eleftherios

Decision-making processes of multiple owners
In order to build Tscharnergut, the city of Bern (in 1955) leased the ground to non-profit housing companies who own the 8 blocks and 5 highrises. The owners consist of two housing cooperatives (FAMBAU, Baugenossenschaft Brünnen-Eichholz), a labour union (Stiftung UNIA) and the pension fund of the City of Bern (Pensionskasse der Stadt Bern). Furthermore, a row of low-rise buildings of the estate belong to private homeowners, who are organized in a co-owners' association (Miteigentümergemeinschaft EFH). The City of Bern is responsible for the properties of the school, kindergarten and day-care centre in Tscharnergut as well as the green outdoor spaces.

The different property owners are held together in a public company, the Tscharnergut Immobilien AG – TIAG. The TIAG is responsible for the construction, maintenance and renewal of all common buildings and facilities of the neighbourhood such as the little shopping centre, the community centre and the petting zoo etc. The members of TIAG meet at least once a year. During this meeting they walk through the estate, together with representatives of the neighbourhood association. During this walk the participants note and discuss about necessary measures for the maintenance and renewal of the common infrastructure and buildings. The TIAG is chaired by Dr. Meyer Immobilien AG, a housing management company, who organizes, coordinates and moderates these meetings.

Owners	Fellerstrasse	Waldmannstrasse	
FAMBAU	Nr. 30	Nr. 15, 25, 31, 67, 75	
Baugenossenschaft Brünnen-Eichholz	Nr. 32, 32A, 32B, 42, 42A, 42B, 52, 52A, 52B, 56	Nr. 39, 45	
Stiftung UNIA	Nr. 40, 50	Nr. 53	
Pensionskasse der Stadt Bern		Nr. 61	
Immobilien Stadt Bern	Nr. 18, 20, 20B, 22, 24	Nr. 19, 19A, 33, 35, 49, 49A	
Miteigentümergegm. EFH Fellerstr. 44	Nr. 44 A-H		
Miteigentümergegm. EFH Fellerstr. 54	Nr. 54 A-H		
City of Bern, Stadtgrün Bern	Responsible for the common green areas and landscape architecture		

Ownership structure at Tscharnergut

Represented in:
TIAG Tscharnergut Immobilien AG,
Chair by the housing management company
Dr. Meyer Immobilien AG, one meeting a year

1. Public-space related petitions

The Tscharnergut estate is located in a district in Bern called Bethlehem. Characterized by a high share of foreigners and large high-rise housing estates the district is suffering from a rather negative image. In the 1950s, residents thought about how the name Bethlehem could be positively proclaimed throughout the world for the then emerging district. The idea of the Christmas stamp was born. Just before Christmas, people come to the Bethlehem special post office in the Tscharnergut estate to have their Christmas letters stamped with the Bethlehem stamp. It is not only residents of the neighbourhood who use the special post office. Letters are sent from all over Switzerland, even sometimes from abroad, to have them stamped. After Swiss Post announced the closure for financial reasons, several neighbourhood organizations have jointly submitted a petition to keep the special post office.



The popular Christmas stamp from Bethlehem © Susanne Keller



The temporary Christmas post office at the community center of Tscharnergut © Susanne Keller

sites of Publicness



The community center at Tscharnergut
© Elaheh Iranmanesh & Papamichelakis Eleftherios



Projects and Initiatives of the neighborhood commission representing the interests of the Cities' district © naturaqua PBK

2. Participation in neighborhood associations
In Tscharnergut the neighborhood association "Verein Quartierzentrum Tscharnergut", which is composed of volunteers from the neighborhood, is the strategic organ responsible for the community center. Apart from this, the association's goals are to be committed to the community and the needs of the neighborhood in general and to promote the independence and sense of community of Tscharnergut residents (e.g. by organizing festive or social activities with residents). Furthermore, the association networks with institutions and associations which are active in the local district Bethlehem. One member of the board represents Tscharnergut in the neighborhood commission Bümpliz-Bethlehem ("Quartierkommission Bümpliz-Bethlehem"). This commission builds a direct link to the municipal authorities of the City of Bern and represents the whole district 6 Bümpliz-Bethlehem-Bottigen-Riedbach. The tasks of the commission are to:

- prepare statements and positions on issues concerning the district 6
- inform about plans of the authorities and third parties.
- take up the concerns of the population.
- initiate and support district-related activities.

3. Neighborhood newspaper

Just like in the case of Telli, Tscharnergut also has its own local newspaper. "Wulchechratzer" (which means skyscraper in Bernese dialect) has been published once a month since 1962. The paper is the official communication organ of the community center Tscharnergut as well as other neighborhood associations, churches and social institutions in Bern-Bethlehem and is also open if people or organizations of the neighborhood want to publicize a project or an event. The Wulchechratzer has a circulation of 7800 copies, which are distributed to all households in the district of Bern-Bethlehem.



Local newspaper at Tscharnergut © Quartierzentrum im Tscharnergut



Brochure of the renewal project © Sportamt Bern

4. Participation in renewal projects

The redesign of the over 50-year-old playground Tscharnergut was developed together with the local population from the very beginning. For this purpose, about three events separated according to age groups and four joint participation events took place, in which needs and wishes for the future playground were determined and design proposals were discussed.

This involvement of the local population was also intended to take into account the great importance of the "Tscharni" playground as a place of encounter in the neighbourhood. The only reminders of the old playground are the large trees and the completely restored locomotive. The redesign was organised by the City of Bern, which is responsible for the maintenance of the outdoor spaces in the estate, and supported by numerous neighborhood organisations: the Bümpliz-Bethlehem neighbourhood commission, representatives of the Tscharnergut neighbourhood association and the senior citizens' council, Tscharnergut

Immobilien AG and the local children's and youth club. During the construction work, around 50 children and young people from the neighborhood had the opportunity to work on the project themselves at times. In contrast to the original landscaping concept, most of the planned five playgrounds have been dissolved and all resources have been put into the redesign of this one playground, which aims at being a meeting place for all generations and attracting people from outside the estate. Observations on site show that this strategy seems to work in practice – with the renewed playground being a widely accepted place of encounter and playfulness in the estate. The redesign of the playground at Tscharnergut as well as the renovation of the two blocks and the surrounding outdoor spaces at Telli show that a renewal process within these multi-ownership estates is comparatively straightforward when only one body or owner is in charge; the City of Berne in the case of Tscharnergut and the pension fund in the case of Telli.



Participation of residents in renewal of playground at Tscharnergut. © Metron



Inauguration of the newly designed playground. © Sportamt Bern





Lotto O, Italy





Lotto O

Metropolitan Naples



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5

10 km

264

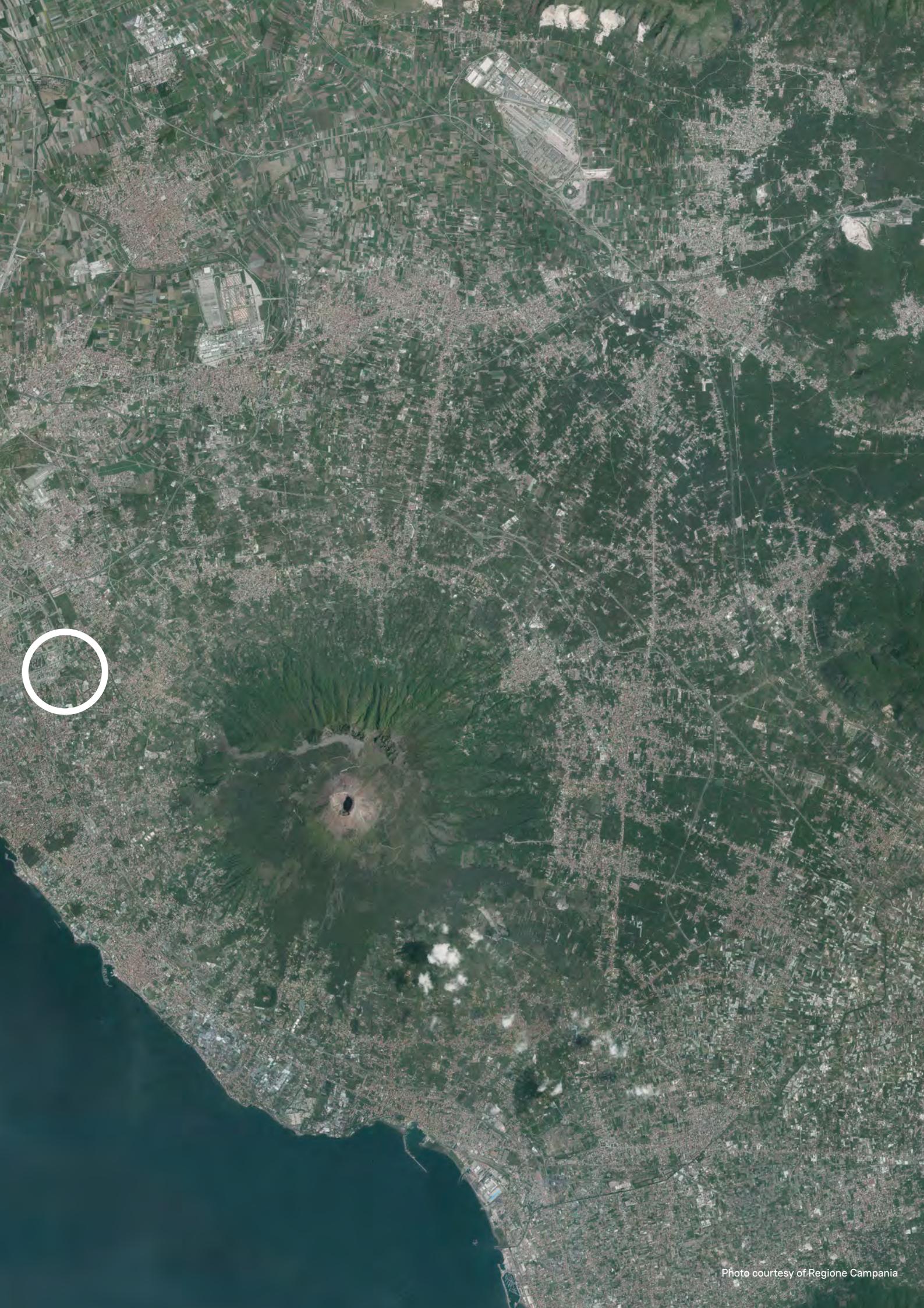


Photo courtesy of Regione Campania

Lotto O

Ponticelli



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Photo courtesy of Regione Campania

Lotto O

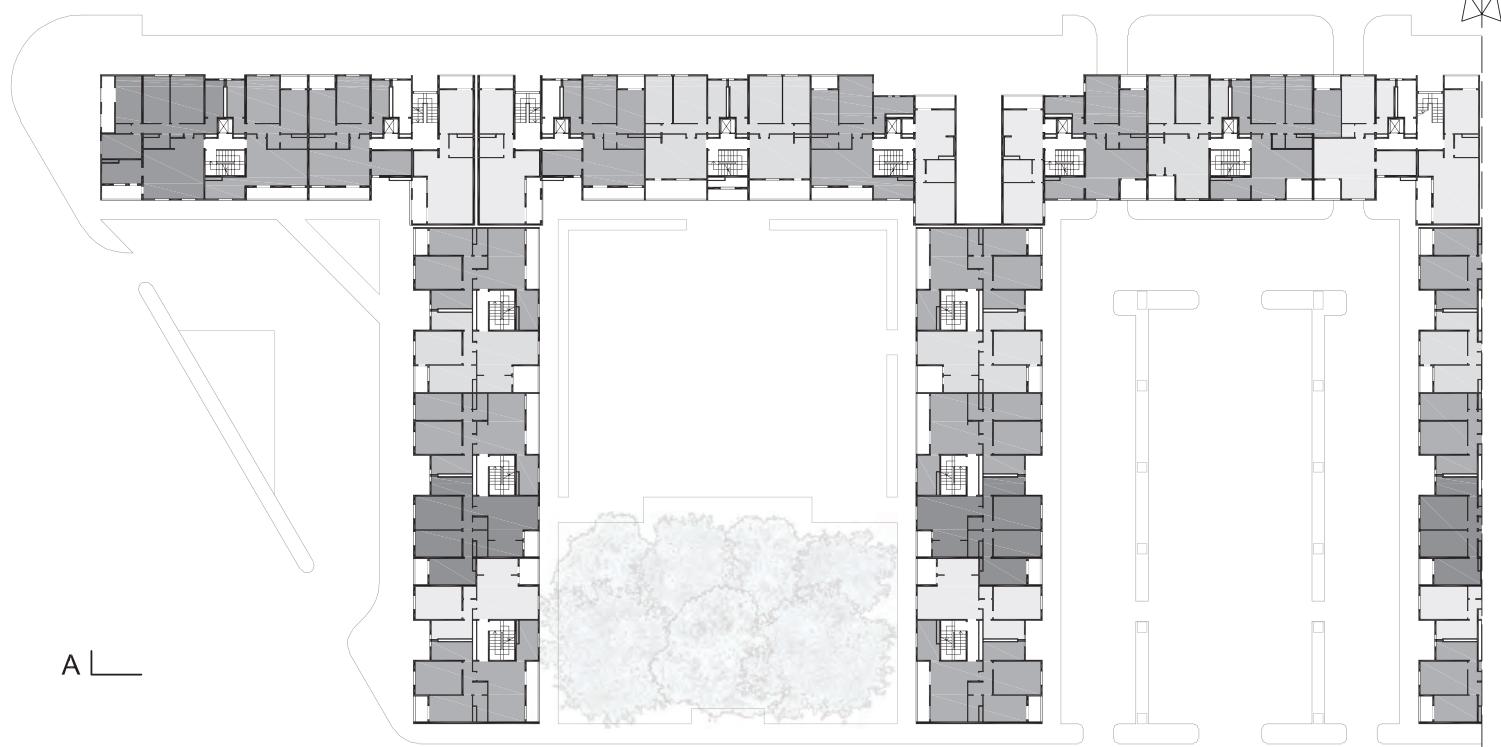
Naples, Italy, 1985-1987

No of units/inhabitants	1084 units / 4000 inhabitants
Ownership	City of Naples
Organisation form	State-subsidized rental housing
Urban context	Part of post-earthquake consolidated periphery
Overall spatial typology	Apartment blocks
Functions	Apartments; parking lots; school (kindergarten, elementary and primary); open spaces; church with small sport facility and playground; healthcare facility for drug addiction; few shops; storage rooms; abandoned/incomplete public buildings
Citizen diversity	Italians and a low number of immigrants. Local low income groups
Apartment Sizes	Type A / 45 sqm / 1 bedroom, 1 bathroom Type B / 65/70 sqm / 2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type C / 75/85 sqm / 2 bedrooms, 1,5 bathrooms Type D / 85/90 sqm / 3 bedrooms, 1,5 bathrooms Type E / 110/115 sqm / 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms
Building Types	Building P1-P2: condominium; industrialized technological system with structural concrete walls Building P3: condominium, industrialized technological system with concrete beams and pillars Building L1-L2-L3-L4-L5: condominium, industrialized technological system with structural concrete walls
Surfaces	Total area surface: 145,000 sqm Overbuilt area: 37,000 sqm Open spaces: 108,000 sqm Gross floor area: 97,000 sqm

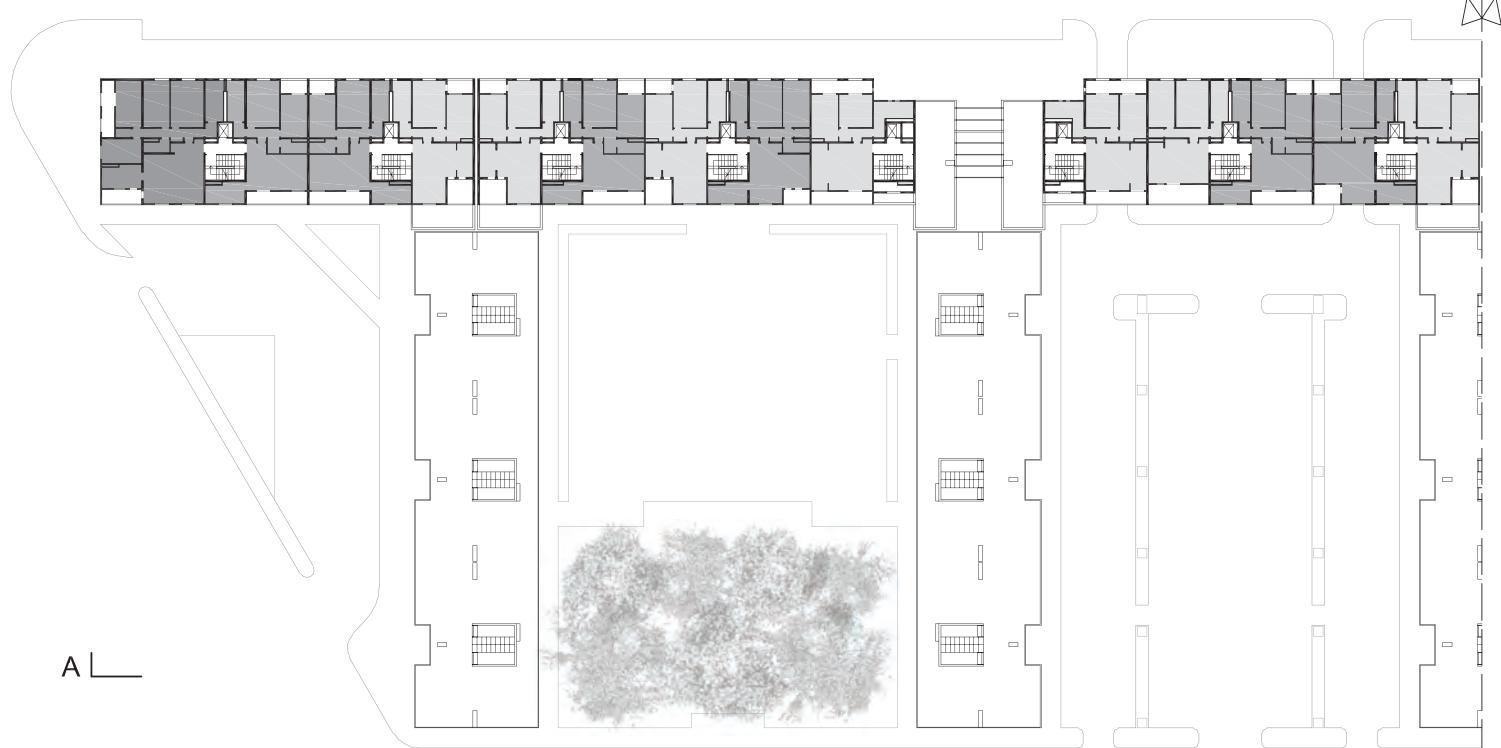




2ND - 3RD FLOOR PLAN



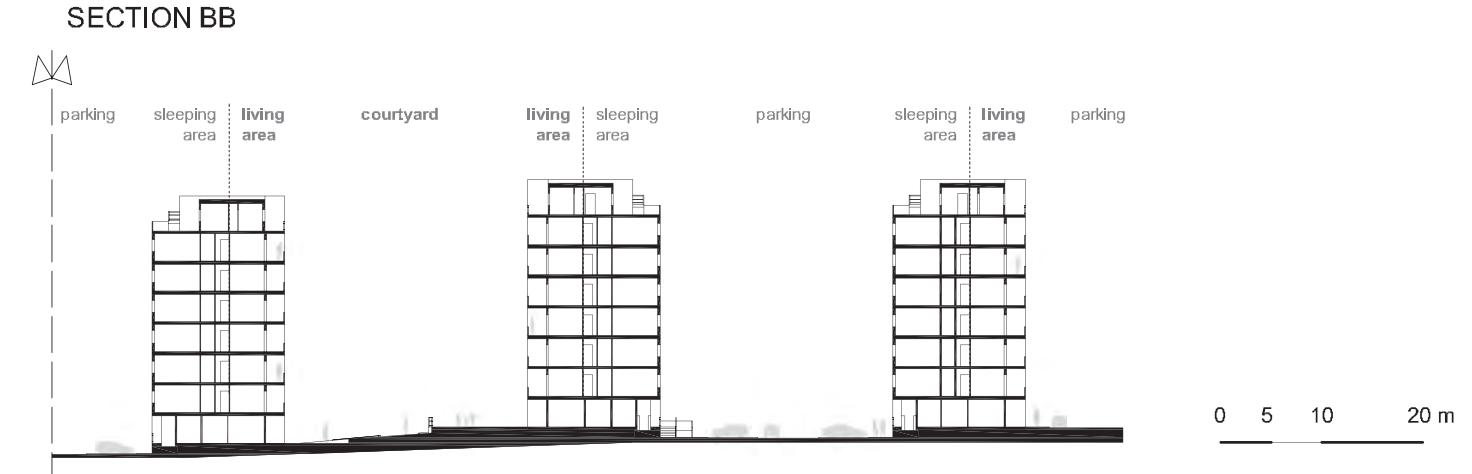
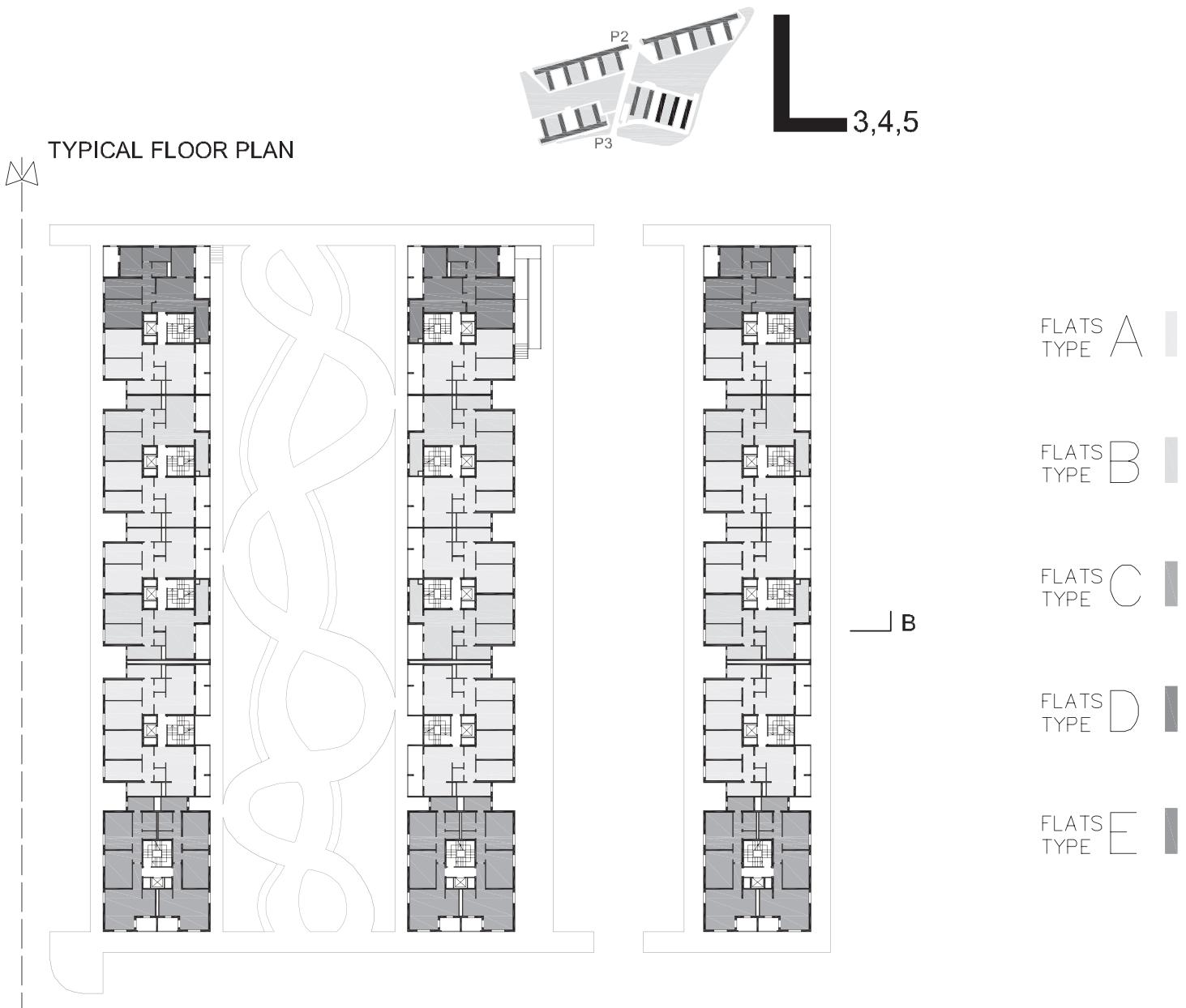
5TH FLOOR PLAN



SECTION AA



TYPICAL FLOOR PLAN



Informal Publicness at Lotto 0

The notion of informality is based on an implicit divide created by an authority setting the normative tone and standing in opposition to anything that falls out of its realm, that is non conforming – informal. The legitimacy of a formal authority stems from different sources, e.g. a) Planning law (unplanned/spontaneous/illegal land uses); b) Culture (cultural, moral and religious norms); c) Design (unexpected affordances of objects); d) State welfare (formal procedures for public service provision and entitlement). But this is an analytical distinction: publicness, as a practical notion, constantly challenges the formal/informal divide. Publicness is about becoming and change – creating inclusive spaces, sharing a common cause, a sense of belonging, safety and recognition whenever an issue perceived as a collective concern sparks a *public into being*. Publicness is a performance in socio-materiality, not a permanent condition. To address empirical research on informal publicness, we focus on contextual conditions that help explaining why and how people

come up with informal solutions to create collective forms of gathering in both private and public spaces. These contextual conditions are the local response to broader processes of socio-spatial restructuring mostly dealing with the shrinkage of welfare state. Once the state withdraws from tasks such as public space maintenance or basic services provision, background conditions already affecting the quality of life in large public estates (concentration of low-income families, high rates of school drop-outs, violence, widespread economic informality, gender segregation issues) start spiraling down into a process of slow violence and solidify into socio-spatial assemblages obdurate to disentangle. The exhibition displays our first take on three key areas: ruins of welfare state facilities, informal material alterations, and profiles of socio-spatial segregation. The results show an obdurate assemblage in which people are not just entrapped, as they also respond and make sense of their hardship producing informal publicness as a matter of creative resistance to slow violence, cultural stigma and socio-spatial segregation.

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Timeline / Lotto O

3rd century BC

First human settlements in Ponticelli date back to the 3rd century BC. 89 Roman tombs were discovered there during Fascism.

804 A.D.

The Neapolitan monks of San Sergio and Bacco bought some farms in the hamlets of Terzio (the oldest nucleus of Ponticelli), Ponticelli Minore and Maggiore and the Hamlet of Porchiano. Each of these hamlets was independent and with its own receiver or fiscal collector.

917 A.D.

The monks built the first water mill for the grinding of wheat, a second mill was built in 949 and a third in 951. They maintained ownership of the mills for many years, as there were no feudal lords as in the neighboring hamlets.

1497

The administrations of the 4 independent hamlets date back to 1236. Only in 1497 they joined together becoming one single hamlet, Ponticelli. For centuries, this township will be the cornerstone of the eastern farmland, providing food to the city of Napoli, with its extremely fertile volcanic soil and abundant crops.

1520

Pope Leone X authorized the construction of the first catholic church in Ponticelli, Santa Maria della Neve.

1822

A huge flood devastated the area of Somma-Vesuvio (the slopes of the volcano) with serious damage to farmland. King Ferdinando I authorized the construction of a new canal about 4 miles long, called 'Pollena common riverbed'. The canal collected all torrents in the north-western area of Somma-Vesuvio up to the sea. Along the canal Via Argine, the main road connecting Napoli with Ponticelli, was built.

End 19th century

In Ponticelli, in addition to some acid factories equipped with steam engines, the Amante and Amati plants were established. They produced white lead and minced colors. Also, Antonio Russo's pasta factory, designed by engineer Luigi Campanile, was built there. The presence of mills also favored, in this period, the localization of numerous pasta factories and canneries. With industrial investments came urban growth, and new population settled in, notwithstanding Ponticelli will remain a farming village up to WWII.



An old view of the farming land of Ponticelli, at the foot of the Vesuvius. / Courtesy of Luigi Verolino – Associazione "Il Quartiere"

1925

The Municipality of Ponticelli is aggregated to that of Naples. By this act the fascist regime aimed to punish the local population, predominantly socialist and communist, depriving it of its autonomy. This is the starting point of the transition of Ponticelli from independent township to urban periphery.

1958

The local government – led by a right wing coalition – adopts a master plan (never implemented) that, for the first time, addresses a public housing strategy in the north-eastern outskirts of Napoli, where Ponticelli is located.

1962

Public Housing Act – Law nr. 167/1962. The national government issues a comprehensive planning law establishing both municipal master plans for public housing and the rules for expropriating private areas for public housing projects. The law fixes compensation values that are lower than market ratings to foster the formation of large public areas to be zoned for public housing purpose.

1967

The new INCIS neighborhood (a public housing complex not far from Lotto O's actual location) is completed. Ponticelli's population raises to 70.000 residents. The once-agricultural village starts its final transition towards urban periphery.

1971

A new master plan (Piano Regolatore Generale) for the city of Napoli is approved. The plan enforces the Public Housing Act and zones Ponticelli as a new site for public housing projects.

1978

The Italian Parliament approves Law nr. 457 (Ten-year Housing Program Act), establishing the rules to implement the Public Housing Act.

1980

On April 16, the Outskirts Regeneration Plan (Piano per il Recupero delle Periferie) for the historic villages of the metropolitan area of Napoli is approved. The plan combines new housing estates (as established by the Public Housing Act, and designed according to minimum standards introduced in 1968 by the Planning Standards State Decree), and regeneration projects for the historic villages.

On November 23, a catastrophic earthquake makes more than 3500 victims in Campania inner region. Napoli is heavily affected with thousands of homeless families forced to leave their precarious homes in the inner city.

1981

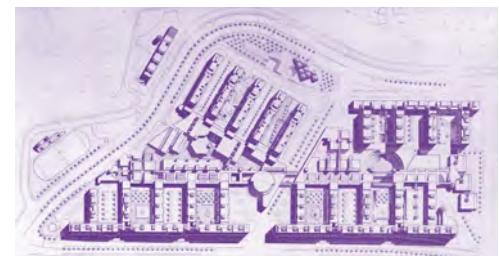
In May, the Italian Parliament approves the Earthquake Reconstruction Act (Law nr. 219/1981). Accordingly, Napoli's local government, led by a left-wing coalition with a Communist Party majority, approves the Emergency Housing Plan to provide new housing for earthquake's survivors. Ponticelli is confirmed as one of the main target areas for new public housing projects.



The official local "Plan for Affordable and Low-income Housing" (P.E.E.P.) approved after the 1980 earthquake. "Lotto O" is at the south border of the new residential area. / Urbanistica Informazioni – Quaderni n.1/1982: "La ricostruzione a Napoli"

1982

After a year of planning and design work in the framework of the Plan for Public Housing (PEEP), in September the first construction sites are opened while the design work will continue for years. Under specific agreements, the municipality is in charge of the design, while groups of private, cooperative or partially public companies, "consorzi di imprese", are in charge of the building phase.



The master plan of "Lotto O". / Urbanistica Informazioni – Quaderni n.1/1982: "La ricostruzione a Napoli"

1983

The Mayor issues a public tender for the allocation of housing estates in all the areas included in the Emergency Housing Plan. 85.000 families apply from all over the city. In the case of Ponticelli, almost 4.000 apartments are made available. The Plan provides a large amount of public facilities (of local and metropolitan scale) to be built around the historic center of Ponticelli.

1983

At the end of the year a phase of political instability for Napoli starts with the collapse of the local Communist Party (PCI) who had been advocating for the Emergency Housing Program.

1984

Urbanization works – sewer, water and road networks – are incorporated into the Emergency Housing Program's budget by the Special Post-earthquake Committee to accelerate the construction of housing estates in Ponticelli.

