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The Nordic Association of Architectural Research

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URBAN MOBILITY
– ARCHITECTURES, GEOGRAPHIES AND SOCIAL SPACE

Editors: Anne Elisabeth Toft and Magnus Rönn

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FOREWORD

Anne Elisabeth Toft and Magnus Rönn

NAF symposia are held once a year. They are important platforms for critical reflection on architecture and architectural research in the Nordic countries. In order to ensure their dynamic and democratic format, the events are conceptualized and organized in collaboration with various partners and each year hosted by a different university or school of architecture. Each year, the symposium focuses its discussions on a topic or theoretical framework representing the current research interests of NAF and its collaborating partner.

The 2015 NAF Symposium *Urban Mobility – Architectures, Geographies and Social Space* was hosted by Urban Studies, Faculty of Culture and Society at Malmö University. It took place on 5–6 November 2015.

The driving forces behind the successful event and its organization were Karin Grundstöm, Senior Lecturer in Built Environment / Architecture, Malmö University; Jesper Magnusson, Lecturer in Built Environment / Architecture, Malmö University; Katarina Nylund, Professor in Urban Planning, Malmö University; and Per-Markku Ristilammi, Professor in Ethnology, Malmö University.

The present anthology, which is the proceedings publication from the symposium, collects six articles written by authors who all presented papers at the event. The articles represent a selection made by the editors of the publication. All of the articles – except those by invited keynote speakers Dr. Anne Tietjen and Dr. David Pinder – have been submitted to a double-blind peer review process, following a peer review template developed by NAF.

The publication of the anthology was made possible thanks to the generous financial support of Svensk-danska kulturfonden.

We wish to thank all of the contributors for their efforts, patience, and commitment to the work of NAF, the 2015 NAF symposium, and the present proceedings publication. Our thanks are extended most particularly to Svensk-danska kulturfonden and to the many devoted peer reviewers who have supported NAF and its work by offering their time and professional expertise to reviewing articles.

Anne Elisabeth Toft
President of NAF

Magnus Rönn
Vice-President of NAF

INTRODUCTION

Anne Elisabeth Toft and Magnus Rönn

With the "mobility turn" of recent years – introducing new ways of theorizing mobility – and more than half of the world's population living in cities, questions of urban mobility are crucial to the work and theories of architects, urban designers, and planners all over the world.[1] Urban mobility as a key concept is also at the forefront of the work of many sociologists, geographers, economists, politicians, and visual artists who, each in their own way and from their own perspectives, try to understand and define what constitutes today's cities and the lives lived in these cities.

Globalization in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has created new urban patterns. The global knowledge-based economy, on the one hand, creates a new framework for urban development; on the other hand, the cities themselves are a framework for business development.[2] Economic activities are concentrated in metropolitan regions which grow far beyond their former peripheries, creating a new phenomenon: cities without limits. In these cities, the foundation for the traditional understanding of the city as a separate entity has disappeared. Today, traditional city centres only make up a small part of big cities. The main part of a big city consists of places that do not relate to the centre in a clear way, places with no clear boundaries between rural areas and urban areas and where urban functions are not integrated.[3] These conditions, which challenge the cohesive force and self-perception of the city and its urban texture, make hitherto unknown and complex demands on infrastructures and mobility.

The aim of the 2015 NAF Symposium *Urban Mobility – Architectures, Geographies and Social Space* was to facilitate a cross-disciplinary discussion on urban mobility in which the juxtaposition of different discursive perceptions of the concept would foster greater insight into and understanding of both the challenges and potentials that it represents. It focused on some of the key themes currently facing cities and the urban: the transformation of the city and our built environment; migration; rural decline; the interaction between city, architecture, and inhabitants; the role of architects and architecture in

the creation of democratic and sustainable urban contexts; the city and its representation; the politics of intervention; and the actions of governing and developing.

In a self-reflexive manner, the symposium also aimed to address how knowledge on urban mobility is produced and institutionalized in the development and application of seemingly objective practices of scientific research. The symposium thus critically examined how different disciplines within mobility research and specific research contexts develop diverse research ideologies and regimes that retroactively contribute to changing the way society perceives mobility and the concept of mobility.

Mobility can be studied on different scales as well as from different perspectives in architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design. Cultural geographer Tim Cresswell, who has written extensively on mobility understood as socially produced motion, suggests a categorization that distinguishes between mobility as observable empirical reality, mobility as representational strategies ascribing meaning to mobility, and mobility as embodied activity and a way of being in the world.[4] All three categories of mobility are represented within urban research, and Cresswell's categorization served as a point of departure for structuring the discussions at the symposium. These were framed by keynote lectures given by David Pinder and Anne Tietjen respectively, who in their lectures focused on very different aspects of urban mobility.

In his article "Instant Urbanism and the Politics of Mobile Architecture", David Pinder reflects on the power relations through which mobilities are produced. Arguing that mobility, flexibility, adaptability, and creativity are central to ideologies of neoliberal urbanism, he believes that calls for their extension can become complicit with processes of neoliberalization. In his article, he critically looks back to a number of historical references that, according to him, inspire contemporary architects and urbanists in their work. Especially avant-garde architectural experimentation from the 1960s and 1970s seems to heavily inform current discourse. This assumption not only leads to Pinder considering the present fascination with radical mobile architecture of the past, but also, and more importantly, to him discussing how these representations of mobility were imbued with critical and emancipatory intent. Against this background – and driven by the question "What is the significance of those past avant-garde urban and architectural visions

for recent calls for 'temporary and mobile urban solutions'?" – Pinder, in his article, pursues and puts into perspective both threats and possibilities within fields of temporary or instant urbanism.

Anne Tietjen in her article brings attention to what she describes as "the backside of urban mobility". Mobility, in her opinion, is an important explanatory factor for the urbanization and polarization processes currently taking place in Denmark. Since the 1990s these processes have led to shrinking rural areas and rural decline, leaving parts of Denmark depopulated and with no growth. This development is not only seen in Denmark; on the contrary, this development is characteristic of many countries around the world. Based on the example from Denmark, Tietjen, however, presents a picture which points to the necessity of rethinking and transforming the local potential and the existing built environment in rural areas. This work would require architects, but, according to Tietjen, it also requires new design methods and design education methods. In her article entitled "Working with the Backside of Urban Mobility: Strategic Design for Rural Decline" she reflects on how architects can work with strategic design in peripheral rural areas. Drawing on her research and teaching experience from the Department of Landscape Architecture and Planning at the University of Copenhagen and her students' empirical work, she outlines and discusses an operational framework for strategic design based on actor-network theory.

Parking lots, pedestrian tunnels, train station platforms, and suburban path systems are all mobilities spaces and part of the infrastructural systems of the urban context. Focusing on mobilities design, Ditte Bendix Lanng, Simon Wind, and Ole B. Jensen provide a critical view on mobilities spaces in their article "Mobilities Design: On the Way through Unheeded Mobilities Spaces". These kinds of spaces – often anonymous and standardized and by some theoreticians described as "non-places" – have long been neglected by architects and urban designers, they argue. However, such spaces might potentially have a lot to offer, if they were supported and qualified by design. Everyday mobilities research proposes that they are significant and can perform as more-than-effective transport infrastructures. Indeed, central to contemporary life and our notion of it and to our perception of the urban, they are public spaces which are part of social and cultural formations. In their article, the authors shed light on some of the many challenges facing mobilities design, but they also point out design approaches to and suggestions for what mobilities spaces, in their view, might ideally be and do.

In his article "Mobile Place-Making on an Everyday Urban Walking Route: Rhythm, Routine, and Experience", Jani Tartia investigates the rhythmic qualities of everyday urban mobilities. Coming from French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre's "rhythmanalysis", Tartia focuses on spatial rhythms in the urban context from within a spatial practice – a walk. Movement, Tartia argues, is a meaningful activity that produces and shapes spaces when spaces, as in his article, "are understood as social processes, relational and always 'becoming', rather than fixed physical sites". In a rhythmanalytical sense, he adds, "walking is about producing spatial rhythms and simultaneously about observing, being influenced by, and experiencing rhythms". In his article, he applies the method and theory of rhythmanalysis to a specific study of everyday walks and walking practices, which he carried out in two cities in Finland. Discussing how people walk in the cities and how they engage in walking and their own walking practices, Tartia's study illuminates how different kinds of mobile place-making are produced in and through movement.

In recent decades, cultural planning has been at the forefront of urban development in many cities. More and more cities are trying to reinvent themselves as capitals of culture in an attempt to retain and attract the highly educated and affluent segment of society. Often this is done with a strategy based on the idea of the existence of a mobile, emancipated, and creative class that will move to culturally stimulating places. Today, the economies of a growing number of cities are based on tourism and the tourism industry, and arts, entertainment, and cultural landmarks are some of the things that tourists who visit cities specifically demand and for which they are willing to travel. Even Smith Wergeland, in his article entitled "Art on the Move in the City of Temporariness", takes a closer look at the impact that global experience economy has had on urban development in Oslo and what the consequences have been specifically for the city's art scene. According to Smith Wergeland, the Oslo art scene is both thriving and suffering from the extensive changes in the city's demographic structure and dynamics. For better or worse, however, the closing of a large number of workspaces for artistic collectives in the inner city have left the artists in transit. From critical perspectives on the challenges of running temporary art venues and how the state of permanent transit affects the art scene in Oslo and its ability to stay productive, Smith Wergeland in his article reflects on different cultures of mobility and temporariness that have recently occurred in society and in the contemporary city.

Magnus Rönn in his article "Urban Design in the City of Helsingborg: The Conflicting Interests of Mobility and Cultural Heritage in a Contemporary Project" sheds light on power struggles and political agendas in a local political matter in Swedish planning. The article deals with mobility of cultural values in the city of Helsingborg, where leading politicians in 2013 allowed a group of developers to build a hotel and congress centre in the city's old and cultural-heritage-protected area in the harbour. The delicate case, which included a relocation of the old and locally treasured Steam Ferry Station in Helsingborg to another part of the city, forms background for Rönn's reflections on the contemporary city and its mobilities; on territorialization, deterritorialization, and the displacement of monuments and cultural-heritage sites.

In summary, the six articles in this anthology were written by authors who all presented papers at the 2015 NAF Symposium *Urban Mobility – Architectures, Geographies and Social Space*. As such, the articles reflect the discussions that took place during the event, covering a wide range of cross-disciplinary themes relevant to contemporary urban mobility studies. The articles deserve to be read in their own right, however. It is our hope that they will stimulate further thinking on urban mobilities and that the book will make a small yet qualified contribution to the already existing research on the subject.

NOTES

[1] According to the United Nations, in 2006 half the world's population had become urban. Sources: Population Reference Bureau, "World Population Highlights", *Population Bulletin*, 62, no. 3 (2007), p. 10. United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, *World Population Prospects: The 2006 Revision, Highlights,* Working Paper No. ESA/P/WP.202 (2007).

[2] Niels Albersen, Gertrud Jørgensen, and Lars Winther, "Introduktion", *Den Grænseløse By* (Center for Strategisk Byforskning, Institut for Geovidenskab og Naturforvaltning, Københavns Universitet, 2013), p. 9.

[3] Gertrud Jørgensen, "Planlægning for det gode liv i byen", in *Den Grænseløse By* (Center for Strategisk Byforskning, Institut for Geovidenskab og Naturforvaltning, Københavns Universitet, 2013), p. 29.

[4] Tim Cresswell as cited in "Call for Paper": http://arkitekturforskning.net/na/announcement/view/29. Tim Cresswell, On the Move: *Mobility in the Modern Western World* (New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), pp. 3–4.

INSTANT URBANISM AND THE POLITICS OF MOBILE ARCHITECTURE

David Pinder

Urbanism, if it is to mean anything at all, is a fluid matrix of things that do their own thing. In William Burroughs' words, *we must keep our bags packed and ready to move all the time.*
– Warren Chalk, 1969

ABSTRACT

Demands to mobilize architecture and urban space have become increasingly common in recent years, as part of discourses and practices of temporary use and instant urbanism. These approaches put an accent on mobility, flexibility, spontaneity, and improvisation. Contemporary commentators and practitioners often acknowledge the influence in this regard of earlier avant-garde architectural experimentation from the 1960s, involving among others Archigram, Yona Friedman, Constant, and the Situationists. This article returns to such earlier projects to explore further the implications of their emphasis on mobility and flexibility, and to consider the ways in which their visions of mobile architecture and cities were opposed to dominant spatial structures and imbued with emancipatory intent. However, through engaging with critical debates at the time, including those involving Henri Lefebvre and the group Utopie, it is particularly concerned with problematizing the celebration of mobility, flux, and flow that some of these visions entail, along with their abstract and universal invocations of the nomadic. The article asserts the need to attend to the power relations through which mobilities are produced, and to a deeper sense of the contested politics of mobile architecture. Doing so is especially significant in the current era when mobility, flexibility, adaptability, and creativity have become central to ideologies of neoliberal urbanism, and when calls for their extension can easily become complicit with processes of neoliberalization. Rethinking the legacies of earlier avant-garde visions may, in this way, help to sharpen senses of both threats and possibilities within fields of temporary or instant urbanism.

KEYWORDS

Mobility, flexibility, nomadism, Archigram, Yona Friedman

INTRODUCTION

"Temporary and mobile solutions, spontaneity and social innovation": these are what current conditions demand from architects and urbanists, contended the Danish Architecture Centre (DAC) in its publicity for an exhibition on *Instant Urbanism* in 2008.[1] Visitors were presented with an array of designs that included a mobile cinema and a plug-in arts centre, made from recycled shipping containers; "refuge wear" and portable inflatable shelters for the homeless; a "nomadic network urbanism" for older mobile leisure communities; and accounts of parkour and "sportification". Open source and dynamic constructions, designed to encourage interaction and adaptation in public spaces, rubbed shoulders with temporary urban occupations, interventions, and hacking. The accompanying text highlighted the need to rethink and redefine cities, and to find new means of developing, using, and inhabiting their spaces. To that end, it presented the disparate exhibits as questioning "the prevailing notion of planning and architecture". Through their "focus on mobility, easy technical constructions, reuse and spontaneous solutions", the featured international architects and artists were said to "show how it is possible to redefine the city in alternative and new ways".[2]

The exhibition's watchwords – mobility, temporality, flexibility, spontaneity, ephemerality, and nomadism – have also been those of much wider recent architectural and urban debate that has intensified in the intervening years. Diverse urban practices, projects, and approaches are presented through general rubrics such as the "temporary city"[3] and "instant cities".[4] "Pop-up" spaces animate all manner of art and cultural events, commercial activities, retail outlets, entertainment, and more.[5] Flexibility, indeterminacy, and open-endedness are frequently lauded over attachment to the supposedly (over)planned, (over)regulated, and static. The mobile and temporary are associated with an emphasis on use and with the potential to be taken up by participants in given situations, according to their needs and preferences, in contrast to more permanent constructions that embody supposedly more timeless values. Such urban imaginaries have proven highly alluring, drawing practitioners from radically different political positions, from those seeking opportunities to experiment with and construct spaces alternative to the values of the capitalist market to more mainstream planners and city authorities looking for low-cost initiatives to activate the potential of sites, especially under conditions of austerity.[6]

A distinctive aspect of the *Instant Urbanism* exhibition lay in its historical references, and in how it connected contemporary urban projects with earlier radical and avant-garde ideas and practices from the 1960s and 1970s that had themselves sought to "redefine the city in alternative and new ways". In particular, it looked back to the Situationist International (1957–72)

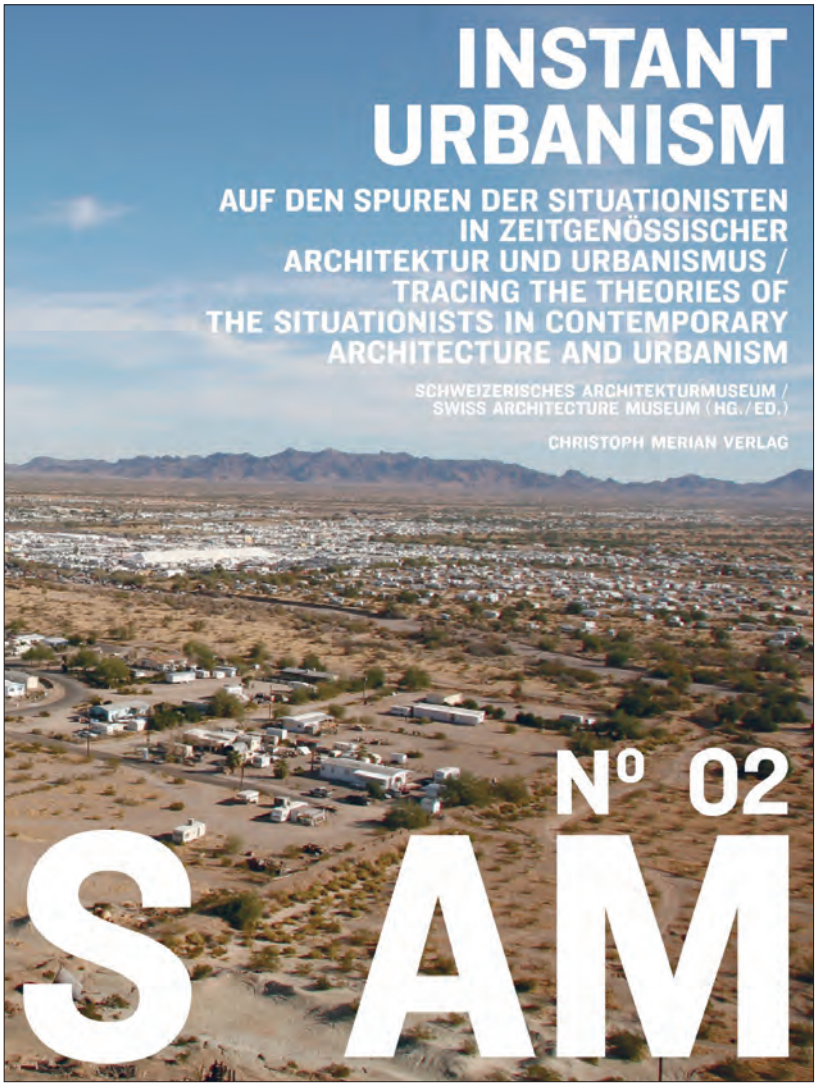

Figure 1. Instant Urbanism, publication by the Swiss Architecture Museum, Basel, to accompany the exhibition at SAM and at the Danish Architecture Centre in Copenhagen, in 2007-8.

through a subtitle that referred to "tracing the theories of the situationists in contemporary architecture and urbanism". Themes echoed Situationist practices, specifically those of *dérive* (urban drifting) and of *détournement* (appropriating, hijacking, and hacking signs and forms). The historical references also spanned much wider, however, to embrace designs and texts from other prominent visionary and experimental architects from the period that included Archigram, Yona Friedman, Cedric Price, Haus-Rucker-Co, and Hans Hollein. While the curator Francesca Ferguson highlighted the vastly more pragmatic and modest nature of the gathered contemporary projects,[7] their display in both exhibition and catalogue was interlaced with images and quotations from earlier visionary works. What might be made of such historical references in this context? What is the significance of those past avant-garde urban and architectural visions for recent calls for "temporary and mobile urban solutions"? How have once radical ideas been recuperated for different ends? What might be learned again from revisiting specific earlier practices?

These questions underpin this article, which turns back to episodes from the histories of radical mobile architecture in the context of current fascination with the mobile and flexible. In recent years there has been considerable interest in rediscovering avant-garde architectures and urbanisms of the 1960s and 1970s, with numerous exhibitions as well as book-length studies being devoted to different themes, groups, and individuals. In the process they have become increasingly common reference points for current practice and debate. Rather than consider these present engagements, however, my focus here is on visions from that earlier period in an effort to clarify some of the implications of their emphasis on mobility and flexibility. Among the questions I ask are: How were these representations of mobility imbued with critical and emancipatory intent? How were they set against existing modes of regulating, managing, and ordering space? To what extent did their proponents associate mobility with freedom? In particular, with an eye towards more recent architectural debate and practice, I ask about the risks involved in moving from what Tim Cresswell terms a "sedentary metaphysics",[8] which emphasizes place, roots, and stasis, and which construes mobility as a threat, to a "nomadic metaphysics" that in contrast celebrates mobility, flux, and flow. How might returning to critical debates from this earlier period help to problematize such a nomadic metaphysics, giving pause to similar tendencies today while encouraging further critical reflection on the politics of mobile architecture under the different conditions of the present?

VISIONS OF INSTANT CITIES

Cities become mobile. They rove the earth or take flight. They float or soar above the ground in the form of space frames, spirals, or domes. They are programmed for change, plugged into and rearranged. They are dematerialized, their components assembled and reassembled according to need and use. Their units are light, portable, pliable, and inflatable, the expendable and ephemeral tools of a population that has become nomadic. These are among prominent experimental and avant-garde architectural visions from the 1960s, a period of extraordinary urban debate and ferment in which the futures of cities were thrown into question, and in which proposals for new ways of building and living challenged conventional ideas and ideals of permanence, stasis, and form. These at times fantastical visions were responses to rapid social, economic, political, and technological changes that brought both challenges and opportunities. Among prominent concerns were those around migration, displacement, and human unsettlement; population growth and uneven urban development; transformations in nuclear and "space race" technologies, as well as techniques of construction and design; expanding personal mobility, especially through car ownership; developments in communication networks, cybernetics, and automation; increasing leisure time; growing environmental consciousness; and social and political movements confronting petrified relations of authority, and demanding new ways of living.

Mobility was a key concern. How could architects and urbanists develop more mobile spaces that could better accommodate change and movement, and that could enable greater flexibility of use? How could they create environments that were more responsive to the needs and wishes of people, capable of changing and moving with them? How might they support rather than hinder the transience and nomadism that appeared to be signatures of the time? In addressing these questions, a range of avant-garde architects and urbanists found existing conventions inadequate, including those based on modernist principles outlined through the Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) and its Athens Charter (1933/43) that had come to shape much urban planning discourse and construction in Europe after the Second World War. Such modernism prioritized the channelling and organizing of urban flows, in particular those of automobiles through highway construction that was presented as opening up a new era of efficiency and speed.[9] If they once promised radical mobile futures, however, for many critics they now seemed increasingly absorbed by bureaucratic states, inhibiting

progressive change. Their spatial forms appeared unable to respond to new demands, not just at a structural level, but also those of residents struggling for their voices to be heard.

Instant City was an influential collaborative project by the British group Archigram in 1968–70, one that is frequently referenced in more recent conceptualizations of mobile and instant urbanism.[10] Presented through a series of collages, graphics, and models, it focused not on building new settlements but on temporarily infiltrating existing ones and injecting them with "a taste of the metropolitan dynamic".[11] Trailers, trucks, balloons, and airships deliver facilities for rapidly assembling and disassembling a mobile "City", and for creating intense events. Colour collages by Ron Herron and Peter Cook combine glamorous images snipped from fashion magazines with slogans that highlight concerns with information, communication, and programming. Instant City was a "travelling metropolis" that aimed to "tune into" and "tune

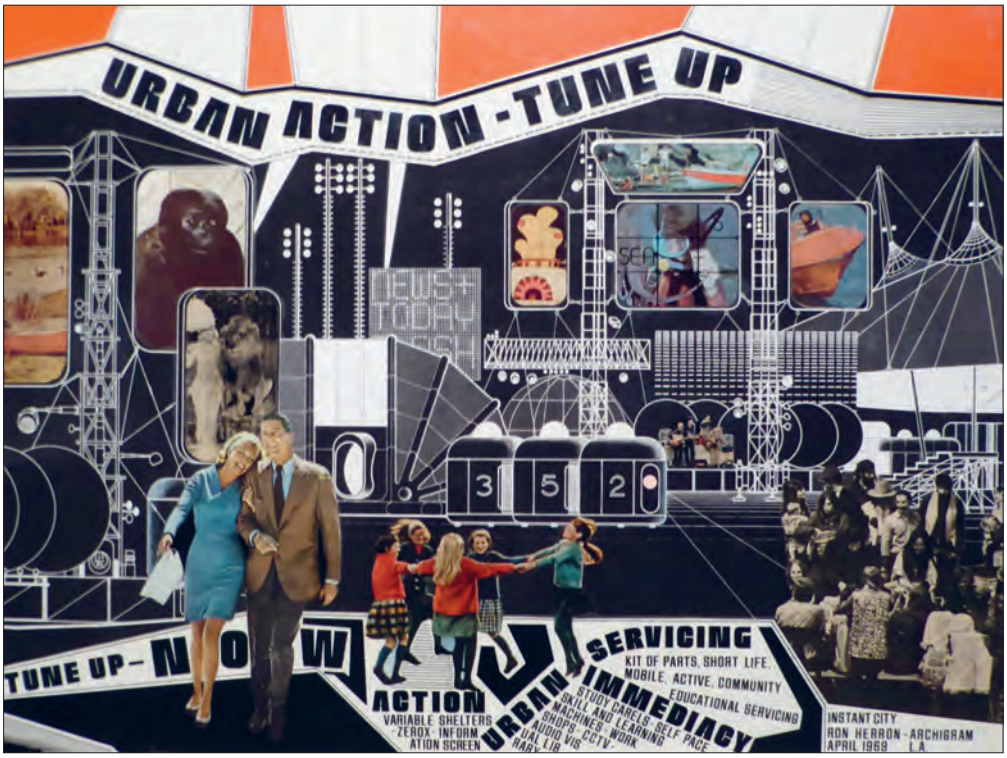

Figure 2. Ron Herron, Urban Action – Tune Up, Instant City project, 1969. © Ron Herron Archive.

up" environments through the deployment of "kit parts" (Figure 2).[12] Interest lay not only in how transient elements could affect provincial places but also in how the dynamic could run the other way, through the legacy of an information-education-entertainment network.[13]

Instant City might be seen as embodied in the large rural-based music festivals that took off around the same time. Gitte Marling and Hans Kiib indeed borrow the title for their analysis of the temporary architectures of the Roskilde Festival, where mobile units create a performative scenography.[14] Other critics see Archigram's thought more generally as logically heading towards "the pop-up cities of the music festival".[15] Yet Instant City followed almost a decade of experimentation by Archigram with both architectural "hardware" and "software", as the group's six core members – Warren Chalk, Peter Cook, Dennis Crompton, David Greene, Ron Herron, and Michael Webb – engaged with contemporary technologies to mobilize cities and their spaces. They sought to shake up what they saw as a stultifying and self-satisfied architecture establishment through provocative images, texts, exhibitions, projects, and their eponymous magazine that they published periodically between 1961 and 1970. In the process they moved away from the static, rooted, and monumental towards movement, flexibility, transitoriness, and indeterminacy. "The old fixed and static elements that built our cities are becoming increasingly irrelevant," asserted Chalk. "In a transient society, the mobile searchlight pinpointing an automobile sale or a movie premiere is more important than any building; a credit card system more meaningful than a high-rise bank."[16]

Against ideals of permanence, Archigram embraced the transient, ephemeral, restless, and expendable qualities of modern urban experience. Against pared down forms, it exuberantly explored the potential of new technologies for maximizing pleasure and fun. Against the separation of functions and specialisms, it broke down barriers between fields and spheres. Components of its visions inflated, hovered, swung, zoomed, projected, clipped on, plugged in, and lifted off. Opposed not to modernism but rather to what it had become, the group's members sought to recapture its earlier utopian, experimental, and oppositional energies. They also immersed themselves in the forces unleashed by capitalist modernization, technological development, and accelerating consumerism and travel as Britain emerged from post-war austerity. Distancing themselves from "the old idols" and "the old precepts", they were "in pursuit of an idea, a new vernacular, something to

stand alongside the space capsules, computers and throw-away packages of an atomic/electronic age".[18] Through a method self-described as "ad hoc, nomadic and episodic", they took imagery as readily from science fiction, glossy magazines, and comics as from technological hardware and space-age installations, and they disseminated the results with an urgency indicated by their name with its amalgamation of architecture and telegram.

Archigram's international influence has been increasingly recognized through belated architectural awards, exhibitions, and historical studies.[19] The group often celebrated and sought to learn from the vitality of existing urban life, its crowds, and commercial cultures. Investigating "movement-cycles" for its exhibition *Living City* in 1963, its members centred on "situation" and on the eventfulness of space in ways that anticipate recent interest in the performativity of space. They argued: "Cities should generate, reflect, and activate life, their environment organized to precipitate life and movement." In this sense they gave particular importance to "the happenings within spaces in the city, the transient throwaway objects, the passing presence of cars and people".[20] That same year, Peter Cook declared that "the mood of cities is frantic. It is all happening – all the time". He mentioned the current disparagement of the words "fashion", "temporary", and "flashy", yet noted that "it is the creation of those things that are necessarily fashionable, temporary or flashy that has more to do with the vitality of cities than 'monument-building'."[21]

This way of thinking fed into early Archigram projects that centred on the mobilization of urban space. Plug-In City was driven by the question: "what happens if the whole urban environment can be programmed and structured for change?"[22] Based on a giant space frame that could be extended within and beyond national borders, everything was flexible and expendable. Units and capsules could be plugged in or removed through systems of cranes, while services and means of transportation were sorted through tubes, pipes, monorails, hovercraft, and more. Meanwhile, the projected obsolescence of components varied from around forty years for the main structure to a few years for rooms. Modes of traffic were also foregrounded in City Interchange (1963), a proposal by Herron and Chalk that focused on intersecting rail, road, air, and pedestrian movement, in addition to flows of data and communication. The group's concern with mobility was more fantastically embodied in one of their best-known projects, Herron's Walking City (1964). Literally given legs, these vast mobile machines roam across deserts, oceans, and urban terrains and also gather in the waters off Manhattan. According to

one image, they house "not only a key element of the capital, but also a large population of world traveller-workers".

Mobility was similarly at the heart of Archigram's conceptions of houses and dwellings. Houses were presented as "drive in", as airlifted units, and as mass-produced yet individually customized consumer products akin to cars. In the group's house of the future, commissioned in 1967, walls, ceilings, and floors are all adjustable. The robot-serviced interior includes inflatable furniture and a "chair-car" based on hovercraft principles.[23] Taking inspiration from space capsules as well as everyday leisure vehicles such as trailers and mobile homes, the group also devised an array of stations, capsules, pods, and bubbles through which architecture could be mobilized and individuals could source services from the infrastructure while having the freedom to travel (Figure 3). In relation to his Living Pod, David Greene noted: "the house is an appliance for carrying with you, the city is a machine for plugging into."[24] The group's "longtime devotion to the notion of motion", as his colleague Mike Webb put it,[25] was pushed further through designs for other individually portable environments, notably his inflatable Cushicle (1966) and Suitaloon (1967), and Greene's Inflatable Suit-Home (1968). These came complete with television, water supply, food, and heating. In Cook's Nomad

Figure 3. Ron Herron, Free-Time Node: Trailer Cage, 1967. © Ron Herron Archive.

(1968), a plastic action figure ventures far from cities equipped with a portable environment kit. The figure of the nomad was one with which they were often preoccupied, with Greene once directly holding up the "Cowboy international nomad hero" as "probably one of the most successful carriers of his own environment".[26]

These latter projects paralleled Archigram's work for Instant City. Together they reached "beyond architecture", to use the group's phrase from the seventh issue of their magazine, or at least reconceptualized architecture as more akin to mobile and expendable commodities, and to the dematerializing flow of information, images, and events.[27] Cities and buildings completely rescinded from view in Greene's Bottery (1969), in which citizens wandered in a wired garden, plugging their portable televisions and other appliances into conveniently located Rokplugs and Logplugs, which merged into the surroundings of a "fully serviced natural landscape". Greene stated: "Modern nomads need sophisticated servicing, and in the Bottery this is achieved by the technique of calling it up wherever you are, it's delivered by robots."[28] He portrayed it as an architecture related to time that was meant to disturb the environment as little as possible, a kind of "invisible guerrilla environment".[29] Elsewhere proposing a Local Available World Unseen Network (LAWUN), he claimed that the implications for the mobilization of cities was immense: "The whole of London and New York will be available in the world's leafy hollows, deserts and flowered meadows."[30] He has more recently suggested that, in retrospect, Archigram's projects provide "a new agenda where nomadism is the dominant social force; where time, exchange and metamorphosis replace stasis; where consumption, lifestyle and transience become the programme; and where the public realm is an electronic surface enclosing the globe."[31]

MOBILITY, SPATIAL URBANISM, AND THE DILUTION OF ARCHITECTURE

Archigram's emphasis on mobility, flexibility, and nomadism was part of a wider interest in these themes among architects and urbanists in Europe and beyond during the 1960s. Many believed that social, economic, technological, and demographic changes were demanding new approaches to cities and urban life. Processes of deterritorialization, travel, and communication were disturbing assumptions of post-war urbanism, in some eyes undermining and even rendering obsolete the idea of permanent settlement. While concerns about dislocation and existential homelessness were rife, not all who

shared the diagnoses decried or resisted their implications. Emboldened by developing construction, transport, and communication technologies, some sought to ride the mobile waves and even push them further. Influential among them was Richard Buckminster Fuller, who contended that humans were "freeing themselves from rooted dwelling patterns of earlier eras". He claimed the task became one of "accommodating human unsettlement".[32] As Mark Wigley has recently discussed, he was particularly fascinated by the transformative impact of radio on connecting and mobilizing houses, and even entire cities, where all "thought of static solid objects on the ground gave way to a universe of restless and largely invisible waves".[33] For more than five decades Fuller developed ideas for new world networks in this "age of radio". They ranged from his first project for a One Ocean World Town Plan, in which everything was mobile and physical infrastructure was replaced by "atomized nomadic systems", to electronic and computer techniques that were intended to supplant conventional urban planning and architecture with "Instant City!"[34]

Other architects and urbanists were also addressing mobility and (un)settlement in ways that pushed beyond narrow planning concerns with improving and coordinating circulation. Mobilizing architecture was often connected with a desire to question ideals of permanence and fixity and, with them, the role of architects as authoritative definers of spatial form. Mobile structures were seen as a means by which the determination of those forms might be increasingly relinquished to users so that unsettlement might be better accommodated. A common theme was that of "open ends",[35] which entailed a shift away from the assumption that urban forms should be conclusive and clear expressions of programmes. Megastructures, grids, and space frames were frequently projected as the basis, being externally extendable and internally flexible to allow movement and change. The fifth issue of Archigram's magazine in 1964 gathered images from prominent contemporary architectural "big structures", including those by Yona Friedman, Constant, Eckhard Schulze-Fielitz, Paolo Soleri, and Karel Tange, alongside Herron's Walking City. While some were deliberately fantastical, others stressed the feasibility of constructing large-scale yet light space frames, following the development of new materials, techniques, and engineering solutions that had been pioneered by, among others, Fuller and Konrad Wachsmann.[36]

Paralleling Archigram's experiments in this regard, although offering a striking contrast to their more festive and playful forms, was work from France

associated with "spatial urbanism" and "mobile architecture". The visions of spatial urbanists, and the wider cultures of which they were a part, were diverse. A common interest nevertheless lay in the potentially liberating impacts of new technologies and automation in taking care of material needs, in extending leisure time, and in enabling forms of circulation and nomadism. This was at a time when questions of leisure were generating extensive debate in France. Their proposals further typically took the form of spatial constructions that were raised, suspended, or floating above the ground, their content stripped back through an emphasis on supporting ways of life that were yet to be determined.[37] Heavy, saturated, and congested forms were to be left behind. Lightness, elevation, transparency, and mobility were instead to come to the fore through designs that privileged ease of assembly, disassembly, and (self)-construction.

Pre-eminent among these figures was Yona Friedman. As a relatively unknown Hungarian architect, arriving from the Technion Architecture School in Haifa, he gained international attention in 1956 on presenting his manifesto of mobile urbanism at CIAM X in Dubrovnik. Contributing to discussions on "The future structure of human habitat", he was frustrated by what he saw as the congress's failure to address adequately questions of participation and user determination that were core to his own contribution. Soon afterwards, he moved to Paris and established the Groupe d'Etudes d'Architecture Mobile (GEAM). Friedman and his associate architects and engineers attributed many urban problems to the rigidity of the urban fabric, to its inability to be adapted to life as it is lived. Their schemes responded to challenges associated with rapid urbanization, population growth, housing shortages, congestion, and the need for leisure and play. Above all, they believed that people should be able to determine their own environments in the moment. This related to a simple question that had occupied him as a student: "Why should architects decide for the people who live in buildings?" He insisted that "people should decide for themselves", in relation to both personal dwellings and public spaces.[38] That principle lay behind his promotion of an "indeterminate town planning" that emphasized flexibility, adaptability, and user involvement, and that sought to "render the problem of static form outmoded".[39] Central to this urbanism was the common distinction between a spatial infrastructure, which provides material support and services, and the contents, which in Friedman's case are left open to an unpredictable reality or what he terms "erraticity".[40]

Friedman has elaborated on his spatial urbanism and mobile architecture for many years. Initially, this was through evolving editions of his book *L'architecture mobile* and through GEAM, followed by his involvement with the Groupe International d'Architecture Prospective (GIAP) after its establishment under the leadership of Michel Ragon in 1965. Friedman's ideas resonated widely through that decade, circulating in architectural magazines and exhibitions, and influencing other groups and individuals, especially in Europe and Japan. Many of his drawings centre on space frames, rising above cities or other terrains whose fabric is left intact. These frames are open and stark in contrast to Archigram's more saturated forms. This is in keeping with Friedman's insistence that "fitting out of the skeletons [of the infrastructure] will depend upon the initiative of each inhabitant",[41] and his decision "to look at the minimum departure, trying to leave the page as blank as possible".[42] Modifiable spatial units and containers hang, float, or fly through the structures, able move in any direction. The multilayered grid and process of superimposition reintegrates functions typically kept separate in modernist planning, while the flexibility is meant to avoid imprisoning growth and change, ensuring that the needs of the future can be met while simultaneously encouraging individual initiative and liberty. Friedman's rejection of permanence and his advocacy of flexibility extended to social, institutional, and organizational norms; for example, he argued that property rights should be subject to renegotiation every ten years, and marriage every five years.[43]

Friedman and fellow spatial urbanists at times engaged with specific urban problems and administrative realities. In his schemes for Spatial Paris, he portrayed structures raised above central areas as a means of tackling the problems of growth and congestion. He contended that these could add spaces for housing, business, industry, and agriculture while also sorting traffic by assigning pedestrians and automobiles their own routes. In the process they could triple housing densities while avoiding the uprooting of existing urban areas that was common in large-scale renewal projects of the time.[44] Although Friedman has been depicted as a father of megastructuralism, he demurred, insisting that mobility extends through all elements.[45] Promoting self-planning and self-determination, he "diluted" architecture. His renunciation of traditional conceptions of architects and planners drew fire from many other modernists in the late 1950s, among them Alison Smithson and Aldo van Eyck. Yet it has remained Friedman's guiding thread, one only accentuated as he turned towards developing systems of communication, ped-

agogy, and manuals for self-planning through participatory work in parts of Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, among other areas, including through the United Nations and UNESCO.

Recently entering his tenth decade, Friedman has retained his commitment to a mobile architecture based on improvization and adaptation in which almost nothing is to be fixed and predetermined. Visitors to London's Hyde Park in summer 2016 could find a fragment of this vision. Located a short distance from a higher-profile pavilion by Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG), who presented an "unzipped" wall of fibreglass boxes as part of the annual Serpentine Pavilion commission, Friedman's contribution to the parallel Summer Houses exhibition was a space-chain structure that could be easily assembled and disassembled (Figures 4 and 5). Building on his long-term spatial city, and described by him as essentially a moveable museum or exhibition, its open metal rings – each 1.8 metres in diameter – were arranged into thirty

Figure 4. Yona Friedman, Serpentine House, in Hyde Park, London, June to October 2016. Photo: David Pinder.

cubes, collectively forming a multi-level skeleton. From some of the ground level cubes hung partially transparent polycarbonate panels, in this instance showing images from his earlier urban projects. Through and beyond these rings and panels could be seen the park and its activities, while visitors attracted to the form sometimes included children, who found their own ways of activating it. "People are asking me how I got the idea of a mobile architecture," Friedman noted, when discussing this project. "I could ask back, 'Who got the idea for architecture immobile?'[46]

REVOLUTIONIZING SITUATIONS

Sharing Friedman's interests in urban mobility, although taking a politically and aesthetically contrasting route, was the Dutch artist Constant. He composed New Babylon through models, drawings, paintings, writings, lectures, and more from 1956 to around 1974, and it has since become one of the most influential avant-garde visions of mobile urbanism from the period.

Figure 5. Yona Friedman, Serpentine House, in Hyde Park, London, June to October 2016. Photo: David Pinder.

This is especially since a revival of critical interest from the late 1990s that included major exhibitions, most recently those staged in Madrid, the Hague, and Amsterdam in 2015–16.[47] Along with critics such as Fuller, Constant believed that functional conceptions of cities as settlements which had developed around industrialization no longer held. In his view, they should give way to a ludic and nomadic urbanism whose spaces he sought to imagine and outline: continuous and raised from the ground, with no borders or boundaries; a network of collective services; a social space continually made by people through their activities and in accordance with their desires. If his models suggest spatial forms, his drawings and other images dynamize them, while his writings further underscore how they must be "flexible, changeable, assuring any movement". Insisting that spaces "cannot be determined", Constant argues that "everything has to be mobile and flexible" in order to allow any kind of use, for "the environment has to be created by the activity of life, and not vice versa".[48]

Recognizing common interests, Friedman initiated correspondence with Constant in 1961. There followed meetings and joint appearances in exhibitions and journals. But sharp differences were clear. Constant's project was avowedly anti-capitalist, concerned more with provoking imaginations and addressing possibilities of a new urban culture than with designing physical forms. He looked towards a revolution in social and spatial structures that, in conjunction with an automation of non-creative work and the socialization of land, would free people from being fixed in space and time, and unleash their creativity. This revolutionary perspective was initially forged in consort with the Situationist International (SI), of which he was a core member until he resigned in 1960. New Babylon shared that group's understanding of contemporary urban space as a concretization of hierarchical capitalist social relations along with its ambition to transform both everyday space and life through the creation of situations. Foundational was the practice of the *dérive* as a means of exploring and seeking to change urban conditions, a significant precedent being Ivan Chtcheglov's visionary tract that proposed the invention of new changeable environments, including mobile houses and modifiable "architectural complexes", which would be in tune with changing behaviours, dreams, and desires based on a "continuous *dérive*".[49]

The Situationists depicted current architecture and urbanism as repressive and carceral, as part of a police order through which things and people are fixed in place. Urbanism bears down heavily on populations, crushing with

its weight. It imprisons activities. It is geological.[50] It is leaden and "fossilised".[51] It is a "freezing of life" that "might be described, in Hegelian terms, as an absolute predominance of 'tranquil side-by-sideness' in space over 'restless becoming in the progression of time.'"[52] The dérive was a means of undoing this fixity by experimenting with behaviour in the here and now, and by charting routes through the city that the Situationists discerned as having hidden currents and psychogeographical reliefs. The practice of détournement, whether directed at architecture or at other cultural materials and texts, also aimed to reroute meanings and restore fluidity to frozen ideological forms. For the Situationists, however, revolutionary practices more generally promised movement and liquidity. They aimed to break topological chains, to dissolve dominant socio-spatial structures so that they could be freely determined by people in keeping with their life-play. With Guy Debord, Asger Jorn, and others, Constant developed a correspondingly fluid concept of an emancipatory "unitary urbanism" that would supersede current separations and divisions. Against spatial and temporal fixation, this advocated playful use of space as well as the "permanent transformation" and "accelerated movement" of cities themselves.[53] This was construed not as a doctrine but, as Constant asserted in a text written as part of the Dutch section of the SI, as the "ever variable, ever alive, ever actual, ever creative activity of the man of tomorrow". It derived from an "acceptance of the transitory" and a renunciation of "fixed form", such that "we arrive at all forms, which we invent and afterwards reject".[54]

The urban fluidity invoked by Constant and the Situationists therefore involved more than building new mobile forms or adopting mobile practices. It ran deeper, requiring the revolutionary transformation of the world of the spectacle commodity along with its urban fabric. Images they commonly used were not only those of water and fluidity, but also those of a human journey through which participants shape their own spaces as routes. To this end, Constant found Friedman's social critique to be limited. He contrasted it with his own efforts to envisage "a type of city completely different from the functional city of today", one that involved "a new use of social space" and "the integration of collective creativity in everyday life".[55] For his part, and in contrast, Friedman contended that Constant was too prescriptive in his vision of collective creativity, acting too much as an artist-director or *maître de ballet* in producing what amounted to a "paternalist utopia". Friedman presented his own architectural role as a necessarily incomplete process of providing for mobility and freedom, asserting that it was neither desirable nor

possible to impose what individuals should then do.[56] These disagreements speak to important differences in conceptualizations of mobile architectures and their politics that remain significant for current interest in mobile, temporary, and ephemeral urbanism. They concern in particular the material grounds and power relations through which mobile spaces are imagined and produced, a subject that I address further in the rest of this article.

FREEDOM, POWER, AND POLITICS OF MOBILITY

Running through much avant-garde mobile architectural practice from this period was both opposition to dominant conceptualizations of urban mobility at the time, including those within CIAM and modernist planning strategies centred on traffic circulation, and efforts to reimagine and design for its possibilities. In keeping with influential ideologies of modernity, these practitioners typically associated mobility with liberty, life, and opportunity.[57] That was consistent with many earlier modernist organizers of urban flow. But Archigram and Friedman, among others, presented mobility more in terms of the freedoms of individual users, as a means of siding with their agency against top-down prescription and control. Everyone could become an architect or builder, so they suggested, or at least they could be allowed to customize, arrange, and shape their environments through the provision of suitably flexible spaces and serviced infrastructures. Space was understood as becoming and performed, and the event of architecture as something to be realized by inhabitants themselves. Such visions were underpinned by an optimistic view of technological developments as enabling new freedoms, and by a belief that the role of the architect and urbanist was to facilitate rather than fetter the process. In this way they provided compelling perspectives on mobility that opened it up to issues of play, unpredictability, and happenstance. At the same time, and in contrast to the Situationists, they left unaddressed fundamental issues about power and the social, political, and economic processes through which emancipatory urban mobilities might be produced.

Technological optimism was a hallmark of Archigram, whose members promoted mobility as an individual good that they wished to extend further. Slogans for their Control and Choice Dwelling of 1967 included: "Choice means freedom", "What you want when you want", and "What you want where you want it". Their route was to plunge into consumer and popular culture, and to seek out their potentially liberating forces. Freedom supposedly came through embracing the logic of capitalist consumerism with its emphasis on

choice, innovation, obsolescence, and desire for the new. "We are not politically over-developed as a group," acknowledged Peter Cook, "but there is a kind of central emancipatory drive behind most of our schemes."[58] They understood this in terms of removing constraints and obstacles, while supporting the means for a more mobile life. Capsules, pods, and kits were presented with individual clients and consumers in mind, while, in an article entitled "Emancipation", they asked: "Do buildings help towards emancipation of the people within? Or do they hinder because they solidify the way of life preferred by the architect?" They followed: "It is now reasonable to treat buildings as consumer products, and the real justification of consumer products is that they are the direct expression of a freedom to choose."[59]

Archigram pitched its rhetoric against what its members saw as the austerity, dullness, and moralizing attitudes of the British architectural scene at the time, as they drew inspiration from the commercial cultures and freeways of the United States where several of them came to settle.[60] Their approach also owed much to contemporary counter-cultural practices. But by binding their technologically fuelled anti-authoritarianism so closely to ideologies of consumer choice, they were denied more critical perspectives on how desires and needs are shaped rather than simply met under capitalism. This was central both to Situationist critique and to contemporaneous critical theory through the Frankfurt School, then intent on exposing the one-dimensionality and unfreedoms of life masked by the spectacle commodity. More specifically, in their celebration of individual mobility, and in their frequent invocations of nomads and nomadism, Archigram members neglected how these mobilities are differentially structured along axes of power.