1985

In the area where Lotto O is actually located, a large Roman villa dating back to the 1st century BC is found. It belonged to Caius Olius Ampliatus, son of a veteran of Silla.



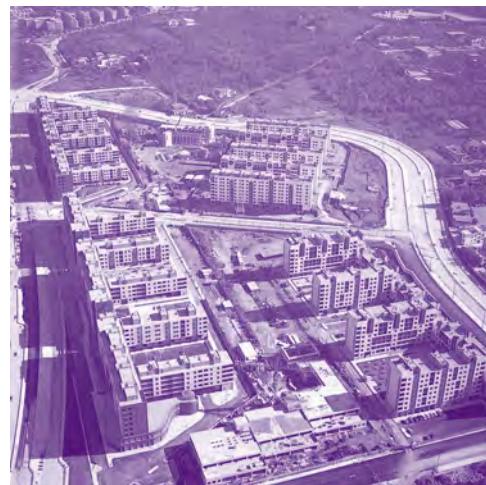
A recent image of the archaeological site of the Roman Villa in "Lotto O". / © Cristina Ferraiuolo

1985

In January, the final list of public housing recipients is approved. By the middle of the following year both the list of evicted people and the list of the inhabitants of the temporary earthquake settlements are approved.

1986

By this year Lotto O – included in the "Ponticelli 167" housing complex – is completed in its main parts (road system and buildings). Families start to flock in and relocate from the inner city.



"Lotto O" during its construction. / Notiziario n.11/1987:
"Napoli 1981-1986, una città in trasformazione"

End of 1980's

The assignment of several public housing apartments in Ponticelli opens a new business for criminal organizations active in the north-eastern fringe of the city, and often acting as informal brokers contrasting the municipality in the assignment of apartments to families out of legitimate waiting lists. From then on, public projects in the area become a target of criminal organizations and a headquarter of drug traffic.

1993

Direct Election of Mayors Act. After the massive national scandal known as Tangentopoli, sanctioning the end of the 'first republic' in Italy, a new law allows direct election of Mayors. The mayors elected in those years in Italian big cities like Napoli – mostly supported by left-wing coalitions – start a new season of urban policies addressing issues of welfare and urban regeneration, with a focus on peripheral neighborhoods.

1994

The newly elected local government of Napoli starts the adoption process of a new city master plan.

1994

A new metropolitan-scale sport facility (PalaVesuvio) is open to the public. The facility is close to Lotto O, and has been designed to host major basketball, softball and judo competitions. PalaVesuvio is closed in 2016 for upgrading works to meet new safety standards, and all sport clubs based there are forced to leave. With the exception of Nippon Judo Club, a professional judo team providing free judo classes for young drop-outs from public housing estates in Ponticelli.

1995

"Parco de Filippo", the new park planned for the Ponticelli public housing complex, is inaugurated by the Mayor Bassolino. The park – the 4th largest in the city – is located in a plot previously zoned by the post-earthquake Emergency Housing Plan as housing. To make room for the new park, an additional area had been rezoned to complete the housing plan, already including 11 neighborhoods (named after numbers, from 1 to 11): that's the housing estate identified as Lotto 'O'. After a few months, the park is heavily vandalized by local gangs.

1997

The draft version of the Rehabilitation Urban Programme (PRU, Progetto di Recupero Urbano) of Ponticelli is approved; the final version will be approved in 2003.

1999

December – The Mayor of Naples, Antonio Bassolino, announces the Children City project, a futuristic structure to be localized in Ponticelli's Lotto O, taking inspiration from the Children City (Cité des Enfants) at La Villette in Paris. The Children City, that will include also a planetarium, should replace the former school G. Marino, located in Lotto O.

2000

(July) The museum-lab of the Children City (6.000 square meters) is open to the public with a formal ceremony. It will close at the end of July and in September new works will start. From this moment on, the former G. Marino school, partly demolished to make room for the new Children City project, will be abandoned to ruination and decay.



The abandoned site of the Children City that should have replaced part of the local school. / © Cristina Ferraiuolo

2000

The planetarium is purchased by the City Council for 715 millions liras from a French manufacturer. It has not yet reached its final destination.

2001

(March) the project "Naples Theatres", promoting a network of theatres in peripheral neighborhoods, is approved by the City Council. One of them should be located in the museum laboratory of Children City in Lotto O. This project is still on hold.

2003

The Children City is among the projects financed by Campania Region in the framework of the Urban and Environmental Recovery Plan for peripheral neighborhoods (€ 6.721.308). After many years of abandonment, the site is still in the programs of the local government, at least budget-wise.

2004

The new City Master Plan is approved by the regional government.

2007

Start of restoration works of the Roman Villa of Caius Olius found in Lotto O during the 1980s. The archaeological site is secured with a high concrete wall surrounding the excavation area. The wall also works as Lotto O's southern border, enhancing a sense of isolation and segregation in that part of the neighborhood.

2008

Start of construction works for a new metropolitan-scale health care facility – the 'Sea Hospital' – in Ponticelli, right across Lotto O. The facility, zoned in 2004 City Master Plan, is opened to the public in 2015.

2015

A community garden (Orto sociale) is established in Ponticelli's public park (Parco de Filippo) by an agreement between the City Council and a network of NGO's and public agencies in the health care sector signed in 2014. Through advocacy work and therapeutic programs for opioid-addicts, the community garden is now one of the most vibrant social experiments in the area, and an example of sustainable and inclusive urban agriculture.



A present day image of the community garden in a previously abandoned municipal public park. / © Cristina Ferraiuolo

Literature:

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Di Nocera, A. 2009. "Solo progetti per Ponticelli." *Repubblica.it*, April 22, 2009.

"La ricostruzione a Napoli." 1982. *Urbanistica Informazioni: Quaderni*, no. 1.

Semi-structured interviews conducted with local actors between April 2018 and July 2019.

Lotto O/Sites of Publicness

- 1: Migrated public space: Community sport facility
- 2: Migrated public space: Urban Social Garden of Health



0 100

500

1000 m



Lotto O/Sites of Publicness

3: Gathering spots – NOT MAPPED*

4: Informal clubs – NOT MAPPED*

5: Icons

6: Planned public spaces

7: Non-governmental organizations

8: Public facility and Social hub

9: Ruins of the Roman Villa

10: Ruins of the Children City





* To protect our informants we mention these functions, that are relevant for informal publicness, but decided not to map them.

Photo courtesy of Regione Campania

Sites of Publicness



© Cristina Ferraiuolo

- 1. Migrated public spaces: Community sport facility**
The Palavesuvio, the only community sport facility in the area, 2 kms from Lotto O.



© Cristina Ferraiuolo

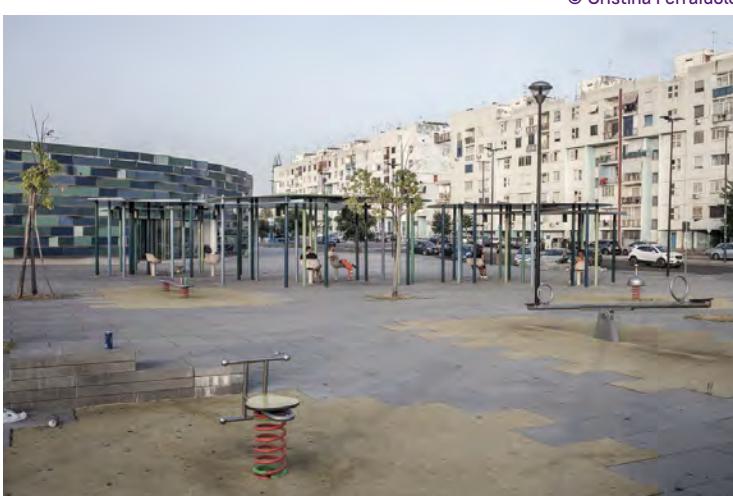
- 2. Migrated public spaces: Community Garden**
The community garden (Urban Social Garden of Health) – located in the post-earthquake park of Ponticelli and managed by a local Healthcare service based in Lotto O – is a public facility for both people on drug rehabilitation programs and individuals and groups interested in urban agriculture.



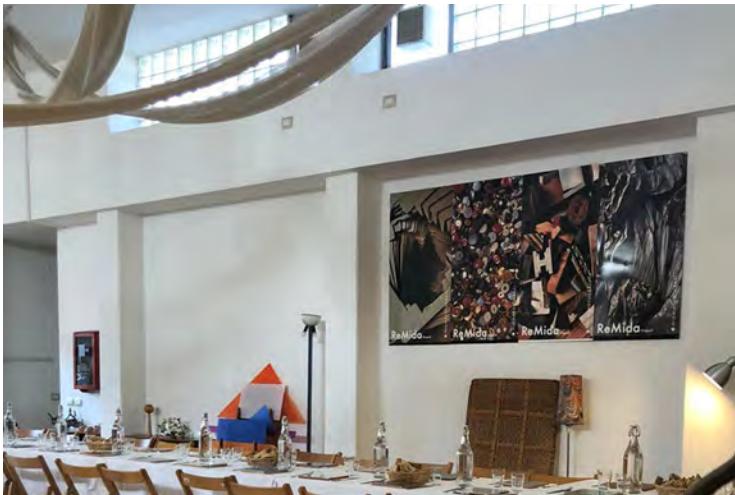
© Cristina Ferraiuolo

© Cristina Ferraiuolo

- 5. Icons**
Religious shrines play a role in courtyards life. They do not only materialize feelings of devotion in the community, but, as powerful symbols, they also provide a sense of safety for people and their belongings (cars, scooters, bikes, toys, plants).



- 6. Planned public spaces**
Ospedale del Mare, the new hospital built in front of Lotto O, with its planned public space.



© Rosaria Iodice



© Marilena Prisco



© Marilena Prisco



7. Non-governmental organizations

Remida Napoli is one of the organizations active in Ponticelli, and it is specialized in promoting the second life of materials that here are transformed and used with educational purposes. Since the 1990s many NGOs have established local headquarters in Ponticelli reusing empty or abandoned buildings.

8. Public facility and social hub

The school in Lotto O where pupils up to the 8th grade gather every day. A wide range of social activities take place during the year in the building and in its outer spaces, for instance during the morning pupils' mothers linger here to chat with each other.

9. Ruins of the Roman Villa

The Roman Villa was found at the end of the 1980's during the construction of Lotto O and was only partially excavated. The archaeological site, now open to the public, has been surrounded by a high concrete wall to prevent intrusions and theft. Unfortunately the Villa's protection wall prevents the view from apartments of the "L" buildings, and increases the sense of closure and isolation of the neighborhood.

10. Ruins of the Children City

The former middle school in Lotto O was partially demolished in the early 2000's to make room for a new public project, the Children City, a cultural hub including a theatre, workshops and a planetarium. After almost two decades, the project has not been realised yet.

Publicness as resistance to slow violence

Practices of socio-spatial innovation and informal publicness are always context-sensitive and cannot be fully grasped out of a broader understanding of processes and conditions that sparkle publics into being and contribute to active forms of social gathering. At times, informal publicness rises as responses to issues of psychological distress, economic marginality and spatial injustice that formal institutions are unable to address effectively. These forms of distress are usually long-term effects of social conflicts and chronic marginality unfolding as a process of 'slow violence'. In Lotto O we have two exemplar cases – one of slow violence (the ruins of the Children City project within the neighborhood), the other of political resistance (the Urban Social Garden of Health in a public park out of the estate) – providing context for publicness as a form of creative resistance to severe conditions of marginality and abandonment.

Ruins of the Children City



© Cristina Ferraiuolo



© Gilda Berruti



© Cristina Ferraiuolo



© Cristina Ferraiuolo

In the Children City, ruination and decay are not a matter of vandalism and violence from the local population, but the outcome of a public project that has never been completed. Here we can observe the partial demolition of the neighborhood's main school to build a socio-educational project that the Town Council has never delivered. The former school is now abandoned and exposed to all kinds of irregular and illegal uses. This example point to the political and civil responsibility of the state in running the neighborhood and having caused conditions of distress and abandonment after 'promises' that were never fulfilled. In a spiraling process of exclusion and segregation, these 'withdrawals' intensify the hostility and distrust of the 'public' in many of the residents.

Slow violence and ruins of welfare

Slow violence in Political Ecology is a process that slowly emerges under the pressure of climatic events and environmental crisis due to ecological vulnerabilities and social fragilities, in contrast to sudden shocks from natural hazards. People and places are often immersed in slow violence processes of chronic degradation without even being fully aware of it.

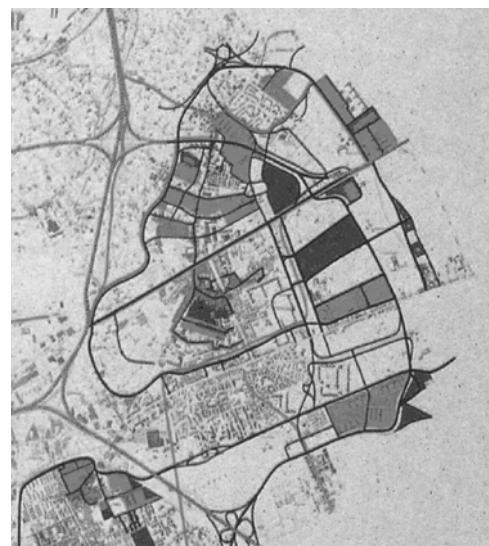
This concept was adapted to analysing and interpreting the insurgence of informal publicness in Ponticelli, where slow violence is also put in relation to the constantly unfulfilled promise of spaces for sociality. This failure is amplified by public actions that appear so clunky to turn into ruins even the few public facilities which have been built over time, as we can observe in the case of ruins of welfare like the "Children City" project.

Processes of slow violence could remain under track for a long time and communities endure and suffer in silence until a sudden event brings their situation to public attention.

Timeline / Children City

1999 – (December)

The Mayor of Naples, Antonio Basolino, announces the Children City project, a futuristic structure to be localized in Ponticelli's Lotto Zero, taking inspiration from the Children City (Citè des Enfants) at La Villette in Paris. The Children City, that will include also a planetarium, should replace the former school G. Marino, located in Lotto Zero and built after the earthquake of 1980 as part of the Emergency Housing Plan.



Emergency Housing Plan



Marino School in the Emergency Housing Plan

2000 – (July)

A preview of the museum-lab of the Children City (6.000 square meters) is open to the public with a formal ceremony. The chosen place for the activities is the gymnasium. A group

of experts in the field of education and astronomy is appointed by the City Council.

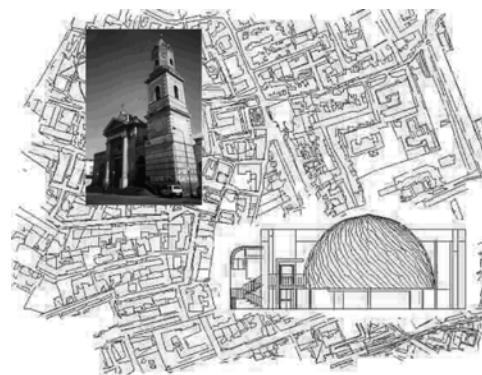
The museum-lab will close at the end of July and will be after vandalized. In September, new works to make room for the new Children City project will start in the former school.



Marino School, ruins of the gymnasium

2000

The planetarium is purchased by the City Council of Naples for 800 million liras. It was built in Sorbies, France and there kept in a warehouse, waiting for the Children City being built.



Drawing used as a template of the project

2001 – (March)

The project "Naples Theatres", promoting a network of theatres in peripheral neighborhoods, is approved by the City Council. One of them should be located in the

museum laboratory of Children City in Lotto Zero.

2001 – (May)

Rosa Russo Iervolino is elected Mayor of Naples. Rachele Furfarò is the councilor for culture with the mandate of "childhood projects and the Children city".

2002

The project "Naples Theatres" takes place in the auditorium of the Children City.



The interior of the theater of the Children City

2003

The Children City is among the projects financed by Campania Region in the framework of the Urban and Environmental Recovery Plan for peripheral neighborhoods.



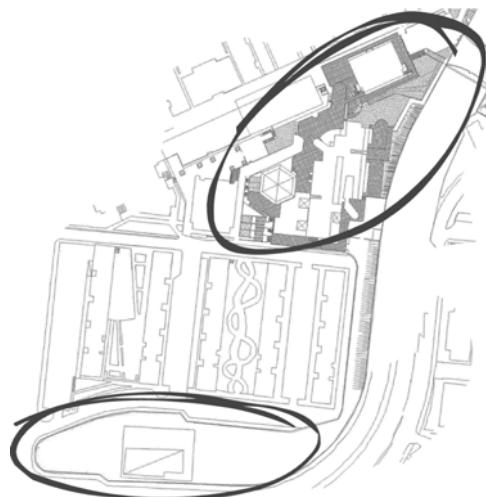
3D view of the public space theater

2004 – (March)

The Children City project is approved by the municipality and funded with € 6.721.308 by the Regional Authority. The connection with the archeological site of the Roman villa is removed from the original project.



Logo of the "Children City" project



The project initially included two units of the lot: the Marino school and the Roman villa

2005

The public tender for the construction of the Children City is won by a temporary group of enterprises.



Eastern view of the Children City

2006 – (January)

Start of construction works for the Children City. The wall of the gymnasium that should have housed the planetarium is demolished to make room for the new project.



3D view of the Planetarium

New structures and systems are built. Costs amount to about 1 million euros.

Works stop because the Town Council asked for more information on the specificities of the planetarium and never received an answer. From this moment on, the former school will be abandoned to ruination and decay.



Details of the ruins of the gymnasium

sium; new sport facilities; the restoration of part of the former school for a day nursery serving the Sea Hospital employees.



The former school to be restored

2011 – (June)

Luigi De Magistris is the new Mayor of Naples. Annamaria Palmieri is appointed councilor for education with the mandate of the Children City.

2012

Revision of the Children City Project.

2015 – (December)

Work suspension and new revision of the Children City Project (from museum-lab to laboratory-theatre).

2018

New directives by the City Council for the recovery of the Children City in Ponticelli.

2019

A new working group is designated for the Children City project by the City Council.

2019 – (November)

Updates on the City Children projects and new funding related to: the complete demolition of the gymna-

All images source:
Comune di Napoli, Assessorato all'edilizia/
Assessorato alla cultura, "Città dei bambini. Laboratorio Museo di Ponticelli.
Design della comunicazione", 2003



Public spaces and informal publicness at Lotto O



Informal playground

Public facilities are delimited by continuous or see-through edges. Barriers were also installed to protect public buildings from vandalism. In-between spaces and dismantled structures are used as playground and gathering places by children.

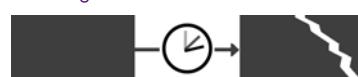
Abandoned public space Reclaimed public space



Informal lingering place

Abandoned public facilities, built but never used, such as the library, constitute an inhabited ruin in the neighbourhood. Waste is illegally collected in the area. Drug addicts are the main public living these buildings.

Abandoned building Ruin



Informal vegetable garden

A terrace built on the escarpment can be read as the will to regain possession of the land. Public spaces and their intended use obviously do not satisfy citizens' needs.

Reclaimed use of land



Informal place for the recycling of construction materials

Dilapidated buildings are used as illegal landfills for special waste often set on fire by citizens. In the backyard of public facilities there is a small place where recovered construction materials, from electrical to sanitary supply, are collected and available to be reused.

Informal waste storage



Urban Social Garden of Health



The aim of the Urban Social Garden of Health Project was not to cultivate a private garden, but to extend it so to include the rehabilitated users in the local community. This is why local associations and schools were invited to adopt a parcel of the abandoned park with the aim to recover it as a social garden.



Born as a work reintegration initiative, the Urban Social Garden of Health has benefitted from the services of the local retirees who – given the farming background of their families – have performed a fundamental social tutoring function.



As for the temporary management system, it was firstly granted by the deputy mayor's Office of Environment in 2015 and, after being reviewed and upgraded during the 2019, it has been fine-tuned by the City of Naples to this day.

All pictures © Giovanni Dispoto



In winter 2016 a self-building process of co-design was implemented in the Urban Social Garden of Health. Here scholars, researchers and students from the Department of Architecture were involved in an on-field workshop aimed to design, build and install a prototype for rainwater harvesting and reuse.

© Cristina Visconti



Today, at the beginning of 2020, two thirds of the park surfaces are recovered, there are about 150 parcels that are cultivated and a lot of families that, after presenting a formal request to the Public Health Service, are waiting for a terrace in the last third of the park.



During the last 50 years Ponticelli has been stressed by shifting from the fertile ecosystem of the east plain of Napoli into the hidden backyard of the city.



Nowadays it is a settlement where places like the Urban Social Garden of Health represent a form of reconquest of the agricultural identity that has been hidden and denied over the years. Gardening has proved to be a good opportunity for local inhabitants to promote the recovery, especially for the ones with not less than 50 years, who were able in gardening because of their past familiarity with the rural site.

Timeline / From rural area to Urban Social Garden of Health

Originally a marshland, over the centuries the east plain of Napoli has achieved excellent agricultural performance thanks to the fertility of the volcanic soil of the land at the foot of Vesuvius. Innumerable land reclaiming works that followed one another over the centuries gradually enabled the area to make the most of its humid conditions and thus become the city's vegetable production district. Beginning in the mid-twentieth century, however, it started to loose this role in favor of an industrial conversion that eventually brought heavy environmental consequences.



A. Pitloo – View of Naples from a "Pascone" – 1828



Images reminding the rural landscape of Ponticelli

Between 1970s and 1980s

A sort of equilibrium persisted in the area among country and working people.

1980s

Also due to the earthquake, and to the consequent demand for infrastructures and housing services by the new homeless, 1980s led to the complete filling of the area. During these years, the equilibrium between natural site and urbanization vanished, but a flowering of studies nourished a popular current of local researches. The proliferation of the said studies has managed to keep alive the memory of the agricultural area and the way to live its open spaces among the inhabitants.

1990s

This period represented the start-up of a new phase, due to the progressive closing down of industrial areas. After implementing a few regenerative policies and the opening of public parks, the area encountered the stalemate that is still ongoing.

2000s

Because of the dormant financial breakdown of the City of Naples, and the consequent lack of funding for managing the city's open spaces, parks have gradually lost their public uses, becoming abandoned relicts of a past season of welfare that today's administration can no longer afford.

2014

Thanks to an agreement with the City Council, routines of community gardening were finalized by an adult daycare center coordinated by the local Health Authority in the largest abandoned park which is located in Ponticelli, the "Fratelli De Filippo" park. The idea was facilitating the vocational rehabilitation of drug addicts and their reintegration into working life. In so doing, it was necessary, as a precondition, to recreate rules and routines by means of which the community could take care of the abandoned places. Born as a work reintegration initiative, the Urban Social Garden of Health has benefitted, in the very beginning, from work-scholarships and the services of the local retirees who – given the farming background of their families – have performed a fundamental social tutoring function.

2015

Local associations and schools were invited to adopt a parcel of the abandoned park with the aim to recover it as a social garden. From there the Urban Social Garden of Health experience started with good responses even from citizens.

2020

Two thirds of the park surfaces are recovered, there are 146 parcels that are cultivated and 150 families that, after presenting a formal request to the Public Health Service, are waiting for a place in the last third of the park.

Resistance based on living memories of the rural past

Since the 1960s Ponticelli has experienced a severe transition from rural culture to urban culture. Public spaces might have facilitated encounters and intergenerational exchanges. Inhabitants, in search of an urbanity that, although promised, had never been implemented, have introjected the memory of the natural site and agricultural land as a loss. They are still living the denial of modern public spaces as a reason to take refuge in disjointed and separated enclaves. The erosion of rural landscape, in fact, has never produced the provision of modern landscape.

What the following map “Living memories of the rural past” shows is a common feeling of “loss and damage” for habits that have been washed away without being replaced with the care of people and attention to the site which would have been needed in building the new settlement. As a form of resistance, community resilience, in this case, consists of practices able to re-examine the rooted culture of inhabiting in a modern context. In this sense, replacing the failed formal publicness with strategies tailored to the context – as for the Urban Social Garden of Health Project of 2015 – became successful.

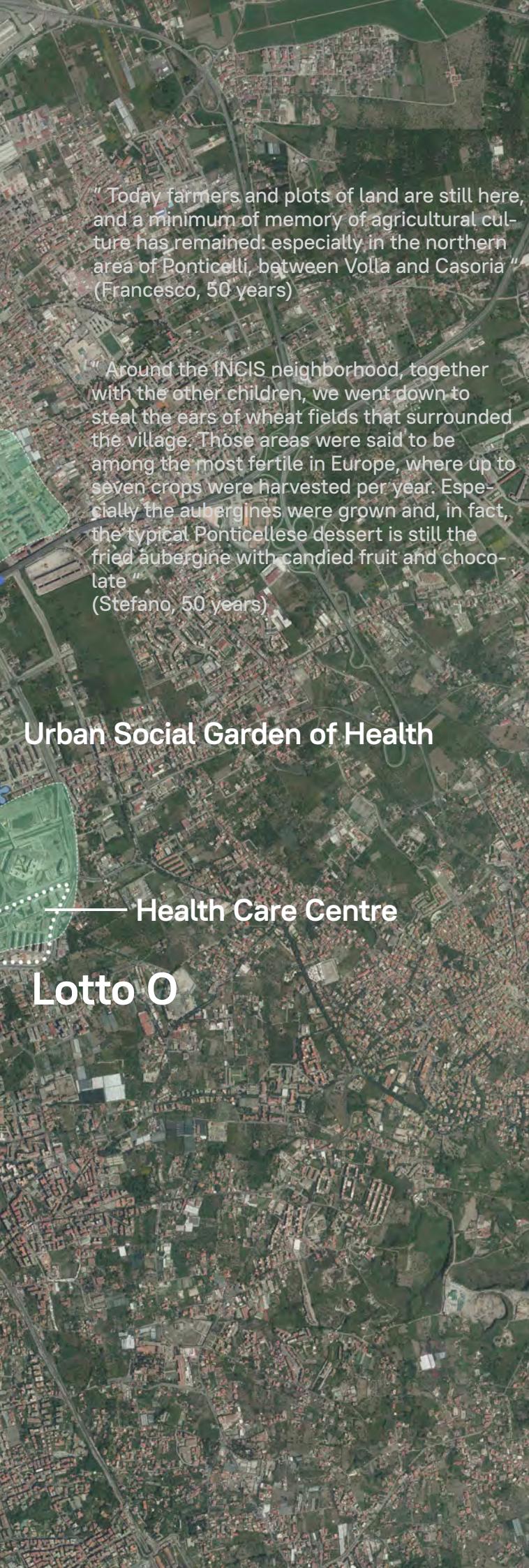
Living memories of the rural past in Ponticelli

"I remember well when I was a child I used to go with my father to the fields in the area of Galeone and Galeoncello. There were two small rivers where we used to catch eels " (Giovanni, 70 years)

" Pascone is the Neapolitan word that means a kind of mixture of water and soil used to feed animals. With the word parula we meant an area cultivated by parulani, original farmers of Ponticelli " (Dino, 55 years)

" When I was a child I used to play with my bicycle right next to the many small streams of Ponticelli " (Rosaria, 50 years)





The map shows the outcomes of a survey to explore, by means of 105 in-depth interviews to inhabitants and city users, the living memory of the rural plain of which Ponticelli is part despite the implementation of the modern settlement.

The adopted approach comes from reconsidering Kevin Lynch's methodology in the light of the keyword "community resilience" as reconceptualized by contemporary planning theorists and designers. Exploring the potentialities gathered in the past configurations of places, uses, and relations by surveying the public perception of inhabitants helps understanding what kind of publicness they would aspire to, and why current public spaces don't fit their ordinary behaviors and life styles. Reinterpreting traces, clues and reasons of almost erased configurations and neglected uses can give back sense to the abandoned and violated spaces or help imagining the new ones, as the ongoing Urban Social Garden of Health Project demonstrates.

Interviews

When I say "parule" or "pasconi", does this bring anything to your mind? Have you ever had any experience of such formations (parule or pasconi)? Can you tell me about it?

Have you ever visited or known a watermill or any other building created to manage water? Which one?

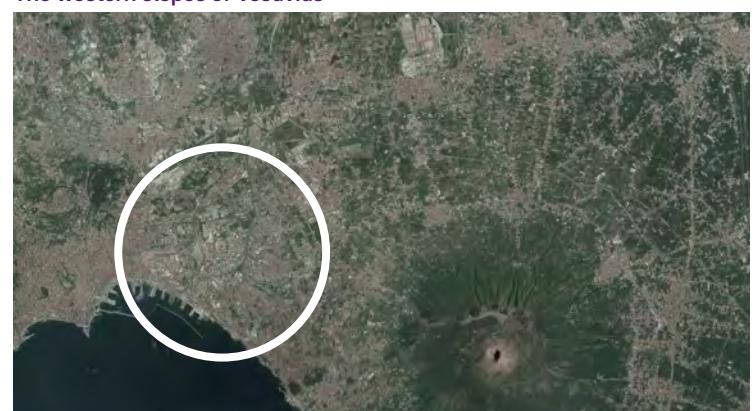
Based on your memories, can you help me to find traces of streams or humid areas in the map?

Parule and pasconi

Parule, a Neapolitan dialect word for "marsh," were cultivated tracts of farmland found especially in the area north of Ponticelli and in the neighboring towns, which were often flooded by water from Vesuvius. Most of the interviewees who were familiar with the term were indeed from Ponticelli, with those from San Giovanni coming in second. Pasconi were basins containing water, mud and debris. Historical maps prevalently place them in the area corresponding to the present-day Gianturco neighborhood. According to the locals, they were used as feeding and watering places for livestock.