References to nomads were part of wider trends that saw architects and artists grappling with emerging urban conditions and possibilities, and exploring the potential uses of mobile, portable, and pneumatic structures. Archigram typically invested the figure of nomad with liberatory connotations, as implied by Greene's reference to a "Cowboy international nomad hero". Similar frontier imagery was used by others around the same time, including members of Ant Farm in California. This reversed the negative scripting of the nomadic by many state authorities, as well as modern urban critics, planners, and architects, who presented it as a past and primitive state, and who in the process cast it as threatening, disordered, and uncontrolled. In the hands of Archigram and others, the nomadic thus gained a potentially transgressive and subversive edge. But as with much recent "nomadic meta-

physics" in social and cultural theory, which celebrates mobility in ways that tend towards the universal and abstract, it also suggested unlocated and unbounded movement through appeal to a figure that is "remarkably unsocial" and "unmarked by the traces of class, gender, ethnicity, sexuality, and geography".[61] It left obscure the historical conditions and power relations through which movements are produced, and the ways in which mobility is social, spatial, and political rather than a matter of individual agents and their prosthetic devices. It failed to comment, for example, on how the nomad that wandered through Archigram's graphics and writings was invariably male and white, and the product of class-specific masculinist imaginaries at that.

As a collective, Archigram refrained from taking overt political stances, but its libertarian individualism and attitudes to deregulation were politically ambiguous, if not conforming with "the neo-liberal ethos of late capitalism".[62] Other practitioners of mobile architecture were more wary of contemporary capitalist consumer culture and sought to resist its homogenizing reach. Some looked towards alternative models of nomadism and mobile dwelling from outside the contemporary West.[63] Meanwhile Friedman and many of his French counterparts kept consumerism at a greater distance by concentrating more on spatial infrastructure than on user lifestyles. They left space more open to avoid predetermination, whether commercial or planning-based. That did not mean taking an oppositional stance, however, and Friedman suggested that there was much to learn from the ways in which commercial producers were increasingly engaging their customers in adapting and personalizing products, something that chimed with the increasing popular interest at the time in "do-it-yourself" home improvements in Europe.[64]

Friedman's main concern was with maximizing individual freedom within a stable structure and, for him, this rested primarily on the transformability of the environment. Through his designs he sought to limit constraints on individual movement and change while enabling improvisation and adaption. If this took him beyond purely physical matters to broach significant questions about everyday life, participation, and democratization, his approach was oriented towards integrating change and it again left fundamental processes and power relations unaddressed. As with the proposals of spatial urbanists more generally, it often appears that social divisions, contradictions, and conflicts are superseded, with the smooth circulation of inhabitants not untethered but rather held stable within frames that are lifted into the air and scarcely visible. A more technocratic side to spatial urbanism becomes particularly

apparent in schemes for existing cities, such as those produced by Friedman and others to tackle the conditions of Paris during the 1960s. Their proposals for elevated structures are undoubtedly bold and at times exhilarating in their repudiations of certain planning orthodoxies. But at the same time they centre on managing mobility in relation to challenges of population growth, congestion, and the like within the existing structural order. Referring to Friedman's plans for Spatial Paris, historian Larry Busbea thus contends that they increasingly viewed the city as a "complex system of movement" with the overriding aim of "attaining circulatory equilibrium".[65] Along with other spatial urbanists, Friedman was in this respect caught between "cybernetic fantasy and administrative reality", as they raised their profile by working with public administration and discourse but in the process "essentially tied their own critical fate to that of mainstream modernism".[66]

Questions therefore need to be asked about the emancipatory claims the spatial urbanists made on behalf of their open and flexible frameworks. These concern not only the meaningfulness of "flexibility" and "choice" within the supporting structure, but also about the extent to which they might be understood as offering less an escape from the system than an expansion of its control. Even within more open-ended systems, so architectural theorist Felicity Scott notes, the terms of differentiation "ultimately fell back upon the limits of that structural framework", so that the structure can be seen as simply providing "a more elaborate illusion of freedom into which the subject could be integrated".[67] Such concerns were indeed increasingly being raised by the late 1960s when it was not only the architectural establishment that was reacting negatively towards megastructural visions. Many political radicals also came to view them as fetishizing technology and facilitating new modes of management and control. That was even before the construction, in Paris the following decade, of the Centre Pompidou, which some contemporaneous critics greeted as a "terminal monument" to the megastructure movement,[68] and connected to "the invention of a new type of bureaucrat – the 'programmer'."[69] The apparently paradoxical result of the building's emphasis on "flexibility" and "democracy", one of these critics remarked, was the imposition of "even greater inflexibility" and the transformation of the building into a "*Gesamtkunstwerk* of bureaucracy".[70]

MOBILE CITIES AND SPACES OF CONTROL

Whether architecture could enable liberation within a capitalist society, or whether it was a vehicle for co-option and control through promulgating illusions of freedom, was the subject of wider critical debate at the time, not

least by theorists and practitioners of mobile architecture themselves. A significant critical voice was that of Henri Lefebvre, the French Marxist philosopher and sociologist who developed close connections with practising artists, architects, and urbanists as part of his influential work on urban and spatial questions during the 1960s and 1970s.[71] Lefebvre asked: "Why not oppose ephemeral cities to the eternal city, and movable centrality to stable centres?"[72] He was drawn to contemporary experimental and mobile architectures that sought different ways of urban living. In his book *The Urban Revolution,* he imagined a potential mobilization of space, where places become "multifunctional, polyvalent, transfunctional, with an incessant turnover of functions", and "where groups take control of spaces for expressive actions and constructions, which are soon destroyed".[73] But at the same time, with spatial urbanists and "prospective" architects in mind, he considered the invention of new spatial forms – however innovative or outlandish – as, in themselves, a simplistic solution to the urban problematic.[74]

Lefebvre criticized the promotion of superficial notions of mobility that involved physical displacement while leaving social relations intact. He was particularly concerned about the consequences of programmed and structured approaches to movement within urban schemes that sought to manage contradictions through "equilibrium" and "stability", noting how this necessitated tightening constraints and imposing a specific politics of space.[75] He therefore dismissed the idea, which he attributed to Friedman, that "we can be liberated through nomadism, through the presence of a habitat in the pure state". Such "residential nomadism" represented an extreme form of individualism.[76] In his view, emancipatory urban change instead requires transforming both everyday life and space, which includes the underlying conditions through which "choices" are constructed. It entails appropriating and changing space, whereby people also change themselves. Through this dialectical process, cities no longer become alienated products or commodities, but oeuvres that are consciously and collectively created. While technology plays a significant role in producing "ephemeral cities", it must involve more than "switching boxes (inhabiting)". The primary agents should be social movements and groups who "would invent their moments and their actions, their spaces and times, their works". Moreover, "they would do so at the level of habiting or by starting out from that level (without remaining there; that is, by modeling an appropriate urban space)".[77]

Lefebvre recognized common interests with Constant in this regard and frequently acknowledged the significance of the latter's work for this own thinking. He also had a mutually influential association with other Situationists before they broke with him, discussing with them theories of moments, situations, everyday life, and revolutionary urbanism in a context of rapid urbanization and modernization in France. The reasons for that rupture were complex and overdetermined, but one contention lay in their respective views on the potential for architectural and urban experimentation within current conditions, which is to say prior to revolutionary change. The Situationists based around Debord increasingly moved towards a critique of urbanistic ideologies, in the process also targeting Constant. Lefebvre meanwhile remained more open to engaging with architectural and urban projects as part of his critical studies of urbanization, the production of space, and the prospects of differential space through the 1960s into the following decade. His interests in ephemeral and mobile cities drew him specifically to the détournement of space at Halles Centrales around 1969–71, as this recently displaced former market area of Paris was reappropriated by young people and transformed through temporary use into a site of festival and play.[78] But it further reflected the currency given to these themes at the time by Utopie, an evolving group of architects, urbanists, and sociologists that formed in 1966 after a meeting at Lefebvre's house, and which included two of his assistants, Hubert Tonka and Jean Baudrillard.[79]

Utopie initially challenged the immobility, weight, and repressive authority of traditional architecture and urban planning through experiments with inflatable structures and furniture. Among them were Jean-Paul Jungmann's experimental pneumatic dwellings, Jean Aubert's travelling theatre for five thousand people, and Antoine Stinco's "Itinerant exhibition hall for objects of everyday life". The group displayed such projects in Paris under the title *Structures Gonflables*, two months before the May 1968 eruption in which its members actively participated, mainly through the movements originating at Nanterre. According to Stinco, the inflatable represented "a festive symbol of the new energy". This derived from "its fragility, its will to express the ideas of lightness, mobility, and obsolescence, through a joyous critique of gravity, of boredom with the world, and of the contemporary form of urbanism that had been realized".[80] Along with Jungmann, he was later among the groups temporarily located at Les Halles as part of an experimental teaching unit,

the Unité d'enseignement et recherche sur l'environnement (UERE).[81] The making of objects and architecture were among the practices that the movements of 1968 threw into question, leading to considerable debate within Utopie. Aubert recalls specifically how the group's architects felt targeted by the slogan scrawled on the steps of the Sorbonne that May: "Hide yourself, object!"[82]

Utopie's eponymous journal, which was subtitled "a magazine of urban sociology", presented a tense field of perspectives and positions rather than a unified stance. Images and texts were juxtaposed in ways that were open-ended and self-questioning as its early issues interrogated architectural and urban practice from within, while also intending to radiate into other disciplines and ways of thinking. Early on they discussed urban ephemerality, mobility, disassembly, and demountable construction in relation to durability and obsolescence. In so doing, they provided broader context for the group's interest in pneumatics as well as their critical engagements with built space, their references ranging from the temporary constructions of nineteenth-century international exhibitions to the "emergency housing" of Buckminster Fuller and the designs of Cedric Price and Archigram. But, along with Lefebvre, they criticized contemporary urbanistic ideologies as they found expression not only in state planning but also in the schemes of spatial urbanists, who sought to incorporate individual choice and flexibility.[83] Utopie's focus on disassembling and dismantling was critical, directed against dominant conceptions of architecture and urbanism rather than being meant to solidify into an urbanist programme.

In an article in the first issue of *Utopie* entitled "Repression", Tonka and Lourau combined images from fashion and consumer magazines with those of modernist housing from the Paris banlieues and urban construction work. They also included extended extracts from a police bulletin that recounted efforts to counter the "problem" of *"loiterers"* and specifically *"Beatniks"* in the city centre: "Some of them strum guitars, some make chalk drawings on the sidewalk, others spend most of their time just hanging around."[84] Deriding the presence of the latter as "filth" – which, following Mary Douglas's classic anthropological definition of dirt, is to say "matter out of place"[85] – the municipal police advocated conducting daily "sweeps" of the area as well as establishing a continuous presence of their own so as to prevent these loiterers "from settling down in the street". Moving people on was, for them, a key means of establishing "cleaner streets" and preserving the area's sup-

posedly "normal appearance".[86] Other extracts from this bulletin meanwhile demonstrated the police's interest in contemporary debates about urban life, behaviour, and integration, and specifically discussion about "humanism in urbanism" and "participation" whose pertinence they highlighted for addressing "asocial disturbances that the police must prevent or repress".[87] In this composition of text and image, Tonka and Lourau therefore raised questions about how developments in urbanism, consumerism, and mobility came not only with promises of new ways of living, but also with new modes of control, which were both coercive and entailing "softer" power.

Elsewhere, Baudrillard took up the discussion of ephemerality, affirming the significance of the urban ephemeral as "the truth of our future habitat" and with it that of "[m]obile, variable, retractable structures".[88] But in a critical commentary that appeared in the journal alongside images and texts on the subject by Aubert, he highlighted how this had a class dimension, for in his view it was currently only a "privileged fraction" whose economic and cultural position allowed it to embrace mobility and to question durability in these ways. In particular he contended that it was the bourgeoisie's experience of the permanence of property, enjoyed over many generations, which made it more able to delight in the mobility of structures than those who had long been denied such security, and who thus had different aspirations. He wrote: "according to the eternal logic of cultural distinction, a privileged fraction savors the instantaneousness and the mobility of architectural structures at the moment when others accede barely to the quadrature of their walls".[89] In subsequent years, many of Utopie's members grew increasingly doubtful not only about the potential for radical architectural intervention, but also about the prospects of emancipation more generally, and the architects soon resigned. With the heady days of 1968 receding, the rest of the group turned more to critical theory, politics, and the mass media in order to grapple with emerging modes of power and their implications for oppositional practice.

CONCLUSION

Amid current discussion of contemporary instant urbanism and mobile architectures, it can be valuable to return to earlier visions and practices, and to consider more closely how they engage with a politics of mobility. The ambition and scale of the future visions from the 1960s by Archigram, Friedman, Constant, and others are particularly striking in a current era that seems to have banished such utopian urbanism, save for that working through and upholding the interests of capital. Their projects embodied radical hope in

social, political, and technological change, and they were committed to an architecture that would enable this. More specifically, they saw mobility as a key contested site within such processes. In concluding, then, one argument to make is that there might still be inspiration to be gained from revisiting such utopian engagements with urban mobilities from the recent past. This is through approaching them not as solutions but, rather, as "prisms" for addressing contemporary challenges and possibilities, and for stimulating imaginations needed for creating alternatives.[90] The distinction is important, most obviously due to how conditions have changed. As I have emphasized, there is also a need to interrogate the emancipatory claims typically made on their behalf for, in many cases, their politics were ambivalent at best, something that must give pause to more celebratory technologically driven visions of mobility and accounts of urban nomadism.

Through this article I have therefore sought to draw out the contested politics of mobility associated with specific projects, especially by attending to debates involving practitioners and critics at the time. Important critical perspectives arise through work by Lefebvre, the Situationists, and Utopie, among others. While Lefebvre, for example, was positively engaged with experimental and avant-garde mobile architectures and urbanism, he emphasized that liberation cannot be secured through spatial design or technology in itself, nor can it be reduced to smoothing the paths of individual movement. Instead, it requires the transformation of fundamental social and spatial relationships, including those that constitute the basis of capitalist society and its unequal power relations. More than movement per se, what is crucial is attaining the right and power to move or, equally vital, to stay put. The latter may at times be the critical concern as what was once solid is made fluid through capitalist processes of creative destruction, and as populations are displaced and evicted in the name of urban developments. That point connects with Baudrillard's significant reminder, from the article cited above, about the need to approach the mobile and ephemeral not as absolute values but in relation to social and cultural formations, including their class basis.

These critical perspectives are especially important today when rhetorics of adaptability, mobility, and improvisation have not only been taken up within much architectural and urban design practice but also become central to the ideologies of neoliberal urbanism. In this climate, many of the mobile visions from the 1960s take on a different complexion. While they once drew inspiration and energy from social movements and anti-authoritarian countercul-

tures, they might now seem to anticipate or even serve to normalize aspects of capitalist urbanization with its continual disruption of fixed relationships, its restless remaking of spaces in search of profit, its forms of enforced mobility, and its positioning of individualized "users" as consumers. Has not their promotion of flexibility and nomadism thus been co-opted? Along with other principles of social movements, has it not been incorporated into what Fran Tonkiss terms "a species of 'roll-with-it' neo-liberalization in which precepts of self-reliance, entrepreneurialism and flexibility have become both normalized and generalized"?[91] In this regard, it is worth considering the "strange respectability" accrued by the Situationists and their radical contemporaries as they have been rediscovered and represented in reductive ways.[92] The *Instant Urbanism* exhibition with which I began this article is only one such manifestation. Yet revisiting contested mobilities from these earlier periods, and exploring their ambiguities and paradoxes, also raises critical questions beyond those of co-option and control that remain vital for current debates about "temporary and mobile solutions": How might the freedoms of movement that these urban visions evoke so vividly be claimed and generalized in turn? How might urban inhabitants be empowered to gain more control over their mobilities, not simply as technocratic matters but as a fundamental basis on which urban spaces are produced? How might other, more radical understandings and practices of flexibility be struggled for and determined?

NOTES

[1] From DAC's website: http://www.dac.dk/en/dac-life/exhibitions/2008/instant-urbanism (last accessed July 2016). The exhibition was initially staged at the Swiss Architecture Museum in Basel, and later at MUSAC – Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Castilla y León, in Spain.

[2] Ibid. Among the contributors were Collectif Exyzt, PPAG Popelka Poduschka Architekten, Lucy Orta, Michael Rakowitz, Deane Simpson and Jörg Stollmann, Ruedi Baur, Electroland, Citámbulos, and Diller Scofidio + Renfro. The themes included temporary structures; urban nomadism; adapting and extending; urban action, intervention; dérive; détournement; and sportification. See also Swiss Architecture Museum (SAM) (ed.), *Instant Urbanism: Tracing the Theories of the Situationists in Contemporary Architecture and Urbanism* (Basel: Christoph Merian Verlag, 2007).

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[4] Gitte Marling and Hans Kiib, *Instant City@Roskilde Festival* (Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag, 2011).

[5] Ella Harris, "Navigating Pop-up Geographies: Urban Space-Times of Flexibility, Interstitiality and Immersion", *Geography Compass*, 9/11 (November 2015), pp. 592–603.

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[14] Marling and Kiib, *Instant City@Roskilde Festival*.

[15] Douglas Murphy, *The Architecture of Failure* (London: Zero, 2012), p. 83.

[16] Warren Chalk, "Things that do their own thing", *Architectural Design*, 39/7 (1969), p. 376.

[17] Archigram, "Situation", in Theo Crosby and John Bodley (eds.), *Living Arts*, no. 2 (London: Institute of Contemporary Arts and Tillotsons, 1963), p. 112.

[18] David Greene, "A Prologue: Concerning Archigram", in Dennis Crompton (ed.), *Concerning Archigram* (London: Archigram Archives, 1998), pp. 1–4, esp. pp. 3–4.

[19] Archigram was awarded a Gold Medal from the Royal Institute of British Architects in 2002. The first book length studies appeared as Simon Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2005); and Steiner, *Beyond Archigram*.

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[21] Peter Cook, "Come-go: the key to the vitality of the city", in Crosby and Bodley, *Living Arts*, pp. 80–83, esp. p. 80.

[22] Peter Cook, "Plug-in city", *Sunday Times Colour Magazine*, 20 September 1964, p. 33.

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[24] David Greene, "Living Pod" (1966), in *A Guide to Archigram 1961–74*, pp. 182–85, esp. p. 182.

[25] Mike Webb, "The Notion of Motion," in Crompton, *Concerning Archigram*, pp. 98–105, esp. p. 98.

[26] David Greene, "The World's Last Hardware Event" (1967), in Crompton, *Concerning Archigram*, pp. 144–59, esp. p. 151.

[27] Sadler, *Archigram: Architecture without Architecture*, p. 107; Steiner, *Beyond Archigram*, p. 217.

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[74] Ibid., p. 116.

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[76] Ibid., p. 98.

[77] Ibid., p. 99.

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WORKING WITH THE BACKSIDE OF URBAN MOBILITY: STRATEGIC DESIGN FOR RURAL DECLINE

Anne Tietjen

ABSTRACT

Shrinking rural areas constitute the backside of urban mobility and of current urbanization processes in Denmark. The new rural paradigm prioritizes spatial development through strategic investments utilizing local strengths and opportunities. Questions about how to activate place-based resources, qualities, and potential for strategic purposes require new ways of architectural thinking. Based on teaching experiences in landscape architecture education at the University of Copenhagen, this article proposes working with strategic design in declining rural areas as a *translation* process of observed site conditions into future site conditions. Guided by actor-network theory, the article outlines a conceptual framework for strategic design, presents and discusses the applied educational procedure and results, and concludes with some further development perspectives. The teaching experiences show that on-site studies of recent physical changes, emerging new activities and uses, and people's ideas and desires for future development can be a pertinent starting point for strategic design. Furthermore, a clearly defined programming phase where design problems are formulated by different representational media proved helpful in the process. The produced design work and the student evaluations and feedback from practice partners suggest that translation offers a framework for strategic design which can contribute to architectural education, practice, and research..

KEYWORDS

Urban mobility, rural decline, strategic design, design education, actor-network theory

INTRODUCTION

Although Denmark is a small, rich, and urbanized country, rural decline is considered a major spatial-planning issue. Since the 1990s the map of Denmark has changed significantly. Workplaces and the population have been increasingly concentrated around the bigger cities, whereas peripheral rural areas have lost both inhabitants and workplaces.[1] The traditional rural businesses, such as agriculture, fisheries, and production industry, have lost relative importance. As a consequence, many production areas and buildings have lost their original function and are abandoned, while there is a growing vacant housing stock.[2]

An urbanization process characterized by simultaneous urban concentration and dispersion outlines new centralities and peripheries on a regional scale. With reference to the European growth model of the blue banana, the declining Danish periphery from Lolland over Funen to West Jutland has been dubbed "the rotten banana". This provoked the mayor of Thisted to call the East Jutland growth region, reaching from Kolding via Aarhus to Randers, "fat sausage".[3]

Mobility is an important explanatory factor for the current urbanization and polarization processes. With the expansion of the motorway network since the 1980s and increased automobility, more and more people are commuting over large distances, thereby expanding their living arenas to the regional scale.[4] The highest concentration of commuter flows can be found in the capital region around Copenhagen and in East Jutland, which also have the highest concentration of accessible workplaces.[5]

Right after the opening of the Great Belt Bridge in 1998, which linked Funen to Zealand and thereby substantially increased automobility, the Danish architecture firm Transform drew up an equally provocative and prophetic vision for urban development in Denmark: the H-City follows the H-shaped outline of the Danish motorway network (Figure 1).[6] Transform suggested that, in the future, large parts of Denmark will form one cohesive urban field based on automobility, while those parts of Denmark not connected to the motorway network will not be part of urban development. These disconnected areas largely correspond to the declining Danish periphery. In this sense, shrinking rural areas constitute the backside of urban mobility and of current urbanization processes.

Yet rural areas are also increasingly inhabited by people with urban lifestyles;[7] rural dwellers commute to work over long distances, seek a well-functioning service infrastructure, and value attractive built environments and accessible landscapes for recreation and outdoor activities. In terms of people's way of life, Denmark is today predominantly urbanized.[8]

The rural researcher Jørgen Møller observes that the risk of depopulation and physical decline is high if a village does not have access to public institutions and urban infrastructure or does not feature outstanding attractions.[9] A recent study by the Danish architects Urland confirms Møller's observations, while it also shows that the "backside" of shrinking towns and villages is today almost everywhere and not only in a "rotten banana" along Denmark's west coast. Rather than fighting population decline by making rural areas

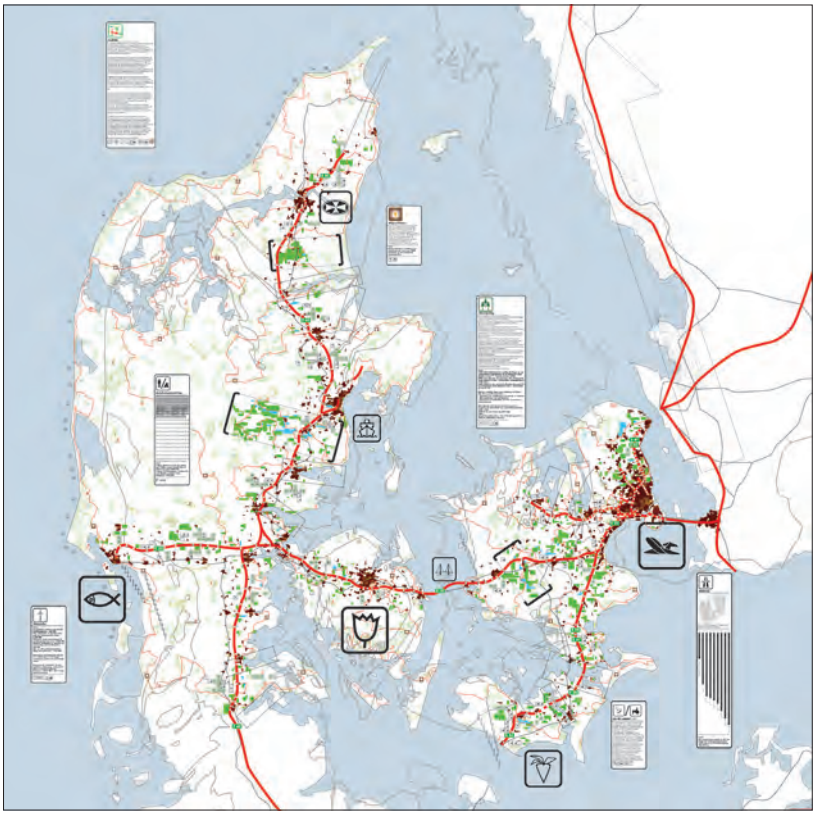

Figure 1. The H-City follows the H-shaped outline of the Danish motorway network.
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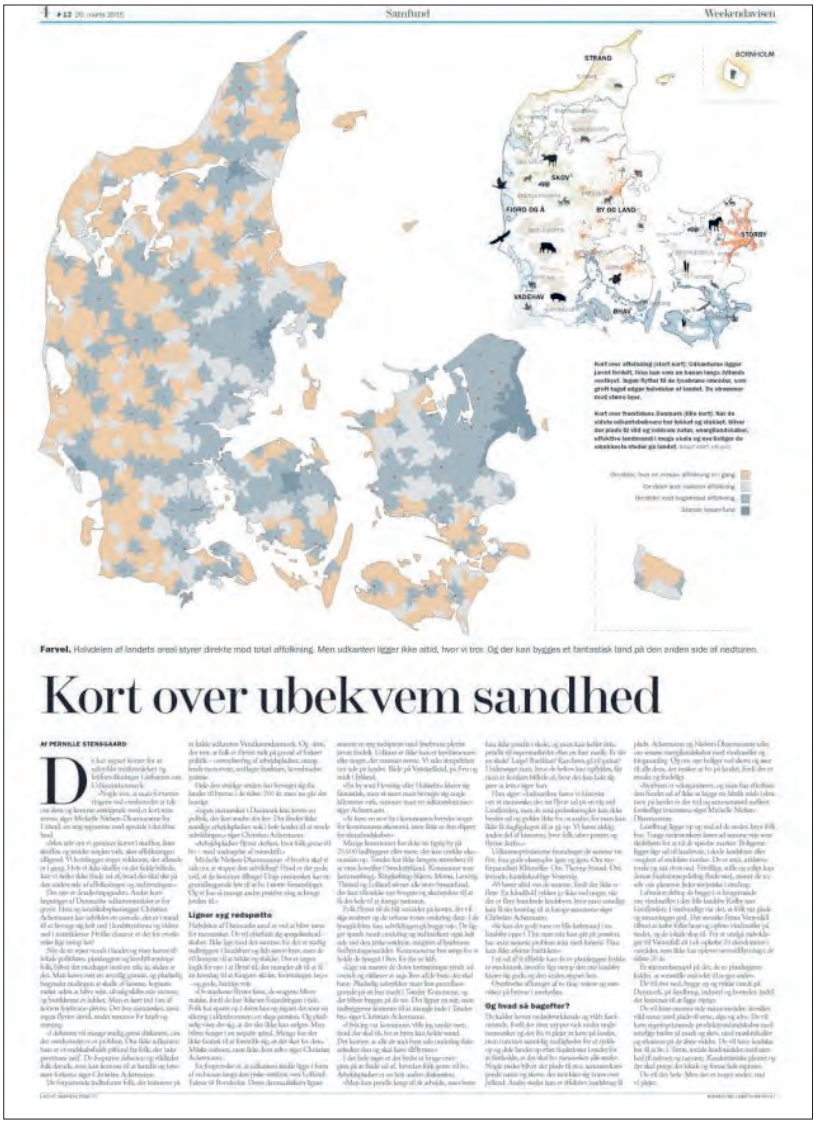

Figure 2. A map on depopulation in Denmark (left) shows that no one is moving to the light-brown areas which are shrinking rapidly in population; light-grey areas are risking depopulation; medium-grey areas are experiencing limited population decrease; while only the biggest cities are still growing in population. Urland's vision for future development in shrinking areas (right): nature development, tourism, and large-scale agriculture industry. © Urland

more urban, Urland proposes nature development, tourism, efficient agriculture, and new housing in the most beautiful places to create "living rural landscapes" (Figure 2).[10]

Urland's radical rural development vision mirrors and completes Transform's vision for future urban development. At the same time, it reflects a new territorial approach to spatial development in shrinking rural areas. The new rural paradigm in European rural policy involves a move away from agricultural subsidies towards strategic investments utilizing local strengths and opportunities.[11] This policy shift has also influenced Danish rural policies[12] and stimulated new place-based and project-oriented approaches to spatial development in shrinking rural areas.

Several major Danish planning initiatives, for example, Yderområder på forkant (Peripheral Areas Ahead!), Mulighedernes Land (Land of Opportunities), and Stedet Tæller (Place Counts), which involve many municipalities and projects, show that spatial development in shrinking rural areas is increasingly considered a transformation task. Adaptation and innovation of the existing built environment plays an important role in order to adjust to structural economic change, demographic change, and new ways of life in rural areas. At the same time, more and more development projects are carried out as "strategic spatial projects", the overall idea of which is to steer spatial development in a desired direction through focused physical and programmatic interventions.

The new focus on transformation of the existing built environment through strategic spatial projects places the architectural professions in a central position with regard to the development of shrinking rural areas. At the same time, questions about how to activate place-based resources, qualities, and potential for strategic purposes require new ways of architectural thinking. When conceived as a strategic means, form becomes more important for what it does than for how it looks, i.e. for its transformative capacities over time and in a larger spatial context. In turn, strategic design requires new design methods and, ultimately, new design education methods. It includes the formulation of a design problem and the delimitation of areas for design intervention based on an evaluation of present resources, challenges, and potential. Site analysis thus becomes the first and maybe the most important step in the design process.[14] This requires more research-oriented design methods. It does not, however, devalue designerly creativity. Design prob-

lems are "wicked problems", i.e. problems which cannot be solved in a linear way.[15] Because each local situation is unique, socially contested, and constantly changing in relation to many factors at multiple scales, formulating a design problem is interconnected with the process of its solution. Not even the most comprehensive analysis is thus capable of generating an objectively correct design problem, in the sense of knowing what distinguishes a desired condition from an observed condition. But when conducted as an integrated creative process – such as the working hypothesis of this article – site analysis and design can explore and make local development possibilities probable.

Based on teaching experiences in landscape architecture education at the University of Copenhagen, this article proposes working with strategic design in declining rural areas as a *translation* process of observed site conditions into future site conditions. Guided by actor-network theory, the Transformation Studio explores possible future landscapes in shrinking rural areas in collaboration with practice partners and local actors. Based on fieldwork the students define their own design problem and delimit sites for intervention on the basis of which they develop strategic open space projects.

Centred on teaching experiences from the first Transformation Studio in Thisted in 2014, this article outlines an operational framework for strategic design based on actor-network theory, presents the applied educational procedure and teaching results, discusses the main findings from this studio, and concludes with some further development perspectives.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK – TRANSLATION

With actor-network theory (ANT), we can conceive of strategic design as a *translation* process. Translation, also called an ANT-account, is a method of describing how complex connections between human and non-human actors are constructed for a certain purpose.[16] At the same time, it is a metaphor for research and innovation practitioners' ways of working. According to actor-network theory, new knowledge or technology is not invented ex nihilo; it is revealed by translating "matters of fact", that is, the researchers' raw findings, into "matters of concern" in the form of interpretative representations, the so-called inscription devices, which can be text, tables, maps, et cetera.[17]

Originally developed for studying research and technological innovation processes, actor-network theory is being increasingly used in urban studies[18] and in design research.[19]

A Relational Understanding of Site, Context, and Scale

First of all, actor-network theory provides a relational understanding of site, context, and scale. A site can be grasped as dynamic connections between human and non-human actors; people, their activities and desires, built structures, landscape features, climatic conditions, et cetera, mutually affect each other by interaction. In this way, they gather into constantly changing interdependent *actor-networks*. For actor-network theory, "any *thing* that does modify a state of affairs is an actor".[20] *Agency* – the capacity to act in the world – is thus not limited to intentional human action, but any person, idea, or thing can be a site actor. Precisely because it equally perceives things as agents of change, actor-network theory provides a suitable framework for strategic design.

Understanding a site relationally as dynamic human and non-human actor-networks effectively links considerations on physical structures with considerations on natural and sociocultural processes. This view also implies a relational understanding of context and scale: each site relates to its surroundings in terms of the reaches of present actors' interaction; a bus stop, for example, is part of a larger transport system, just as a creek is part of a larger water network. This process-based understanding of context makes it possible to study and design a given site across different scales: locally, regionally, and globally. In conclusion, actor-network theory directs architects'

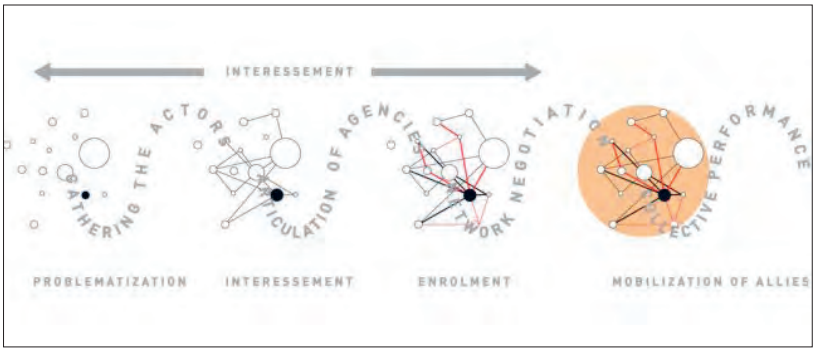

Figure 3. Strategic design as translation: the diagram shows how a project (the black dot) develops from the first design hypothesis to the realized project by assembling human and non-human actors (the black circles) until a constraining actor-network has been built.
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attention to the effects of interaction between human and non-human site actors. Throughout a translation process, these effects of interactions are both studied and translated into future possible interactions.[21]

Decisive Moments of Translation

ANT-scholar Michel Callon defined four decisive "moments" of a translation process: problematization, interessement, enrolment, and mobilization of allies,[22] which are here applied to a strategic design process (Figure 3).

The first decisive moment in a translation process is the *problematization* of the task at hand. Here, the design problem, or rather series of negotiable hypotheses about present challenges and development opportunities, is formulated. At the same time, this preliminary problem formulation defines a set of human and non-human actors who are concerned with the problem. In this way, the formulated design hypotheses start gathering the actors who are going to make part of the design project.

The second moment, *interessement*, encompasses the activities "which an entity carries out in order to impose and stabilize the identity of the other actors it defines through its problematization".[23] In a strategic design process, this means focused site evaluation in light of the formulated design hypothesis and development of ideas. Hereby, the production of so-called "inscription devices" plays a vital role.[24] Maps, diagrams, and models enable the transfer of findings from the fieldwork situation to the architect's drawing board. At the same time, they are the tools through which she translates her findings into project ideas. They are *descriptive* instruments that account for observed interactions, while they are also *prescriptive* instruments that suggest possible future interactions between actors who are concerned with the formulated design hypotheses.[25] The goal of interessement activities is twofold. First, they should confirm the validity of the established design hypotheses and the actors implied by this hypothesis: the more productive connections between the gathered actors one can describe and thus make probable, the more valid one's hypotheses become. In doing so, they should, second, "enrol" the gathered actors to work for the projected task. Successful interessement thus finalizes problematization, while at the same time achieving *enrolment*.

The third moment, *enrolment*, "designates the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them".[26] In a strategic design process, this will be a concrete design proposal with a clearly defined set of architectural interventions and involved site-actors.

The fourth and final moment of translation, *mobilization of allies*, rarely occurs in the context of academic education. It is achieved when the proposed interventions are implemented and all the gathered actors are made to act as one actor-network.

This model is of course simplified. In strategic design practice, a translation process rather takes on the character of an iterative, recursive process. By working alternately with site analysis and project development throughout the design process, project ideas are tested, gradually unfolded, and concretized, while areas for intervention are delimited and physical and programmatic interventions are defined. At the same time, the actors necessary to realize the projected tasks are gathered and committed to the project. Akrich et al. have shown that the interessement activities, which link problematization to enrolment, are central to successful innovation strategies.[27]

Guidelines for a Strategic Design Process

A translation model provides a number of guidelines for a strategic design process. First, it establishes a clear relationship between project development and the construction of human and non-human actor-networks. The key to creative site analysis is to follow the actors gathered by the initial design hypothesis and to carefully study and map their *controversies* with other actors, i.e. the differences, traces, and transformations they produce through interaction.[28] In strategic design we are particularly interested in spatial controversies, for example, the effects of recent and ongoing physical transformations, emerging new activities and uses, conflicts of interest, and ideas or desires for future development.

Second, translation links site analysis to the formulation of a design problem by perceiving and articulating existing and possible relationships between site actors. Therefore, it is important to conceive of designerly inscription devices – diagrams, models, maps, et cetera – as both descriptive and prescriptive representational tools.

Third, translation opens up for new ways of critically assessing design ideas: the more productive interactions between gathered actors one can make probable in relation to the projected task, the more convincing the design idea. This assessment approach has the advantage of being transparent, rigorous, and suitable for both evaluative and assertive assessment. By retracing and discussing the observations, analyses, and hypotheses on which a design proposal is based, it is not only possible to distinguish more from less rele-

vant problematizations of a given site, but also to revise or further articulate possible interactions, and to integrate new interests or insights throughout the working process.

THE TRANSFORMATION STUDIO IN THISTED

The first Transformation Studio took place over nine weeks from February to April 2014, with twenty-three international students from different educational backgrounds ranging from landscape architecture to architecture, urban design, and urban planning. Working with Thisted, the task was to develop open space projects in rural areas that preserve and unfold place-based qualities and potential in a shrinking rural municipality. In this way, projects should aim at contributing to the positive development of living conditions in the rural areas. The success criteria were not necessarily economic, nor related to population growth. Rather, projects were meant to support, communicate, and strengthen existing qualities for the benefit of locals and visitors.

Thisted was chosen as a setting for the course for the following reasons: from 2007–12 the municipality had conducted the above-mentioned strategic planning initiative *Land of Opportunities*, which led to a number of physical transformation projects which have stimulated new activities and uses, along with new ideas and desires for future development. These recent and ongoing changes appeared to be a pertinent starting point for a translation approach to strategic design. Moreover, working with Thisted facilitated the linking of the course to a current research project on place-based strategic planning in peripheral rural areas, where Land of Opportunities in Thisted is a central case. On a practical level, this provided prior site knowledge and not least contact with municipal planners, local experts, and actors who are involved in current development projects. This practical knowledge was valuable for setting up the fieldwork. Also, the course facilitated the testing of methodological ideas developed in the research project and, in particular, the development of strategic projects as a continuation of the previous planning initiative.

The Study Site: Thisted Municipality

Thisted municipality is located on the western periphery of Denmark and is bordered by the Limfjord and the North Sea (Figure 4). The municipality has about 44,000 inhabitants and a surface area of 1,069 km^2.[29]

Figure 4. Thisted municipality in Denmark. © Realdania

Thisted is one of the peripheral rural areas in Denmark that is challenged by population decline, falling house prices, vacant buildings, and difficulty in attracting people with special competencies, for example doctors. However, Thisted also has distinct potential: long coastal stretches with exceptional wave conditions for windsurfing and unique nature, including the recently established Thy National Park.[30]

A Sequel to *Land of Opportunities*

The studio project was called *Land of Opportunities II Thisted* because it followed up on a series of strategic projects that were realized through the previous municipal planning initiative, *Land of Opportunities*. Two strategic development themes, which stand out from these projects, guided the work:

(1) "The Good Life at the Seaside" aimed to develop tourism based on the unique wave conditions along the Thy North Sea coast. Initially considered as an obstacle to fishing, these wave conditions have, since the 1980s, become increasingly recognized as an asset for surfing. The coastal stretch from Hanstholm to Agger Tange even received the nickname "Cold Hawaii".[31] *Land of Opportunities* worked with three surfing top spots identified by the local surfing community and resulted in small-scale architectural interventions around piers and landing places in Klitmøller, Nørre Vorupør, and Krik.

(2) "Clearing Up and New Life in Vacant Buildings" dealt with the increasing number of vacant and derelict buildings in many villages and in the open countryside. Through *Land of Opportunities*, the municipality developed the so-called Thisted model. Together with local experts and enthusiasts, the municipality identified and renovated "gold teeth", i.e. buildings worthy of preservation due to their architectural, historical, or environmental value for the local community, while they identified and demolished "rotten teeth", i.e. derelict buildings.[32]

With a starting point in these two strategic development themes, the students were asked to explore opportunities for:

- Further developing areas where *Land of Opportunities* had previously realized local projects.
- Identifying and developing new sites with potential to follow up on the strategic themes.

Syllabus and Organization of the Design Studio

Based on the above-outlined conceptual framework, the studio was orchestrated in three phases – fieldwork (8 days), programming (2 weeks), and design (4 weeks) – striving to achieve the decisive moments of problematization, interessement, and enrolment at the end of each phase. All in all, there were eight weeks of full-time project work.

Each phase resulted in the delivery of one or several products (maps, models, diagrams, etc.). As a final result, the students handed in a poster presentation of their project, including site evaluation, design brief, and proposed design interventions, which they presented individually in an oral exam of about fifteen minutes. Moreover, the students produced a print version of their project for a joint publication,[33] which was sent to our collaborators in Thisted and other people who had contributed to the course.

Throughout the course, the students worked in six groups of three to four students. Two teachers accompanied the fieldwork and conducted supervision on a regular basis. The fieldwork was supported by municipal planners, local experts and enthusiasts, while a tutor helped with logistics. The programming phase was prepared and conducted together with guest professor Andrea Kahn, adjunct professor in urban planning at Columbia University, New York. In the design phase, guest critics participated in weekly project pinups and in the final project presentation.

Fieldwork: Making First Design Hypotheses

After a brief introduction to the project, the conceptual framework of translation and the fieldwork method, we spent a week with fieldwork in Thisted. On the first day, the whole class was given a guided tour of all the projects realized through *Land of Opportunities* by two municipal planners. Inspired by the work of the French urbanists Bazar Urbain, the next two days were structured around two thematic *transects*, i.e. physical crossings of the territory.[34] Each student group individually investigated a roughly predefined route which resonated with either the strategic theme "The Good Life at the Seaside" or "Clearing Up and New Life in Vacant Buildings" The students moved around by car and on foot. In parallel with the fieldwork, they investigated current policies, plans, and projects along their route.

The aim of these transects was to identify catalytic situations for new interventions; that is, situations which were likely to stimulate positive change. Based on actor-network theory, the teachers expected that studying spatial controversies would be a key to identifying such situations. Therefore, the students were asked to pay particular attention to recent physical changes, new activities and uses, conflicts of interest, and ideas and desires for future changes.

Concretely, they worked with on-site interviews and observations along the prescribed route. Each student group conducted one or two prearranged interviews with local actors in *Land of Opportunities* projects or related projects. In addition, each group conducted three to eight spontaneous interviews with people they met "on the road". Here, the students used a map of Thisted to talk about people's daily routes, challenges, and pleasures in everyday life, and the places that meant something special to them. While the prearranged interviews provided information on ongoing spatial controversies and established knowledge on local resources and potential, the spontaneous

interviews contributed insight into a variety of people's everyday life routes and routines and perceived place-based qualities.

Observations along the route focused on three types of situation on all scales: (1) Inside | outside, i.e. spatial transitions from one place to another; (2) front | back, i.e. usages and activities that occur "behind the scenes"; and (3) above | below; i.e. how infrastructural networks and services, which are often invisible "below" a situation, affect activities "above", for example, how a bus stop connects places and people.

Based on the transects, all the groups that had worked with one thematic route mapped their findings on a common map of their route, identified catalytic situations, and formulated initial development visions and project ideas.

Most of the identified catalytic situations corresponded to locations of *Land of Opportunities* projects or related projects or to locations with similar challenges or potential, for example, areas that were equally challenged by vacant buildings or located by the seaside. Also, the first project ideas were clearly inspired by the two strategic themes that had emerged from *Land of Opportunities*, and more concretely by the local projects, or by follow-up project ideas formulated by the local communities, for example, developing further surf spots or working with the demolition or reuse of vacant buildings and empty lots. However, where the previous projects had focused entirely on village development, the students also looked for development possibilities in the open landscape. On the whole, the thematic transects provided the students with roughly delimited relevant project sites and preliminary design hypotheses.

The last two days of fieldwork were spent with focused site evaluation of identified catalytic situations based on the students' first design hypotheses. In addition, the students had the opportunity to conduct prearranged interviews with a number of local experts on cultural heritage and the development of Thy National Park and the municipal coordinator of bottom-up rural development projects.

Programming: From Inventory to Intervention

Back at the drawing boards in Copenhagen, the next task was to translate the fieldwork findings into a more specified design vision, delimit sites for

intervention, and define concrete interventions. To support this process, we conducted a two-week programming workshop that alternated between the production of inscription devices (diagrams, models, and text) and reflective conversations in plenum focusing subsequently on the where, what, and how of the students' individual design problem.

Throughout these conversations, we – teachers and students – discussed the message or story communicated by the presented models and diagrams: What does a certain way of representing findings tell us about an – as yet unarticulated – design vision? Also, we questioned different representational possibilities and productive communicative gaps between different media: What can, for example, be expressed in a model that cannot be expressed in a diagram and vice versa? What different things did you learn by making the diagram and the model ? Through these questions, we gradually clarified the development potential of the selected sites (where) and shifted the focus towards design visions and intentions (what) and through which design interventions the students wanted to achieve theses intentions (how).

The students' feedback on the workshop was mostly positive. Although only some students had managed to achieve a comprehensive design problem formulation, all the students felt that they had benefited from the clear progression of the workshop from site evaluation to design vision, and finally to design interventions. Furthermore, they expressed that the focus on how to represent analytical findings and design ideas had been productive for them. Several students stressed how shifting the media of representation between diagrams, text, and models had helped them in the programming process. The plenum conversations had made them aware of the specific representational potential of each medium for conceptual abstraction, storytelling, and expressing the tangible qualities of the site, respectively. Each medium allowed them to articulate a design hypothesis from a slightly different angle and thus helped them to qualify design ideas. Finally, several students said that the focused conversations about selected representations – what they conveyed or failed to convey, and, in particular, what a certain way of representing things can say about as of yet unarticulated design ideas – had been very stimulating.

In the last four weeks, the students elaborated a strategic project proposal guided by weekly supervision at the drawing board. Each week concluded with a project pinup with external critics from different professional back-

grounds in cultural geography, landscape architecture, or urban planning. The aim of this was: (1) to force the students to communicate their project as a design-based answer to identified local challenges and development potential; (2) to provide the students with different types of feedback and questions on their projects. For the whole design phase, several student groups stayed in touch with the municipal planners or local enthusiasts they had interviewed in Thisted, while others contacted new local experts or actors. In this way, the students kept introducing new insights to their projects until the final hand-in.