- memories of water and bogs
 - ▲ memories of "parule" and "pasconi"
 - ▼ residual humid areas
 - * ruined mills
 - buildings with water-supply facilities
 - water-supply facilities
 - toponomastics of places
 - oral testimonies
- O' LAGNO**
- "I remember..."**

The western slopes of Vesuvius

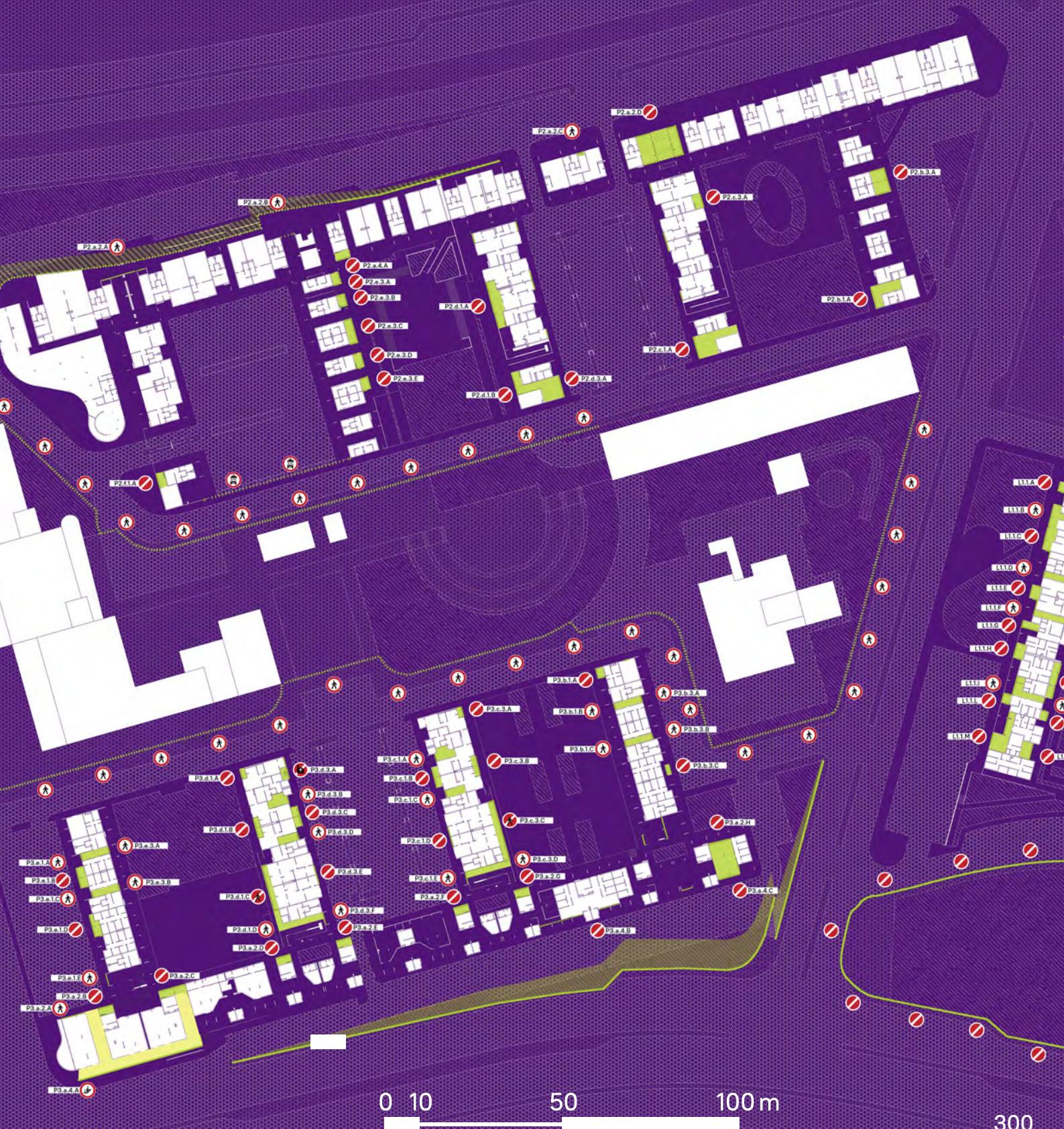


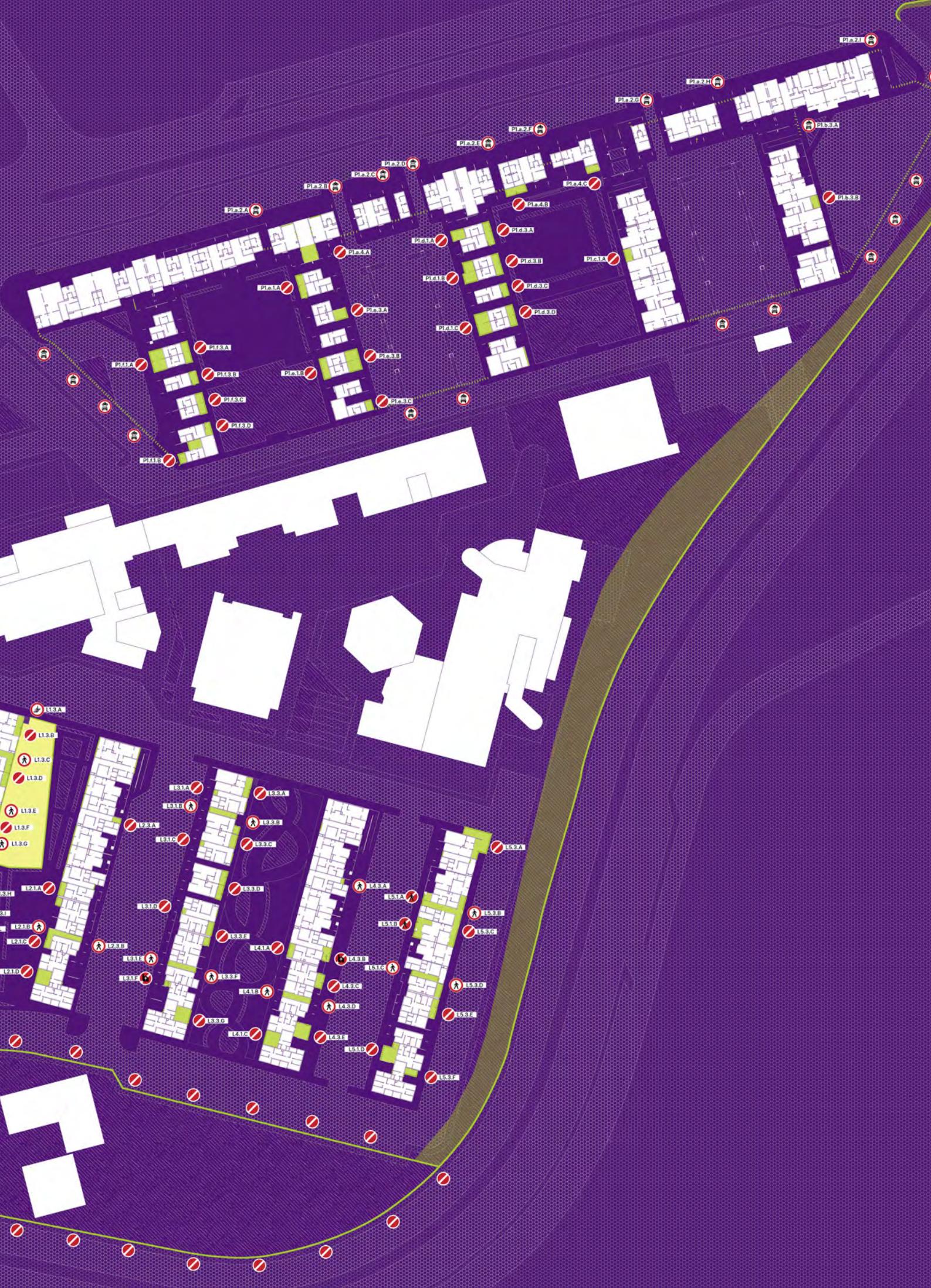
Material alterations and publicness

What is the relation between Architecture and human behaviour? Is the “informal” the answer to the failure of the modern idea of living? Our contribution tries to answer through the analysis and interpretation of the physical space and, above all, of the structure of material/immaterial relationships. We analysed the original project of Lotto O, focusing on the idea of public and private space behind its original design. The construction of the model showed us that the topographic condition and the relationship between the type of buildings and the morphology of the plan ended up fragmenting Lotto O into a series of “enclaves”. Within these enclosures, a series of informal practices and appropriations of spaces have developed, altering the original idea of public space. Collecting stories from inhabitants, we also found that uses of apartments and semi-public spaces and practices changed temporarily/permanently during time to satisfy the needs of new types of families, e.g. to enhance the sense of protection or to increase the available surface for the family's activities.

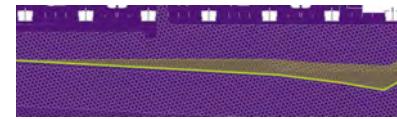
Lotto 0 2020

Informal material alterations





Planned barriers



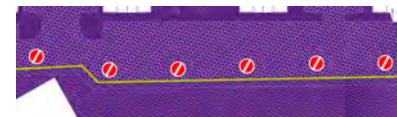
Infrastructure

The difference in height between surrounding streets and Lotto O constitutes a topographical barrier, which generates a physical obstacle but not a total visual barrier.



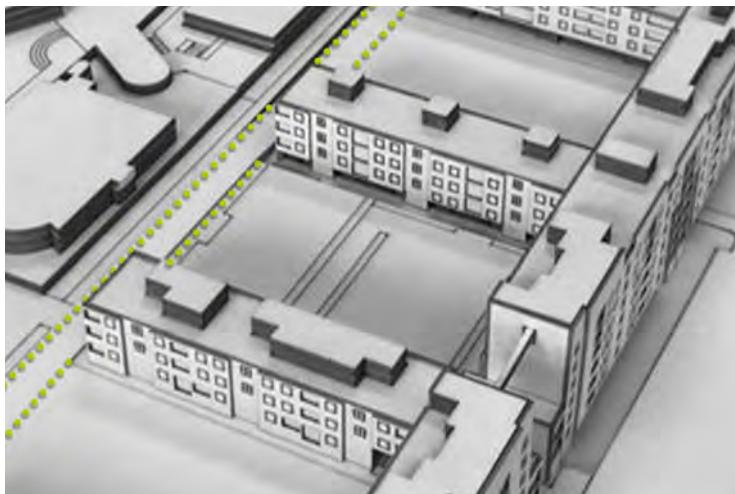
Architectural details

Huge cantilevered structures generate isolated spaces, more easily controlled.



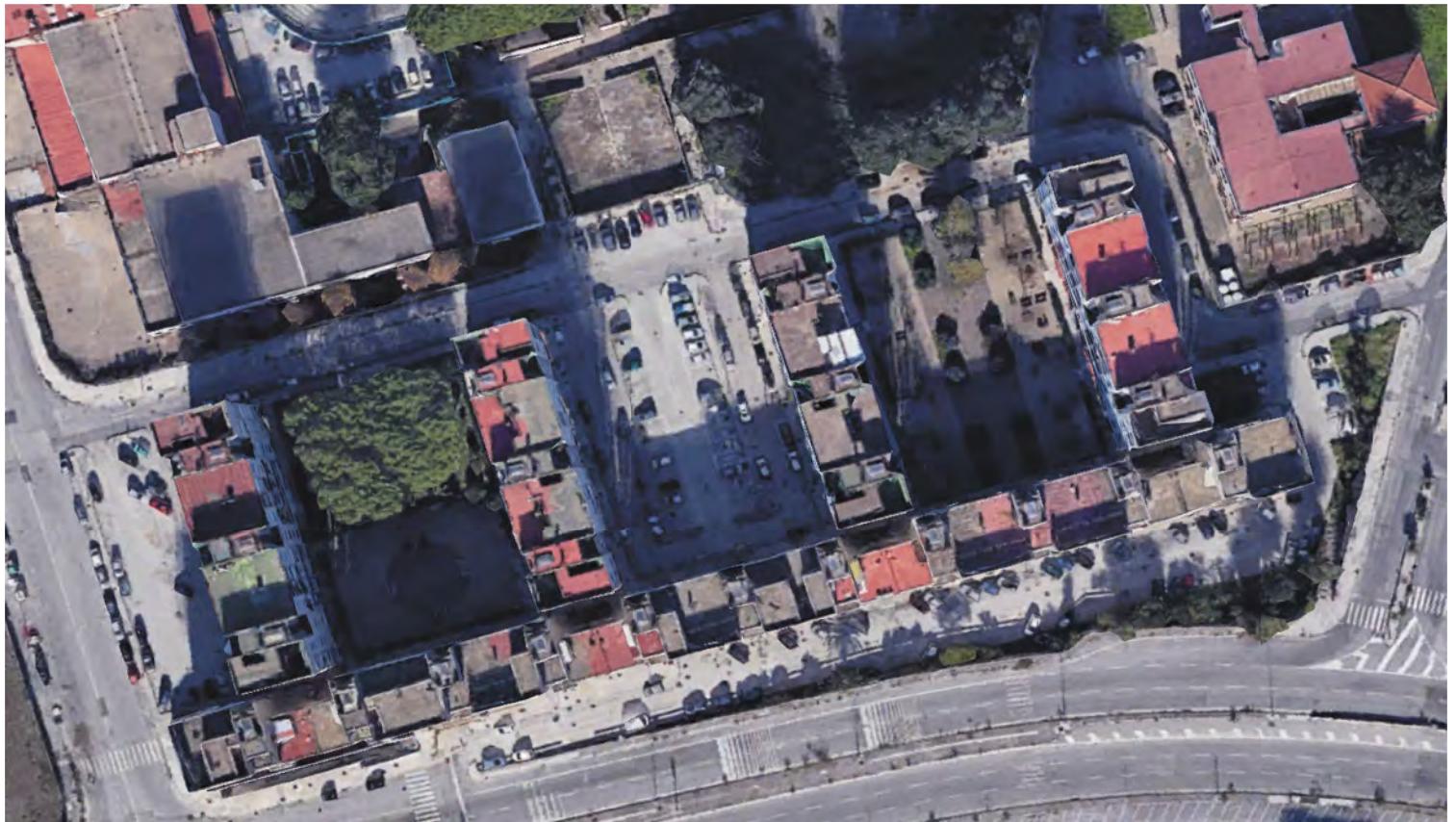
Denied public space

The ruins of the Roman Villa are enclosed by tall walls. There is no general public access. The denied space and walls close off the south eastern part of Lotto O from the surroundings.



Access control

Urban furniture such as bollards and fences regulate traffic (pedestrians or cars) and access to spaces.



Cluster P3 / Building sample Alterations



Year of construction

1980s

Authors

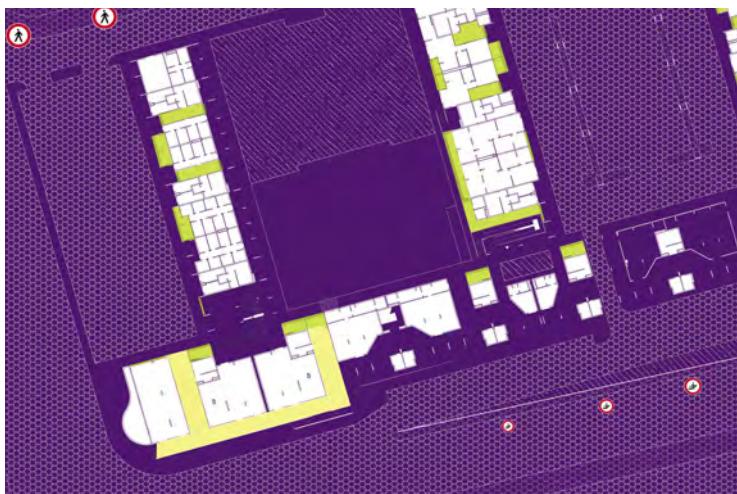
Bonifica S.P.A.-Ing. C. Martino (coordinator)- Arch. E. Perotti (architectur and urban planning)- Ing A. Leonori (structure)- Prof. Arch. S. Dierna, Prof. Arch. M. Pica Ciamarra, Prof. Arch. R. Reviglio (consultant)

Building typology

Linear building

Constructive Typology

prefabricated construction



Porosity change (%)

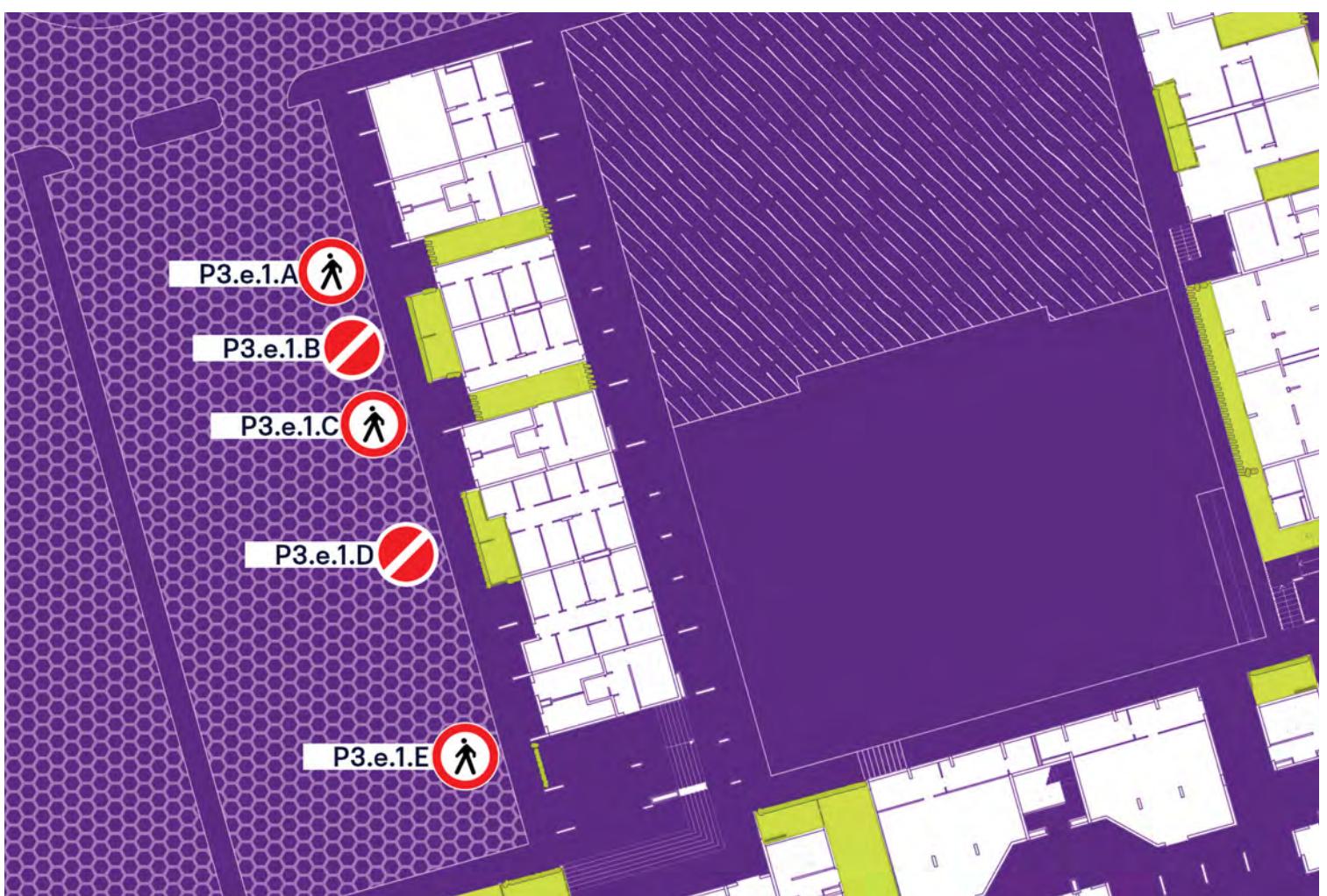
22,18 %

Appropriated space (sqm)

740 sqm



Cluster P3 / Building sample / West elevation & plan



Alterations

Alteration P3.e.1.A



Materiality

masonry: wall with a metal gate

Blockage	yes	not
physical	[✓]	[]
psychological	[]	[✓]
fordable	[]	[✓]
permeable	[✓]	[]
other	[]	[✓]

Porosity change (%)

60%

Appropriated space (sqm)

57 sqm

Enclosed space

passage between the first courtyard and the parking lot of the building which gives access to the lifts

Additional notes

Alteration P3.e.1.C



Materiality

masonry: wall with a metal gate

Blockage	yes	not
physical	[✓]	[]
psychological	[]	[✓]
fordable	[]	[✓]
permeable	[✓]	[]
other	[]	[✓]

Porosity change (%)

60%

Appropriated space (sqm)

57 sqm

Enclosed space

passage between the first courtyard and the parking lot of the building which gives access to the lifts

Additional notes

Alteration P3.e.1.E



Materiality

masonry: steel bollards

Blockage	yes	not
physical	[✓]	[]
psychological	[✓]	[]
fordable	[]	[✓]
permeable	[✓]	[]
other	[]	[✓]

Porosity change (%)

40%

Appropriated space (sqm)

0 sqm

Enclosed space

there is no enclosed space

Additional notes

The bollards do not steal the space but delimit it by controlling the passage of pedestrians and preventing the passage of motor vehicles

Alteration P3.e.1.B



Materiality

masonry: wall with a metal door

Blockage	yes	not
physical	[✓]	[]
psychological	[✓]	[]
fordable	[]	[✓]
permeable	[]	[✓]
other	[]	[✓]

Porosity change (%)

90%

Appropriated space (sqm)

51 sqm

Enclosed space

the external area nearby to the parking area in via Arnaldo Angelucci located on the plot edge

Additional notes

Alteration P3.e.1.D



Materiality

masonry: wall with a metal door

Blockage	yes	not
physical	[✓]	[]
psychological	[✓]	[]
fordable	[]	[✓]
permeable	[]	[✓]
other	[]	[✓]

Porosity change (%)

90%

Appropriated space (sqm)

46 sqm

Enclosed space

the external area nearby to the parking area in via Arnaldo Angelucci located on the plot edge

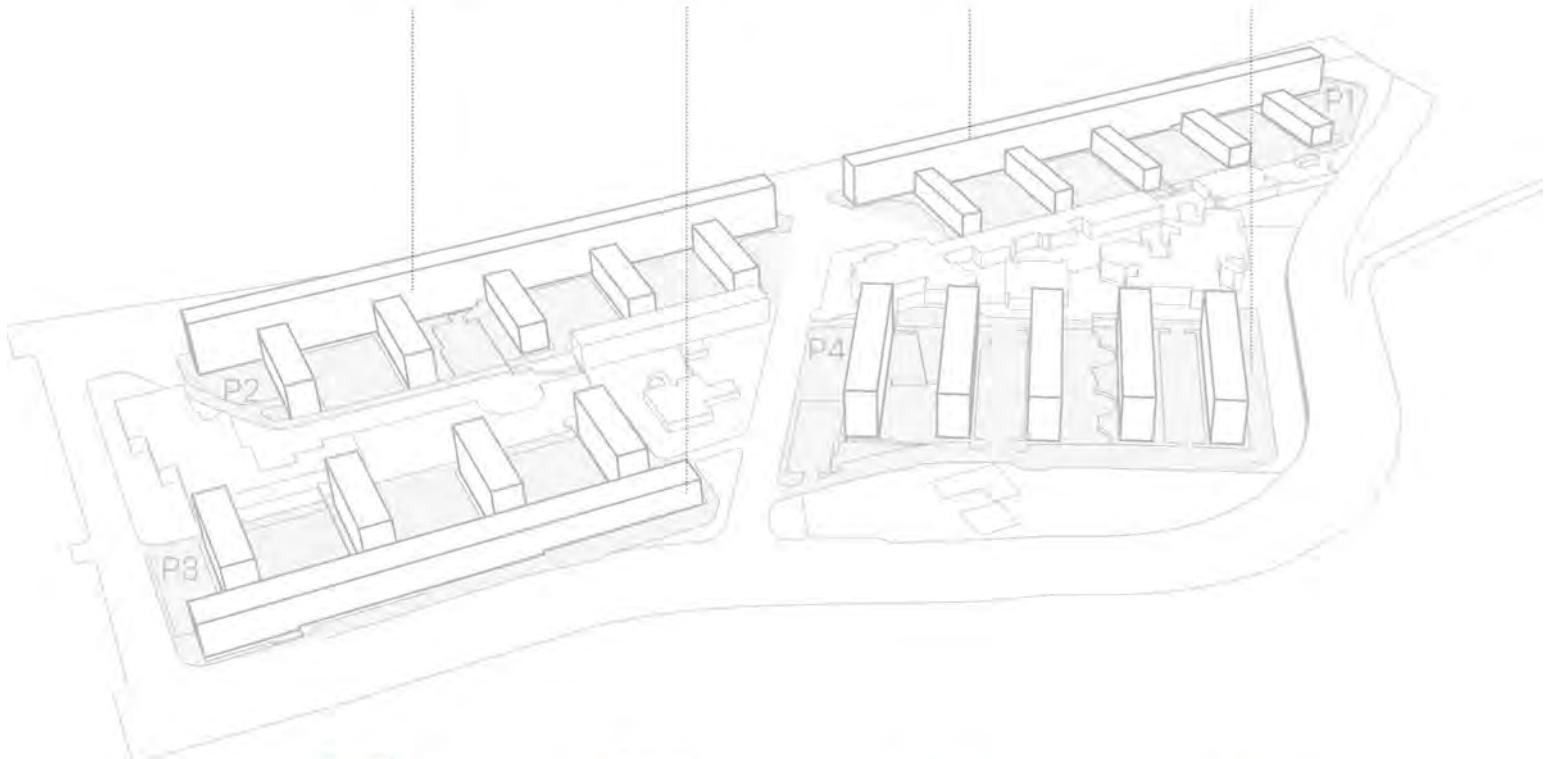
Additional notes

Flats and population data

Inhabitants
calculated according to:

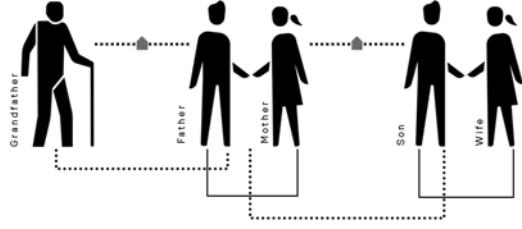
	P2	P3	P1	P4	TOT.
flats livable surface standards	1572	1156	1381	1752	5861
bedrooms surface standards	1046	747	916	1167	3875
census (2011)	1036	750	895	1217	3898

Flats per type



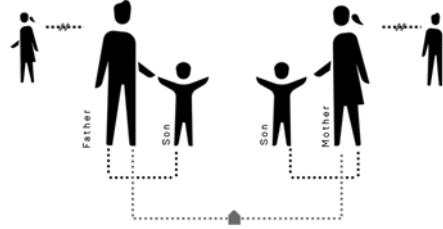
types of flats	livable surface (mq)	types of bedrooms	inhabitants according to livable surface standards	inhabitants according to bedrooms surface standards
A	56 - 65	x1 1 big room	4	2
B	66 - 75	x1 x1 1 big room + 1 little room	5	3
C	76 - 85	x2 2 big rooms	6	4
D	85 - 115	x2 x2 2 big rooms + 2 little rooms	9	7

Types of families



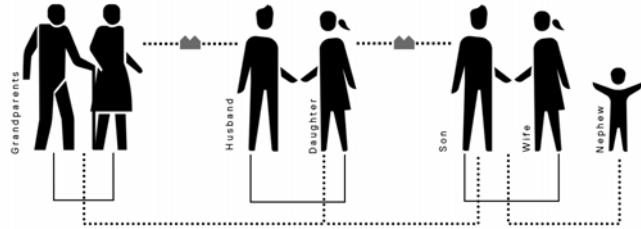
Temporary expanded family

The renter of the apartment and his/her family shares the space with needy relatives according to a short-medium kind of agreement or even daily hospitality



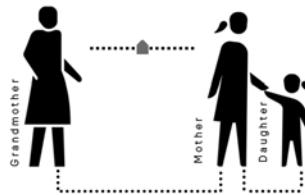
Second marriage family

The original renter and his/her children from a first marriage share the apartment with the new partner of the renter and his/her first marriage children



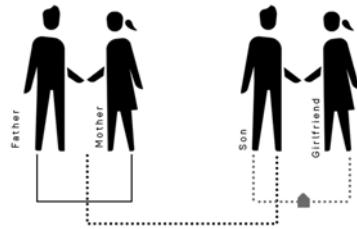
Multiple apartments families

Families of relatives living in more than one apartment – in some cases the apartments are contiguous and they can be used as one bigger apartment.



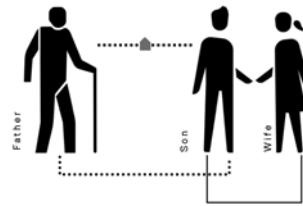
Intergenerational women support family

The original renter is a woman sharing her private space with more than one female relative and they offer mutual support services (daughter, granddaughter, etc.)



Hosting family

The original renter provides temporary shelter to teenager friends/partners of his/her sons in need

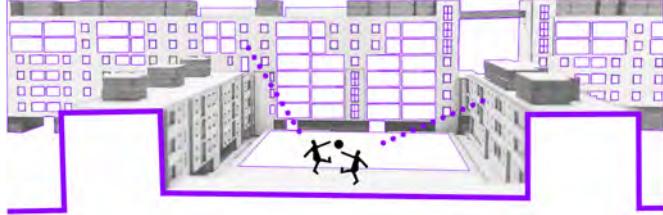


Merged families

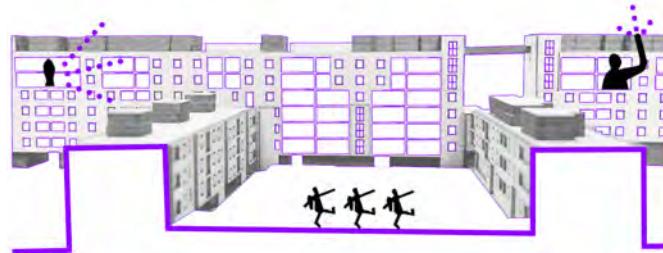
Families joining a parent who is the original renter in his/her house

The Italian national housing standards Decree (1968) provides guidelines for planning new houses, defining a minimum surface for each occupier and a minimum number of bedrooms. In the case of Lotto O, public housing apartments were rented to people in need at the end of the 1980's. The size of apartments was based on the number of family members, according to a standardized idea of the average family. Since then many things have changed. Despite the rigid regulation, the composition of families has deeply changed, revealing more complex arrangements and dynamic relationships between residents.

Defensible spaces



A. Daily surveillance of children who play in the courtyards



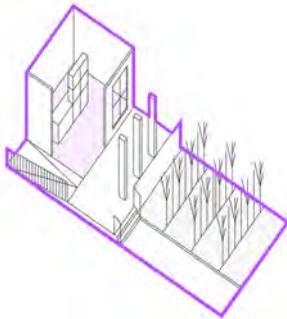
B. Mothers' security chain for school children



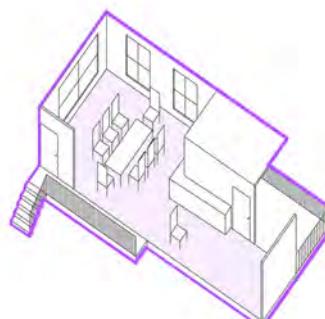
C. 'L type' buildings weak defensible spaces

We call "defensible spaces" the results of the entanglement of material objects and social practices increasing the sense of security in the neighbourhood. The distributive scheme of each apartment, the design of the courtyards and small elements such as trees, walls, etc. influence the degree of possible surveillance. In some cases defensible spaces at the small scale (A) are part of more complex configurations of neighbourhood informal services (B). In other cases the characteristic of defensibility is weakened by barriers (C).

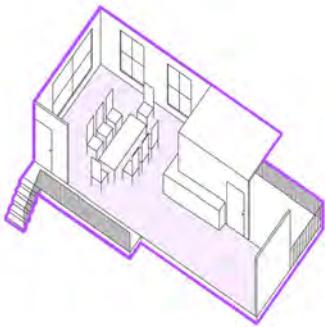
Neighborhood practices



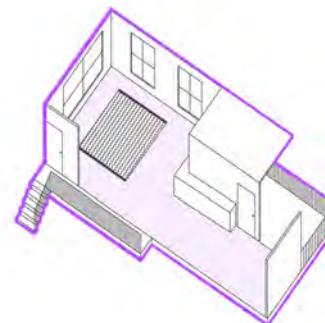
Informal buying and selling of basic goods



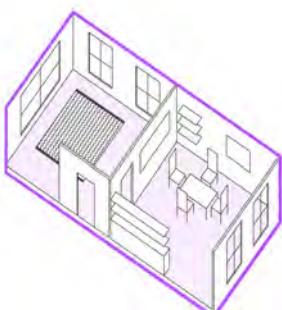
Providing beauty services in clients' houses



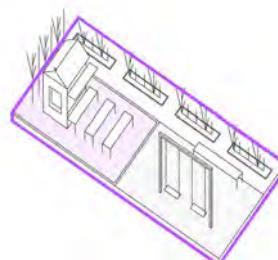
Gathering in private houses for holiday lunch or bingo



Providing informal day-care / children homework assistance



Gathering in ground floor adapted spaces for different activities (like bingo)



Meeting, talking and playing around religious icons

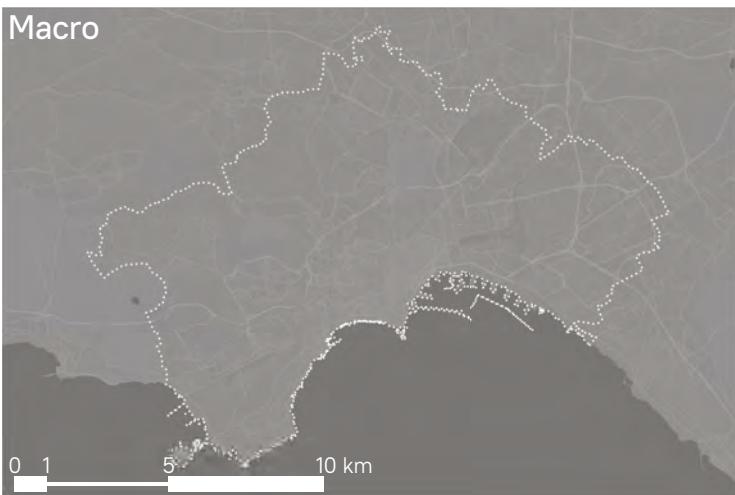
Segregation and Informal Publicness

To assess performances of publicness in complex and contested contexts such as Ponticelli and Lotto O, we need indicators designed to deal with both quantitative and qualitative characteristics of places and practices: from “hard” demographic, social and spatial data to “soft” user’s perceptions. This contribution selects and processes spatial indices of isolation and segregation, within the Municipality of Naples (Italy), where entire communities, living in social housing districts, face critical conditions of social isolation and exclusion from the processes of urban development. The comparison between the conditions detected in Lotto O, 6th Municipality and the City of Naples allows identifying different clusters within the three scales, expression of the various critical conditions and effect of the many different housing policies. First results highlight how some policy decision has influenced the local publicness at different levels: spatial, social and economic.

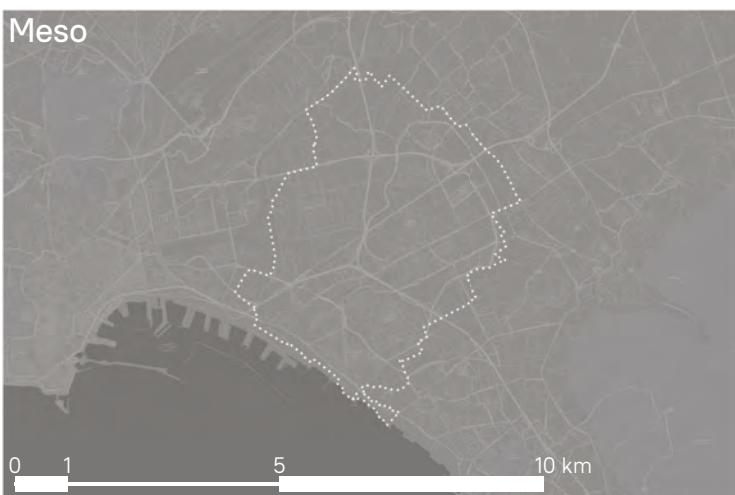
Towards an assessment of informal publicness

The methodological approach focuses on:

1. considering three different scales of territorial analysis;
2. collecting hard and soft data, according to access to resources, quality of life, inclusion and participation;
3. interpreting the informal use of space and people's behaviour and interactions in public spaces;
4. evaluating publicness through selected spatial indices;
5. processing composite indicators based on spatial analysis and people's movement/actions in space.



Scale of territorial analysis



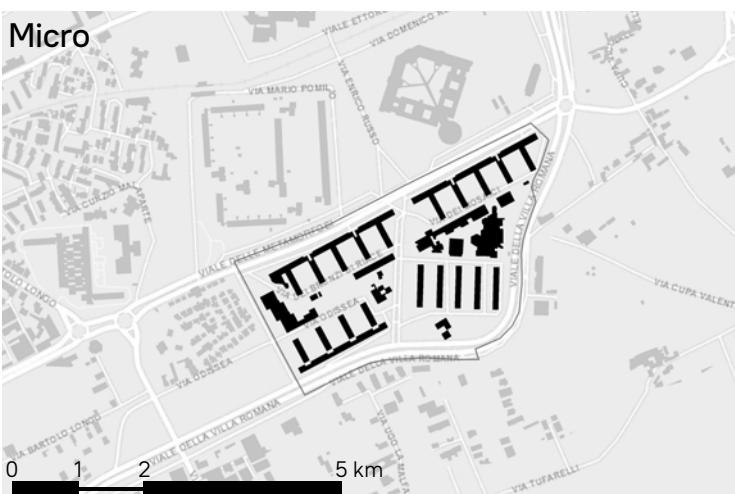
Naples

No of inhabitants	1.003.270 inhabitants
Territorial surface	118,93 sqkm
Population density	8.435,80 inhab./sqkm

6th Municipality

Ponticelli, Barra, S. Giovanna
Teduuccio

No of inhabitants	133.954 inhab.
Territorial surface	19,28 sqkm
Population density	6.947,82 inhab./sqkm



Lotto O

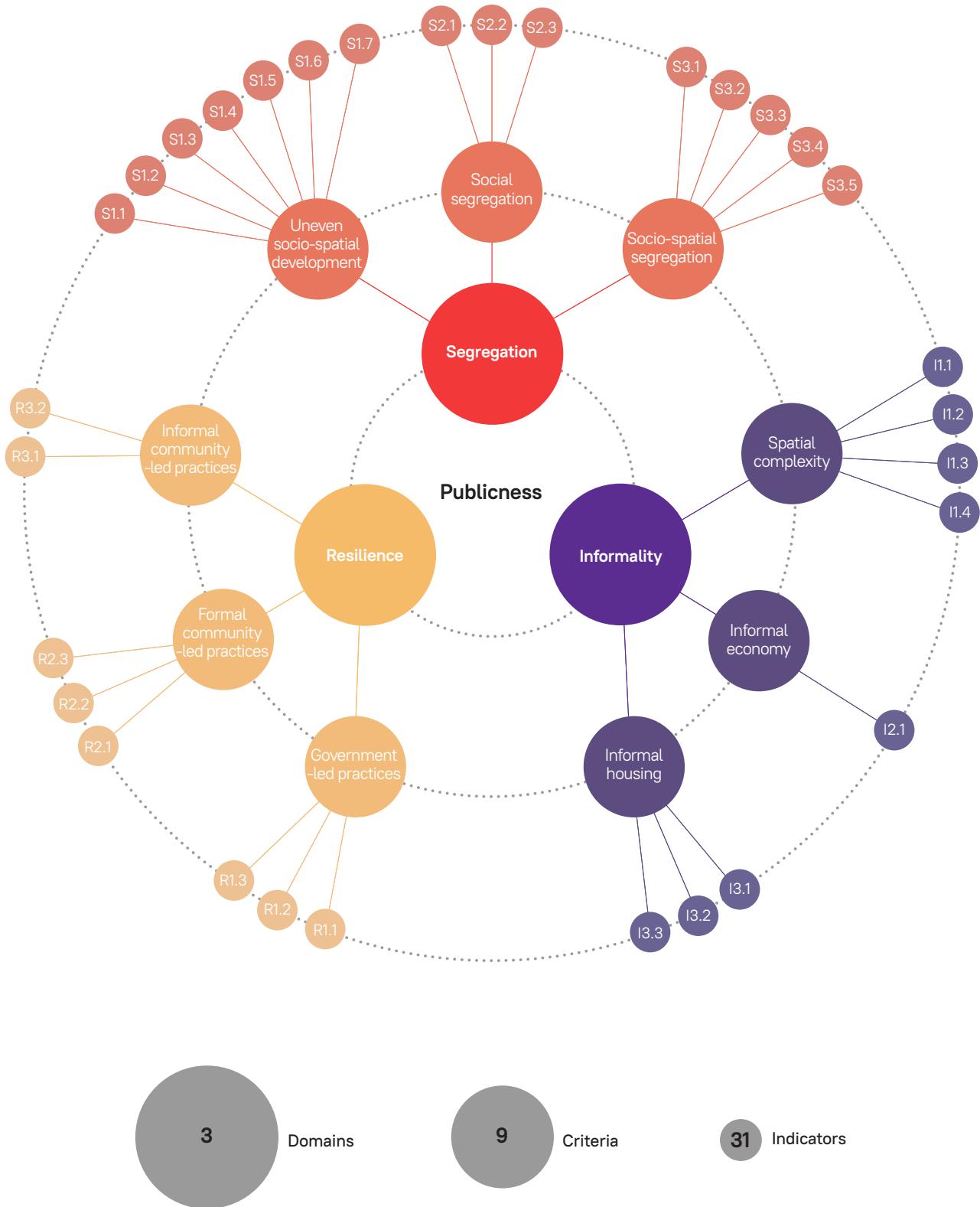
No of inhabitants	3.935 inhab.
Territorial surface	0,18 sqkm
Population density	22.357,95 inhab./sqkm

Decision tree

The evaluation of publicness and related processes has been articulated selecting data according to 3 main domains: Segregation, Resilience and Informality. Starting from these domains, a decision tree has been defined to identify the different components able to analyse the concept of publicness.

In the following some indicators are reported as a sample of the following three criteria:

- Uneven socio-spatial development
- Socio-spatial segregation
- Visual spatial complexity



Uneven socio-spatial development

Statistical data

Naples

S.1.1 – Population density

Data source ISTAT – Census Zones 2011

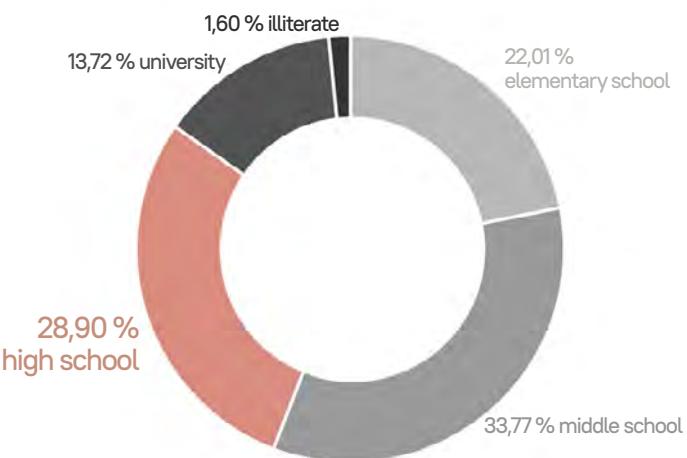
Number of residents per sqkm



S.1.2 – Education level

Data source ISTAT – Census Zones 2011

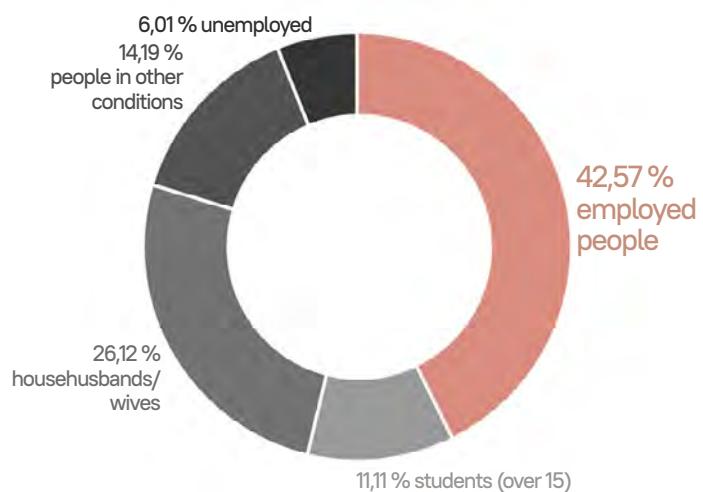
Percentage of people with elementary, middle, high school, university diploma and illiterate people

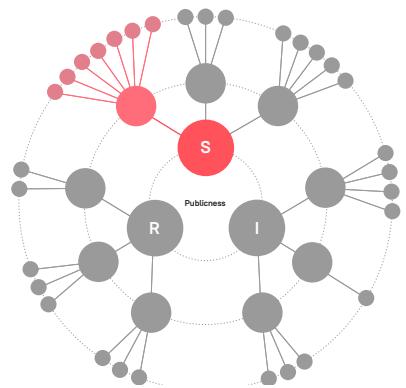


S.1.3 – Employment level

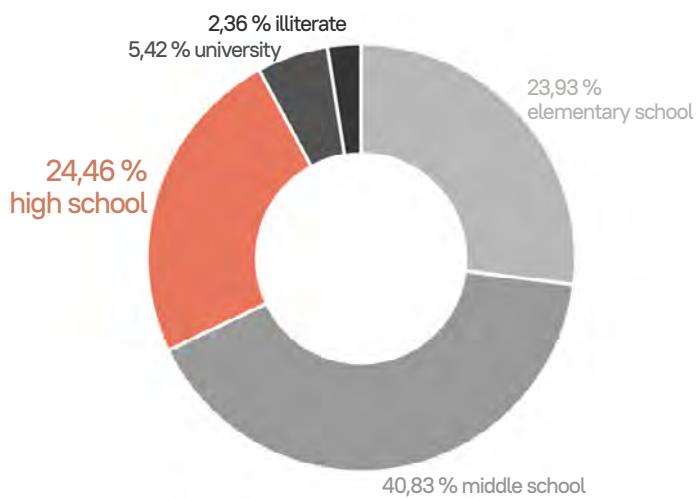
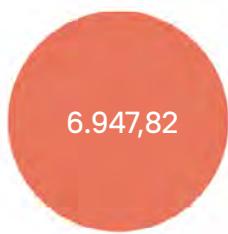
Data source ISTAT – Census Zones 2011

Percentage of employed people, students, househusbands/wives, people in other conditions, unemployed people in relation to the total workforce (age 15-74+).

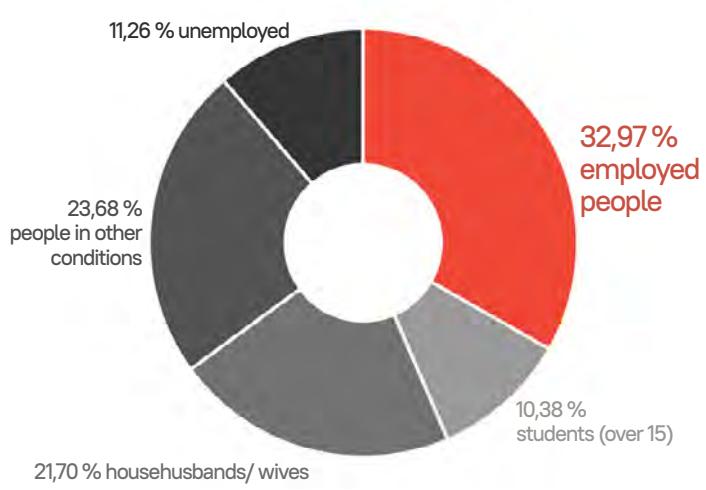
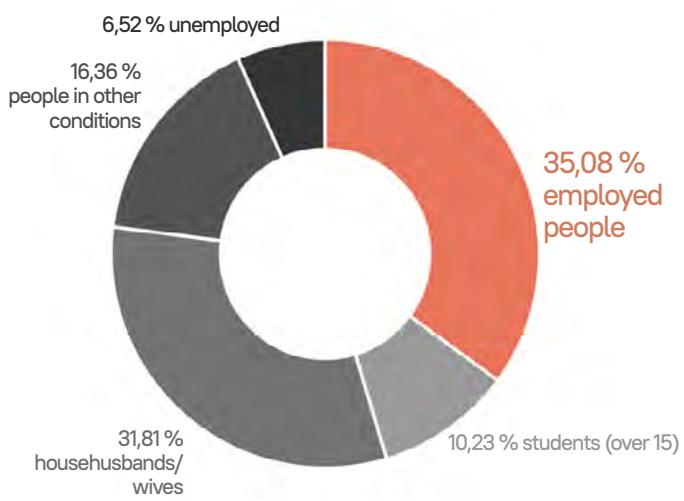
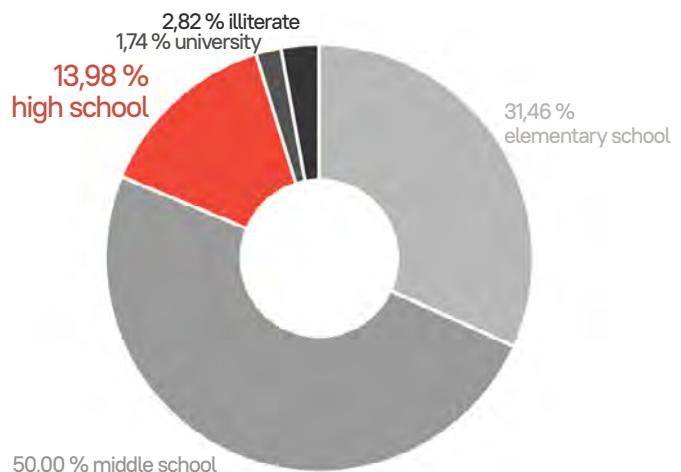




6th Municipality



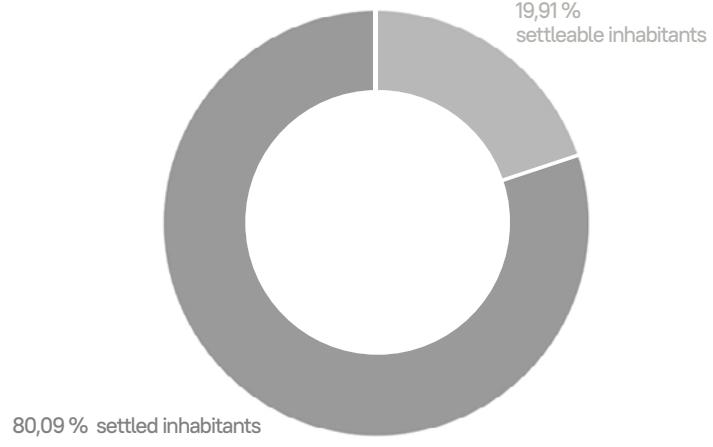
Lotto O



S.1.7 – Overcrowding

Data source ISTAT – Census Zones 2011

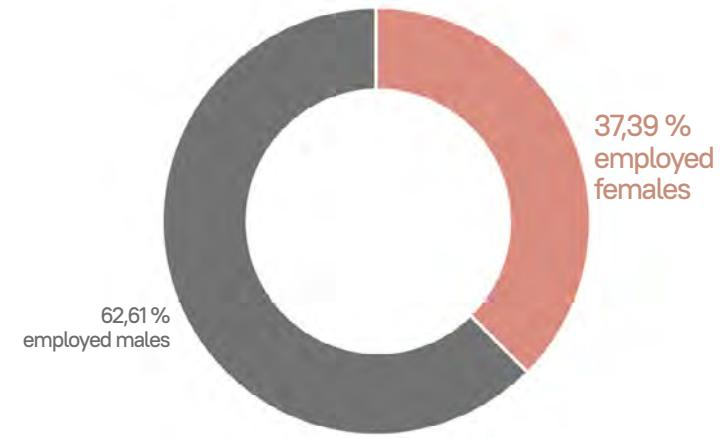
Percentual difference between the factual population number and the maximum number of inhabitants according to the Italian national standard for residential living conditions (25 sqm/person).



S.1.4 – Employed females

Data source ISTAT – Census Zones 2011

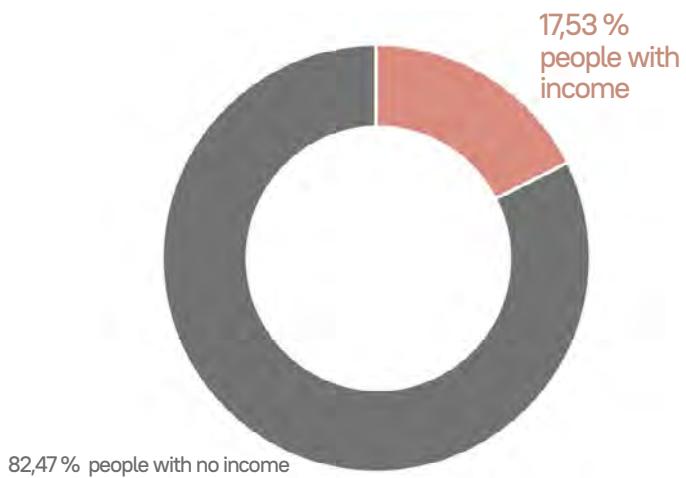
Percentage of employed females and males within the population aged 15 and above.



S.1.5 – People with income

Data source ISTAT – Census Zones 2011

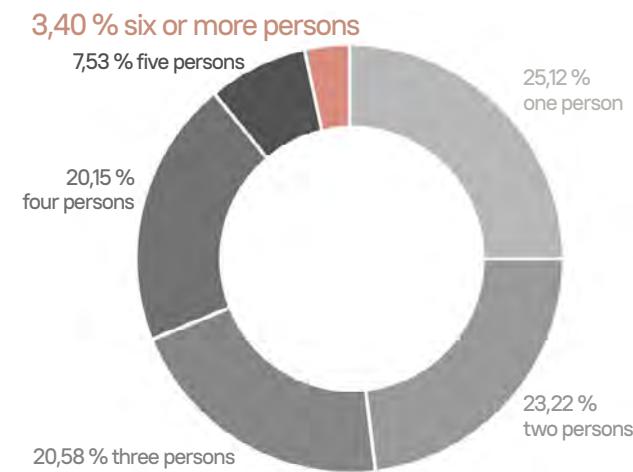
Percentage of people with income either from employment or property within the population aged 15 and above.

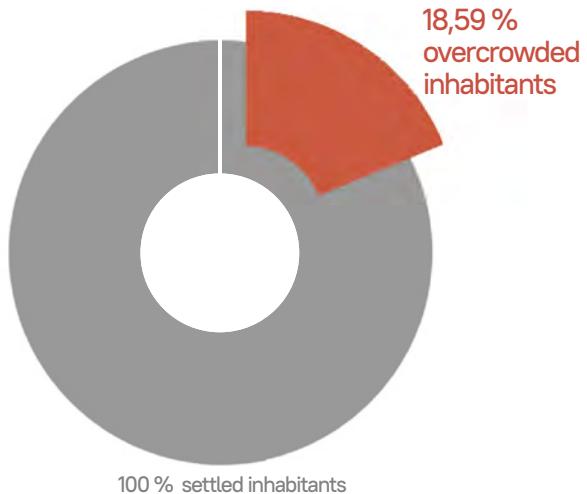
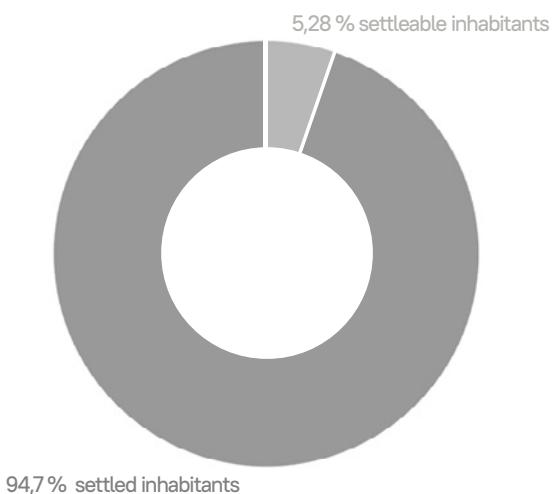
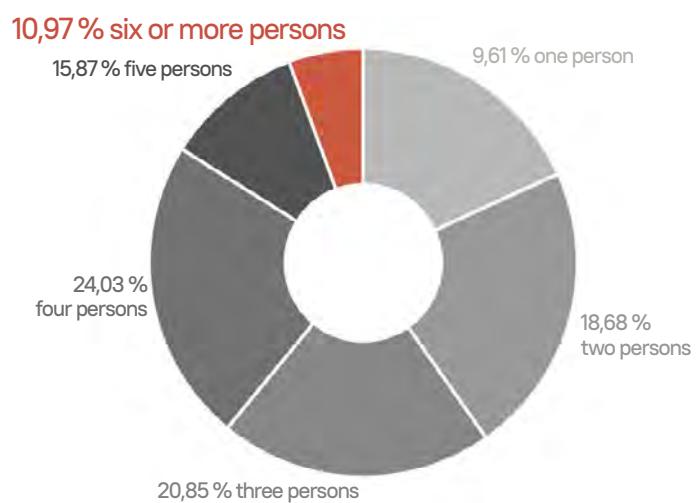
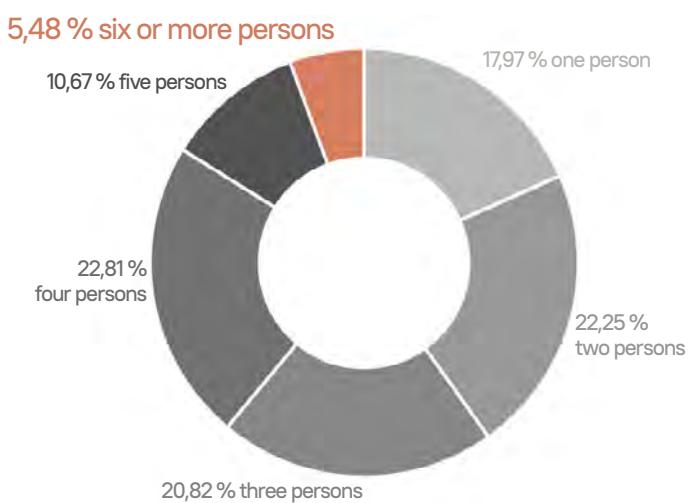
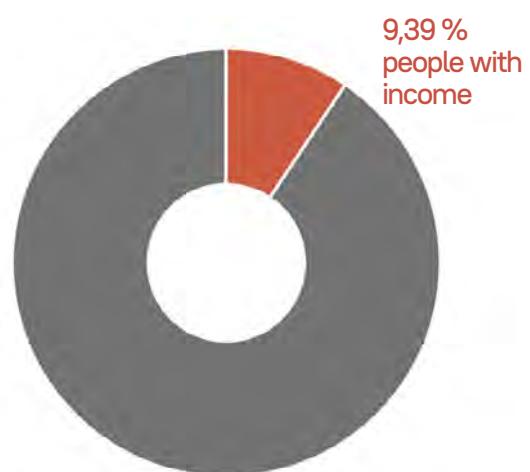
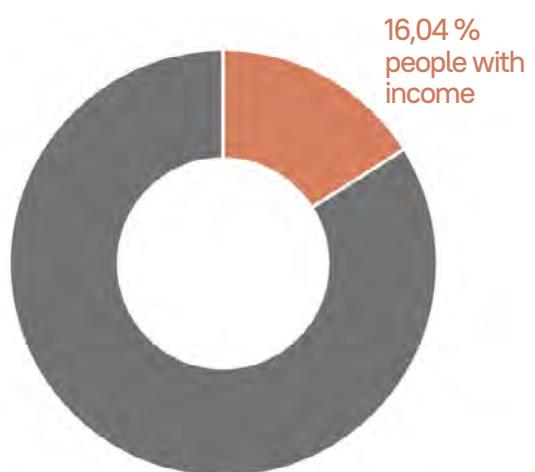
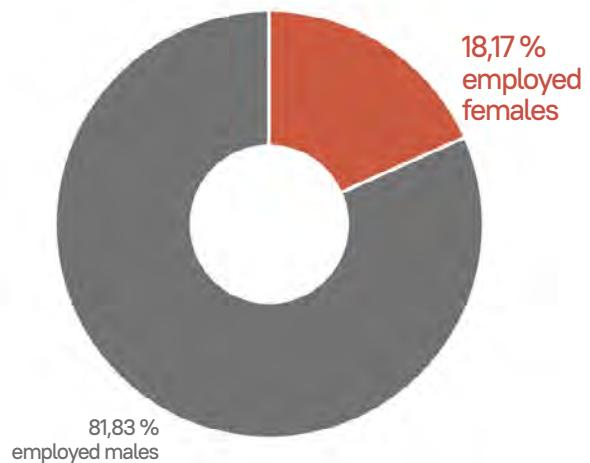
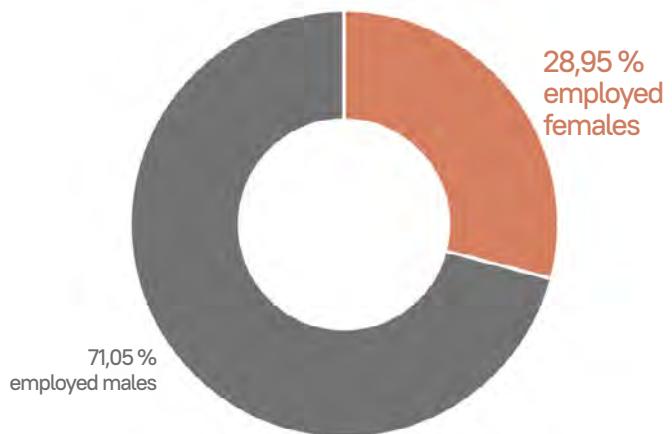


S.1.6 – Household size

Data source ISTAT – Census Zones 2011

Percentage of families (cohabitant persons) with one, two, three, four, five, six or more persons per household.