Project Results and Feedback from the Students

By the end of the course, all student groups had developed a clear problem formulation and design-based answers to the formulated design problem, albeit to varying degrees of complexity and elaboration.

The six strategic projects that resulted from the course present a broad spectrum of design interventions ranging from temporary textile shelters in a new surf spot to large-scale landscape design. While the strategic starting point in either the theme "The Good Life at the Seaside" or "Clearing Up and New Life in Vacant Buildings" is still recognizable in all projects, several projects expand on and specify their theme considerably. *Living with Water*, for example, proposes using the rising sea level for the production of oysters and innovative urban development in a unique water landscape in an around

Figure 5. Living with Water: oysters' farmers in the harbour of Agger. © Marie Navntoft Jacobsen, Melissa Elisabeth Svendson, Sofie Stilling, Maxime Cloarec

Figure 6. Connecting the Inland: a new shelter from material reclaimed from demolished buildings in Morup Mølle. © Søren Lahn Christensen, Ida Kirkegaard Christensen, Ina Rønneberg Devik, Bettina Erika Tógyer

Agger, thus defining new ways for the good life at the seaside (Figure 5). Another project aims to better connect the declining inland to the National Park and the North Sea coast; *Connecting the Inland* proposes facilitating and strengthening outdoor recreation along inland creeks and lakes, among other things by building new iconic shelters from material reclaimed from demolished buildings in hands-on construction workshops with design students and local enthusiasts (Figure 6). A third project aims to strengthen *Green Living* in relation to energy production and collaborative nature management, such as by creating a public observation platform for Denmark's largest windmills at the Østerild test centre (Figure 7).

On the whole, the students evaluated the course very positively. Almost all students found that they had achieved the aspired competencies, including the formulating of a design problem based on site evaluation. Also, they experienced good cohesion among the individual course elements and found the provided teaching material relevant. While most of the students had invested more working hours than scheduled, only few students considered the workload to be much exaggerated. In addition, the students commended some aspects that they particularly appreciated, while they also proposed a few improvements. For the purposes of this article, it is especially relevant that many students praised the fieldwork, the possibility for independent project development on a large scale, and the programming workshop. Several students highlighted the "freedom to develop adequate representation

Figure 7. Green Living: view from the public observation platform for the windmills at the Østerild test centre. © Mette Camilla Brøndberg Holst, Signe Lilleskov Nielsen, Jannik Nagle Mikkelsen, Cinta Gomez Martinez

forms for our project" and working with text and "storytelling" as a design tool. As regards improvements, the students recommended the inclusion of more "theoretical lectures" and presentations of examples of strategic design by practitioners.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This article set out to explore how strategic design can work with "the backside of urban mobility". Teaching experiences in landscape architecture education at the University of Copenhagen unfolded strategic design in declining rural areas as a translation process of observed site conditions into future site conditions. What can the findings from these teaching experiences contribute to the development of new design and design education methods? What worked well, what did not, and what could serve as further development perspectives?

Guided by actor-network theory, the Transformation Studio was set up as a translation process – starting from the study of spatial controversies and the development of first design hypotheses by fieldwork in a large-scale study area, to the formulation of a design problem for a selected site by mapping and interpreting fieldwork findings, to the design of strategic open space projects as an answer to the formulated design problem.

On the whole, actor-network theory provided an operational framework for structuring the course syllabus, formulating learning goals, designing concrete teaching-learning activities, and assessing teaching results. Specifically actor-network theory informed the design of the fieldwork and the programming workshop. Therefore, these two course elements will be examined more closely.

Mapping Spatial Controversies as a Key to Creative Site Analysis

During the course, we used a previous strategic planning initiative as a starting point for fieldwork. The locations of these projects, of similar projects, and more generally the two strategic themes that had emerged from the previous initiative provided the students with a roughly defined route for a thematic transect of the study area.

Along this route, the students focused specifically on physical transformations, new activities and uses, conflicts of interest, and new ideas and desires that had emerged from recently implemented local projects. Studying these spatial controversies through on-site observations and interviews enabled the students to identify catalytic sites for new open space projects and to formulate first site-specific design hypotheses. In particular, the actor-networks of people who had been engaged in the previous planning process, their local knowledge of resources and potential, and their ideas for future projects provided the students with stepping stones for a more focused site evaluation and a direction for developing new strategic open space projects.

Using spatial controversies that had emerged from a previous planning initiative as a starting point for development in general worked very well with regard to initiating site analysis and design as an integrated, creative process. While the first design hypotheses that were developed during the fieldwork were very close to the project ideas and strategic visions of the studied initiative, the final projects transformed and expanded their initial hypothesis considerably. In conclusion, studying and mapping spatial controversies

from recent projects can be a pertinent starting point for formulating new site-specific design problems.

Focus on Programming as a Clearly Defined Course Element

The course element dedicated to programming, that is, to the development of a site-specific design problem, proved to be a success, albeit with some drawbacks.

Guided by actor-network theory, the students used the production of inscription devices to translate findings from the fieldwork into specified design visions, delimit project sites, and define design interventions. Through the use of different media including diagrams, conceptual models, and storytelling (text), they had to formulate their individual design problem. The programming phase was divided into three smaller assignments that focused subsequently on the identified development potential of the selected site (where), the design vision (what), and the proposed interventions to achieve the design vision (how). Each assignment concluded with a conversation in plenum. During these conversations, we focused specifically on the capacity of the different media to interpret fieldwork findings and thus link site analysis to project development.

At the end of the programming phase, many students had not achieved a complete problem formulation. However, despite not having attained the intended result within the expected time frame, using different types of representations with a successive focus on different aspects of the problem formulation had a good learning effect on the students. The focused conversations about selected representations provided precise feedback and enabled the students to move forward in the translation process. The students' immediate feedback on the programming workshop showed that they had achieved increased awareness of the different interpretative capacities of different media and how to use them for creative site analysis, while the course evaluation confirmed that the students considered the programming workshop to be a vital course element. Finally, all students achieved a clear problem formulation and design-based answers at the end of the course. On the whole, the programming workshop thus did achieve many of the aspired learning outcomes, although it did not achieve the expected product.

Further Development Perspectives

In the case of the discussed design studio, the teachers provided the strategic themes, roughly defined the routes for thematic transects, and prearranged a number of interviews. For didactic and logistical reasons, this seemed the best way to do it. The didactic idea was to focus on the design process from the fieldwork to the design proposal, and the students had only eight weeks for the entire process. However, with more time, this preparatory work could also be conducted by the students as part of the course. This might also enhance the students' conceptual understanding of a translation approach.

This article has presented a recently completed planning initiative as the starting point for approaching creative site analysis and developing new strategic design projects. However, the resulting student work can also be seen as a strategic evaluation of the earlier planning initiative and will be used as empirical evidence for an ongoing research project on place-based strategic planning in peripheral rural areas. The student work shows that projects which build on the effects of previous architectural interventions can contribute strategic knowledge to further develop acknowledged visions and development themes. They can also reveal new development opportunities that may modify or create new strategic visions and development themes. The municipal planners in Thisted have, for example, acknowledged the students' ideas for an observation platform at the Østerild windmill test centre as inspiration for a forthcoming architecture competition.[35] In a broader perspective, this type of design studio thus offers possibilities for combining architectural education, research, and practice that can contribute to all three fields.

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MOBILITIES DESIGN: ON THE WAY THROUGH UNHEEDED MOBILITIES SPACES

Ditte Bendix Lanng, Simon Wind, and Ole B. Jensen

ABSTRACT

Mobilities comprise a large part of our world and everyday lives, and the mobilities spaces in which we travel are ubiquitous. Yet, ordinary mobilities spaces – such as parking lots, pedestrian tunnels, and road lay-bys – tend to be criticized as typologies that lack consideration for the people who use them and for their wider social, aesthetic, cultural, and ecological agency in the city. This is clearly not an unambiguous characterization. But from it follows an urgency to re-examine unheeded mobilities spaces and extend demands of their agency beyond standards of technical efficiency.

This article draws on the recent "mobilities turn" in social science to support such re-examination of mobilities spaces. In social-scientific mobilities research, mobilities are considered the departure point for understanding the socio-material world in which we live. Mobilities are regarded as far more than utilitarian transport from A to B; they constitute a rich societal phenomenon with, for example, social, cultural, sensorial, emotional, and material dimensions.

The article proposes two fruitful links between the mobilities turn and the designerly examination of mobilities spaces. First, the mobilities turn is a relevant field of knowledge for urban design, because of its focus on a nuanced conceptualization of the daily journeys that we all undertake in mobilities spaces. Second, the mobilities turn aids a theoretical "mobilization" of the design of mobilities spaces with a point of departure in a fused theory field with particular attention to actor-network theory (ANT), which offers tools to understand the embeddedness of mobilities spaces in hybrid and dynamic relationships.

Through these linkages between the mobilities turn and urban design, the article suggests a pathway for a carefully radical rethinking of mobilities spaces

as open socio-material hybrids in the midst of fluid and diverse mobilities. This rethinking seeks to invigorate the hybrid quality of mobilities spaces as they are both social and technical, society and transport, human and material at the same time. In doing so it calls for urban designers and architects to address mobilities spaces in relation not only to technical demands, but also to the wide host of social, cultural, political, economic, and affective formations in which they are embedded and which they influence.

KEYWORDS
Mobilities design, urban design, movement, users, actor-network theory

INTRODUCTION

The worst place after midnight
is the vast path systems of the suburbs
that connect the sparkling housing blocks
and in this very moment they are always oddly empty
even though you feel acutely
that somebody was here a moment ago
and that in a moment you will hear footsteps behind your back.
—Søren Ulrik Thomsen, 2002[1]

Undoubtedly, many alienating experiences occur in the places through which we move in our everyday lives. The above excerpt from Søren Ulrik Thomsen's poem points to suburban path systems as one example. But suburban path systems are not the only mobilities spaces which are criticized as typologies that lack consideration for the people who use them. Such mobilities spaces are for instance the parking lot next to the sports centre, the pedestrian tunnel under the busy ring road, the train station platform, the main road lay-by, and the road crossing. Such spaces are, in some instances, characterized as "non-places".[2] This is clearly not an unambiguous characterization. But from it follows a sense of potential for design improvements of mundane mobilities spaces for the many people who travel there on a daily basis. Architect and Professor Elizabeth Mossop points to this potential of re-examining fragmented and disconnected mobilities spaces and asserts demands on their agency:

> In the course of the twentieth century we have seen the increasing standardization of infrastructural systems as they meet higher standards of technical efficiency. The ubiquitous urban environments have been con-

> sidered and evaluated solely on technical criteria and somehow exempted from having to function socially, aesthetically, or ecologically . . . a reexamination of infrastructural spaces involves the recognition that all types of space are valuable, not just the privileged spaces of more traditional parks and squares, and they must therefore be inhabitable in a meaningful way. This requires the rethinking of the mono-functional realm of infrastructure and its rescue from the limbo of urban devastation to recognize its role as a part of the formal inhabited city: mundane parking facilities, difficult spaces under elevated roads, complex transit interchanges, and landscapes generated by waste processes.[3]

Mobilities comprise a large part of our world and everyday lives, and the mobilities spaces in which we travel are ubiquitous. Each Dane spends an average of fifty-two minutes in transit every day and moves almost forty kilometres in public and private mobilities spaces.[4] Still, mobilities spaces tend to be disregarded in the sense that our vocabulary for mobilities is limited and coarse.[5] Furthermore, the organization and design of these spaces tend to be primarily a technical issue for traffic engineers and planners to tackle, and safe and efficient traffic is typically considered the predominant important matter to solve. Whereas those built environments and urban spaces that we appreciate succeed in offering us experiences in accommodating atmospheres and in texture and tactility, the spatial and aesthetic qualities as well as the wider effects of mobilities spaces tend to remain underdeveloped. The potential for demanding more of mobilities spaces is apparent, and, as architect and professor Stan Allen asserts, there is a need for "a new mindset that might see the design of infrastructure not as simply performing to minimum engineering standards, but as capable of triggering complex and unpredictable urban effects in excess of its designed capacity".[6]

During the last ten to fifteen years social science has engaged in a "mobilities turn",[7] which can contribute to this new "mindset". Here mobilities are considered the departure point for understanding the socio-material world and society in which we live. Mobilities are regarded as more than utilitarian transport from A to B; mobilities constitute a rich phenomenon with social, cultural, sensorial, emotional, and material dimensions, and it is argued that we need to qualify our understanding of transport and work towards a hybrid analysis of mobilities as simultaneously "transport" and "society". Sociologist John Urry exemplified this as he wrote: "There is we might say too much transport in the study of travel and not enough society and certainly not

enough thinking through their complex intersecting processes."[8] The mobilities turn can contribute to the above-mentioned mindset for the design of mundane mobilities spaces by infusing urban design with cross-disciplinary ontological and analytical perspectives, theoretical conceptualization, and methodical tools. We term this cross-disciplinary field "mobilities design".[9] Regarding mobilities as a relational, vibrant, socio-material, affective, and ambiguous research object allows architects and urban designers to focus attention on questions such as what mobilities spaces can do, what they offer, the potentials they have, and how these potentials can be supported by design.

In this article we propose two fruitful linkages between social science mobilities research and urban design. First we introduce how the mobilities turn comprises a relevant field of knowledge for urban design, with a focus on the nuanced conceptualization of the daily journeys that we all undertake in mobilities spaces. Next we point to a theoretical "mobilization" of the design of mobilities spaces with a point of departure in the hybrid theory field of mobilities research and with particular attention to actor-network theory (ANT), which, with an interest in "relational materiality" and non-human actors, offers tools to understand the embeddedness of mobilities spaces in hybrid and dynamic relationships. We conclude the paper by summarizing five suggestions for further work by elaborating mobilities design as a useful approach to the design of mobilities spaces.

MOBILITIES RESEARCH AS A RELEVANT FIELD OF KNOWLEDGE FOR URBAN DESIGN

Mobility implies more than mere movement: fresh stimulation, an increase in number and intensity of stimulants, and a tendency to respond more readily to new stimulation. The process by which the city absorbs and incorporates its own offspring or foreign elements into its life, and what becomes of them, may be referred to as the metabolism of city life. Mobility is an index of metabolism.[10]

Almost 100 years ago, Robert Park and Ernest Burgess, from the Chicago School, advocated that mobilities are more than just physical movement. They understood mobilities as an important aspect of the life of the city, its "metabolism", and human social interactions. Within the mobilities turn, which has taken root in disciplines across the social sciences (particularly in sociology and human geography), a non-reducing and "critical" conception

of mobilities as a diverse and ambiguous phenomenon is invigorated.[11] The basic idea of mobilities research can crudely be summarized in the phrase "mobilities is more than A to B".[12] This means that mobilities should not only be conceived as a utilitarian and practical phenomenon, but also as an ambiguous phenomenon that possesses multiple meanings and connotations and touches upon a multitude of political, social, cultural, economic, sensorial, emotional, and material dimensions.[13]

Imagine an ordinary journey in your everyday life, such as taking the train to work or cycling with the kids to soccer practice. Surely these journeys are about reaching a destination, but mobilities studies also show that while we are on our way we carry out multiple activities, such as being together, building and maintaining relationships, learning, checking e-mails, reading the newspaper and relaxing to music, learning, having shared experiences and quality time, et cetera, all of which surpass a pure utilitarian transport logic.[14] Thus, everyday mobilities are not only about moving swiftly, safely, and effectively from one place to another, but also about the work, socialization, learning, culture-building, experience, play, and relaxation that can take place while we move. Everyday mobilities research proposes that we should not only conceive of transport time as wasted time in which we are passively transported from A to B; on the contrary, transport time is both valuable and meaningful.[15] Hence, mobilities are not only a "stimulus" or "index" for social life, as Park and Burgess emphasized, but also an arena in which everyday life is played out, and in which meaningful and important moments, experiences, and activities take place.

At the macro level this means that much everyday mobility, such as commuting and escorting children, in addition to the flows of goods, things, information, data, and ideas, are important components in complex networks that constitute global society.[16] This network understanding is pervasive in mobilities research. And it is not only society that is continuously produced and reproduced in assemblages of mobilities, but also the material built environment – the tangible spaces and places in which we live and move. Thus, the anthropocentric is juxtaposed with the material – the human with the non-human[17] – and this is exactly where mobilities research can make a substantial contribution to urban design as it seeks to bridge the human (social interaction), movement (dynamic embodied performances), and materiality (the tangible space). A privileged focus on practice is promoted,[18] i.e. the mobile performances and experiences, as the framework for understand-

ing the many – often routinized – interactions of the relationships between travellers, artefacts/systems/technologies, and the built environment. These interactions in mobilities emerge not only in practical negotiations, but also in the affective or emotional management of the mobilities spaces in which we travel:

> whether driving, walking, bus riding, bicycling, or train passengering, each route has its own embodied dispositions, visceral feeling, rhythms and affective resonance. As people string together activity chains, they are not only choosing routes, but also moving between different affective experiences of mobility, and thereby managing their own emotional geographies in relation to places.[19]

Through her choice of route, mode, and artefacts, the traveller negotiates and contextualizes practical and affective conditions for her everyday mobilities. The material environment – the landscape, the motorway, the suburban pathway systems, the train compartment, the newspaper, or the laptop – invites and grants the traveller time and space to relax, play, work, learn, socialize, et cetera. This conception, which will be further elaborated in the following section, makes it possible to shed light on the interplay between, on the one hand, how humans experience, use, and shape their material environments in meaningful ways through movement, and, on the other hand, how the material environment simultaneously influences and "stages" our everyday mobilities.[20] In connection to this point, it is important to underline that it is no simple and causal relationship in which the mobile activities and experiences are determined by the material environment. Rather, mobilities research specifies an immanent openness and creativity in the traveller's production and performance of her mobilities.

This acute focus on the travellers, i.e. the users of the material environments in which mobilities happen, makes the mobilities perspective attractive as a possible analytical approach and field of knowledge for urban design. As a place-making and designing discipline, the subject of matter in urban design is not only the material and functional urban setting, spaces, and landscapes, but the creation of material conditions for human interaction and possibility for shared urban, public life, sensorial and embodied experience, aesthetic and atmospheric tonality, spatial quality, and identity. This ambition necessitates a diminution of the discrepancy between designers' and users' con-

ceptions of the meanings and connotations of places and mobilities.[21] One of the ways to reduce this distance is, as urban designer and professor Jon Lang points out, the cross-disciplinary engagement with humanistic, social, and natural scientific proficiency and knowledge as a central tenet of the urban design discipline.[22]

Moreover, the interdisciplinary precept of mobilities research itself, as well as its "critical mobilities thinking",[23] has potential as a way to accommodate some of the morphological, social, and environmental issues with which urban design struggles. One of the central challenges of urban design is physical development in growing urbanized areas, including the development of solutions to urban problems such as sprawl, placelessness, and loss of public life.[24] Ali Madanipour, in particular, emphasizes that the modernist heritage, the ideal of the functionalist, zoned city, as well as the advent of automobility, have left many urban landscapes in a complex fragmented situation in which urban life and urban quality have difficult conditions.[25] This urban problem calls for urban design not only to consider classical typologies and urban spaces, such as squares, parks, and boulevards in dense urban areas, but also to turn towards the ordinary and unheeded mobilities spaces and leftover spaces, such as roads, bus stops, parking lots, and pathway systems.[26] Stan Allen has suggested an "infrastructural urbanism" as a possible approach to these challenges. With this approach, mobilities spaces are conceived as a diverse typology, which should not only accommodate physical movement but also provide an openness for experiential qualities and life quality.[27]

The inclusive and user-oriented perspective, which we have introduced above, suggests that the mobilities turn offers important pre-understandings and specific knowledge and thereby can actively contribute to a renewed approach to the design of everyday mobilities spaces. If everyday mobilities are more than movement from A to B, then the spaces of these mobilities are also more than functional "non-places" that "shuffle" us across landscapes and cities. As the excerpt of Søren Ulrik Thomsen's poem above demonstrates, these spaces are also arenas for everyday life, for better or worse, and not only for displacement towards the destination. This suggests a pathway for a carefully radical rethinking of mobilities spaces as open hybrids between functional, public, and private spaces that potentially generate and invite social, cultural, and aesthetic experiences and activities on the way.

A THEORETICAL "MOBILIZATION" OF THE DESIGN OF MOBILITIES SPACES

In the previous section we outlined some overall trajectories for the contribution of mobilities research to urban design. With this outset, the section elaborates a theoretical "mobilization" of design with focus on the relational, dynamic, and hybrid materiality of mobilities spaces. Through this, we aim to establish a tentative theoretical orientation for academic work with mobilities design.

Mobilities spaces are used and experienced in many different and alternating ways. Take, for example, an ordinary tunnel passing under a large road. Such a tunnel may be used for travelling from A to B in a safe and efficient way, but it may also be used by passers-by as shelter from wind and rain, or even as a place where you can climb a slope and reach a spot from where you can see and be seen.[28] In spite of their plainness, such examples of situations demonstrate that humans and material environments, which urban designers design, share a multifarious and dynamic world and that there is no static relation between people in movement and the environment through which they travel. Even the ceiling, walls, and other material parts of the aforementioned tunnel take part in diverse and shifting relations with travellers in their collective and creative mobile everyday lives. The variability and unpredictability of these relations advises us to understand and design in ways that are sensitive and responsive to these characteristics.[29]

Thus, the work with mobilities design implies a theoretical mobilization of the materialities of mobilities spaces. We attempt to understand the material, i.e. the walls and ceiling of the tunnel, in accordance with the diverse functional and experiential relations and interactions of mobilities. This conception is tied to contemporary streams of thought in social science, particularly ANT, which has a significant place in the eclectic theoretical landscape of the mobilities turn. These streams contribute to social science with an increased focus on materiality, artefacts, and the production of physical places and objects, and they have the potential to make a fruitful theoretical trajectory for urban design and architecture.[30]

Sociologist Albena Yaneva researches ANT and architecture. She emphasizes the importance of investigating architecture in and among its many relations to the world. We should not isolate architecture when attempting to understand it; rather, we must "seize it as a 'thick' mesh of entanglements, as a cosmology".[31] This is a key to beginning to understand the materialities of

mobilities spaces through their relations. Materiality, such as the unheeded architecture of the tunnel, is not an autonomous, isolated object, and it cannot be understood, or produced, independently of a large host of other significant forces. Architecture, on the contrary, will always be intertwined with a myriad of other "actors". This is no new insight to the discipline of architecture, as architect and scholar Kjetil Fallan points out in his review of the potential of ANT for comprehending architecture.[32] Fallan refers one of ANT's most weighty figures, Bruno Latour,[33] who describes how the architect's daily work includes the acknowledgement that multiple human and non-human "actors" play crucial roles in architectural production, in addition to the architect him- or herself:

> Even if some architects see themselves as God, none would be foolish enough to believe they create ex nihilo. On the contrary, architects' stories of their own achievements are full of little words to explain how they are "led to" a solution, "constrained" by other buildings, "limited" by other interests, "guided by the inner logic of the material", "forced to obey" the necessity of the place, "influenced" by the choices of their colleagues, "held up" by the state of the art, and so on . . . If we become attentive to humbler ways of speaking, this agency shifts from the all powerful master to the many "things", "agents", "actants" with which they have to share action.[34]

Despite this incorporated sense of the relations in which architecture is enmeshed, Fallan proposes that there is a tendency to present architectural work as an autonomous "objet d'art" and to magnify the architect as author of the work. This point has also been made by Albena Yaneva[35] and the architect and scholar Jeremy Till.[36] Both highlight, through the ANT-lens of relational materiality, the importance of understanding the embeddedness of architecture in complex networks, in which many actors – human as well as non-human – are critical for its creation, for its use, and for the conception of it.[37] Thus, the relationality of architecture is, as Fallan stresses, relevant to evoke in regard to the production of architecture (planning, design, construction), and also relevant to the use and communication of architecture. In this section, we focus on the use of architecture and we employ the ANT-lens to approach the capacity of the material environment to "do" something in specific relationships with the users. This can, for instance, contribute to unfolding how mobilities spaces invite or prevent certain interactions, activities, or sensorial experiences.[38]

In other words, ANT appears to have potential as a highly relevant theoretical lens for the performativity of mobilities spaces. With ANT we consider what mobilities spaces "offer" and "do" in relation to other things and with people. Similarly, Allen's aforementioned work on an "infrastructural urbanism" suggests that attention should be directed to the actual agency of infrastructures because this agency is "the site of architecture's contact with the complexity of the real".[39] The understanding of agency in ANT terms derives from an understanding of a general symmetry between the human and the material; it is acknowledged that "dead" things can also be active actors when they are part of networks with other things and people on which they exert some influence:

> *[A]nything* that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor . . . Thus, the question to ask about any agent is simply the following: Does it make a difference in the course of some other agent's action or not?[40]

Through ANT's focus on materialities as active actors in complex interactions with humans, we can begin to understand how material design of mobilities spaces contributes to conditioning and enabling (and sometimes disabling) everyday life mobile situations. In his work with the "staging" of mobilities, which underlies our efforts to articulate the field of mobilities design,[41] Ole B. Jensen focuses on the "mobile situations" where complex relations are played out as interactions between moving people and the material environment of mobilities (in addition to multiple other active actors of any situation, e.g., the weather and mobile phones).[42] Jensen proposed the notion of "mobility affordance"[43] as a concept to denote how materialities facilitate (or restrict) the possibilities for specific forms of mobilities, speeds, routes, activities, social contact, sensorial experiences, et cetera.[44]

In some cases, the materialities of mobilities spaces seem disposed to, for example, *push* us along straight stretches of paths or roads, through corridors or tunnels. In other instances, they *invite* us to stay. And in yet others, they *prevent* us from passing through. With such examples in mind, it is still important to remember that materialities in all instances are embedded in specific situations in which they are used and experienced, and that materialities must be understood in these contexts. An example of this is evident when we consider the gap that sometimes appears in mobilities spaces between the designer's prescribed use and the actual use. An informal pathway in the

verge along a roadway where no one was intended to walk is indication of this, just like the diverse situations in the tunnel, which we described above, also contain creative moments which surpass the designer's intentions. As Fallan states: "even the simplest artefact is continually involved in complex multitasking."[45] Hence, "mobility affordances" should not be conceived as exact and determining prescriptions for behaviour that can be fully controlled by the designer, but more like propensities in specific materialities, which are always part of complex relational situations through which they may be actualized. This is exemplified by Rob Shields in an interview in Ignacio Fariás and Thomas Bender's anthology on ANT in urban studies:

> Affordances are the kind of interactions you can engage in conjunction with a given site or element. For pavement, you can walk on it; you can sit on it; you can drive on it . . . You have to actualize it as this or that. What will it be? It is your choice at any given time. So, in the actualization, people play essential roles. But one should not underestimate the materials: their hardness, their softness, their ability to maintain a shape. All this makes the material a player in a way that is significant, causative, but not causal.[46]

Thus, and in spite of the obvious solidity of materialities of mobilities, e.g. asphalt pavement, the proposition of ANT and "affordances" is that materialities are not only static objects. Rather, materialities of mobilities spaces should be understood through their multiple mobilities – people who traverse, use, and experience these spaces while on the move. Materialities are relational and dynamic, and it is a central dimension to mobilities design to use and develop this "mobilized" perspective to an applicable approach for urban design.

From a broader perspective, this proposition of a "mobilization" of materialities of mobilities spaces concerns the point we raised above: that materialities of mobilities spaces should not only be addressed in relation to rational and technical demands, needs, barriers, and wishes, but also in relation to the wide host of social, cultural, political, economic, and affective formations in which they are embedded and which they influence. In extension of Allen's "infrastructural urbanism", the urban designer and scholar Alexander D'Hooghe argues for the need to move the conception of infrastructures away from "technocratic systems", "logics", and "channels".[47] "Infrastructure-as-technocratic-system" must be localized and objectified to approach

its disconnectedness from the surroundings and its narrow transport function. When we move the conception of infrastructures towards "objects", "artefacts", and "spaces", we can initiate work on the ambiguity and multiplicity of infrastructures, e.g. as public spaces, rather than just "zones of speed", and as places for many mobilities and connections in various directions, rather than just one or a few in the same direction. As his aim with this conception, D'Hooghe identifies a normative potential of infrastructures as cultural and social spaces:

> infrastructures of mobility are the prime candidates to become a public space, or, better yet, a public form that is true and proper to the exigencies and demands of modern society. Such an approach would privilege infrastructure by imposing on it all the demands that culture and the arts usually reserve for themselves but rarely apply to the technocracy that structures the very society in which they operate.[48]

As mentioned in the introduction, our work with mobilities design shares the ambition of contributing to unfolding the potentials of mobilities spaces. With the academic works we have referred to here, we suggest that it is insufficient to conceive of materialities of mobilities spaces through a transport perspective, which approaches them as parts of technocratic systems, as well as an approach to them as artistic-architectural works will not suffice. Instead, it is exactly the hybrid quality of mobilities spaces that may show a path forward: that they are both social and technical, society and transport, human and material at the same time.

CONCLUSION

In accordance with the mobilities turn and its inherent theoretical flow towards ANT, we work with identifying and developing an approach to mobilities design as a research and practice field. We explore how the field can operate within a conception of ordinary architectures of mobilities spaces as socio-material hybrids in the midst of fluid and diverse mobilities. This work is simultaneously theoretical, methodological, and empirical. As mentioned in the introduction, the motivation for urban design is to unfold potentials for ordinary mobilities spaces to perform as more than effective transport infrastructures, i.e. as important public spaces which are part of social and cultural formations. With the approach of mobilities research, key concepts for this design ambition include relationality, hybridity, and dynamics. The nuanced analytical knowledge from mobilities research about complex as-

semblages of mobilities, people, and materialities should be coupled with urban design in applicable concepts and tools. To point in the direction of this coupling, we conclude by drawing attention to five central tenets worthy of further work:

- Mobilities, rather than transport. Mobilities are more than A to B, and mobilities spaces are material environments in which diverse cultural, social, affective, and functional dimensions of daily life play out.

- Hybridity. Mobilities spaces are neither only technocratic systems nor isolated artworks. Rather, they can be conceived as socio-material hybrids that need to be reconnected to social and cultural formations and demands that are central to urban design.

- Relational and "active" materialities. People, mobilities, and materialities of mobilities spaces intersect in specific mobile situations, in which we can understand the "doings" of materialities through relational interactions.

- Dynamic objects. In the relational interactions, the materialities of mobilities spaces are not conceived as static despite their apparent solidity. Instead, the focus is the "agency" of materialities: how activities and experiences on the way can be enabled, invited, or prevented by design of mobilities spaces.

- The affective. Interactions between people, mobilities, and materialities of mobilities spaces are not only practical and functional, but also affective and emotional. Atmospheres and multi-sensorial qualities of mobilities spaces are important dimensions of their agency as more than effective transport infrastructures.

NOTES

[1] Søren Ulrik Thomsen, *Det værste og det bedste* (København: Forlaget Vindrose, 2002), unpaginated, our translation from Danish.

[2] Marc Augé, *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity* (London: Verso, 1995).

[3] Elizabeth Mossop, "Landscapes of Infrastructure", in Charles Waldheim (ed.), *The Landscape Urbanism Reader* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2006), pp. 163–77, esp. p. 171.

[4] TU DATA, "Transportvaneundersøgelsen," 2014, www.modelcenter.transport.dtu.dk/Transportvaneundersoegelsen (9.10.2015).

[5] Ole B. Jensen, *Staging Mobilities* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).

[6] Stan Allen, "Landscape Infrastructures", in Katrina Stoll and Scott Lloyd (eds.), *Infrastructure as Architecture: Designing Composite Networks* (Berlin: jovis Verlag, 2010), pp. 36–45, esp. p. 39.

[7] See, for example, John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for Twenty First Century* (Florence, KY: Routledge, 2000); John Urry, *Mobilities* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007); Tim Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (London: Routledge, 2006); Kevin Hannam, Mimi Sheller, and John Urry, "Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings", *Mobilities* 1/1 (2006), pp. 1–22.

[8] Urry, *Mobilities*, pp. 19–20.

[9] Jensen, *Staging Mobilities*; Ole B. Jensen, *Designing Mobilities* (Aalborg: Aalborg University Press, 2014); Ole B. Jensen and Ditte Bendix Lanng, *Mobilities Design: Urban Designs for Mobile Situations* (London: Routledge, 2017); Ditte Bendix Lanng, *Gesturing Entangled Journeys: Mobilities Design in Aalborg East, Denmark,* PhD dissertation, Aalborg University, Aalborg, 2015; Ditte Bendix Lanng, Henrik Harder, and Ole B. Jensen, "Towards Urban Mobility Designs: *En Route* in the Functional City", in *Artikler fra Trafikdage på Aalborg Universitet* (Proceedings from the Annual Transport Conference at Aalborg University) (Aalborg, 2012).

[10] Robert E: Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment* (Chicago: Midway Reprint, 1925), p. 211.

[11] Jensen, *Staging Mobilities*.

[12] See Cresswell, *On the Move*.

[13] Hannam et al., "Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings"; Urry, *Mobilities;* Peter Adey, *Mobility* (London: Routledge, 2010); Mimi Sheller, "The New Mobilities Paradigm for a Live Sociology," *Current Sociology*, 62/6 (2014), pp. 789–811.

[14] See, for example, Simon Wind, *Making Everyday Mobility: A Qualitative Study of Family Mobility in Copenhagen*, PhD dissertation, Aalborg University, Aalborg, 2014; Phillip Vannini, *Ferry Tales: Mobility, Place, and Time on Canada's West Coast* (New York: Routledge, 2012); Eric Laurier, "Doing Office Work on the Motorway", *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21/4–5 (2004), pp. 261–77.

[15] Jonas Larsen, John Urry, and Kay Axhausen, *Mobilities, Networks, Geographies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Juliet Jain and Glenn Lyons, "The Gift of Travel Time", *Journal of Transport Geography,* 16/2 (2008), pp. 81–89; Laura Watts, "The Art and Craft of Train Travel", *Social & Cultural Geography,* 9/6 (2008), pp. 711–26; Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren, "Routines: Made and Unmade", in Elizabeth Shove, Frank Trentmann and Richard Wilk (eds.), *Time, Consumption and Everyday Life: Practice, Materiality and Culture* (Oxford: Berg, 2009), pp. 99–114.

[16] Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies*; Urry, *Mobilities*.

[17] Hannam et al., "Mobilities, Immobilities and Moorings"; Urry, *Mobilities.*

[18] Cresswell, *On the Move*; Vannini, *Ferry Tales.*

[19] Ole B. Jensen, Mimi Sheller, and Simon Wind, "Together and Apart: Affective Ambiences and Negotiation in Families' Everyday Life and Mobility", *Mobilities*, 10/3 (2015), pp. 363–82, esp. p. 365.

[20] Jensen, *Staging Mobilities.*

[21] Liron Amdur and Marina Epstein-Pliouchtch, "Architects' Places, Users' Places: Place Meanings at the New Central Bus Station, Tel Aviv", *Journal of Urban Design*, 14/2 (2009), pp. 147–61.

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[23] Jensen, *Staging Mobilities.*

[24] Anastasia Loukaitou-Sideris, "Addressing the Challenges of Urban Landscapes: Normative Goals for Urban Design", *Journal of Urban Design,* 17/4 (2012), pp. 467–84.

[25] Ali Madanipour, "Roles and Challenges of Urban Design", *Journal of Urban Design*, 11/2 (2006), pp. 173–93.

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[27] Stan Allen, *Points and Lines: Diagrams and Projects for the City* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999); Allen, "Landscape Infrastructures"; Stoll and Lloyd, *Infrastructure as Architecture.*

[28] Ditte Bendix Lanng, "How does it feel to travel through a tunnel? Designing a mundane transit space in Denmark", *Ambiances [Online], Experimentation – Design – Participation*, online since 15 October 2014, http://ambiances.revues.org/454 (23.10.2014).

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[32] Kjetil Fallan, "Architecture in Action".

[33] See, for example, Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

[34] Bruno Latour, "The Promises of Constructivism", in Don Ihde and Evan Selinger (eds.), *Chasing Technoscience: Matrix for Materiality* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), pp. 27–46, esp. p. 30.

[35] Yaneva, *Mapping Controversies in Architecture*.

[36] Till, *Architecture Depends*.

[37] See also Tietjen, *Towards an Urbanism of Entanglement.*

[38] See Fallan, "Architecture in Action"; Isabelle Doucet and Kenny Cupers, "Agency in Architecture: Reframing Criticality in Theory and Practice", *Footprint*, 4 (2009), pp. 1–6.

[39] Allen, *Points and Lines*, p. 52.

[40] Latour, *Reassembling the Social*, p. 71.

[41] See Jensen and Lanng, *Mobilities Design*.

[42] Jensen, *Designing Mobilities*.

[43] Ibid., p. 120, with reference to environmental psychologist James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (1986; repr., New York: Psychology Press, 2015).

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[45] Fallan, "Architecture in Action", p. 92.

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MOBILE PLACE-MAKING ON AN EVERYDAY URBAN WALKING ROUTE: RHYTHM, ROUTINE, AND EXPERIENCE

Jani Tartia

ABSTRACT

The article takes a closer look at the rhythmic qualities of everyday urban mobilities. The focus is on mobile place-making: how places are produced in and through movement. The research makes use of a set of mixed ethnographic and participatory research methods to examine narratives from within everyday urban mobilities, the research material comprising a set of qualitative data gathered during a series of go-along interviews on habitual and routine walking routes. Drawing from a rhythmanalytical framework, the analysis focuses on different rhythmic habitual practices, materialities, interactions, and experiences. The article examines how people use, make sense of, and give meaning to the urban environment in a temporal and momentary setting of the walk, and how various scales of urban rhythm – both the immediate and the mediate – come into play. The research aims to develop further the understanding of the complex spatiotemporal character of everyday urban spaces.

KEYWORDS

Rhythm, mobility, place, everyday, walking

INTRODUCTION: MAKING PLACES AND RHYTHMS

Notions of cities being in motion and on the move have long been, and still are, commonplace, as motion and movement are seen as a key element of urban life, as the pulse of the city.[1] Cities are understood as the main sites of a global twenty-four-hour society, as nodes of different cultural trends and cycles, and as material and concrete settings for mobile uses of spaces,[2] of which the latter is in closer examination here. People move in the urban milieu, habitually connecting and joining together different meaningful places and sites of different uses in various contexts, often as part of the daily grind and routine, such as commutes and errand runs. Embodied mobility – whether carried out on foot or by other means – is a mode in which many contemporary urban spaces are engaged in and thus a key factor in the formation of relations between the body and the city, and the focus of this article.

Mobility is more than just going from point A to point B: it is always infused with a diverse set of meanings, experiences, and chance encounters that present it as a complex event,[3] even if they are – in the context of the everyday – often part of the hum and habitual routine. This article focuses on ordinary street spaces and on mobility as "mobile place-making", as Paola Jiron formulates,[4] with an aim to examine mobility in itself as a meaningful activity that produces and shapes spaces, when spaces are understood as social processes, relational and always "becoming",[5] rather than fixed physical sites. As Kirsten Simonsen writes: "The city contains living and moving bodies, but they are not bodies moving through time-space, they are performing it and making it."[6]

Motion takes place both in space and time, thus producing *rhythm* as people locate/dislocate in time-space.[7] Rhythmic patterns emerge in different forms and scales in the urban setting, such as in how streets (and other urban spaces) are stages of various users for various uses during different time frames, providing possibilities/restrictions for different activities.[8] The article builds on the notion of urban space as rhythmic and temporal, examining how urban rhythms are produced and perceived in a specific context of habitual embodied mobility: an everyday walking route in the city. Instead of looking at spatial rhythms from afar, as happening *in* space, the article examines them from *within* a spatial practice – a walk – by utilizing "rhythmanalysis"[9] as a research framework. Rhythmanalysis can here help to further develop our understanding of momentary and fleeting relations with our everyday environments by putting emphasis on the perceiving body, temporality, and space as both material and social, thus providing a new look into the matter of urban experience that has surely been on the research agenda before. Rhythmanalysis, as Ben Highmore points out,[10] is a research orientation rather than a strict methodology, but as a theoretical framework it provides intriguing possibilities which are discussed below.

PRACTICING PLACES TEMPORARILY ON THE MOVE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF URBAN RHYTHMS

Although rhythm as a word is often used in urban studies, it is still rather undefined as a more detailed concept, or as a mode of research:[11] one attempt to formulate it is the aforementioned Henri Lefebvre's *rhythmanalysis*.[12] However, Lefebvre's work on the matter is quite brief and was mainly published after his death, which left his formulation of rhythmanalysis as a rather unclear, unfinished, and abstract concept, as, for example, Highmore notes.[13] Still,

Lefebvre's work provides ample ground to develop the analysis further, and to examine urban rhythms in more concrete and empirical terms.

For Lefebvre, rhythms are everywhere – where there is space, time, and energy, there is rhythm. Footsteps on the street, the opening hours of stores and offices, and the changing seasons of the year are all examples of rhythms in different forms and scales in the urban environment. However, it is not possible to say where exactly one rhythm ends and another one begins, as rhythms are always part of other rhythms, of "polyrhythm" (or the wholeness, the "oeuvre"[14]). Lefebvre establishes two main categories that help to explain their extent: "cyclical" and "linear", referring either to various repeating cycles – usually of natural character – such as the night/day alteration; or to the various activities – usually of social character – that as practices have a somewhat noticeable beginning and an ending, a more or less linear form, such as working during specific hours of the day.[15]

The multisensory body is the main tool of measurement of rhythms for Lefebvre. This is because the various properties of rhythms are relational to other rhythms, as noted above, and thus to the body as well: the qualities – such as the frequency of rhythm, or how *fast* or *slow* a rhythm is – is defined in relation to other rhythms and their mutual interplay, including the rhythms of the perceiving body. Bodies do not only measure rhythm but produce them, too, both inside and outside of the body.[16]

One way to engage with space in an embodied manner is walking. Walking as a practice connects the body directly to the environment and opens it for both material and social encounters and interactions.[17] Walking is a characteristic form of movement for the human body,[18] and thus it is not a mode of just moving but a mode to also produce meaning, to communicate and to exercise power in social settings.[19] In a rhythmanalytical sense, walking is about producing spatial rhythms, and simultaneously about observing, being influenced by and experiencing rhythms.

So how does walking then relate to the spaces being walked? Allan Pred writes that places are produced through social activities and the coming-together of intersecting paths of individual bodies and objects that are shaped by the cultural and social environment and varying power relations.[20] David Seamon famously writes of "body ballets" and "time-space routines": the routine patterns and flows of body movement (such as walking) and the habitual

bodily behaviour extended in time (such as a walking route). The body ballets and space-time routines together form "place ballets": interactions with the individual routines with others, "rooted in space" (and time).[21] Places are like "knots" where the movements of its users are tied together more closely and tightly than elsewhere, if movement is understood as continuous strands being woven by the body.[22]

The city street, for example, in this case can be understood as the coming together of these place ballets, and as knots formed by interlinking strands of moving bodies. Various other social activities, in the form of timekeeping and social production of time, come to set a pace for the practices to play out, producing "place-specific" rhythms.[23] Here, the comings and goings of people form structures of different practices and their interrelations that come to set certain perceivable rhythm to space through repetition – through loops of activities and practices, such as walking, encountering, working, and hanging around. The interplay between different intensities of these spatial practices – both the movement and the *stillness*[24] – provide the basis of rhythms to emerge, and to be examined. What Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis thus facilitates, as a theoretical framework, is that it helps to perceive the multitude of (contested) time-spaces by attuning to different (and simultaneous) temporalities, as both Mike Crang[25] and Kirsten Simonsen[26] have noted.

Nonetheless, how rhythmanalysis should be conducted empirically, and how urban rhythms are to be measured or represented, still remains rather undefined.[27] The rhythmanalytical framework, as a more loosely defined approach, thus provides possibilities for a broad set of empirical and analytical research tools. By putting emphasis on the perceiving and experiencing body, and the material and concrete world, rhythmanalysis shares similarities with recent "post-phenomenological" orientations,[28] which can guide the rhythmanalytical orientation as a research practice. As Simpson notes: "the undertaking of rhythmanalysis or any analysis of social rhythms needs to be a multi-sensory experience based on actual lived experience."[29] One take on this is introduced next.

ETHNOGRAPHIES OF URBAN RHYTHMS: METHODS AND DATA

Drawing from the rhythmanalytical framework described above, I will next introduce a study that took place in two major cities in Finland. The study illustrates a methodological approach in examining the ways spatial rhythms are produced, interpreted, and interacted with in the context of everyday mobilities.

Everyday practices as such are not easily approached as the focus of any research, for the *everyday* is something that people are inseparably a part of.[30] Everyday mobilities are made of routines, habits, and relations that are often beyond active thought and reflection,[31] which prompts practical difficulties for research: How can the everyday experience be conveyed? Here, the research approach borrows partly from the growing discussion around *non-representational (or more-than-representational) theory* that notes some of the representational issues that embodied (and multisensory) experiences and habitual behaviour might have with communicating these experiences.[32] *Mobile methods* – referring to a range of practical methods of conducting research of/in movement – can help to make these accounts of the everyday and routine more clearly visible by engaging directly with the actual studied mobile practices by going into the field.[33]

The study borrows practical research methods from the ethnographic research tradition by producing a take on "street phenomenology", as introduced by Kusenbach.[34] The qualitative research data comprises "go-along interviews" on everyday walking routes in the city, and photographs and maps produced by the informants. Go-along interviews take place in the environment, as part of the practices being studied, and provide information directly from the field.[35] Moving in the environment while interviewing can aid in conveying experiences: "go-alongs in their different forms assist recollection by connecting participants and researchers with the materialities of doing."[36]

The research data was over-all formed in an *introduce me to your walking route* – a kind of a premise to provide narratives from the street-level of everyday urban practices. Ten interviews were conducted on the everyday walking routes of the informants in the city centre areas of Tampere (approx. 220,000 inhabitants) and Turku (180,000) during late spring of 2015 (five interviews in each city). The two cities are the largest by population in Finland after the capital region area. The city centres are, however, quite compact in size, comprising areas that are in walkable distance. The informants were mostly found with the help of email lists of local organizations and different channels of social media. The informants were both females (eight) and males (two) and aged from their mid-twenties to early seventies. The routes we embarked on were ordinary commutes to work or the place of study or else trips to run errands or go to a friend's place.

The go-along interview – where the route was walked and discussed – was followed by a *photo-elicitation interview* that revolved around visual materi-

al produced by the informant: maps produced beforehand and photographs taken amidst the walking interview. The aim here was not to over-emphasize the visual side of the experiences (which the use of maps and photographs could entail), or to over-encumber the informant with different things to do, but to provide easily approachable and useable tools to convey experiences with. Photo-elicitation interviews can provide information that can be difficult to attain otherwise by providing another point of view to the discussed matter and a concrete physical (or virtual) object that can be commonly discussed.[37] Lefebvre notes that photographs or videos cannot retain the true form of rhythms in their complexity,[38] but as Simpson argues, visual data can still work as an *aid* in uncovering spatial rhythms.[39]

In total, the research material amounted to over sixteen hours of recorded interviews, over two hundred photographs, and ten maps. The sample of ten is small in number but, as in-depth interviews, provides rich and ample data. Subjective variation is of course always present with qualitative data – there are as many takes on personal experiences as there are people – but the data is broad enough for various common and shared themes and types to arise. The material was examined with content analysis that was based on the rhythmanalytical framework described earlier. The data was divided into larger themes, of which the key themes are presented below, which provide brief notes or flashes from the myriad experiences that, as already mentioned above, often lay somewhere between the conscious and unconscious, active and passive, being.