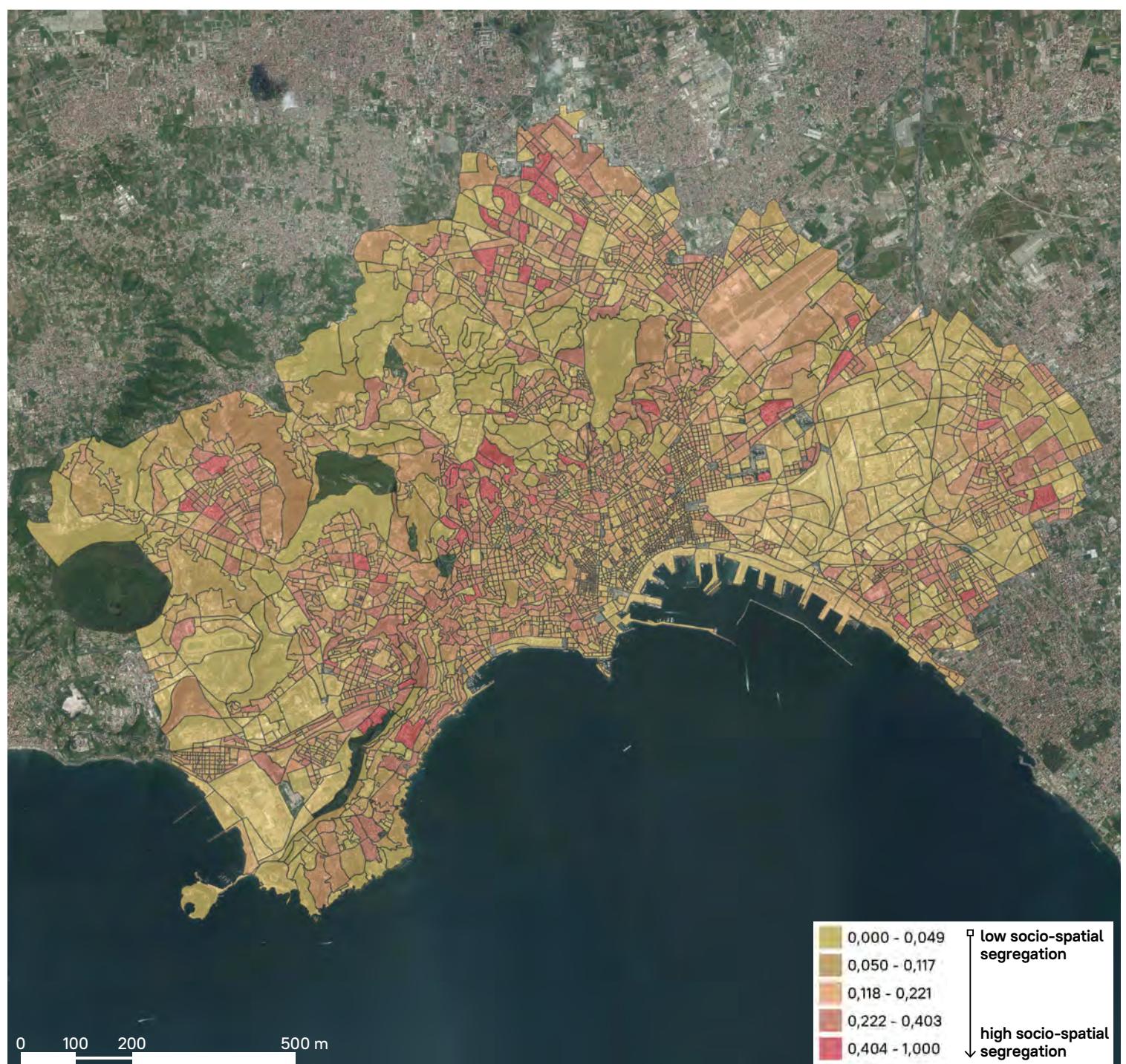


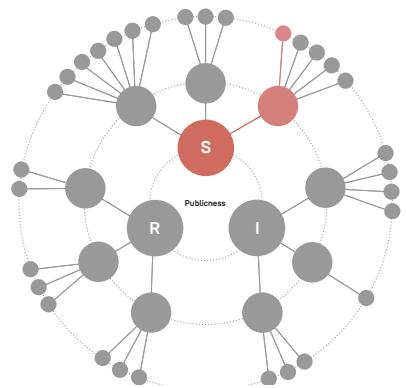
Socio-spatial segregation

Clusters of population with no income

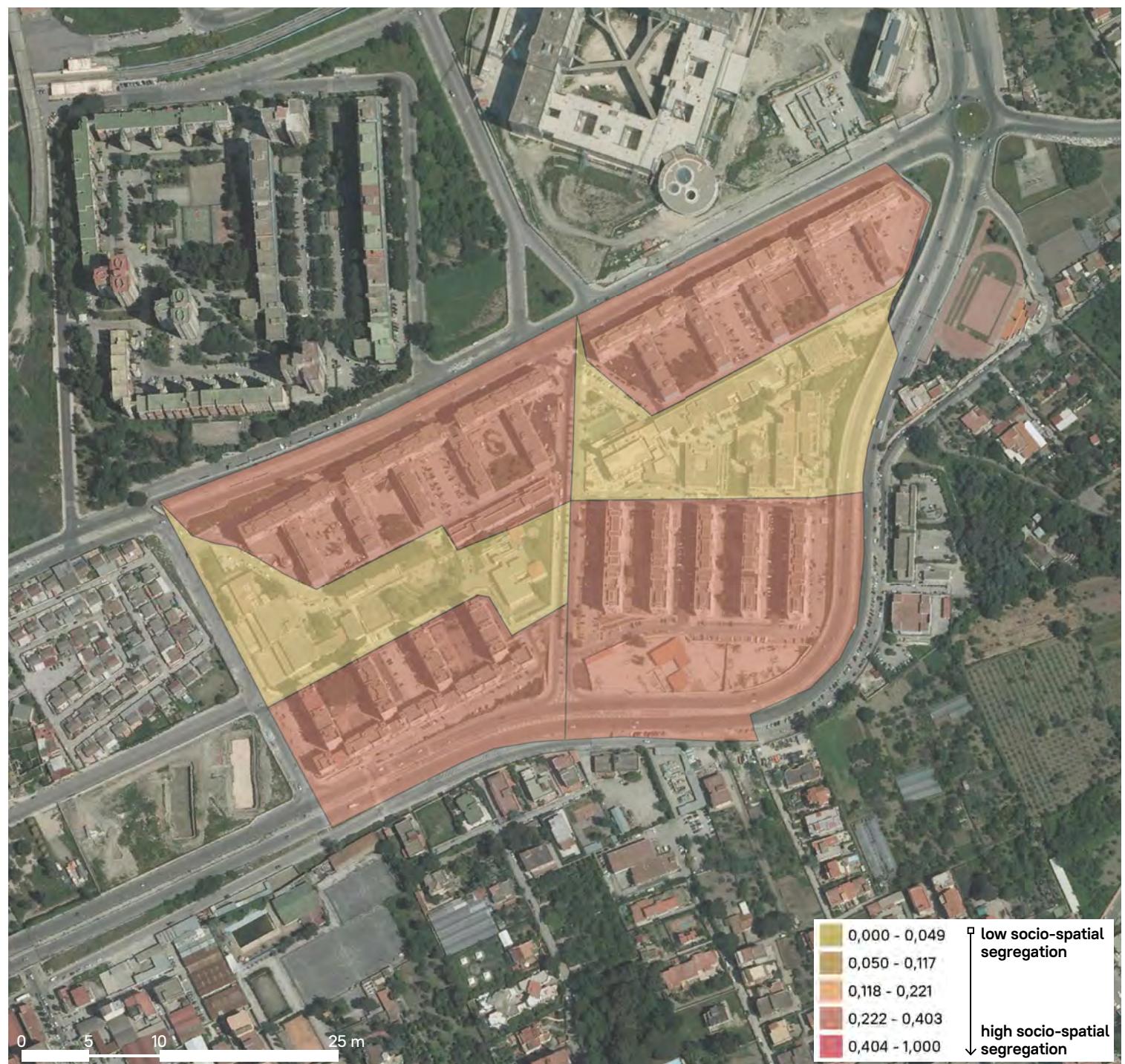
S3.1 Local spatial dissimilarity index $d(m)$

The local spatial dissimilarity index $d(m)$ measures how the population of each locality differs, on average, from the population composition as a whole. It varies from 0 (yellow) to 1 (red), where 0 stands for the minimum degree of evenness and 1 for the maximum degree. In the maps, the red zones indicate a maximum degree of evenness, that is how much clustered (or segregated) the group of people with no income is within the entire population of Naples. Clusters of people with no income emerge within the Scampia district (northern area) that was very much affected by housing policies between the 1960s and 1970s, and where many social issues related to deprivation and unlivable housing conditions have arisen during the last years; within the Pianura workers' district (western peripheral area) which was incorporated into Naples and subjected to urbanisation processes from the 1920s onwards; and within the Ponticelli district (eastern peripheral area) that has a very hybrid fabric, combining industrial and rural areas with different housing settlements, built from the 1950s to the 1980s. Other smaller clusters are detected within central residential areas and the south-eastern harbour area.





A zoom in on Lotto O shows a medium-high level of no income population segregation.
The lower values correspond to areas with no residential buildings.

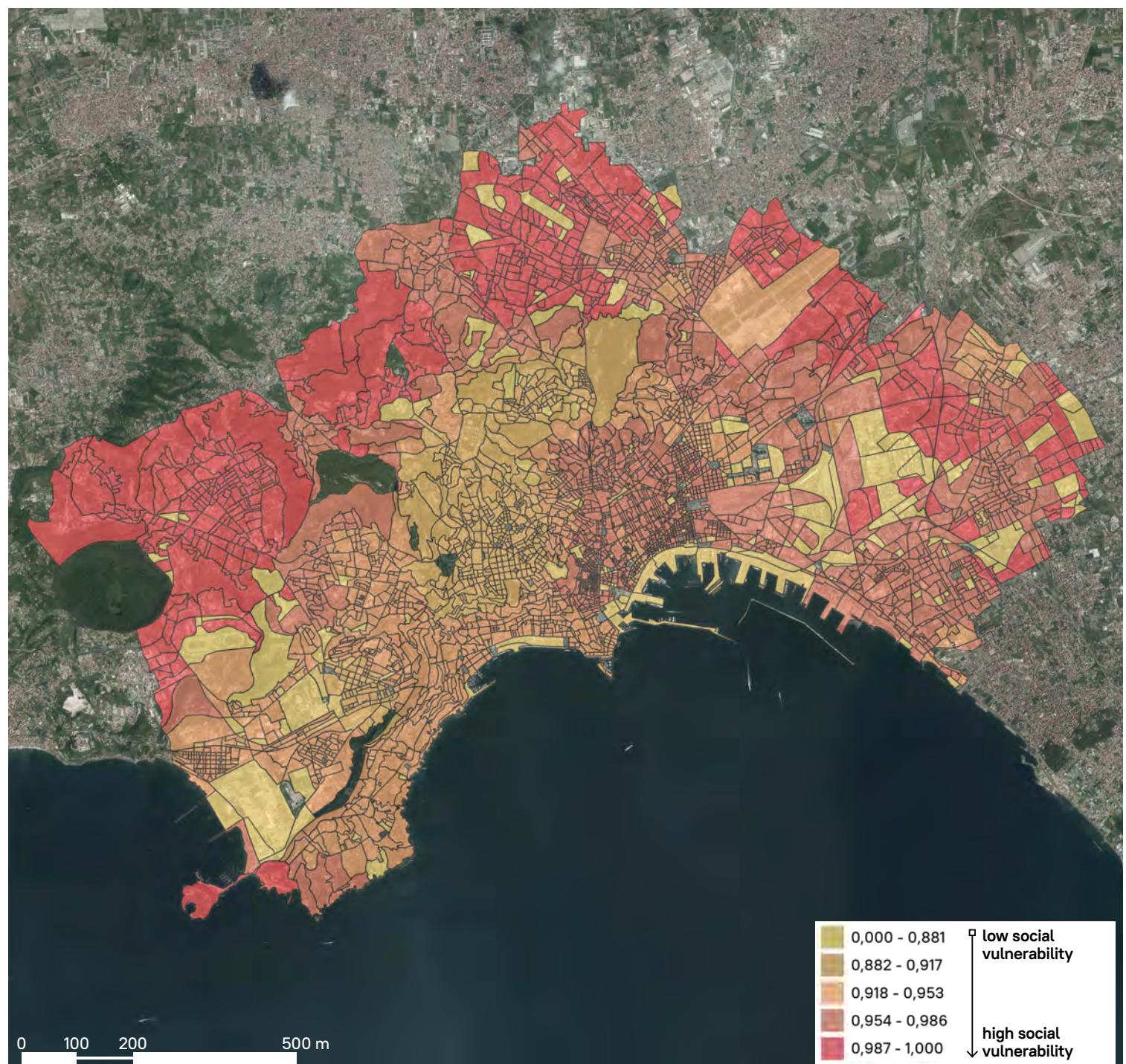


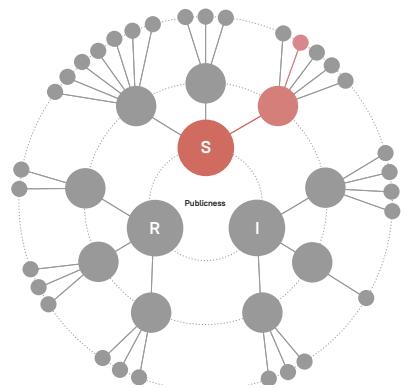
Socio-spatial segregation

Vulnerability of population with no income

S3.2 Local spatial exposure index $p(m,n)$

The local spatial exposure index measures the average proportion of the group n of people with no income in the localities of the group m of people with an income. It expresses the potential contact between the two population groups and ranges from 0 (minimum exposure, i.e. isolation: yellow) to 1 (maximum exposure: red), that is how isolated people with income are from people with no income. In Naples, two vast areas stand out as very isolated; exposure values are the lowest in the central city (incl. Vomero, Arenella, Colli Aminei and San Carlo all'Arena districts) and the south-western city (incl. Posillipo and Chiaia districts). These are residential districts, differently subjected to middle-class gentrification processes. Fuorigrotta and Soccavo residential districts are also very isolated. Naples historic downtown and the south-eastern neighbourhoods show middle exposure values reflecting a very mixed population. All the inner peripheral districts, including Ponticelli and Lotto O, show high exposure values reflecting a higher density of no income population at the neighbourhood level. This index can be understood as a measure of vulnerability: less potential contact with people with income creates greater vulnerability for people with no income.





A zoom in on Lotto O shows a high level of exposure, indicating no income population vulnerability. The lower values correspond to an area with no residential buildings.

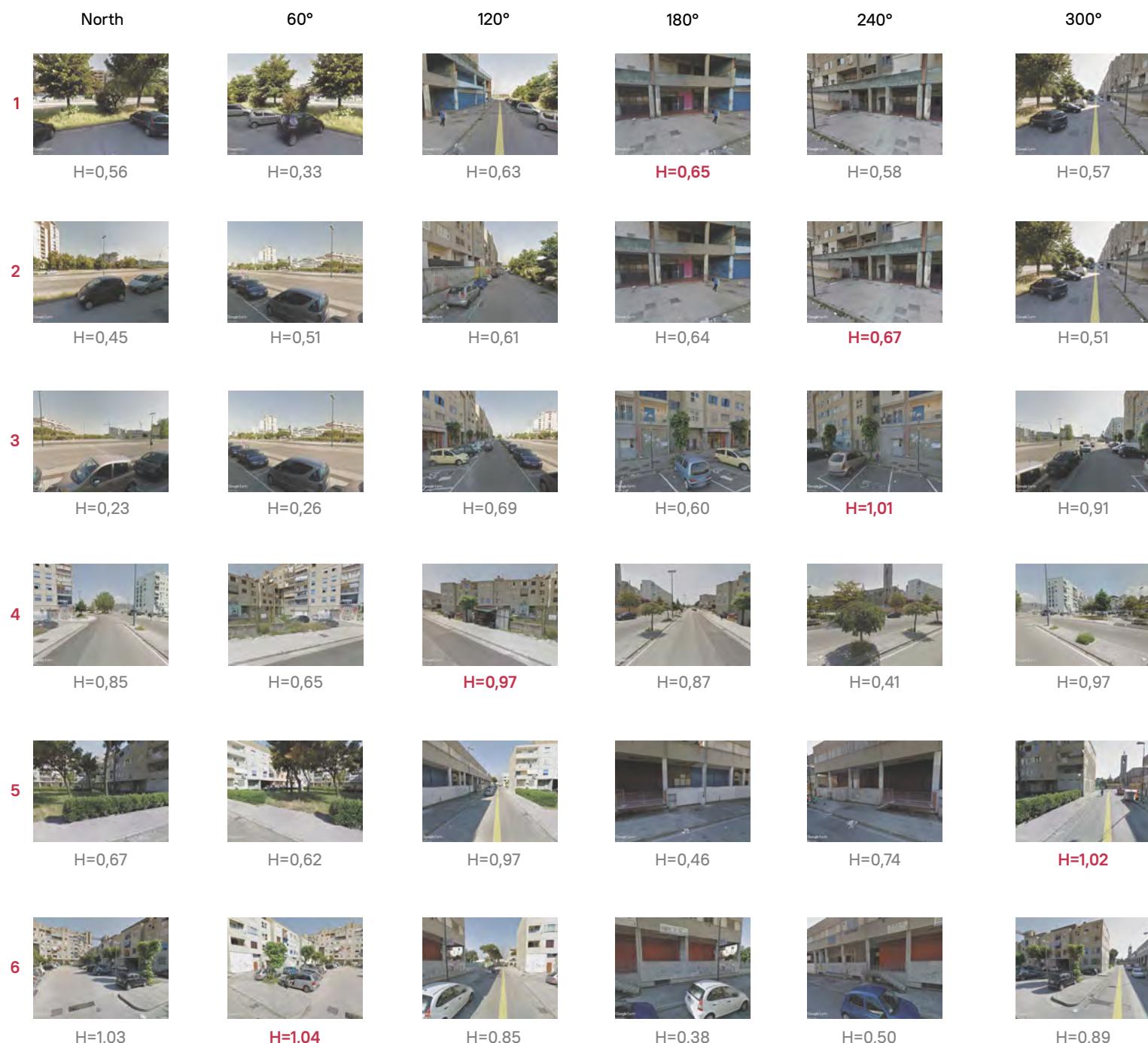


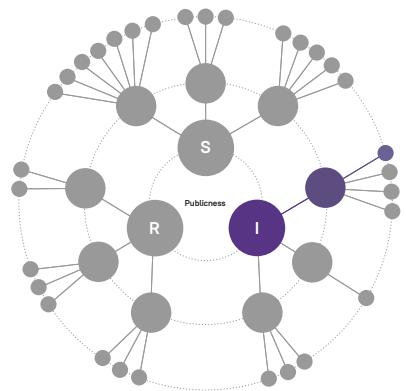
Spatial complexity

Visual complexity

I.1.1 – 360° entropy index

The 360° entropy index measures the visual complexity deriving from the level of different features contained within an image, according to the categories of colors, buildings facades anomalies, unplanned objects on the streets. The obtained values are measured with Shannon's entropy index (H), which represents a measure of complexity for different spatial systems, within geolocalised points. The analysed images derive from Google Street View. In order to cover a full panorama view for each point of observation, six horizontal directions of view are considered, resulting in six images for each point of observation.





H values in Lotto O based on Google Street View points of observation suggest the highest level of visual spatial complexity within the inner interstitial areas among the residential buildings.



Publicness and Democracy at Lotto O

The issue of democracy has been addressed as a critical practice unfolding in places where people gather to handle common matters of concern that are not effectively taken care of by formal institutions. These democratic practices are based on mutual recognition and respect among diverse people gathering around common necessities. We investigated how different actors – i.e., specific categories of inhabitants, urban farmers, social workers – have developed democratic practices to articulate public space in their daily life and, in some cases, during the Covid-19 crisis. Maps and photos of Sites of publicness and democracy provide an overview of different spatialities, from entrance halls to public facilities, in which democracy and publicness become practical matters, acted out in socio-materiality on a daily basis. The case of "The Urban Social Garden of Health: community garden deliberative zoning" in the Fratelli de Filippo park can be seen as a

materialization of grassroot resistance to the ruination of public facilities. When the site for the rehabilitation of addicted people was transformed into a community garden, a newly constituted civic organization was entitled to self-manage the space. As an example of how democracy is engaged in the everyday life of the neighborhood, we provide a map of deliberative zoning, documenting how urban farmers involved in the community garden in the Fratelli de Filippo park managed to subdivide the park's land into individual plots so that everyone can cultivate and be responsible for each plot while cooperating with neighbor farmers in common tasks (watering, harvesting, etc.). "Sites of encounter and exclusion at Lotto O" goes deeper into democracy as an everyday life practice in socio-materiality. We provide a map of Lotto O documenting how, in the neighborhood, we have both sites of social encounter and mutual recognition, and sites of exclusion and segregation. To complement this map, we translated the information provided by the inhabitants into a hybrid combination of photos, drawings and words to tell the fine-grain experience of democracy and recognition, as well as segregation and injustice, according to different people acting in specific places. These interviews have inspired the creation of virtual images of Lotto O – the collages – that com-

bine, into an ideal topography of democracy and publicness, different places where people feel safe, respected and free to speak out or, on the contrary, places where their access is forbidden or discouraged. Finally, "the informal infrastructure of mutualism and solidarity networks" documents the 'web of mutualism' that includes specific places – mostly informal – working as places of reciprocal recognition and safety in the people's perception. Based on online interviews, maps, diagrams and photos spatialize these perceptions and provide a finer-grain understanding of social perceptions as entangled within specific places at Lotto O, in the Ponticelli district, and at the scale of the municipality. The final part of the section is about democracy as a matter of solidarity during Covid-19 pandemic. To this end, we provide a map of solidarity initiatives that we've been tracing during lockdown by online interviews with residents, as well as a first example of visual mapping of solidarity practices organized by typology and main actors.

Research team:

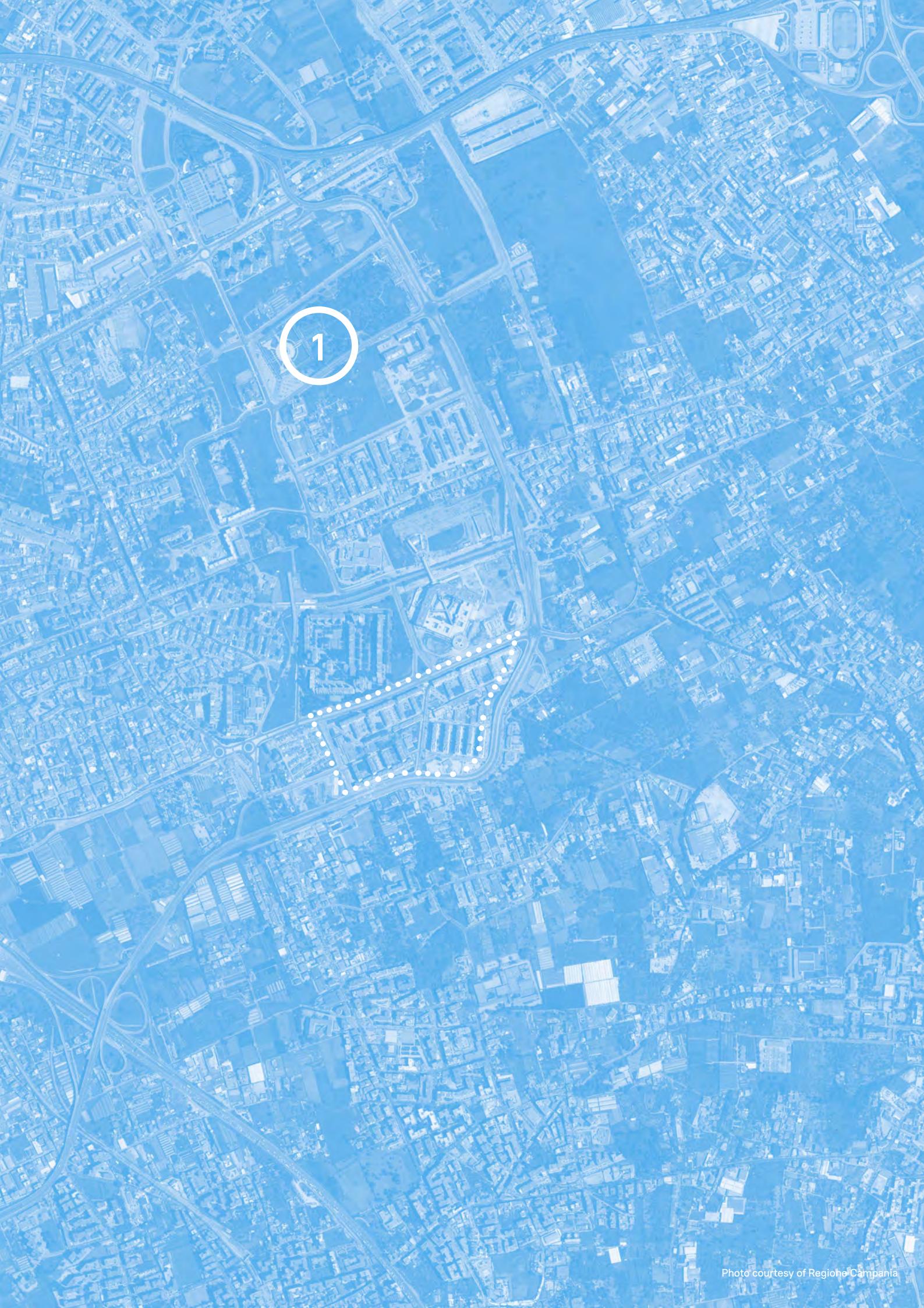
Gilda Berruti, Maria Cerreta, Laura Lieto, Federica Palestino, Giuliano Poli, Grazia Pota, Marilena Prisco, Paola Scala, Maria Reitano and Giovangiuseppe Vannelli.
Students: Giorgia Guadagno, Ciro Mascolo and Valeria Matrisciano ("Sites of encounter and exclusion"); Luigi Liccardi ("The informal infrastructure of mutualism and solidarity networks").

Lotto O/Sites of Publicness

1: Migrated public space: The Urban Social Garden of Health



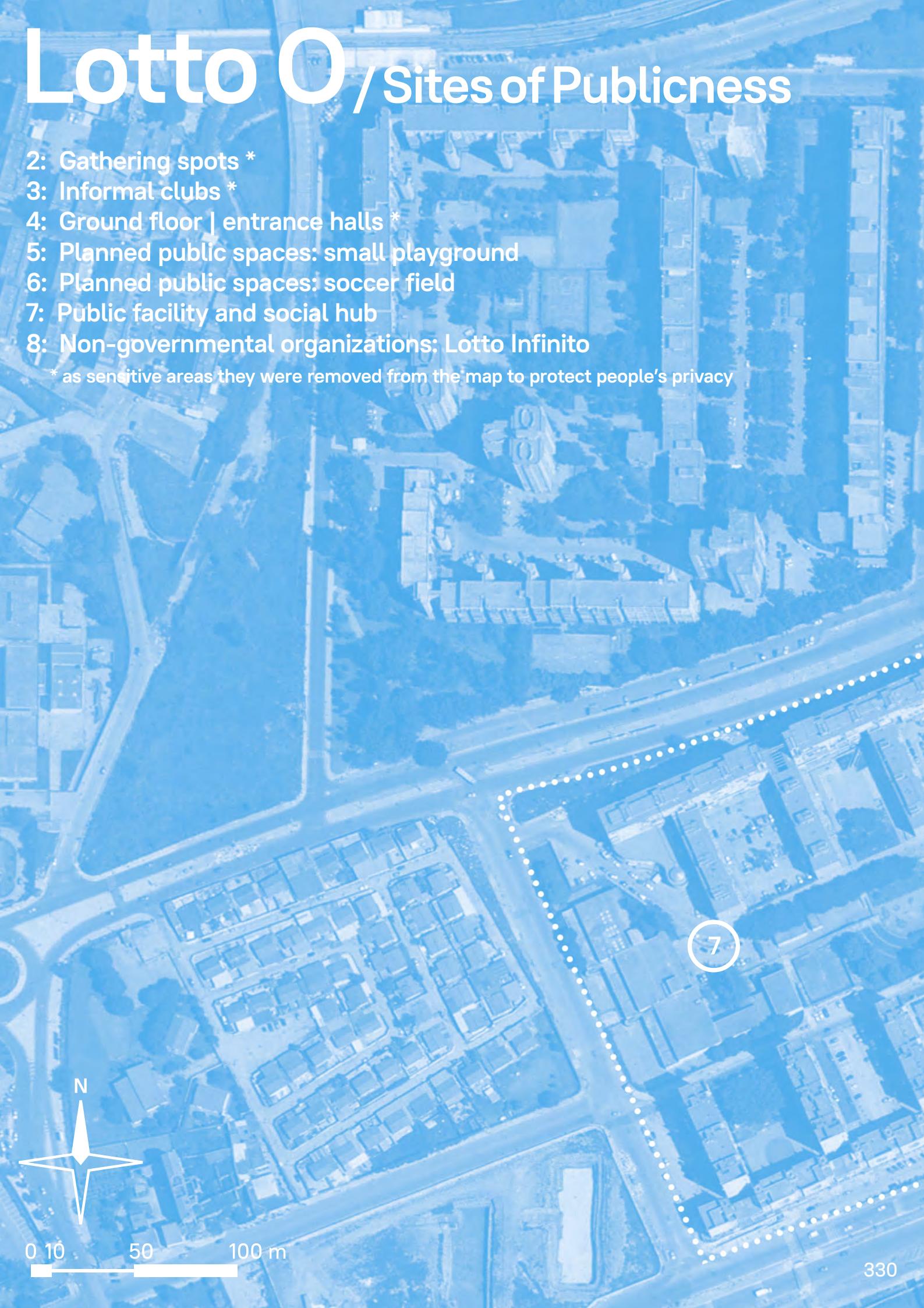
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Lotto O/Sites of Publicness

- 2: Gathering spots *
- 3: Informal clubs *
- 4: Ground floor | entrance halls *
- 5: Planned public spaces: small playground
- 6: Planned public spaces: soccer field
- 7: Public facility and social hub
- 8: Non-governmental organizations: Lotto Infinito

* as sensitive areas they were removed from the map to protect people's privacy





sites of Publicness



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**1. Migrated public spaces:
The Urban Social Garden of Health**
The community garden in the "Fratelli De Filippo" Park is a public facility for people on rehabilitation programs and individuals and groups interested in urban agriculture. The assignees (almost 150) formed an association whose members articulate democratic decision making for the management/implementation of the project. This kind of democratic decision-making is reflected into the garden zoning map, which is the outcome of a community agreement about how to use the land as a common resource.

4. Ground floor | entrance halls
Courtyards on the ground floor are places where people meet to make decisions about the self-management of community spaces (open areas, staircases, etc.) and to discuss individual and collective problems.

Entrance halls are among the spaces people use to gather to make decisions. In each building unit an informal association of inhabitants was constituted to make decisions about the informal transformation of common areas, such as creating protected and personalised entrance halls.

**5. Planned public spaces:
small playground**
A small playground was named by the community for an innocent victim of Camorra after he was killed here in 2016. Local NGOs gathered to organise the care of the area. Periodical voluntary activities, such as gardening and maintenance, keep the memory of the event alive.



© Marilena Prisco

6. Planned public spaces: soccer field
During the partial renovation of Lotto O in 2000's a soccer field was created by the municipality but left with no management. The field – on the main road of Lotto O and currently accessible 24h – is frequently a matter of discussion among inhabitants when they gather here. They spend hours discussing who should be entitled to the management, why the project failed in its spatial and material configuration and what they would change if they could.



© Marilena Prisco

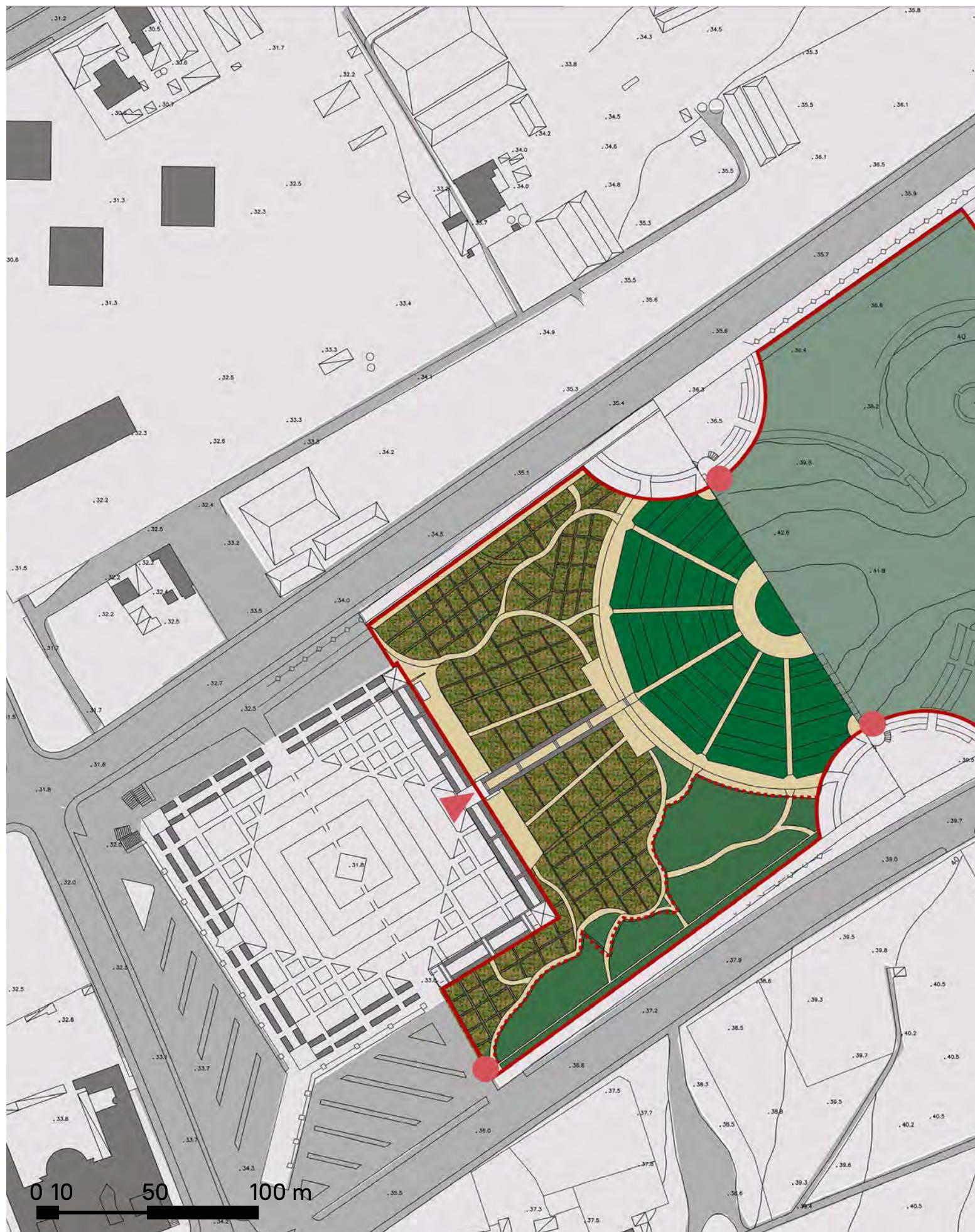
7. Public facility and social hub
The courtyard of the school in Lotto O has been closed since March 2020. Before the lockdown, in the morning, students' mothers used to linger here to chat with each other and organize themselves to negotiate with the institutional representatives of the school.