EVERYDAY SCENES FROM THE STREETS: RHYTHMANALYZING WALKING ROUTES

The analysis concentrates on the narratives of everyday travel on the walking routes in the city. The focus is on how material street spaces are used and interacted with, how various social activities and other place-specific rhythms are perceived and encountered, how rhythms of different scales shape everyday travel, and how people situate themselves within the present through different temporal connections.

The rhythms at play on everyday walks can here be divided into two groups based on their scale and mode: the mediate and the immediate, the former relating to notions where knowledge about the route and relations with the environment are built up in a more mediated way, and the latter relating to the more immediate and momentary relations that take place on the move

in the lived street space. This division is of course quite crude as all experiences contain qualities of both: they are both remembered/expected/built upon and lived in the *moment*.[40] Still, this division helps to open the mesh of polyrhythm that the everyday mobilities – as a context for body-environment relations – are made of. The mediate/immediate themes are presented briefly below in sub-subsections as *setting/perceiving and inscribing/interpreting rhythms* respectively, and brought together in the third subsection, which sketches urban environment as a complex and rhythmic ensemble.

SETTING AND READING THE EVERYDAY SCENE

Setting Rhythms: Building Blocks for the Route

The everyday routes, embarked on with the informants, have clear temporal and spatial structures, and a somewhat fixed place in the organization of the everyday life on a daily or weekly level. These routes are specific: they are separable from other routes and other uses of public space as particular commutes, errand runs, or other functional routes. These are what could be called "projects":[41] specific "paths" in both time and space, with particular restrictions and possibilities in regard to movement, time, and space.[42] The project-like quality of the route comes to set the framework in which the route is practiced and performed.

The routes are often travelled during a similar time frame (during daytime) and using the same pathways between home and the place B. The time it takes to walk the route is known (between 15–50 minutes), as are the alternative pathways that could be taken, and how these variations would affect the travel time. The routes are occasionally travelled by other means of transport (private car, public transport, or bicycle) depending on weather, mood, and availability of time. Some of these routes are also occasionally travelled (fully or partially) with someone else – kids, friends, or the family pet.

The presented walked routes are foremost goal-oriented and functional, as means of getting from point A to point B. Filipa Matos Wunderlich notes, while distinguishing different forms of walking, that "purposive walks" present walking as a "task" that is mainly practiced to connect points together and often is made of a constant and rapid walking pace. Indeed, notions in the interviews relating to rapid walking pace, avoidance of detours, knowledge of shortcuts (through various yards and alleys), and the intention to keep one's movement continuous – by avoiding locations and objects that could interrupt the movement in one way or another, such as light-guided

street crossings and heavy crowds along narrow passageways – all highlight the underlying functionality of the route. Walking takes many forms and is practiced for different uses (as Wunderlich also notes), but on these routes walking is mostly purposeful.

The purposefulness of the walk stems from the route's central part in the organization of everyday life: the route connects to other practices, events, and tasks before and after the walk. Different shared and individual timetables – such as the nine-to-five working day cycle – set a time frame in which the route is to be operated. The way *back* (after work/errands) allows more variation and even playful behaviour, but the different timetables and activities of the rest of the day often come to restrict how the route plays out. The informants frequently brought up how they come to use the places we passed

Figure 1 Examples of different sections of the routes. (Upper left) A portion of the route where there "is nothing", and the transitions to this section of the route are marked by specific buildings at both ends as visual cues; (upper right) the route either is travelled through the often vacant outdoor pedestrian-only street space or inside the indoor market hall (on the right) that is buzzing with people, activities, and narrow passageways, and often avoided for this reason; (lowerleft) an underpass that leads to a university campus area, marking a point of transition between two different areas with different perceived atmospheres and the beginning of the final phase of the route; (lower right) a broad intersection separates two different areas and marks the beginning of a new phase in the middle of the route that is also aesthetically the most enjoyed part, as it runs along the popular and central riverside that has various things of interest along the way and provides a break from the busy motor traffic that characterizes the previous phase. (Photographs by informants.)

by/through in different contexts: streets, squares, parks, and shopping malls as (semi-)public spaces are used in different ways outside the route, as part of other routes, activities, and temporalities. The interaction and encounters in these places often depend on the context: whether or not to stop and listen to a street musician, to window shop, to pass by places in a hurry, or to sit down on the street-side bench for a while, as the informantsbrought up. Since the routes are goal-oriented, these interactions here often happen on the move (more about interaction further below).

The route also has a temporality of its own with material, social, or performative transitions from one phase of the route to another (Figure 1). Material passageways – like tunnels, bridges, crossings of wide streets, and the edges of parks and squares – were often regarded as material points of transition between different portions of the route or as stepping between locations or districts with a different kind of perceived activities, peoples, soundscapes, visual characteristics, and atmospheres. Some of these phases of the route are experienced as more intense – with a cavalcade of events, people, things of interest, and interactions – while others in turn are experienced as more loose and even devoid of having "anything of interest" (informant, female, 62) or as where one can "just walk" (F25).

The account of one informant (F37) presents the transitionary and sequential form of the route clearly: her morning commute to work often begins by walking her children to a school nearby, and then changes in mode as she continues the rest of the way to work by herself. The active interaction between her and the kids changes to her own, often work-related thoughts on this latter part of the route. The first part of the route in the sense of walked pathways is clearly defined, and travelled beforehand mostly with the safety of the children in mind (such as favouring light-guided street crossings), but the part of the route she continues to travel by herself is less clear and less defined but, by habit, often very similar.

This notion of the project-like quality of the route might be emphasized by the premise of the study and by utilizing maps as a mode of data collection (Figure 2), highlighting the route as a specific temporal and spatial practice. Still, these routes can be seen as having a clear beginning and ending, and a specific set of temporal events for the parts between, both as embodied and performed practices and as perceived spatial practices. The routes are known, predictable, and habitually performed.

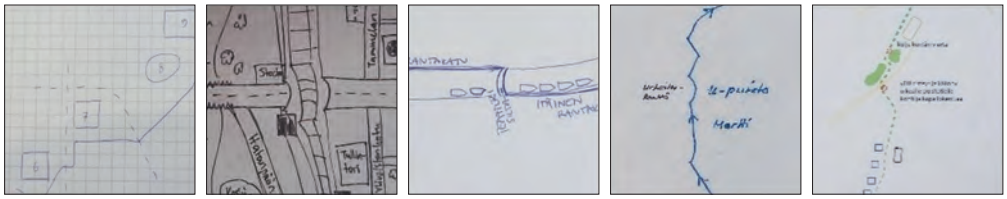

Figure 2 Examples of maps by the informants depicting small portions of the walked routes. The maps often came to form a backbone for the two-part interview. The informants often referenced what they had drawn in the map while walking on the route, and in many cases took photographs of the same points that they had marked in the map earlier. Later, the locations, alternative pathways, and varying details of the landscape, which were discussed during the walk but missing from the original map drawing, were added during the photo-elicitation interview as the map was otherwise discussed. Many of the informants noted how the environment closest to the route's starting and ending points were more easily drawn to the map and more detailed than some of the other sections in between them, where the details and scales and distances were not so easily imagined. The maps clearly acted as points of reference for the informants, which seemed to help bring up notions of and remarks on the environment, the route, and the daily practices in detail. (Maps by informants.)

Perceiving Rhythms: Multisensory Landscapes

Above, the project-like movement is described as mostly goal-oriented, but this does not mean that the actual act of walking itself is the same. The walking route is not, even as a purposeful walk, only a functional task, conducted in isolation from the environment or the body itself. Walking as an embodied practice is about producing spaces and forming places, as already noted above: one key element here is the multisensory landscape that is habitually engaged with.

The informants frequently brought up different relations they have with the material and social landscapes, such as relations with certain buildings, other material constructs, nature, vistas, or perceived atmospheres, and they often photographed them. These relations were based on sensory experiences – how something looked or sounded, even smelled – on past experiences and memories, or on imagined or represented readings of the urban milieu. The camera acted as a tool in making these thoughts and experiences visible (Figure 3). However, in many cases the photographs of the material environment also stood in for social activities, events, or people that were absent from the picture but were regarded as part of the ordinary course of events on the route and discussed in the photo-elicitation interview. Material environment that is often rather fixed might be easier and more comfortable to photograph since the encounters and interactions between people are often more fleeting and temporary in nature.

The informants identified how different groups of people usually inhabited the passed-by locations during different times: such as the crowds of commuters during the morning and afternoon, and the elderly people and school groups at noontime. However, these notions were not that frequent as the people, similar to the built environment, worked more as a background for the walk. The notions often came up in certain locations where the presence of other people was more (in)directly interactive, such as sights of the masses gathering at certain riverside areas on sunny days, or the soundscapes of various different languages that groups of exchange students produced near university campus areas, among others (more on interaction further below).

Figure 3 Examples of various landscapes on the route. (Upper left) The informant takes a photo of a large piece of street art that makes the environment look more interesting and notes the often socially lively storefronts below; (upper right) a vast construction site of a new highway tunnel that as a process interrupts both with the sensory landscape (as vistas and sounds) and with the used pathways of the informant's daily route, prompting affective responses; (lower left) an uncommon, although seasonal, sight of a rowing boat in the river running through the city that connects to the lively social event that took place on the popular riverside (outside of the picture) that captured our attention when crossing a pedestrian bridge over the river; (lower right) the city's main market square is often buzzing with people and activities during specific hours of the day, and some of the buildings on the outskirts of the square are ones which "everyone knows" by name and which work as effective appointed meeting places for friends. (Photographs by informants.)

Different construction sites, which were frequently present in the informants' accounts, shape the material environment directly and often reach out to the streets – to the everyday routes – in the form of changing vistas, signs, sounds, and even varying physical obstacles and barriers. As Edward Relph writes: "For most of the time landscape is of little or no interest to us – it is merely there as a background and context for more immediate concerns … Occasionally this uninterest is interrupted by casual attention to the landscape."[44] Many of the notions on landscape were often made of the various changes and transformations, or notions of what/how something *usually* was/happened in specific locations, but which during our walks were now absent.

The various material transformations of the environment range in different scales and are encountered differently: (dis)appearance of street art and graffiti and the joy of seeking new ones out, interest in the building of a floating restaurant boat by the riverside, the multi-year construction site of a new underground highway system and its effects on both the landscape and the open/closed pathways around it; and the recent addition of a new tall hotel building to the city silhouette. All are different examples of the dynamic material environment. These observations of change and transformation can also take more symbolic forms: one informant (F73), for example, takes note of the vacant office buildings and their possible relation to changes in local and global economics.

The landscape acts as a way to attune to the polyrhythmic city and to connect to a larger network of events outside of everyday travel.[45] These time spans of changing landscapes extend for various lengths: urban development processes, for example, follow multi-year cycles as specific planning, zoning, and building practices. The various changes and transformations can thus be part of the route and the everyday landscape for very short time (overnight disappearance of graffiti) or for long time periods (a multi-year construction site). They may even prolong their presence through memories of changes made or prospects of developments to come, absorbed through different forms of representation and media.

Relations to landscapes can also have more affective forms. The routes we walked, and the locations we passed by, have been a part of the informants' lives, in some cases, for decades. With one informant (F59), on her day-to-day commute to work, we passed by earlier homes, the place of first experi-

ences on a night out as a teenager, and previous workplaces. With another informant (informant, male, 70), the route between home and the city's main marketplace had been more or less the same for fifty years, which brought up multiple notions of past experiences and observations of changes in both the material and the social environments over the years.

These memories and recollections were often related to individual experiences – as described above – but also some notes on the collective and shared histories of the city and its certain areas were made: how the city had developed over years, how the industry had changed, and when certain buildings were constructed and how those changes shaped the areas more broadly. With the informants in their late fifties to early seventies, these notions were more frequently present in the narratives, and reaching back more years than with the younger participants. While these observations in general might not be daily and active – at the forefront of everyday experience – they nonetheless demonstrate how the urban environment that is travelled on a day-to-day basis has developed, transformed, and been layered as subjective places over time.[46] These places are remembered and imagined as well as experienced in the present, at least when they are talked about and introduced to others.

The interview as an unordinary event may underline these sensory connections to landscapes, for the interview provides a possibility to *show* the route and its different qualities, which may be left unsaid otherwise.[47] Still, these observations of various landscapes on the route give an idea of how different environments are perceived and what kind of meanings are embedded in them, layered as memories and earlier experiences through perceived changes and transformations.

RHYTHMS UP CLOSE: MATERIAL AND SOCIAL ENCOUNTERS AND INTERACTIONS

Inscribing Rhythm: The Body on the Move

The *everyday*, as already noted, is made up of routines and habits and, as such, is often associated with drudgery and uninterest.[48] In the case of everyday mobilities: people often move because they have to. Middleton notes that walking practices often take almost automated forms of movement.[49] Walking often is just walking – moving between points – without greater ideas or experiences behind it, as the informants often came to note during the interviews, usually when asked generally about their route. In these cases, the environment and its perceivable qualities might not be in focus – or on peo-

ple's minds – but are not escapable either, as the above sections have shown. The following examines some of these aspects of walking as *just walking*.

Walking is a thoroughly embodied practice, with all the limitations and constraints brought upon by physical movement. Feelings of fatigue or thirst, stress, or strong emotions can override much of the observed and experienced elements of movement since they may encompass the body thoroughly,[50] as the informants also came to note. Some of the informants likewise noted that the physical strain of the walk (ranging from roughly one to almost five kilometres in length) on the body works as a practical exercise, which is mostly done by controlling their walking speed; for others, the strain is something to be consciously avoided, resulting in a slower walking pace (although daily timetables might lead to taking a few running steps here and there). Also, the ground cover affects the walking practicalities, especially during the icy winter time. The routes' pathways as such consist mostly of asphalt or gravel surfaces and have few stairs and only mild elevation differences, which all contribute to the rather steady and even walking pace throughout the routes.

On the walking route, the body is subject to environmental conditions like weather and temperature, and the sensory experiences relating to them come to the fore. The interviews were conducted during late spring: the outdoor temperatures ended up shaping the walk and the outdoor activities thoroughly. Many informants noted how on warm days – especially during the summer time – the perceived atmospheres of places are often more relaxed, with people spending more time outdoors in general, and that their own route can occasionally meander more than during the colder times of year. Several informants noted that the rainy weather or the strong gusts of wind – which happened to accompany us in a few cases (and made the photography side of the interview a bit more challenging) – could *normally* be something that would make them choose some other method of transport than walking, or postpone the walk altogether.

The materialities of the space and the body connect in a number of temporal ways. The walking practice can even lead to playful behaviour. Quentin Stevens frames play in the urban setting partly as something which is lacking instrumentality and wastes energy rather than aims to conserve it.[51] One informant (M70), for example, showcased how he is in the habit of hopping onto a balancing board for a few steps just for the fun of it in an open exercise area – or a "playground for seniors", as he referred to it – passed by on the

errand route in a popular sports park. Another (F27) talked of a particular square with decorative tile paving, which leads her and others – on foot and on bikes – to follow the various lines of the tiles rather than moving in straight lines, sometimes resulting in the crossing of trajectories in otherwise sparsely used space. Urban environments contain various "props": material objects – such as benches and other street furniture – whose intended uses are either enforced or contested through different micro-practices, often in the form of play.[52]

Some of the informants brought up how the everyday route also provides time for oneself: to not think about anything or to go through work-related issues or the coming events of the day in their minds, and where one does not have to be socially active. One informant (F30) described how the daily commute route is the only part of the day she can be by herself and with her own thoughts, as work and young children at home take the rest of her time and attention. Walking can also be accompanied by various activities – such as listening to music and checking messages with the phone, or taking and sharing photos in social media. On a few such routes there is also often someone else walking the route (partially or fully) to interact with, which might take the mind off of the present activity of walking and the material and social surroundings.

Often this uninterest towards the surroundings is broken by certain locations on the route, as illustrated by the above-mentioned notes on landscapes. At these sites, various social interactions also come into play.

Interpreting Rhythms: Interactions and Encounters

As the routes are made of frequent, if not daily, repetition, the temporal and social characteristics of the different locations the routes pass by are well known. In the interviews, the informants brought up on numerous occasions how certain social practices, interactions, or events were (un)common to different locales – streets, squares, and parks – at different times of the day (or year).

Active and conscious route choices had been made with interaction in mind: to avoid busy traffic during certain rush hours of the day, to escape the noise of traffic to quieter streets, or even "to have something to look at" (F59) for personal enjoyment. This is not to say that people reorganize their route on a daily basis – alter the everyday habitual project – but that people have a

sense of the environment, and the activities taking place there, and can navigate through it based on past experiences and knowledge produced through repeated interactions with space.[53] Activities in places thus do not seem as random and always reset from day to day, but rather as having spatial and temporal structure that is expected and renewed on a daily basis through routine and repetition: we come to know that something *usually* happens in a certain location at a certain time.

The informants often photographed and discussed in detail narrow passageways, intersections, crosswalks, and other material details and spaces which require attention and active perception of the different trajectories and surroundings, and which bring the body momentarily to the present (Figure 4). Similar locations were, for example, the popular riverside in Turku and the central squares of the two cities where different social events and activities take place from time to time, gathering crowds of people, which are then to be navigated through on the route, as the project-like character of the route seldom makes stopping by and taking part in the activities possible. Indeed, the moments of interaction and encounter here really are *moments*: often brief and barely noticeable, and habitually and routinely performed.

As we were conducting the interviews on the move, these brief encounters were numerous. The informants (and I) saw familiar faces and quick *hellos* were exchanged; narrow passageways re-structured the walking pace and order; different street maintenance worksites brought unexpected obstacles along our way and unavoidable soundscapes of heavy machinery; crowds of people produced slight nudges between passing bodies; ringing bike bells behind our backs signalled different velocities; crosswalks often initiated brief negotiations about movement with car drivers; interested gazes were often set towards our interview event by other people on foot, sitting on the street-side benches or waiting in traffic lights inside cars; and once a face-to-face campaigner abruptly joined one of the interviews with messages of environmental concern.

The coming together of various rhythms can take either "arrhythmic" or "eurhythmic" forms[54] – producing either flow or friction in the crossing points of different trajectories as the temporality of the individual practices meets with the *place-temporality* – the conglomeration of material objects, people, rules, and routines.[55] Similarly, as Middleton notes, these interactions can also take more *imagined* forms as *potential* events – what could happen –

Figure 4 Examples of direct interaction with the environment. (Upper left) The narrow pedestrian/cyclist passageway through an old factory building occasionally prompts encounters with intersecting trajectories of people on foot and on bikes, producing arrhythmic movement; (upper right) movement is regulated by varying signs and symbols that produce stops and breaks in the movement, which are seen as both positive and negative aspects of movement, providing both security and obstacles for the walk; (lower left) the combination of a busy sidewalk – with pedestrians and cyclists – and a bus stop produces a mesh of intersecting trajectories; (lower right) crosswalks produce negotiations between different velocities and trajectories of motorized and non-motorized traffic. (Photographs by informants.)

based on the knowledge formed through routine and repetitious engagement with particular spaces.[56] So even if the spaces are not stages of active interaction, or actively reflected upon, people have an idea of the configurations of the various moving pieces in various sites, and how they potentially could interact with each other, often in arrhythmic ways.

The mundane encounters and interactions, no matter how brief, ordinary, or uneventful they might seem, are what come to make spaces as lived and experienced environments and are part of the writing of the "text" of the city.[57] The polyrhythm of the street creates frames and boundaries for different rhythms to play out, to interact, and to become visible (or to remain hidden), as Lehtovuori and Koskela note.[58] The various threads are spun together and are here – in the context of the route – negotiated on the move.

The everyday route does not come across as a place to seek active interaction and encounter, but these interactions cannot be avoided or escaped in public: they are part of the everyday mobile place and are engaged in on the move.

Although the route is partly fixed in terms of space, time, and performance, it is part of a dynamic world and all events are always in some way surprising and new since they happen in the *now*,[59] as already mentioned earlier. Lefebvre similarly noted that a repetition of rhythms always entails some kind of change and difference as no rhythm can repeat in exactly the same way.[60] Walking as a practice is thus not a predefined set of events or a sequence of rational choices, but rather part of the dynamic environment, produced by the body and subject to surprising and temporary changes in the material and social environments amidst habit and routine.

THE MEDIATE AND IMMEDIATE RHYTHMS OF MOBILE PLACE-MAKING

In the above sections, rhythms work on different scales, producing polyrhythm on the street level. In *setting*, the societal rhythms and clock time, together with the personal organization of daily life, work together to produce a frame for the route to play out – a frame for the relations between the body and the city. In *perceiving*, the various (both small- and large-scale) changes and transformations connect with subjective memories and past relations with the environment. In *inscribing*, the rhythms relate to the biological body and the embodied and multisensory practice of walking. In *interpreting*, spatial social rhythms are engaged in a more or less direct manner, as encounters and coming-togethers of different negotiated trajectories. However, it is important to point out that none of these rhythms work in isolation from each other; none are only either set, perceived, inscribed, or interpreted. Rather, the different rhythms work as a whole, and the interplay between the various rhythms take both eurhythmic and arrhythmic forms, as described earlier.

As noted above, the different scales of rhythm can be ultimately narrowed down to two: the mediate and the immediate. The former refers to how moving in the city is a way to produce knowledge about the environment, not necessarily in an active and perceptive manner, but by inhabiting and performing these spaces as part of the everyday routines and performing the route accordingly. The same beats of the rhythms are hit, making the route predictable and known, though always retaining something that is left open for possibilities, changes, and surprises. The route also provides moments

for relating to past experiences and memories that certain locations or landscapes bring to the foreground of the experience. The latter, on the other hand, refers to how the movement and the body are affected by immediate interactions. The notions of social encounters, occasional playful interactions with the material environment, and the walking itself as an embodied practice are all examples of how rhythms are inscribed through walking and inhabiting spaces, and how they come to resonate with the rhythms of others.

Here, walking comes to be depicted as a set of experiences and practices that are temporary, multiple, and simultaneous. Walking as an embodied practice acts here as part of the process of place-making that produces both the route as a project and builds upon on the place-specific rhythms of other moving bodies and other forms of social and natural rhythms. The rhythms here, too, work on different scales. The macro-level societal rhythms frame the temporal character of the spatial and immediate events: the temporality of the embodied practice of walking meets with the everyday urban temporalities, such as shared timetables. The micro-level rhythms of particular locations passed by on foot, on the other hand, provide tactile and concrete boundaries: the practice of walking is paced by both eurhythmic and arrhythmic interactions with the material and social environment as the walking route connects with other similar trajectories as well as completely different contexts of uses and dwellings in space.

The notion of mediate and immediate rhythms is also important from a methodical point of view. The mediate notions seem to be more easily communicated in an interview setting – and especially the use of a camera as a tool helps to bring these notions up – than the more immediate notions, which, on the other hand, were often prompted by the *in situ* interaction with the environment during the walk, or closer reading of the scene through the photographs that initially were taken to represent the more fixed and more mediate aspects. The non-representational aspects of rhythms come to the fore: What can be represented and how? This highlights the importance of applying various methods – including mobile methods – in the study of the complex and multifaceted urban experience and rhythmicity, for many such aspects might be difficult to attain through non-mobile or non-participatory means. However, this is not to imply that the methods used here would reveal the experience in full (that as a whole might very well be non-communicable) but provides a certain kind of a look into the matter through a certain set of tools.