© Marilena Prisco

8. Non-governmental organizations: Lotto Infinito
Connected to the local church, the organisation "Lotto Infinito" provides support to young people and helps to solve local conflicts. In 2019 the organisation took part in a claim-making process with the aim to remove the transmitting antenna which had been installed on the church roof. The antenna is currently located in the courtyard of the church and it reminds people of the collective battle they undertook for what they stated was their right to health.

Urban Social Garden of Health / community garden's deliberative zoning





© Cristina Ferraiuolo

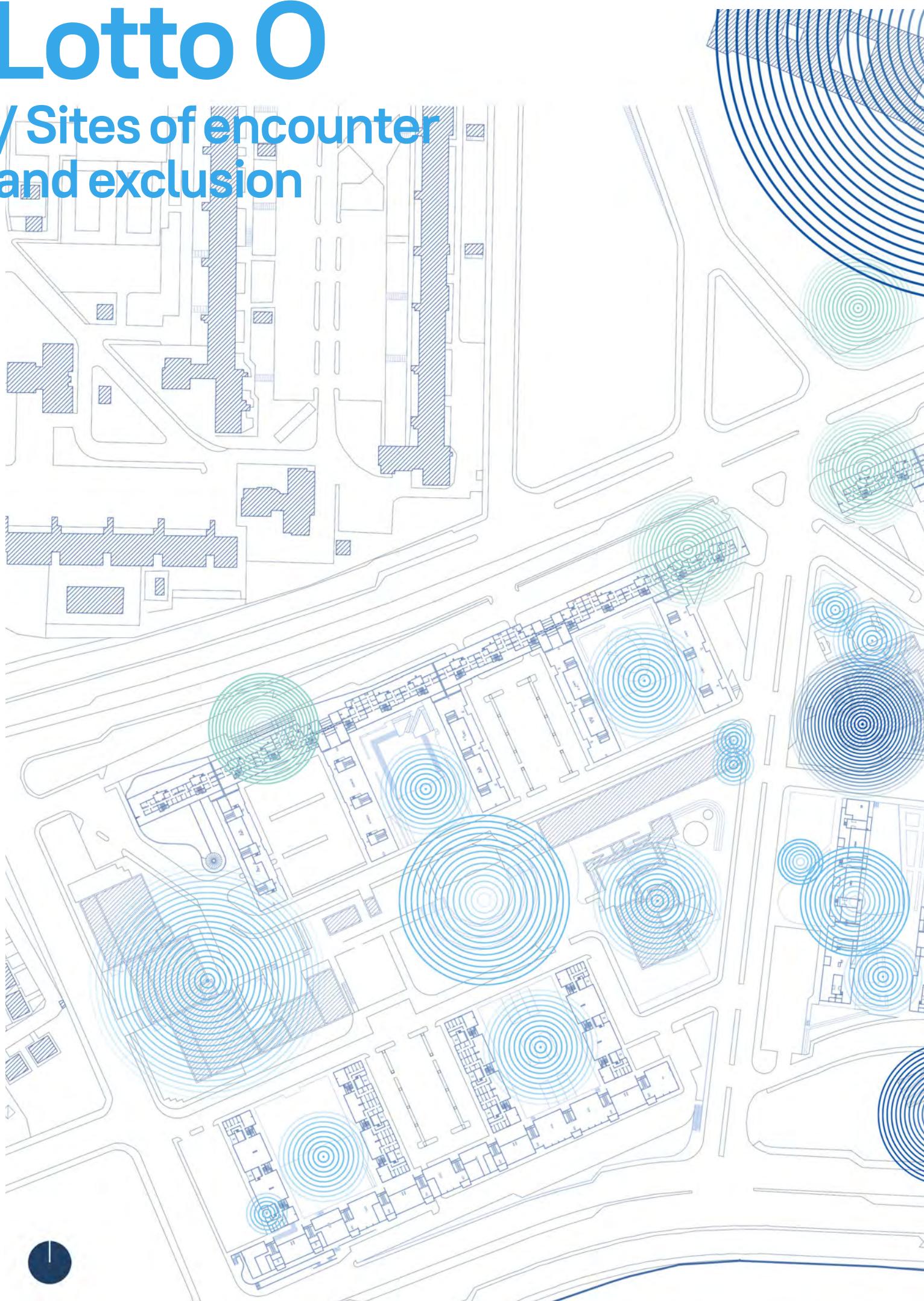
The community garden ("Urban Social Garden of Health") is located in the Fratelli de Filippo park. It represents an act of grassroot resistance to the ruination of the park which was built in 90's as a public facility. The site was prior transformed into a garden for the rehabilitation of addicted people. Few years ago the original project of social gardening was extended to local inhabitants and the park became a community garden managed by a newly constituted civic organization. The map on the left shows the subdivision of part of the former park's land as a deliberative zoning by citizens. The zoning allows each group or individual to practice urban agriculture and provide themselves with fresh produce. It is a matter of collective deliberation among the members of the community garden. Each plot is entrusted to a single farmer-trustee, while services (like watering and storing) are commonly managed.

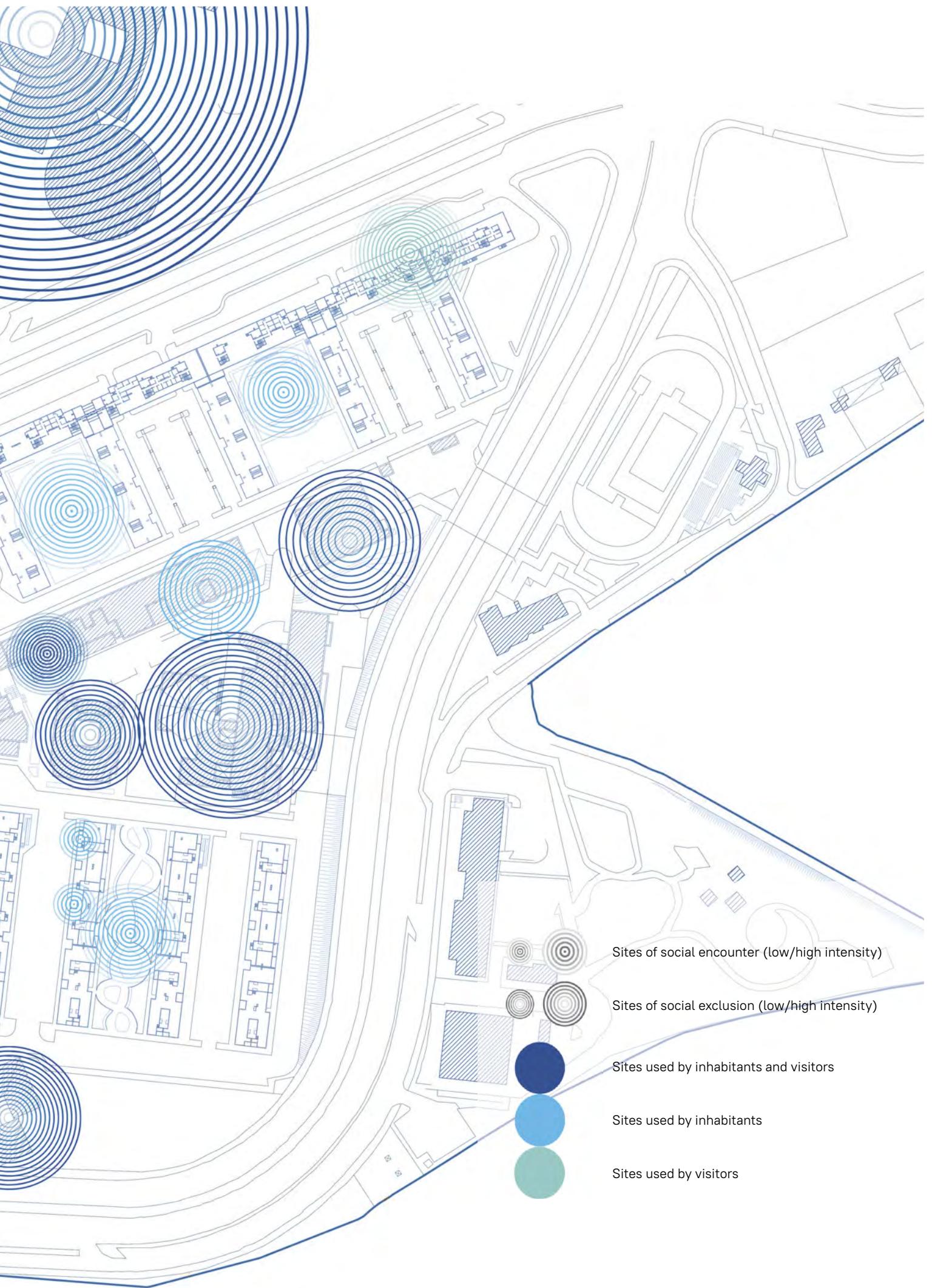
- vegetable gardens – deliberative zoning area
- closed dogs area
- terraces for future vegetable gardens
- not maintained green area

- closed entrance
- entrance
- park fence
- recently installed fence

Lotto O

/Sites of encounter
and exclusion

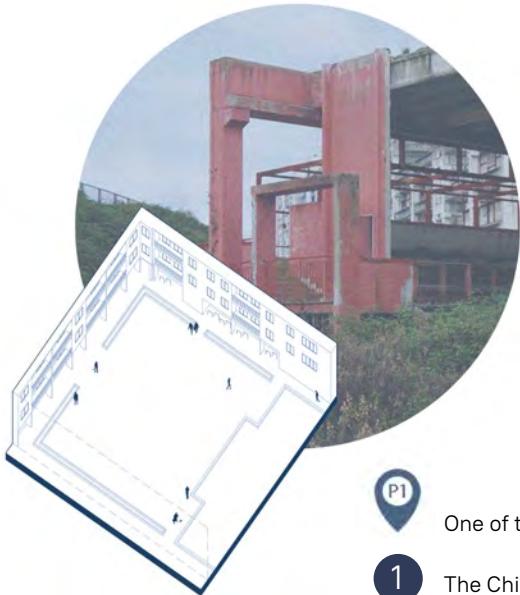




/ Sites of encounter and exclusion



During August 2020 we conducted a campaign of interviews in Lotto O to investigate the local inhabitants' perceptions of the neighbourhood's services and spaces. We interviewed people in their apartments, courtyards and other meeting points. After we had completed the interviews we started from their notes to elaborate maps and drawings to tell the results of this interaction and to give their own interpretation of people's perceptions. To complete our work we used collages representing an ideal place made by fragments, describing not only physical places but also the identity of the neighbourhood, the way places are perceived and build up collective memories. Collage – hybridizing people and space – tells a multiplicity of meanings attached to a place.



P1 One of the P1 courts

1 The Children City



P4 One of the P4 courts

2 The Roman villa



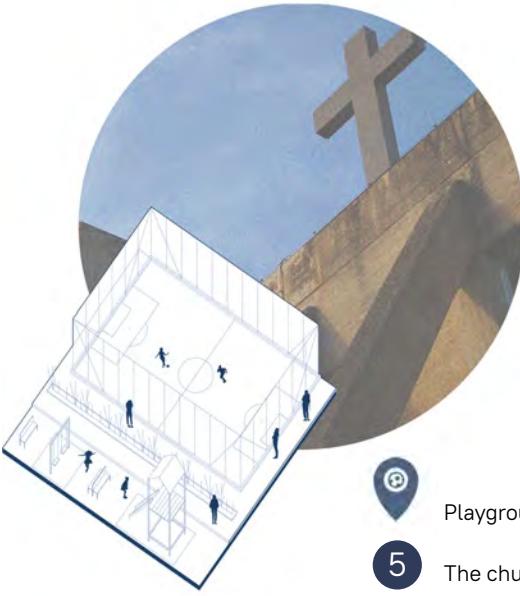
P3 One of the P3 courts

3 Informal businesses



Church vestry

4 Occupied buildings



Playground

5 The church



P1 apartment

6 Green courts

/ Sites of encounter and exclusion



The church

The church is not attended very much by inhabitants, but it is one of the few places of Lotto O attended by people who don't live there. Moreover, the inhabitants often don't take part in the social activities proposed by the church. The church also realized the little playground area and the soccer field for the children, but these structures were vandalized soon after their realization.



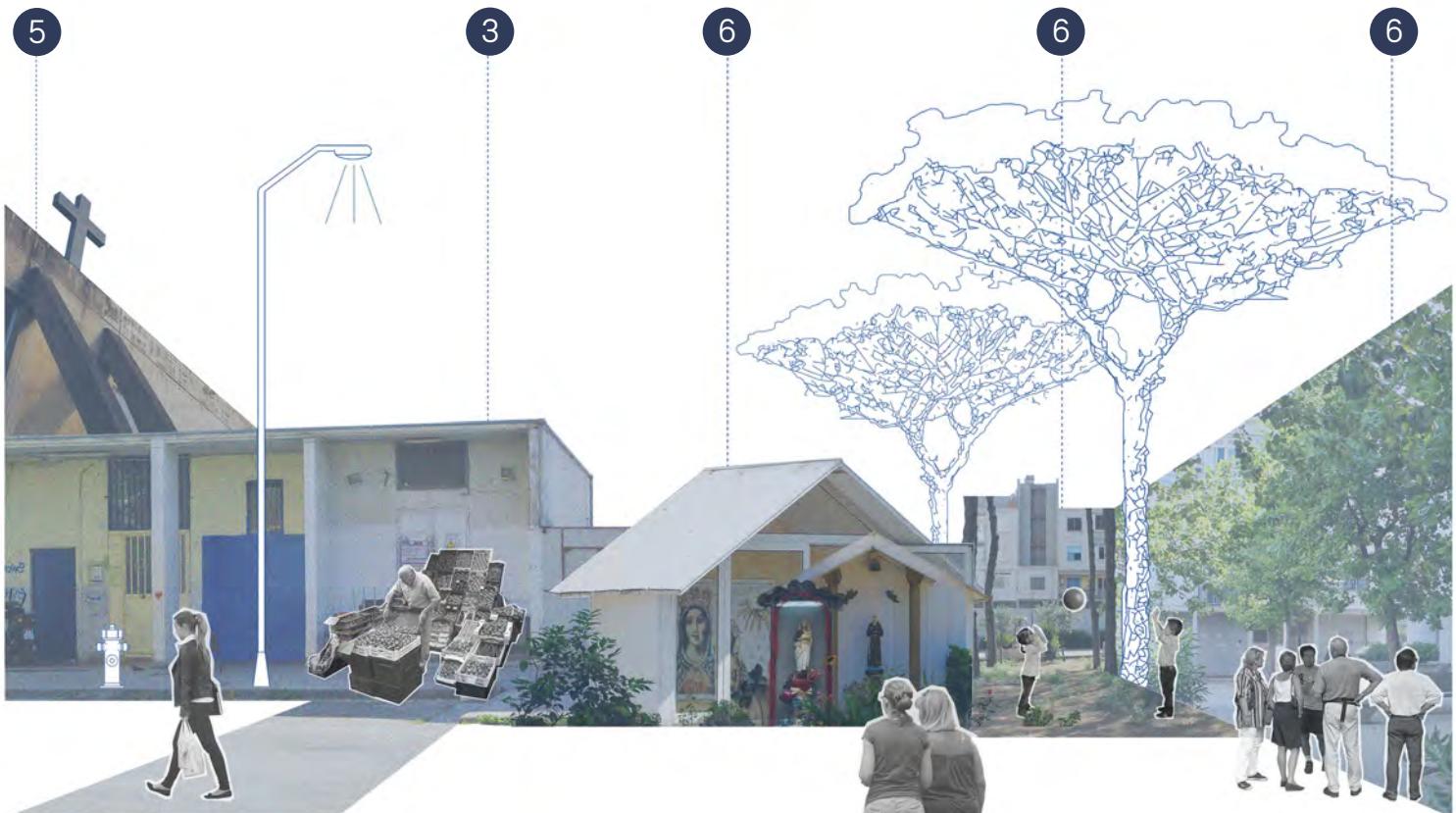
Informal businesses

Some of the groundfloor storage rooms of the buildings are occupied by informal commercial businesses, like bars and greengroceries. The inhabitants are the only ones who know about these activities and buy from them. On the other hand, the institutionalized commercial businesses along the main street are used by people who don't live in this area.



Green courts

Green courts are maybe the places where people most create a sense of "WE": children spend free time together and the inhabitants organize meetings in order to discuss the practical problems of the buildings that need to be solved. Moreover, a lot of votive shrines (icons of the christian community), were realized and positioned at the center of the court. These spaces are used only by the people who live in the surrounding buildings, this means that people don't go to the courts of other buildings.





The Children City

This structure should have been part of an innovative project which included a civic center with all the most cutting-edge facilities, but until now it has been a space denied to the inhabitants. Behind the gate, it's just a wreck.

Some years ago, the priest of the near church tried to give dignity to this place and he was given access to the sport facilities of the structure, but, after a short time, the church was not able anymore to pay the rent for using this area, so the place returned to be abandoned.



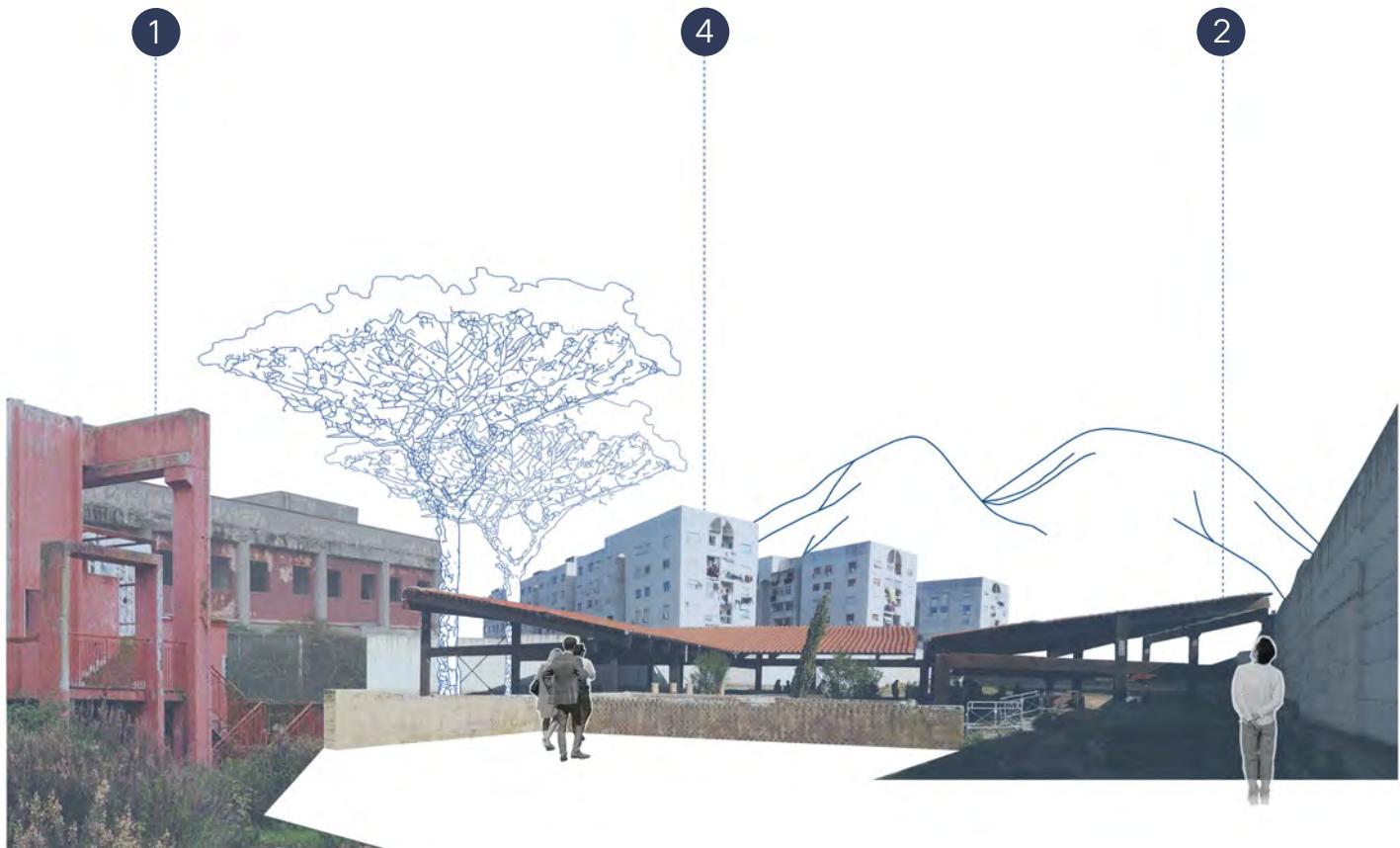
Occupied buildings

The apartments in the buildings known as P4 (or L), were occupied before completion, without electricity, tap water, interphones and lifts. Until now, these building have been the most problematic because many apartments are still occupied. Moreover, the inhabitants have chosen a representative who mediates between them and public institutions.



The Roman Villa

The Roman villa is not accessible to the public because it is surrounded by a concrete wall. During the construction of Lotto O several ruins of a complex of a Roman Villa were found, but all the ruins, except one, were buried again in order to realize the buildings known as "P3" and "P4" (or L). The existing Roman Villa was left there because that area was not interested by the realization of other residential buildings. In 2004 the children of the local school renamed Lotto O: they called it 'Roman villa's Lotto', to give justice to the culture and the history that it hides.



Lotto O

The informal infrastructure of mutualism and solidarity networks

In Ponticelli district and Lotto O, public spaces often do not provide appropriate places for democratic practices realisation. During the COVID-19 lockdown period and after it, the inhabitants' unanswered question for democracy within the public has produced resilient and informal networks of mutual aid practices and solidarity initiatives, of sharing places and processes, promoted by local stakeholders, which have been building, and still do, new local geographies of places for collective and community use. A survey of local preferences and perceptions has been structured and spatialised through an open online mapping to be updated over time, in order to grasp these dimensions of informal publicness. Interviews with local stakeholders and crowd-sourced questionnaires about actors, spaces, and their uses and values were conducted during the period of observation April-July 2020 (Italian during- and after- first lockdown phases). The collected soft data have been processed into spatial site-specific indicators of publicness, resulting into a growing open-source map articulated in three main categories: formal/informal spaces of mutualism; solidarity networks of stakeholders and initiatives; solidarity initiatives during COVID-19 crisis.

The map* has been realised with a google mymaps base and it is accessible at:

<https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=1--ZM0Dat8oDpT6kcH01NDyOWdhvlq2Uz&usp=sharing>

It is composed of seven levels:

1. Administrative borders
2. Planned public spaces and facilities
3. Places for collective use
4. Places for community use
5. Solidarity associations and operators
6. Solidarity network of cooperation activities
7. Solidarity initiatives during COVID-19 crisis.

Each level, corresponding to a processed and spatialised indicator, is described through: categories of type of space/place/operator/initiative; interviewees' citations; frequency of respondents (number of interviewed users mentioning the space/place/operator/initiative); categories of space/place function, of people's activities according to the use of space, and of space perception; data source; time of the survey.

*The map synthesises data collected within two scientific frameworks:

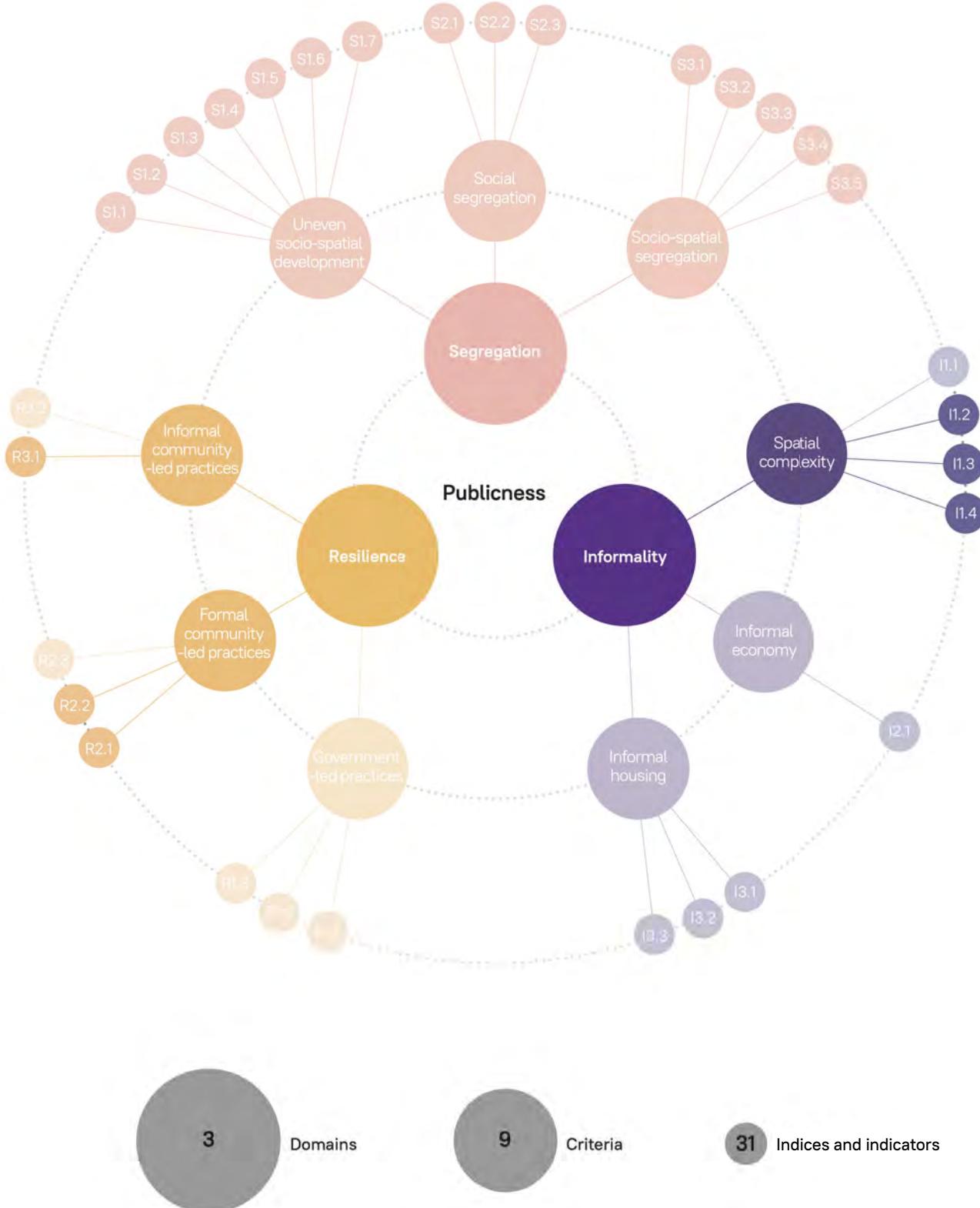
A. "HousingPonticelliProjectPublicness – HP3". Laboratory of Urban Design, professors O. Fatigato, M. Cerreta, tutors Phd M. Prisco, arch. F. P. Milione, arch. M. Reitano, academic year 2019/2020, University of Naples, Federico II, Department of Architecture.

B. "From zero to infinity. Actions and processes for an integrated assessment of publicness in Lotto Zero". Master's Degree Thesis in Evaluation and Urban Planning on Ponticelli and Lotto O, candidate L. Liccardi, tutor prof. M. Cerreta, co-tutors prof. G. Poli, prof. G. Berruti, University of Naples, Federico II, Department of Architecture (academic year 2019/2020).

Decision tree

The evaluation of publicness and related processes has been articulated selecting data according to 3 main domains: Segregation, Resilience and Informality. Starting from these domains, a decision tree has been defined to identify the different components able to analyse the concept of informal publicness. The following maps report some indicators of informality and resilience that show key issues for democracy and informal publicness:

- Formal/informal spaces of mutualism
- Solidarity networks of stakeholders and initiatives
- Spontaneous and informal solidarity initiatives during Covid-19 crisis



Formal/informal spaces of mutualism

I.1.2 – Planned public spaces and facilities

Public spaces identified by the collectivity as distinctive for the district characterisation.

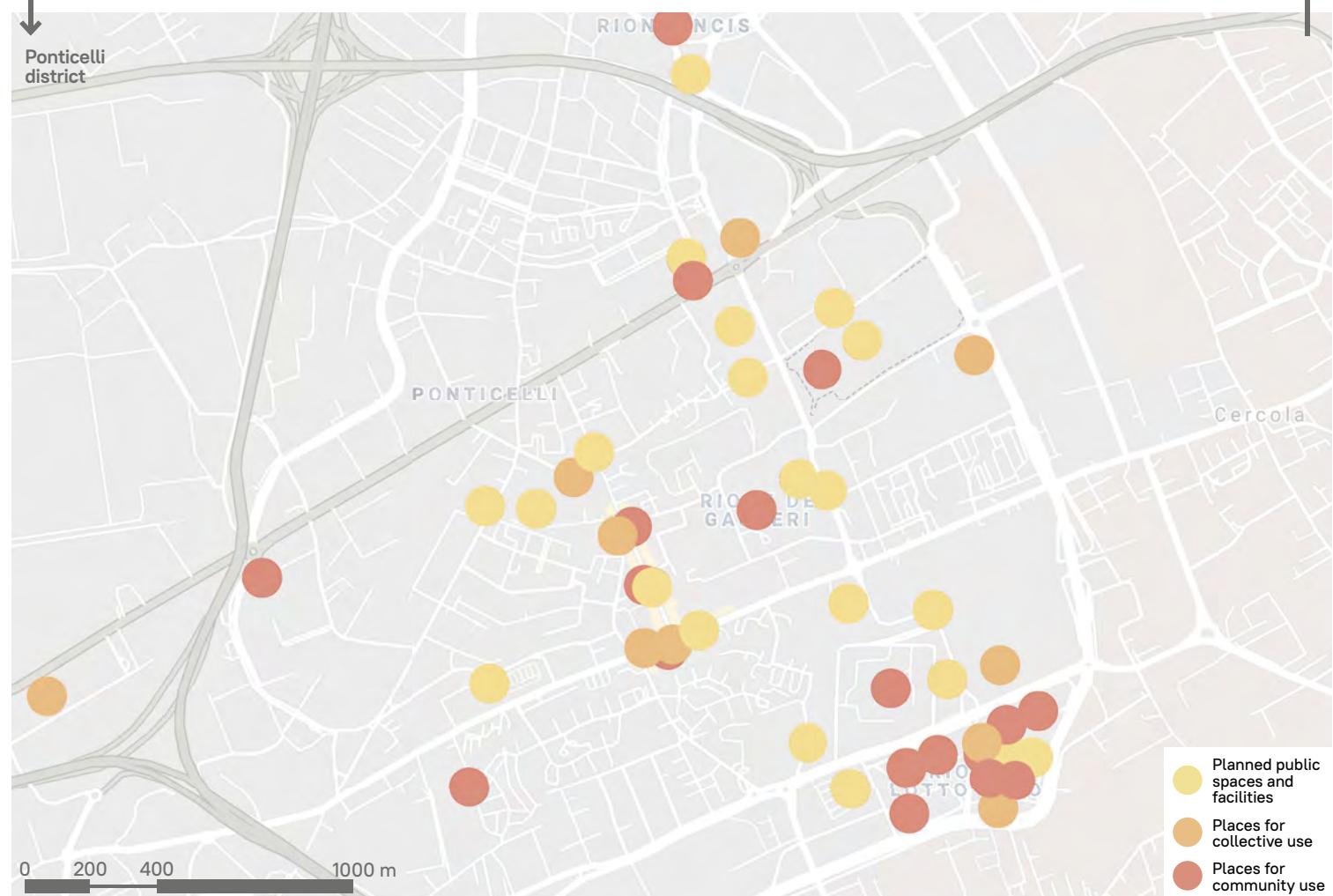
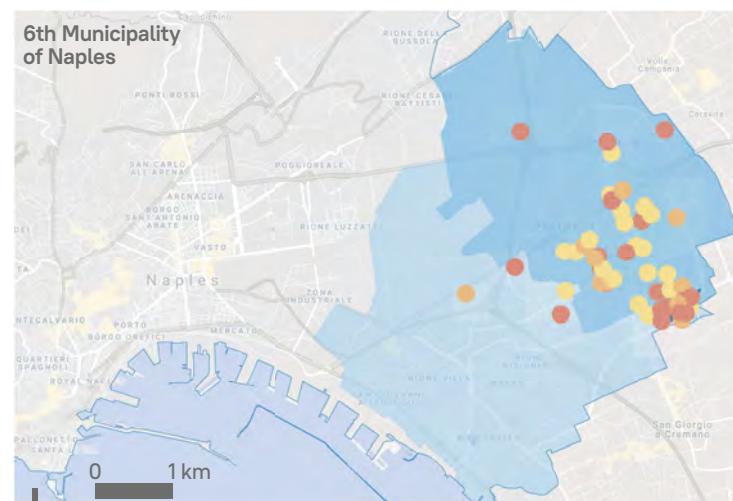
I.1.3 – Places for collective use

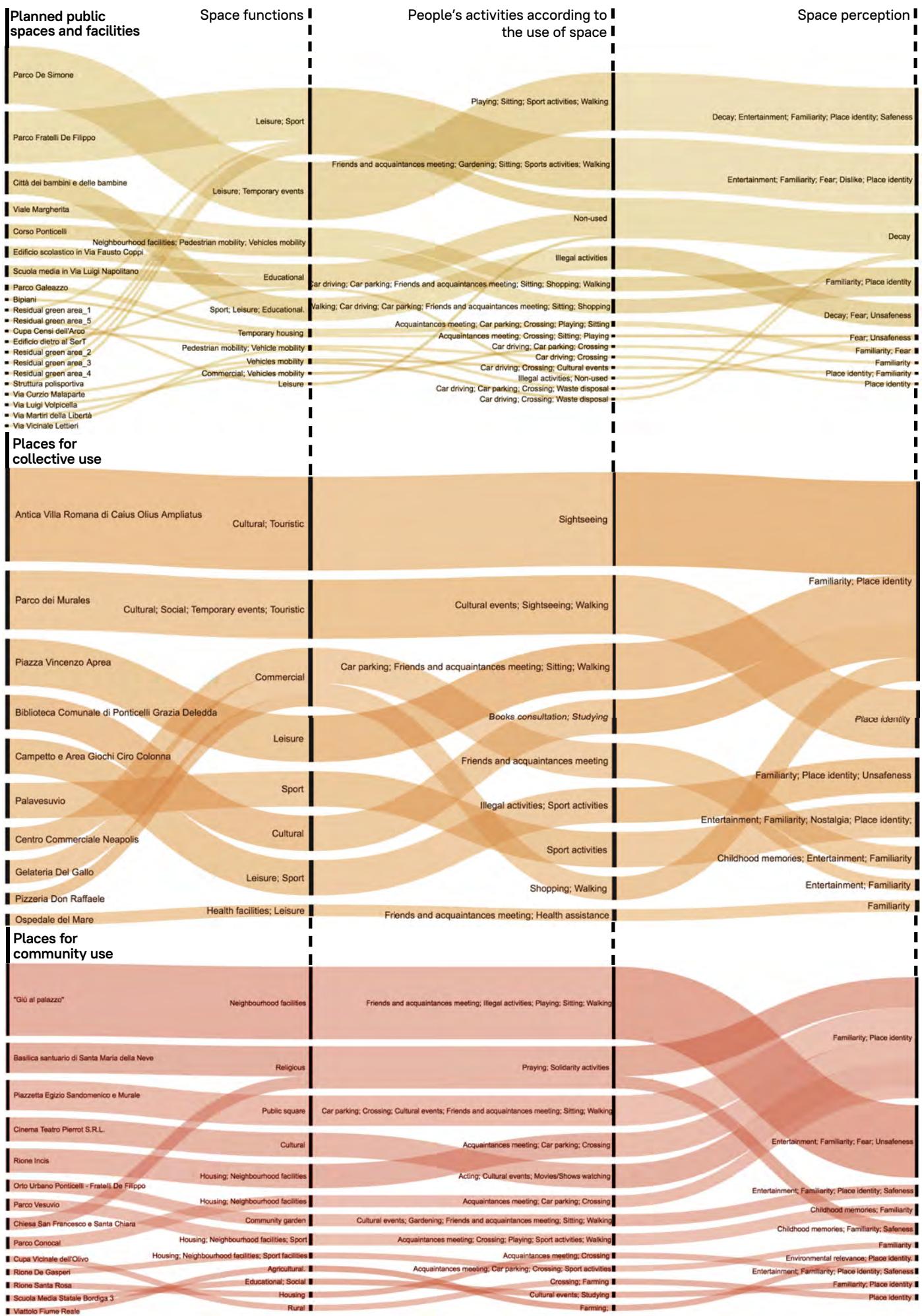
Places identified by the collectivity as vital for the district life.

I.1.4 – Places for community use

Places identified by various social communities as those in which the community activities and practices are realised.

The maps represent formal and informal spaces of mutualism, identified by the interviewed people, within the 6th Municipality of Naples, Ponticelli district and Lotto O, during the period of April-July 2020 (Italian during- and after- first lockdown period).





The Sankey Diagrams process data about Space functions, People's activities according to the use of space, Space perception, for each of the analysed spaces (Planned public spaces and facilities, Places for collective use, Places for community use) according to the frequency of respondents (number of interviewed users mentioning the space).

Formal/informal spaces of mutualism in Lotto O

I.1.2 – Planned public spaces and facilities

Public spaces identified by the collectivity as distinctive for the district characterisation.

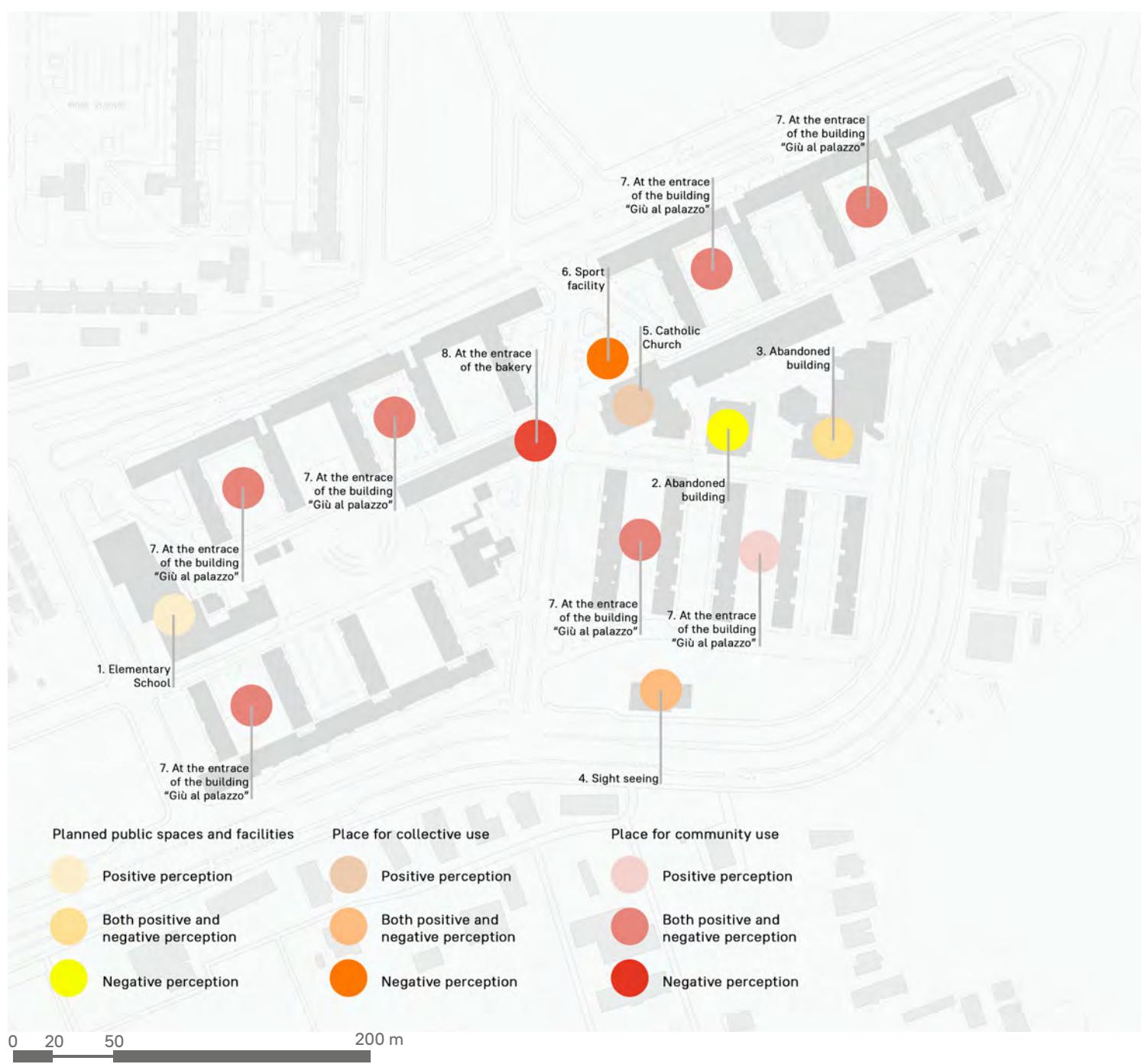
I.1.3 – Places for collective use

Places identified by the collectivity as vital for the district life.

I.1.4 – Places for community use

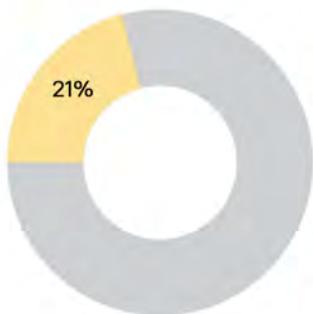
Places identified by various social communities as those in which the community activities and practices are realised.

The map represents formal and informal spaces of mutualism, identified by the interviewed people within Lotto O, during the period of April-July 2020 (Italian during- and after- first lockdown period). Spaces are characterised by the interviewees' perception (positive, negative, both positive and negative).



The diagrams show the percentages of Planned public spaces and facilities, Places for collective use, Places for community use, among all the spaces identified by interviewees within Lotto O. The photos refer to the mapped spaces.

Planned public spaces and facilities



1. Elementary School

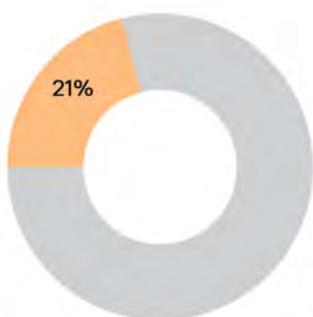


2. Abandoned building



3. Abandoned building

Place for collective use



4. Sight seeing

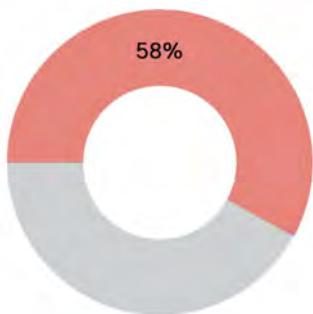


5. Catholic church



6. Sport facility

Place for community use



7. At the entrance of buidng "Giù al palazzo"



8. At the entrance of bakery

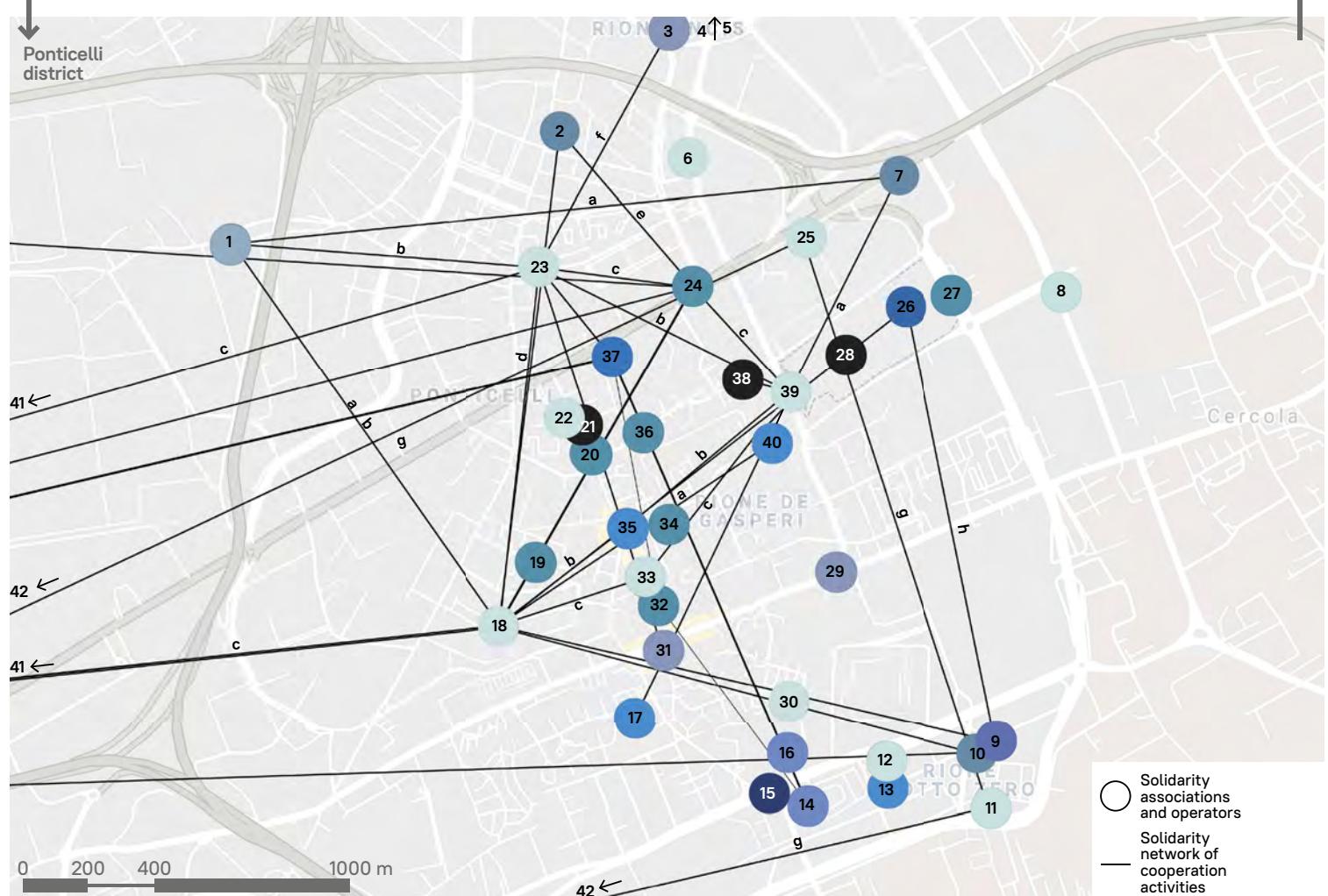
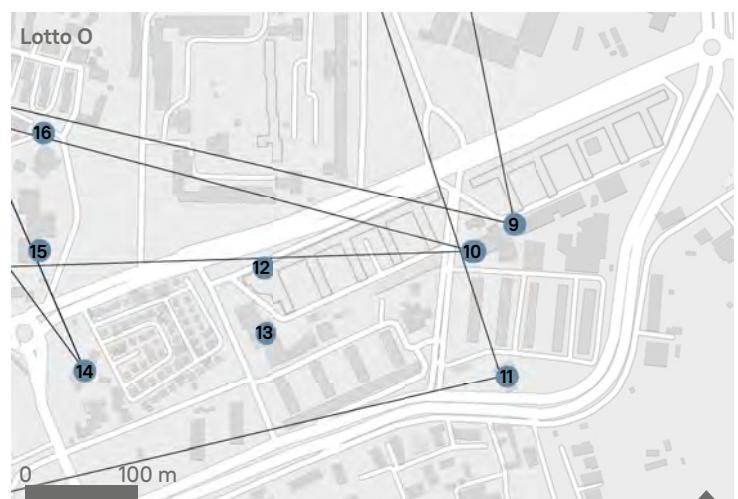
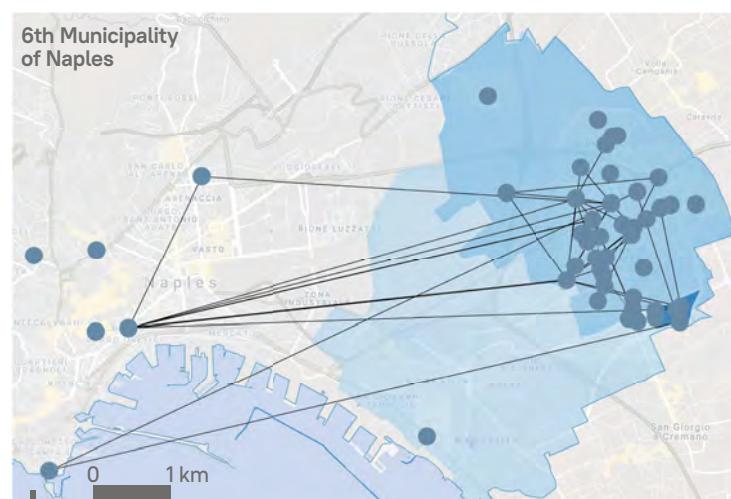
Solidarity network of stakeholders and initiatives

R.2.1 – Solidarity associations and operators

Local stakeholders identified by the collectivity as those actively operating in a complex social context and promoting cultural and educational events.

R.2.2 – Solidarity network of cooperation activities

Solidarity initiatives and urban regeneration activities promoted by networking associations and social operators. The maps represent solidarity network of stakeholders and initiatives, identified by the interviewed people, within the 6th Municipality of Naples, Ponticelli district and Lotto O, during the period of April-July 2020 (Italian during- and after- first lockdown period).



Operators

(Name, Type)

- 1: Compagnia FelaComici, Theatre company
- 2: Istituto comprensivo 83 Porchiano-Bordiga, Public secondary school
- 3: Ex asilo lotto 9/a Rione Incis, Cultural centre
- 4: Vincenzo De Cicco, Elderly multifunctional centre
- 5: Kalèdo, Socio-cultural association
- 6: Gli Incisivi, Socio-cultural association
- 7: Istituto Tecnico Industriale Marie Curie, Public high school
- 8: Canile La Fenice, Association for animal defence
- 9: Lilliput, Civic centre
- 10: San Francesco e Santa Chiara, Catholic church
- 11: Rotary Napoli Est Socio-cultural association
- 12: Pasticcieri Napoletani, Trade union representative association
- 13: I.C. MARINO sede Lotto O, Public elementary school
- 14: Casa Mia – E. Nitti, Civic centre
- 15: Bocciofila, Elderly entertainment centre
- 16: Ciro Colonna, Civic centre
- 17: Beata Vergine di Lourdes e Santa Bernadetta, Parish church
- 18: Terra di Confine, Socio-cultural association
- 19: Nives, Socio-cultural association
- 20: Vivendo Ponticelli, Socio-cultural association
- 21: Uniti Si Vince, Citizen committee
- 22: Leonardo da Vinci Socio-cultural association
- 23: Arci Movie, Socio-cultural association
- 24: Servizio Volontario Tossicodipendenti S.V.T., Socio-cultural association
- 25: Inward Osservatorio sulla Creatività Urbana, Socio-cultural association
- 26: Orto sociale della Salute e del Benessere di Ponticelli, Social cooperative
- 27: Emergency Ponticelli, Socio-cultural association; Medical clinic
- 28: Orto Urbano Parco f.lli De Filippo, Citizen committee
- 29: Nuts 'n' Dub, Cooperative for musical events organisation
- 30: Re Mida Napoli, Socio-cultural association
- 31: Cinema Teatro Pierrot S.R.L., Cultural centre
- 32: Le Kassandre Socio-cultural association
- 33: Casa del Popolo – Ponticelli, Socio-cultural association
- 34: Auser Volontariato Ponticelli, Socio-cultural association
- 35: Madonna della Neve, Religious association
- 36: Il Quartiere Ponticelli, Socio-cultural association
- 37: Volla Betania, Evangelical religious cooperative; Hospital
- 38: Via Vicinale Lettieri, Citizen committee
- 39: Renato Caccioppoli, Socio-cultural association
- 40: SS. Pietro e Paolo Napoli-Ponticelli, Parish church
- 41: Maestri di strada, Socio-cultural association
- 42: Rotary Club Napoli, Socio-cultural association

Cooperation activities

(Name, Type, Involved operators, Description, Year)

a: "Un colpo al cuore" fund raising show

1 – 7 – 18 – 39 – 40

The fundraising show allowed the purchase of 40 chairs for the library G. Deledda Ponticelli (2019).

b: Piazza Vincenzo Aprea retraining

1 – 18 – 23 – 35 – 39

The initiative promoted urban regeneration activities such as square cleaning, benches painting and green areas maintenance (2019).

c: Memorial mural in piazza Egizio Sandomenico

A new mural was realised in piazza Egizio Sandomenico, in the historical centre, and it was dedicated to the four innocent victims of the 11 November 1989 Camorra attack (2020).

d: Civic service

2 – 18

The project aimed to enhance education and culture through social activities addressed to local communities (2018).

e: "L'orto a scuola" community garden

2 – 24

The project aimed to produce community partnership among children through the creation of a small vegetable garden (2018).

f: "Catrin"

3 – 23

The project fights school evasions and promotes alternative studying methodologies, addressed at stimulating the development of relational and expressive skills, through different creative workshops of acting, dancing and painting. It aims to contribute to the psychophysical well-being of users by fighting forms of social isolation and marginality (2000-2020).

g: Street art mural outside the Roman Villa

11 – 25 – 42

The street art piece was realised outside the Roman Villa of Ponticelli while the Villa was being subjected to a resettlement intervention coordinated by the Rotary Club in agreement with the City of Naples and the Archaeological Superintendence of Naples, involving the Rotarian Group of Community East Naples and the cooperative Arginalia (2016).

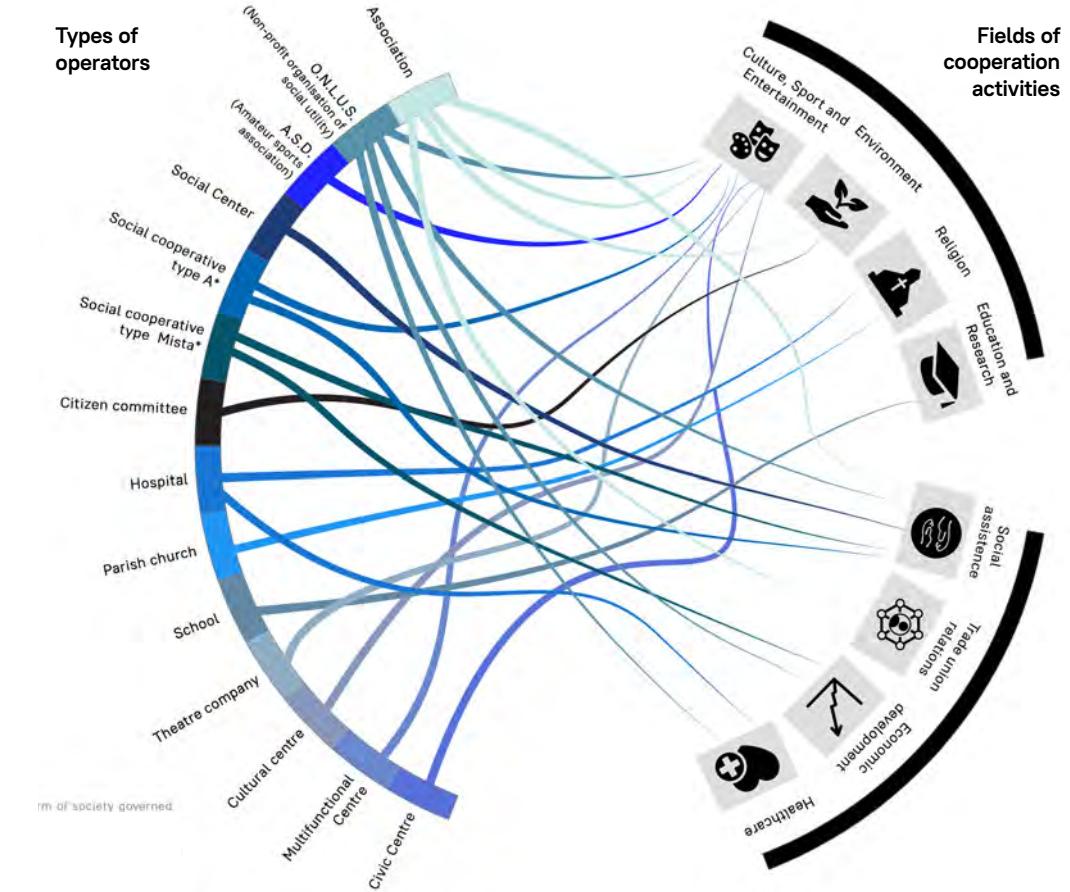
h: "Cerasiello Music Contest"

9 – 26

Organised within the social initiative "Orto Sociale Urbano della Salute", the music contest aimed to promote social inclusion and encourage young people meetings, especially in a challenging social context, such as that in Ponticelli district (2019).

For further cooperation activities, see:

<https://www.google.com/maps/d/edit?mid=1--ZM0Dat8oDpT6kcH01NDyOWdhv1q2Uz&usp=sharing>



* A Social Cooperative can be of: type A, when it provides people with services; type B when it provides employment for disadvantaged people; type "Mista" when it provides both services.

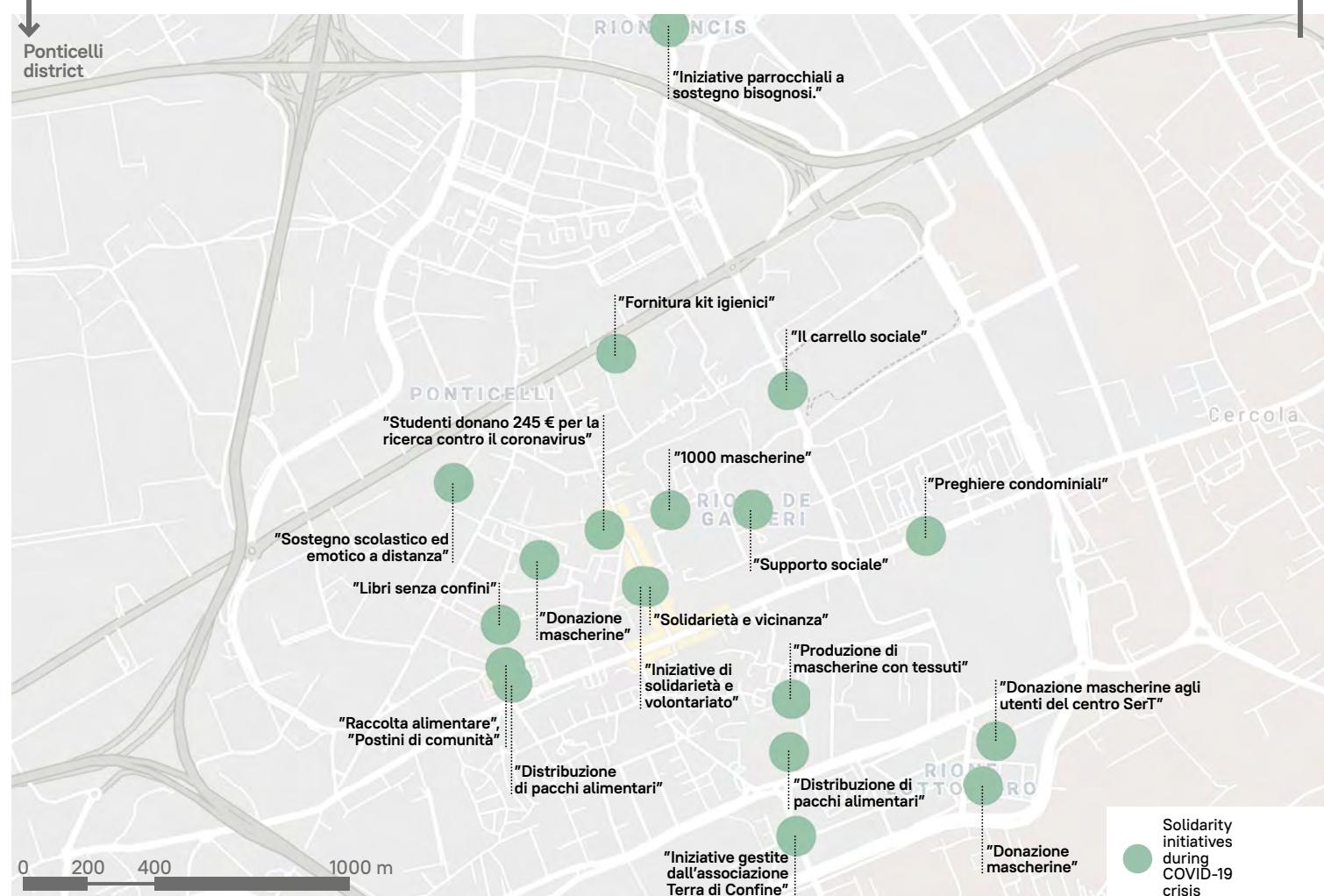
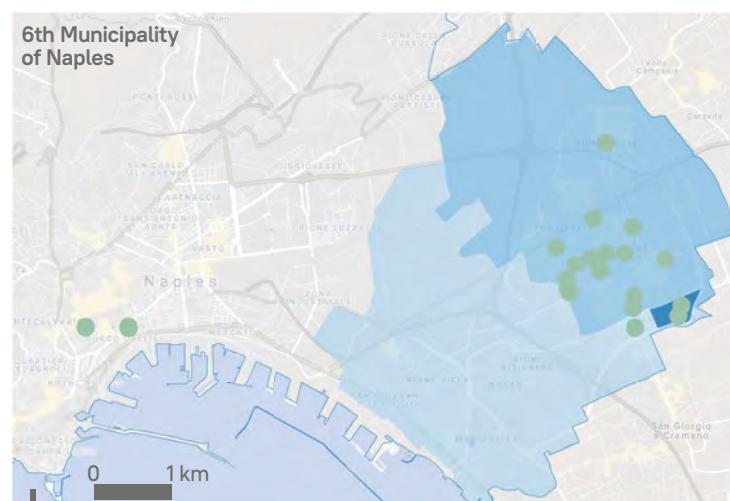
Image source: "From zero to infinity. Actions and processes for an integrated assessment of publicness in Lotto Zero." Master's Degree Thesis in Evaluation and Urban Planning on Ponticelli and Lotto O, candidate L. Liccardi, tutor prof. M. Cerreta, co-tutors prof. G. Poli, prof. G. Berruti, University of Naples, Federico II, Department of Architecture (academic year 2019/2020).

Spontaneous and informal solidarity initiatives during COVID-19 crisis

R.3.1 – Solidarity initiatives during COVID-19 crisis

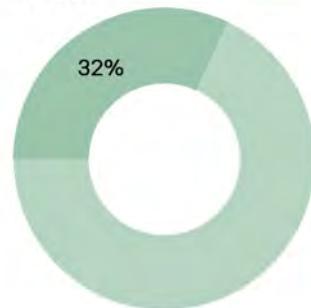
Solidarity and mutual support initiatives identified by the collectivity as being promoted by social operators and inhabitants of Ponticelli district, during and after the italian period of COVID-19 lockdown.

The maps represent solidarity initiatives during COVID-19 crisis, identified by the interviewed people, within the 6th Municipality of Naples, Ponticelli district and Lotto O, during the period of April-July 2020 (Italian during- and after- first lockdown period).



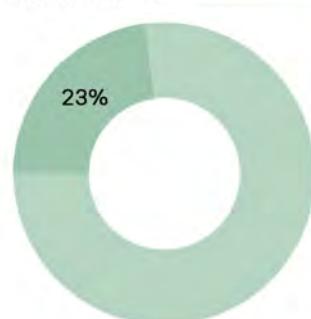
The diagrams show the percentages of different types of solidarity initiatives compared to the others. The categories of initiatives defined according to the surveys are: Health, Mutual aid, Psychological support, Cultural and Educational.

Health



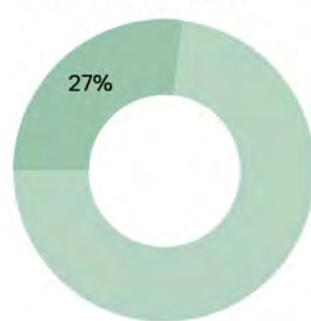
Production of hand-made masks in local civic centres

Mutual aid



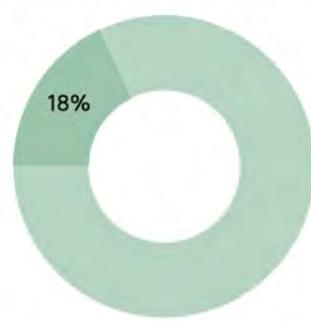
Organisation of food distribution promoted by local sellers and associations

Psychological support



Community activities promoted by local associations

Cultural and Educational



Educational initiatives and activities promoted by local associations

Percentage of one type of solidarity initiatives, compared to the other three

Images sources: Facebook (Maestri di Strada, ReMida, Orto Sociale della Salute e del Benessere Ponticelli, Terra di Confine); Newspaper "La Repubblica".

Building memories in Lotto O as every- day life politics

In a fully planned neighbourhood such as Lotto O several unplanned outcomes and behaviours are noticeable. Material objects – public facilities, fences, street furniture and their combinations – are affected by processes of ruination in which the action of atmospheric agents coupled with institutional withdraw. Yet, practices of coexistence with the materiality of these ruining objects developed over time among the inhabitants. People interventions to both slow down ruination and give ruins a new life is the focus of our contribution to the exhibition, documenting how inhabitants build collective memories as a means to contrast abandonment and decay, to fight negative stigma attached to ruins through multiple and sometimes temporary socio-spatial configurations. In this perspective, building memories is a mindful practice charged with a positive tension we termed as everyday life politics.

We understand ruination as a relational process combining both human and non human factors, in which perceptions, actions and joined efforts may change over time and eventually result in building a sense of community and place. Building collective memories from ruins in Lotto O is a process based on different types of daily practices. We explored three kinds of process of local production of memories and how they are linked to different sites/places, based on a larger number of everyday practices.

- Material ruination as a spiralling-down process
- Reinventing ruins to build places of trust
- Building memories out of care and recognition

The exploration was conducted as a collective endeavour. Researchers and students in planning, architecture and design interacted with members of local NGOs and inhabitants, taking part in a two-month workshop (as a PuSH trans-curricular internship programme developed at DiARC) whose aim was to contribute to build part of the local collective memory while researching.

Research Team:

Laura Lieto, Maria Cerreta, Marilena Prisco and Maria Reitano.

Students: Iaria Bergamasco, Claudia Giordano, Carmela Napolitano, Ramona Russo and Serena Scarano, Department of Architecture, University of Naples Federico II, Italy

Lotto O/Sites of Publicness

- 1: Material ruination as a spiralling-down process
- 2: Reinventing ruins to build places of trust
- 3: Building memories out of care and recognition



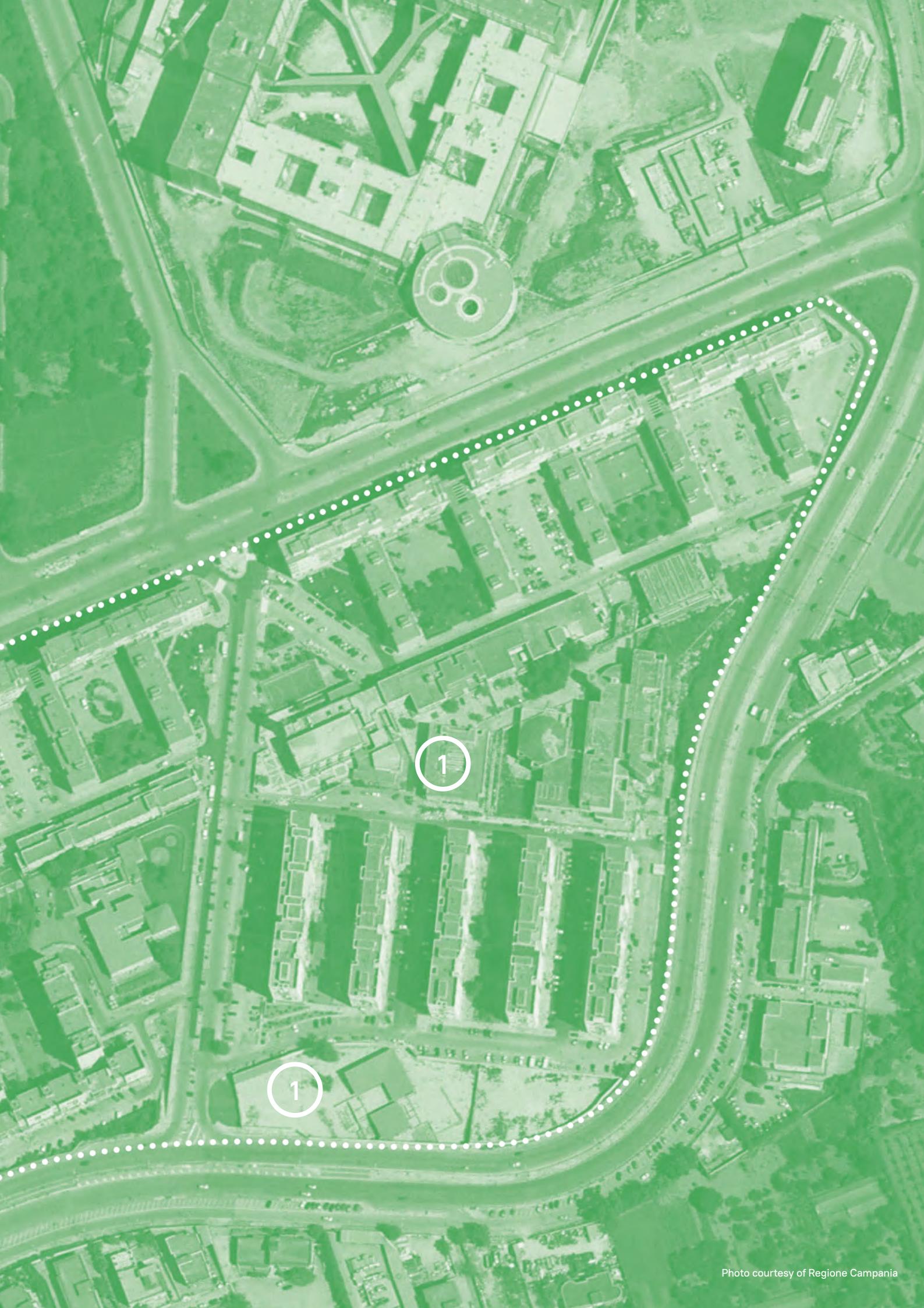


Photo courtesy of Regione Campania

Sites of Publicness



© Claudia Giordano and Carmela Napolitano



Is there a collective memory in forgotten ruins?

After the earthquake of 1980, the social housing program (P.S.E.R.) determined the construction of Lotto O and the provisioning of Lotto G with some new facilities. In particular, some of these have been opened and later closed for excessive degradation, such as the ex-school of Lotto G, some others were built but never activated, such as the "cultural center" of Lotto O. Some of these processes show how institutional policies have proved to be a failure over time, as urban well-being standards have not been guaranteed for all. The adopted methodology consisted in the identification of three types of ruins: the recovered ruin, the abandoned ruin and the archaeological ruin. We analysed three case studies, each exemplificative for one of the three identified types of ruins, and investigated the way through which the inhabitants and the territorial actors have retrained them. Furthermore, we tried to reconstruct the collective memory of the ruins.

The survey was conducted by Claudia Giordano and Carmela Napolitano, students of architecture at the University of Naples Federico II. It was based on interviews with inhabitants and local members of NGOs to contribute to write together part of the collective memory of the ruins.

Memories are created through an action of care, maintenance, reinvention, even if the context is complicated.



1. Material ruination as a spiralling-down process.

The three sites and processes of ruination object of the survey (see the map on the previous page).

During the construction of Lotto O, a building block with community facilities was planned, including the "cultural center", unfortunately never opened (top image). Over time, citizens have tried to take care of it, but the difficult context has made it unusable due to vandalism. The ruin in the center of the neighborhood has remained unchanged, people walk past it without noticing it.

On the contrary, the Roman Villa (bottom image), buried during the eruption of Vesuvius, was discovered during the construction of Lotto O. The area was object of two excavation campaigns. Over time there have been temporary openings, still, these occasional events did not allow citizens to build memories around this ruin.

The third case, the former school in Lotto G (next page), shows how ruination is not always a linear process and that the trajectory can change during time.



"This building has always been a place to avoid!"



"The church next door tried to clean it up, but it was useless"

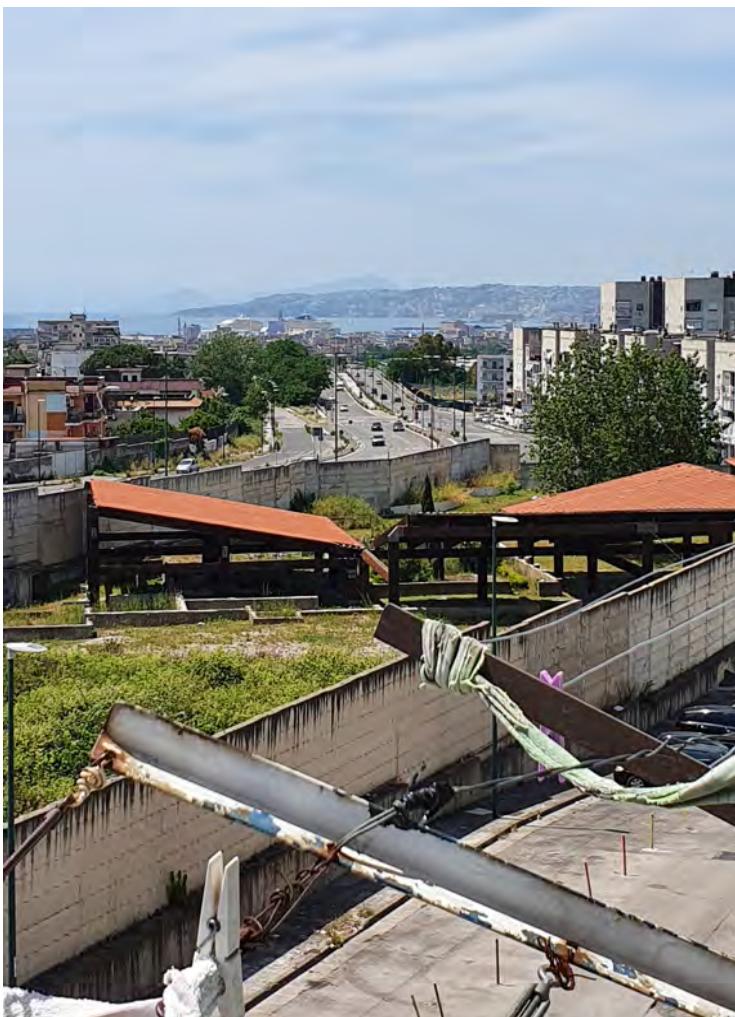


"It's like something that just stands there and nobody touches it"



"I would have liked to have recreational activities within the neighborhood"

Giorgio S. (m), 22 y.o.



"It has always been closed, for a few days it would open, but no one from the neighborhood has ever entered it"



"Associations have organized some events in which people who don't live in Ponticelli have participated"



"No one can imagine that behind that wall there is the Roman villa"

Giorgio S. (m), 22 y.o.



The former school in Lotto G is an example of ruin recently retrained by Maestri di Strada, an NGO active in East Naples for decades.
Top: an image of the CUBO "Ciro Colonna" as it was meant to be.
Bottom: an image of the building as it is today.



© Maestri di Strada

Notes from the interviews conducted in May 2021:
We interviewed some of the members of Maestri di Strada in May 2021 to collect information about the inversion of the process.

MdS is supported mainly with private funds. A part of the structure is still owned by the municipality, and this impedes the maintenance works in part of the building.



The association and citizens together are taking care of the renovation of space and of the complex.



The association involves children in various educational and social activities. The goal is to have a program of self-construction through which citizens can acquire new skills and keep alive the public building.



TIME LINE



Earthquake,
housing program PSER



Opening of the school



The school director manifests
the urgency of maintenance
works, but public institutions do
not intervene



Several structural problems
make the structure not viable.
A part of the school is closed



Structural safety conditions
worsen, the building is closed
down



"Maestri di strada" association is
the assignee of the disused
school building for 12 years,
after a long process that began
in 2014



A team of architects and
engineers is hired to work on the
building renovation



Work in progress

The new life cycle of the former School in Lotto G



© Claudia Giordano

Workshops are used as a tool to encourage the participation of inhabitants and experts. When they gather together they contribute to improve the quality of the space and to carry out part of the maintenance and building renovation works. Workshops have also an educational purpose, involving teenagers and pupils in dialogues facilitated by experts.



© Marilena Prisco

After the renovation of a space (a room or an open space) is completed, it is used to host the ordinary activities of the NGOs, i.e. the performances of the group theater "Trerote".



© Marilena Prisco

Not only the space inside the building is part of the renovation. When legal impediments stop the renovation of a specific part of the building, the outside space and the facades are transformed. This process of renovation is therefore adaptive and creative.



Workshop rooms

art lab



carpentry lab



Recycling and sustainability



People involved: childrens and citizens of East Naples



Goals: multifunctionality of the recovered spaces, use of recycled materials, creation of sustainable objects



Production: prints on cotton bags and construction of wooden objects



Theater room

how it was



recovery

how it is

Self-construction workshop



People involved: 20



Interventions: waterproofing, repainting, self-construction



Materials: waterproof sheath, paint, wood

Gym



inside



outside



Use of space



People involved: educators, parents and children from 6 to 18 years old



Interventions: space cleaning, wall painting, cultivation of vegetable gardens, self-construction spaces



Activities: art and music workshop, school dropout recovery, leisure activities

The lack of safety certificate and the degradation of surfaces caused by water infiltration have made the gym unusable. This phenomenon has triggered a participatory process of reuse of outdoor spaces.

Publicness sites of

2. Reinventing ruins to build places of trust

We link this category to the concept of fragility. The definition of this concept is related to events or perturbations producing damages on something. The notion of fragility can be referred to a wide range of contexts: in our case, it was investigated as a theoretical interpretation of the critical social conditions of some families living in Ponticelli. Our goal was to identify some protected sites of publicness where fragile people and families find help, "places of trust". During phase 1 of the investigation we used data collected from the interviewees to understand what types of recurrent places of trust they had observed in Ponticelli or had contributed to create (see the diagram, next page).

Type A: School entrance

Among the various places of trust, there is the schoolyard. Every child is waiting for recreation time to enjoy the open spaces and have fun in company. Through recreational use, this space turns into a real social laboratory. While waiting for their children, parents enjoy it as well, finding themselves talking to each other about their respective problems.

Type B: Listening places

A place of trust is also where you feel included, where people with similar problems share opinions and experiences. Social mediators are important figures in these contexts, as they can interact with people who are wary of institutional support services.

Type C: Spaces for occasional meetings between youngers and olders

An open space can be a place for encounters and social interactions or a place of exclusion.

Places of interaction and encounter can also become places of trust, as we found during our investigation. We identify this third category as an ordinary open space which becomes a place of trust when peer-to-peer or intergenerational informal support is provided.

Images of places of trust. From top: the school entrance, a listening place and a space for occasional encounters.



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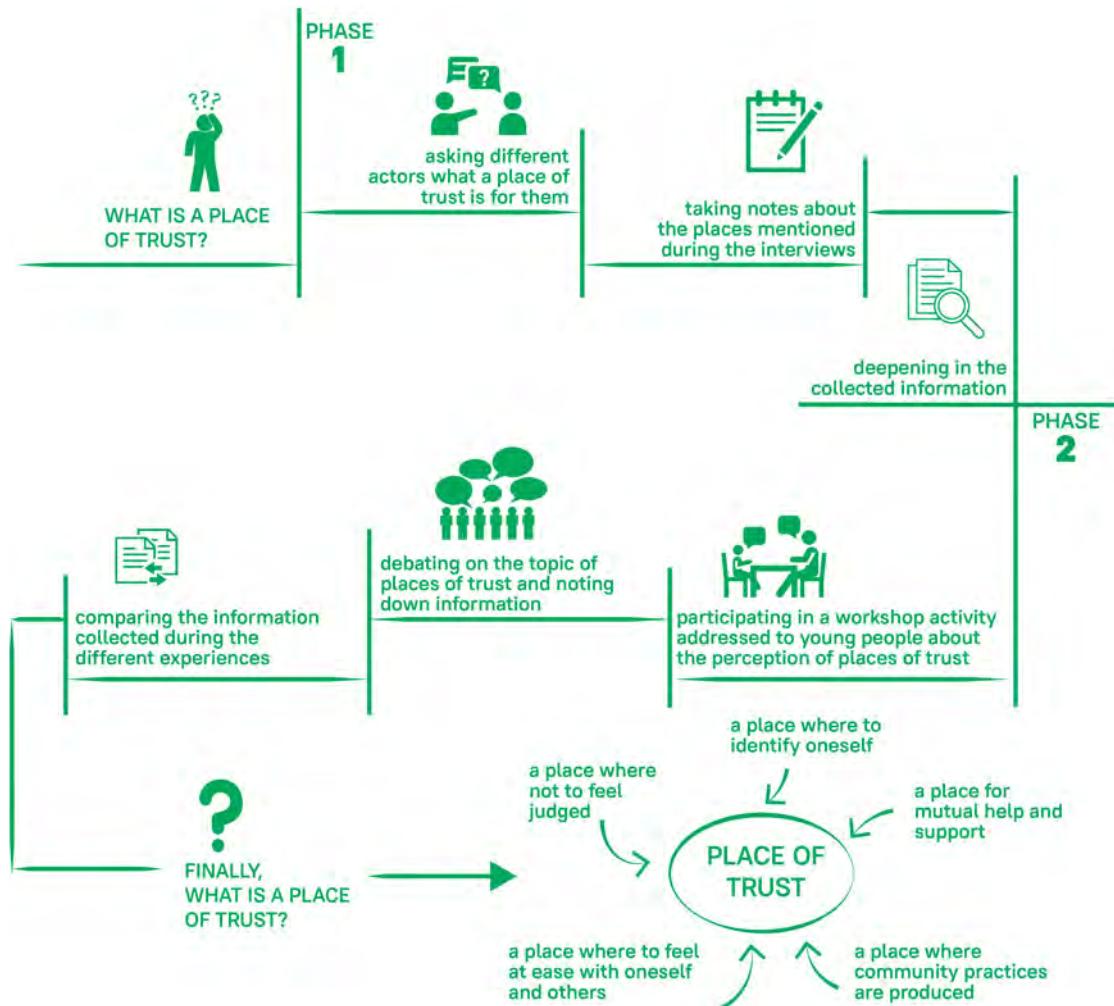


© Claudia Giordano



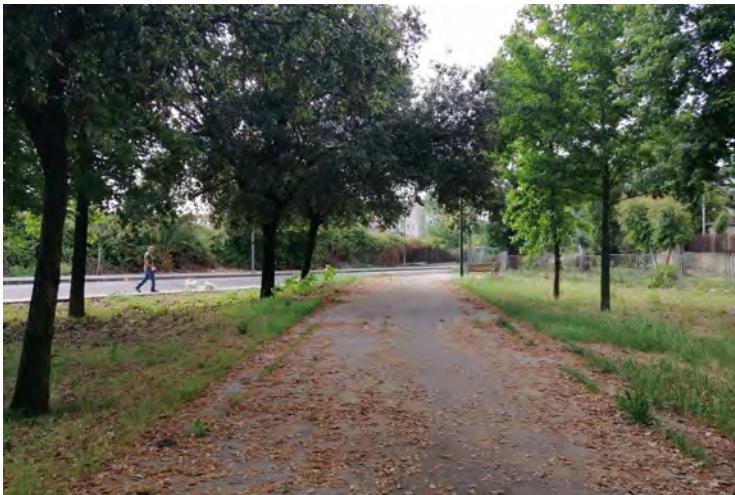
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The two-phase process of investigation conducted by Ilaria Bergamasco and Serena Scarano, students in Planning at the University of Naples Federico II. Phase 1 was based on interviews to key actors to find some recurrent configurations of places of trust according to the interviewees (left page), while phase 2 consisted in the co-production of meanings and ideas with teenagers living in Ponticelli (next page).



Three types of spatial configuration of places of trust as emerged during the interviews with local key actors (from left to right: type A, type B and type C).

Those configurations manifest when people and objects gather together without a plan and often without a specific pre-agreement to use that space to ask for support or to discuss about hurdles and problems.



© Marilena Prisco

A workshop about "places of" with six young teenagers grown up in Ponticelli

To understand what could be as places of trust according to inhabitants, we participated in a workshop organized by "Maestri di Strada", experts in empowering fragile young people.

During this workshop some activities were carried out with 15-16 year olds inhabitants who were asked to map, according to their perceptions, places of fun, care, beauty and the so-called "places I would like". What emerged is that a place of trust is any place where you can see something beautiful and meet someone you like; a clean and maintained place which arouses strong emotions and makes you feel good; a quiet place able to remove bad thoughts; places such as the beach, parks, the headquarters of associations such as "Maestri di Strada" or even a simple bench. What is really interesting is that, according to the participants' perception, a place of trust is not just a physical space: a place of trust can also be an action (such as writing poetry, riding a motorbike or playing with friends) or a person with whom you feel comfortable and happy.



© Marilena Prisco



Can you mention a place where you go to have fun? Such as doing activities you like, seeing somethings which is beautiful for you or where you meet other people to have fun together.



What places do you consider beautiful? Such as places that are cared for, where you do something you like or simply because they gives you emotions.



What do you consider as a place of well-being? Such as quiet places that help you to clear your mind or to cheer you up.



What do you miss? How a place to fulfill your unaddressed needs should be ?

Some pictures of the session conducted by the educators of the ONG "Maestri di Strada" and guided by a psychologist.



© Ilaria Bergamasco

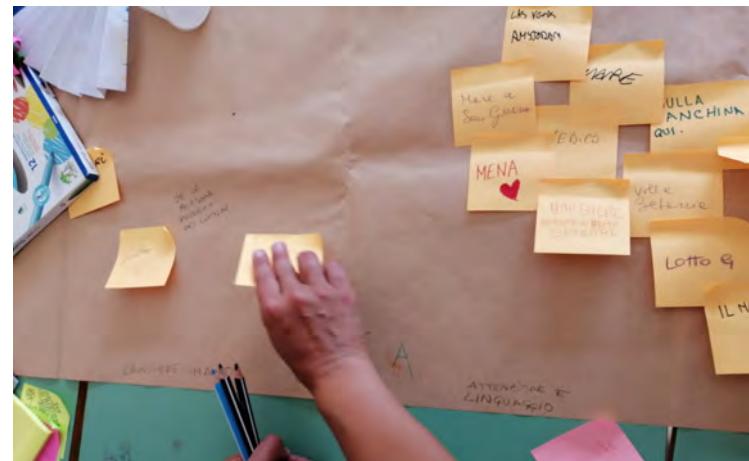


© Marilena Prisco

Places that were mentioned by the participants as sites that had changed their perceived identity during time and that are no longer considered as places of fun, beauty or care.



© Ilaria Bergamasco



© Ilaria Bergamasco

Publicness sites of

3. Building memories out of care and recognition

To deepen the understanding of publicness through the analysis of mutualism practices and spaces, the survey focused on solidarity projects developed by actors and NGOs in the humanitarian and social sector.

Since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, solidarity practices and initiatives have assumed a fundamental role in the reconfiguration of public space in Ponticelli, producing new geographies of care. We consider the production of those geographies as a way to produce positive memory, out of care and recognition.

The investigation was conducted by Romona Russo, student of the three-year course in Architecture.

Citizens' associations and NGOs in Ponticelli provided help during the suspension of many public services and access to public spaces during the COVID-19 pandemic.

The spaces for the distribution of emergency goods and the provision of services and help have become places of alliance and production of collective memory of mutual support during the pandemic experience.

MARCH 2021

APRIL 2021

MAY 2021



STEP A.

WEB SEARCH OF SUSPENDED PUBLIC ACTIVITIES AND OF SOLIDARITY AND MUTUALISM INITIATIVES ACTIVATED BY PEOPLE, ASSOCIATIONS, NGOs DURING THE PANDEMIC

STEP B.

FIELDWORK, INTERVIEWS AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION WITH A FOCUS ON THE PROJECT "NESSUNO ESCLUSO" DURING THE PANDEMIC

STEP C.

ACTOR-NETWORK ANALYSIS OF THE PROJECT "NESSUNO ESCLUSO" AS AN EXAMPLE OF GEOGRAPHY OF MUTUALISM



© Ramona Russo



© Ramona Russo

THE PROJECT NESSUNO ESCLUSO

THE HUMANITARIAN NGO EMERGENCY – FAMOUS FOR PROVIDING MEDICAL ASSISTANCE IN WAR ZONES – ACTIVATED IN OCTOBER 2020 THE PROJECT "NESSUNO ESCLUSO" (NOBODY EXCLUDED) SUPPORTED BY LABOO WITH THE PROJECT "SPESASOSPESA" AND BY THE MUNICIPALITY OF NAPLES.

THE BENEFICIARIES

EMERGENCY, IN COLLABORATION WITH SOME ASSOCIATIONS ALREADY ACTIVE IN THE AREA (SUCH AS THE ASSOCIATION TERRA DI CONFINE), HAS SELECTED 500 FAMILIES FOR A TOTAL OF ABOUT 2100 PEOPLE.

THE PROCEDURE

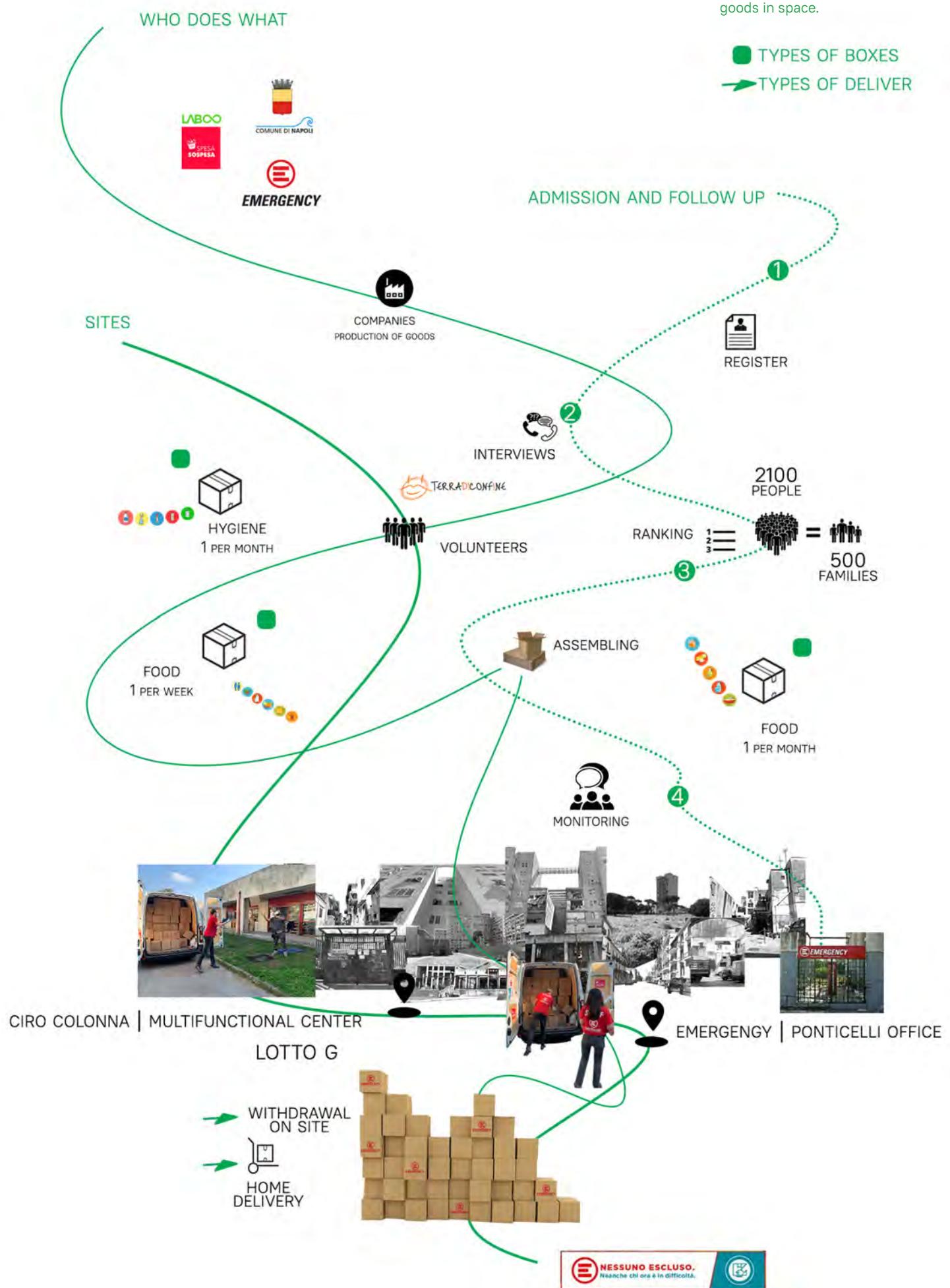
LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS REPORTED TO EMERGENCY THE LIST OF FAMILIES THEY KNEW WERE IN TROUBLE. EMERGENCY, IN TURN, SET UP A REGISTER OF THE FAMILIES AND INTERVIEWED THEM SEVERAL TIMES TO FURTHER DEFINE THE BENEFICIARIES OF THE AID ALLOCATED TO THEM.

BOXES COME IN THREE TYPES: TWO WITH GROCERIES AND ONE WITH SOAP.

THE FOOD BOXES ARE MONTHLY AND WEEKLY BOXES WHERE THE FORMER CONTAIN LONG-LIFE GOODS, SUCH AS OIL, SALT, SUGAR, ETC. WHILE THE LATTER CONTAIN DAILY GOODS SUCH AS PASTA, CONDIMENTS, CANS, ETC. THE HYGIENIC BOXES CONTAIN EVERYTHING NECESSARY FOR CLEANING THE HOUSE AND BATHROOM ITEMS: MASKS AND DISINFECTANT WERE ALSO PROVIDED IN THE FIRST LOCKDOWN PERIOD.

ACCORDING TO A STRICT ORGANIZATION, AFTER PACKAGING, THE BOXES ARE TRANSPORTED TO THE EMERGENCY HEADQUARTERS IN PONTICELLI AND THEN DISTRIBUTED TO THE VARIOUS ASSOCIATIONS, IN PARTICULAR, FOR THE PONTICELLI DISTRICT, THE PACKAGES ARE TAKEN TO THE "CIRO COLONNA" HUB, WHERE THE VOLUNTEERS OF "TERRA DI CONFINE" TAKE CARE OF ON-SITE DISTRIBUTION AND HOME DELIVERY.

The trajectory of the "box".
The project Nessuno Escluso analyzed as a network of organizations, human beings and objects creating a geography of care through the movement of goods in space.



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