CONCLUSION

The detailed informants' accounts of their daily travel sheds light on the habitual and routine practices and interactions on the move. This article presents ways in which people build their relation with the urban environment through temporal connections, interactions, and notions of emerging patterns that show the everyday walking route as familiar, known, and expected, but also simultaneously as always changing and dynamic. The habitual practices of inscribing, reading, and interpreting rhythms, along with the project-like character of the route itself, as described above, reveal something of how ordinary street spaces are given meaning and performed habitually through the body in a mundane and repetitious mobile context. Different layers of rhythms all meet and overlap one another on these everyday routes. Urban space is presented as a site of constant interplay between different material, social, and individual rhythms – as inherently polyrhythmic.

The study highlights the notion that to understand the urban experience in its complexity, it is appropriate to examine it from within the concrete practices the spaces are engaged in. Urban spaces are designed, planned, and constructed with specific aims and objectives in mind, but how these spaces become a part of the everyday life of their dwellers, as part of their daily practices and routines, and what kind of meanings and relations come to be embedded in them through these uses, interactions, and chance encounters are not simple and straightforward questions to answer. The themes of urban rhythms presented above help to partially explain some of those processes by bringing up both immediate and mediate temporal relations between the body and the environment in the very concrete practices of walking. These notions can help to make more sense of the urban environment and provide possibilities for urban planning and design by understanding the temporal and rhythmic embodied experiences on the move. Analysis of urban rhythms also highlights space and time not as singular entities but as multiple and simultaneous, as noted earlier in the text. Further research is nonetheless required to refine these notions into practical planning tools or principles.

The interest in walking practices signifies interest in something that is often taken for granted. Walking is a micro-level and mundane practice in the complex urban milieu that many urban dwellers participate in habitually – in one form or another – on a daily basis. However, as such a mundane practice, walking requires detailed attention in order to uncover the multitude of experiences and meanings formed through and in these everyday mobile practices that come to shape our relations with our everyday lived environments in a profound way.

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ART ON THE MOVE IN THE CITY OF TEMPORARINESS

Even Smith Wergeland

ABSTRACT

This article deals with the ever-evolving mobility of the art scene in Norway's capital city Oslo. In recent decades, cultural planning has been at the forefront of urban development in Oslo. While that strategy has been successful in regard to generating cultural attractions, like the iconic opera house in Bjørvika, the introduction of new architectural landmarks has caused the obliteration of several cultural production spaces in the inner city. Culture has replaced culture and, consequently, forced artists and other cultural producers to resettle in other parts of town. One reason for this is the dividing line between art as attraction and art as production. Due to a strong emphasis on economic profitability, the cultural planning regime has favoured visible and audience-related cultural venues over invisible and work-related cultural facilities. In response to that trend, a number of temporary art venues have been installed in recent years. On the one hand, this has given the displaced artists new opportunities to work and exhibit. On the other, it has reinforced art production as a temporary discourse and maintained culture as an instrument for boosting urban functions other than ongoing art production. Typically, artists are only allowed to settle for a while, to create a feeling of vibrancy while an area is in transition. The issue I am trying to highlight in this article is how this constant state of temporariness affects the scene and its ability to stay productive. My investigation is based on semi-structured interviews with artists on the move in Oslo and a statistical survey on workspaces for artists, combined with theories on urban temporality and mobility. As argued by Paul Virilio, being on the move can be highly destructive to people's ability to control their own lives, especially if they are forced to stay in circulation. My interviews have revealed that artists frequently complain about a low level of everyday stability, which affects both their social life and their creative output. Spatial and temporal uncertainty makes it difficult for them to produce large-scale and complex artworks. This situation, however, is not unique for today's society. Historically, art has seldom been a practice of permanence. Artists have been moving around, by force or free will, for centuries. In addition, life has become increasingly more mobile for people in

other occupations as well. Contemporary urban citizens tend to change their livelihood more often than before. Being on the move is considered trendy and forward-thinking, particularly among young professionals. A similar trend is unfolding within the sphere of the arts right row. In contrast to the narrative of unwanted resettlement, there is a distinct affinity for temporality in contemporary art, as Christine Ross has shown. This "temporal turn" also includes a positive vision of the artist as a mobile and dynamic character, whose restlessness is a creative asset. A concrete example of this mindset is *On the Move*, an international cultural mobility network that encourages artists and other cultural professionals to move around in order enhance their careers. The art scene in Oslo is currently caught in the middle of this dichotomy of negative and positive temporalities, and I argue in this paper that the situation stifles and stimulates creative production in equal measures.

KEYWORDS
Mobility, art, temporariness, planning, displacement

INTRODUCTION

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, strong claims were made about creativity as a special asset in interurban competitions.[1] This gave rise to the widespread idea that the instalment of new cultural attractions was the way to go for any city wanting to boost its economy. Today, however, cultural planning is no longer at the forefront of urban planning in many Western cities. A major reason is that the so-called "Bilbao effect" has worn out,[2] since many glamorous cultural monuments of the 1990s and 2000s have struggled to prove their worth as long-term moneymaking machines. Even Richard Florida, who identified and coined the term "creative class",[3] has admitted that his theories on culture and creativity as boosters of the general economy do not always hold true in practice: "On close inspection, talent clustering provides little in the way of trickle-down benefits. Its benefits flow disproportionately to more highly-skilled knowledge, professional and creative workers whose higher wages and salaries are more than sufficient to cover more expensive housing in these locations."[4]

The lack of trickle-down benefits is also detectable within the cultural field itself. While many cities have gained large cultural attractions, less has been accomplished in terms of nourishing a wider range of cultural productivity. The emphasis on cultural attractions aimed at tourists rather than at local art producers has gradually expelled artists and other creative labourers from

the rejuvenated inner cities. In effect, cultural planning has set up a barrier between culture as attraction and culture as production.

If you look to Oslo, there is a direct consequence of this policy: many artists and other cultural producers have lost their everyday work environments. Since the early 2000s, more than ten large workspaces for artistic collectives have disappeared from the inner city, either because the buildings were put to new use or demolished in order to free up space for new buildings.[5] The Fjord City, Oslo's beacon of cultural planning, is one of the main culprits, due to its failure in keeping independent art production alive in the heart of Oslo. In 2013, the last remaining art collective was forced to move as their rented production venue, Borgen [the Castle], was torn down. Other priorities – a new railroad line and the restoration of a medieval park – weighed more in the municipal process that sparked Borgen's demise. Similar things have happened elsewhere in the city, too.

These demolition scenarios are emblematic of the narrative about artists on the move in Oslo and the temporary lifestyle that comes along with this continuous mobility. It is fitting, perhaps, that even the term "residence" is commonly associated with temporality among artists, as in "artist in residence", commonly used to describe artistic activities limited in time. Artists, however, are not alone in moving about in the contemporary city, voluntarily or by force. In the following I shall outline some theoretical and empirical insights into the limitations of a migratory way of life, as well as the potentially advantageous aspects.

THE DARK SIDE OF MOBILITY

Few scholars have been more critical about the implications of modern mobilities than Paul Virilio. Many of Virilio's crucial terms and concepts, e.g. dromology and dromocracy, derive from *Speed and Politics*, in which he connects the rise of political totalitarianism with the state's ability to prevent the free circulation of the masses.[6] Political regimes can induce control over mass mobility in two different ways: by keeping the masses at bay through the use of enforced mobility – or the opposite, by preventing them from moving about. Within this locked framework, the masses are pawns in dromological game they are bound to lose. Throughout *Speed and Politics*, motion is associated with military power and the pure dedication of an army in movement. It is the mass movement, not individual reflection, that spurs the military machinery forward. Virilio calls the performers of such blind dedication

"dromomaniacs", a term which is also found in psychology, describing compulsive sleepwalkers.[7]

Among Virilio's numerous examples are the German Nazi regime of the 1930s,[8] which manipulated the population through mass rallies – for instance orchestrated mobile performances in purpose-built arenas like the Zeppelinfeld in Nuremberg – or impeded them by locking enemies of the state up in prisons and concentration camps. Virilio has developed his theories further in books like *Strategy of Deception*[9] and *The Administration of Fear*,[10] where he increasingly turns his attention towards the control mechanisms of surveillance and other mobility-controlling technologies.

Similarly, theorists like Michel de Certeau and Marc Augé have lamented the urban consequences of mobility cultures gone astray. Among their common foes are car culture and globalism, which presumably have transformed the modern cityscape into an increasingly undesirable place for humans. Again, mobility represents a double negative. Cars have conquered the cities, created congestion and pollution, thereby condemning pedestrians to a subordinate role. People are prevented from moving as easily and comfortably as would have been possible without vehicles. Globalism, on the other hand, has created a culture of relentless flow that makes it impossible for most people to latch onto what is happening, culturally, economically, and spatially. Things are moving so fast, the argument goes, that places lose their meaning as recognizable sites. Instead, they are destined to become purely logistical spaces or, to use Augé's term, "non-places".[11] I will return to address the established critique of that particular term in a moment.

Another layer of this dark side of mobility relates to various forms of temporariness. In these times of economic turbulence, forced temporariness has been highlighted in a number of fields. Migration studies[12] have reported on significant social problems due to a rising contingent of temporary foreign labour, in Europe and elsewhere. In several countries around the world, workers are trapped in a permanent state of temporariness. They have no regular job options, but they do not have the economic means to mobilize themselves. This permanent lack of migratory potential creates a "sudden absence of motivity".[13]

The dilemma of workers falling short of permanent opportunities is not restricted to foreign labour, however. One of the first Richard Florida-inspired

bubbles that burst had to do with the fact that the demand for highly skilled, high-wage jobs has been exaggerated.[14] But some governments still believe in the economic growth mantra because it distracts attention away from the thorny political issues around equality, opportunity, and redistribution. This means that job market expectations are not in tune with reality. Problems of temporariness in the global job market may affect the other side of the table as well: the employers. A recent study by two Norwegian sociologists[15] revealed that a decline in loyalty within the workforce has represented huge difficulties for many companies, particularly in the Nordic countries.

The latter study indicates an element of hope that is largely absent from Virilio's work on mobility. Many people, young people in particular, actually enjoy the opportunity of not settling down in life, at least not too early. This may create problems for institutions in society that depend on loyalty and stability over time, but it can be liberating for the opportunity-seeking individual. Temporariness has also been a liberating force in the sphere of the arts on several occasions, for instance the art project *Long Live Temporariness*, which drew upon the illegal urban culture of squatting – in itself a temporary venture – in order to facilitate safe spaces in Barcelona and Amsterdam for citizens who were in risk of being subjected to gender crimes.[16]

TEMPORARINESS AS A PLACIAL AND ARTISTIC ASSET

Traditional assessments of placial identity, like those of Certeau and Augé, have focused on fixed, stable, and continuous aspects of society. That position has been challenged by cultural geographers such as John Urry, Tim Cresswell, and Peter Merriman,[17] who argue that mobility is also a highly important, and sometimes cherished, aspect of human life. In Cresswell's book *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World*, he highlights the difference between sedentary and nomadic metaphysics by explaining how the latter understanding of reality can clarify questions of identity in regard to travellers, migrants, refugees, and other groups of people who are characterized by being on the move rather than settling down.[18] Cresswell refers to how traditional migration theory has defined movement as a product of rationality. The general assumption has been that people move because they have reached the conclusion that one place is better than another.[19] That is not always the case. Some travellers may be seeking a permanent place to reside, while others are not. In Cresswell's writing, the nomad becomes an image of the mobilities we all have to deal with as human beings in the modern world and a means of framing this cultural reality theoretically.

The nomadic aspect of life is also a target of interest in art, among both theoreticians and practitioners. A work that predates the nomadic inquiries in cultural geography is an essay published by Patricia C. Phillips in 1989, in which she discusses temporariness in relation to public art. She traces this relation to the visual circumstances of her own contemporary time: "The visual environment transposes as rapidly as the actions of the mind and the eye. In both private and public life the phenomenological dimensions of indeterminacy, change, and the temporary require aggressive assimilation, not because they are grim, unavoidable forces but because they suggest potential ideas and freedoms."[20] Other scholars later made similar arguments about the increasing rapidity of contemporary visual culture and its impact on the arts,[21] but unlike many of these, Phillips emphasizes the latent positive repercussions of this development.

There is a distinct affinity for temporality in contemporary art, as Christine Ross and other scholars have shown.[22] Like Phillips before her, Ross links this trend to a wider societal context: "Perception in [the] late twentieth century and early twenty-first century has been increasingly conditioned by demands of interactivity, multitasking, hypersolicitation of attention, and acceleration."[23] Artistic projects that play around with traditional conceptions of time are typical for this "temporal turn", which also involves a framing of the contemporary artist as a mobile and dynamic character, whose nomadic restlessness can be a creative asset. Ross thus aligns herself with Phillips's search for productive outcomes of temporarily.

One concrete example of this combined interest in temporarily and nomadism is an art project called *Land, Use: Blueprint for a New Pastoralism* by Futurefarmers,[24] a diverse group of practitioners formed in 1995. Nature, farming, and green participatory action are key concepts in their work. In this particular project, Futurefarmers were investigating a disappearing form of pastoralism, once practiced by desert nomads in California. Staged indoors at the David Brower Center, the nomadic references included a drawing of a shepherd's wagon, a temporary shelter, and campfire-ish place of gathering. This was meant to serve a re-enactment of a shepherd's narrative, emphasizing the temporal manner in which nomads set camp, communed, and then moved on in the days of yore. The life cycle of the old nomads resembles Futurefarmers' own practice: their growing portfolio of temporariness has taken them around the world, to places such as Oslo, Abruzzo, and Stockholm, to name a few. While always emphasizing matters of local significance

in their approach to site, they nevertheless adhere to the typical image of the contemporary artist whose productivity depends on the ability to be globally relevant and ready to move to wherever the next temporary commission appears.

Temporariness is not just a contemporary artistic fascination; it is also used instrumentally by many local governments around the world in order to generate activity during periods of urban transition. Dean Carson, Doris Schmallegger, and Sharon Harwood call it "the institutionalisation of 'temporariness' as the driver of growth".[25] This is transferable to a number of temporary art projects in London, for instance those included in the Art in Empty Spaces umbrella, which is a council-driven initiative in Hackney, East London. The purpose of this project is to breathe life into properties that have fallen into disrepair. Instead of just waiting for new plans to hatch, the local council has encouraged artists to fill the empty buildings with short-term displays of various kinds. On the one hand, this provides an opportunity to produce and exhibit. On the other, it represents a kind of willed gentrification. The artistic work enhances the given area, thus preparing the ground for entrepreneurs to move in and redevelop it. The next logical step is that the local art scene is forced to move due to higher rent and property prices.

A typical example of this urban cycle is *Meanwhile Space* in Stoke Newington, which was an art venue located in a shop awaiting development and a long-term purpose. With the support of the Hackney council, the shop hosted seventeen projects in 2013. As soon as the council received a planning application, however, the venue shut down. This scenario is in keeping with the expected pattern of a regeneration process, in which artists find themselves caught between work opportunities and being the scapegoats of gentrification, as Josephine Berry Slater and Anthony Iles have described very accurately.[26] Tensions between benefits and downsides are therefore bound to occur.

One cannot disregard the social dilemmas at play here. However, temporary art projects are also entangled in a rhetoric discourse through which temporariness is being promoted as cool, clever, and forward-thinking. "Constant change is what makes the world's best cities worth revisiting", as Joe Minihane noted in a recent *Lonely Planet* article on art and urbanism.[27] Contemporary urban planning is informed by similar dreams of vibrant cities, which rely increasingly on temporary functions, mixed-use developments, and dy-

namic content. The lure of being cool and adaptable should never be underestimated, especially since the idea leans heavily on the rhetoric of newness as exposed through numerous movements in art and urbanism, like Andy Warhol's embrace of pop culture in the post-war period and, further back, Le Corbusier's assessment of mobility as the essence of human existence: "In the modern city one must circulate or perish."[28]

This backdrop offers a further explanation as to why artists appear on both sides of the barricades. Interestingly, the desire for contemporary dynamism sometimes leads to a devaluation of permanency, as revealed in a 2006 report issued by the London-based fashion agency Construct: "Permanency breeds a state of fear. If you own something, there's always the potential to lose it, while if you own next to nothing, you won't worry about ending up with nothing."[29]

THE STATS TELL THE STORY

The trouble is, though, that temporariness can create exactly the same fear and insecurity among people, as noted in a fresh study on migration workers: "Although temporariness among skilled migrants has sometimes been understood in a celebratory mode, through notions of circulation and flows, it is often structured by uncertainty caused by time-limited and differentiated access to rights of entry, stay, and employment."[30] Artists and other cultural producers in Oslo may not be migrants in the traditional meaning of the term, but the majority of them are accustomed to a migratory working life within the city's boundaries. This gives them one considerable advantage compared to less mobility-driven citizens: coping with change is something they learn to master. They are nevertheless affected by change and temporariness, in numerous ways.

A national survey of workspaces[31] for visual artists in Norway sheds light on this particular matter. Oslo contains more artistic workspaces than any other city in Norway, but being the capital city and an undisputed cultural magnet, Oslo attracts considerably larger quantities of artists. Consequently, the survey affirms that the general access to ateliers in Oslo has been insufficient for many years.[32] Among the 1,093 respondents, 108 declared themselves gravely dissatisfied with their current work situation, with 81 of the latter respondents based in Oslo.[33]

Lack of predictability is a regular theme in the survey. This goes for Oslo as well as the other cities. Almost 80 per cent of the respondents rent their

workspaces, of which 50 per cent are rented on the open market. This means that their workspace future is in the hands of stakeholders outside the artistic field. There are legal obstacles, too, or more precisely: a lack of legal protection. More than three out of ten respondents confirm that they have been renting ateliers without a written contract for one rental period or more. The survey also reveals that artists swap location frequently. In fact, 10 per cent of the respondents have changed workspace six times or more over the past ten years, while 18 per cent have changed four to five times, and 41 per cent have changed two to three times. These numbers are not entirely unusual – indeed, renting a space has been the key to artistic productivity for many decades – but there are very few among the respondents who would chose renting over ownership if given the opportunity. The survey is very clear about that. There is one exception, though. Some artists prefer short-term contracts in cases where they only need a production space for a specific project, limited in time. They do not want to pay more for more than they need.[34]

This situation leads to the inevitable question: Why do artists move around a lot? Firstly, there are more artists than ever before in Norway. There has been a growth rate of about 30 to 40 per cent from 1994 to 2006,[35] and the total number of artists is still growing. This creates more pressure and competition for workspace. This must be seen in relation to a period of rapid transition in the five biggest Norwegian cities, resulting in major alterations in the existing urban fabric. The survey from 2014 singles out demolition as the most common reason why artists move.[36]

Economy plays a big part in this. The single most important reason why artists lack a workspace or struggle to keep one in the long-term is high rental prices. The situation is more precarious in Oslo than in the other cities, since the capital city has the highest price per square meter. Conditions in Oslo are also different because there is a notable degree of workspace variation. Some respondents report production spaces as small as two square meters, while others have 200 square meters solely at their own disposal. Seeing that the need for storage space is crucial to a visual artist – 63 per cent of the respondents name it as their biggest everyday challenge – these differences are hugely important.[37] Such differences are amplified by the fact that some artists are subsidized by the public administration, either in the form of renting a municipality-owned workspace or scholarships and stipends. The gap between the public and private market in Oslo is significantly larger these days compared to the situation twenty to thirty years back. Some respondents claim that this creates an "A team" and a "B team" within Oslo's art scene.[38]

There are further complications too. While Oslo municipality has succeeded in establishing a decent number of publicly run workspaces in recent years, the artists appear to be disgruntled with the apparent lack of a dynamic strategy for putting these spaces to good use.[39] It can thus be argued that they perceive their own artistic endeavour to be reliant upon two diverging patters: the overwhelming dynamic of a market-driven urban economy and the underwhelming dynamic of public administration.

ARTISTS: THE DROMOMANIACS OF OSLO?

The key findings of the 2014 survey largely correspond with my own in-depth interviews. Ten out of ten informants mentioned an insecure workspace situation as their biggest worry when asked to openly describe their current and previous working conditions in Oslo. As one of them put it: "It is a nomadic existence because you choose the places where you can afford to be. These are often temporary buildings that are either about to collapse, or which will eventually be turned into flats. You rent these places for an unspecified length of time, and you never know for how long."[40] Clearly, this creates uncertainty in regard to the planning of future projects and the scale and format of the artistic output. A painting can be produced almost anywhere, whereas large sculptures and installations demand more space and time in order to be carried out.

Another issue that emerged during these interviews has to do with value. As previously mentioned, cultural planning has tended to favour visible, audience-related attractions rather than spaces of production. This kind of prioritization means that it is difficult to defend the right to keep a facility solely for the sake of its interior functionality, unless the building has an obvious value beyond that, for instance cultural heritage value. Those who administer cultural heritage in Oslo, the cultural heritage management department staff, have developed a nuanced schema for assessing the value of various objects of historical importance, but are known to neglect the value of ongoing cultural activities. Firstly, because the cultural heritage management office does not have a mandate to protect those values. Secondly, because the cultural heritage sector lacks a proper vocabulary to assess the cultural heritage of the future. Two of my informants were very particular about that, with one saying that: "To see the value of what is being done while it is being done, here and now, is something our society is unable to do. It must be canonized before it is recognized as valuable."[41] The other pointed out a concrete result

of this lack of protection: "I had a studio in the former chocolate factory on [the street] Stockholmsgata during a period when the whole neighbourhood was full of small businesses, artist studios, rehearsal rooms and the like. Today all that is gone. There was clearly no concept that could countenance the value of preserving these activities."[42]

Ongoing cultural activity is not a mandatory theme in planning either. Every time a new planning process commences, be it private or public, it has to be in compliance with a predetermined checklist. The content of this list is closely monitored by the planning department of Oslo, where the plan is evaluated step by step. This list contains a wide scope of topics: children's welfare, the traffic situation, green space, security, universal design, to name a few. Ongoing artistic activity, however, does not feature, which means that any plan can pass through the system without even mentioning that there are artists currently working in the area.

According to my informants, the municipality's governance of artistic productivity also falls short when it comes to workspace accommodation. They accuse the municipality of failing to understand what the artists need, and of killing the spontaneity of a self-grown work environment. The public ateliers, into which artists are assigned from a list of applicants, cannot replace the collegial atmosphere of a self-regulated artistic milieu, the argument goes. In general, their feedback conveys that a customized, post-industrial building is preferable to a public atelier, which might be suitable for certain kinds of artistic production and unsuitable for others. One of my informants put it this way:

> The question is: What happens when the public sector determines which artists will be given a place? It's often the preconditions that are wrong. In the last round of municipal grant allotments, it was clear that female photographers were being allocated the most space. This is of course very nice for women artists – is it not – but what about the older male sculptors and painters? Something happens through the regulated allotment process. [43]

ECONOMIES OF TIME, PACE, AND PLACE

These issues are also a matter of perspective. Different people and age groups have diverging preferences in life regarding where they wish to work and reside. Some people think of a slow and stable life as a good life. This per-

spective tends to dominate in municipal surveys of life quality in Oslo, where peaceful residential neighbourhoods normally top the list.[44] According to Jenny Shaw, however, "Not everyone wants a slower life. The young especially, for example, often move to places perceived as faster just as much as the old move to places perceived as slower."[45] As confirmed by the survey of workspaces and my own interviews, artists in Oslo desire a bit of both: the comfort of a slow residential life in combination with a regular yet dynamic inner-city workspace. That desire is difficult to satisfy even for citizens with a much higher annual income.

In reality, more and more artists in Oslo have to choose between living close to the city centre or working close to it. A 2010 article in the Norwegian magazine for visual art, *Billedkunst*, claimed that an increasing number of artists decide to move out of Oslo and re-establish themselves in various surrounding small towns, where there is less competition for resources and post-industrial buildings.[46] Similarly, the survey of workspaces revealed a gradual densification of artists working in the north-eastern part of Oslo, which traditionally has been less sought-after as an area to work due to its history of heavy industry and pollution.[47]

This weighing of the pros and cons of acceleration is not limited to our own time, however. In fact, such decisions are rather similar to those that people had to make in the early twentieth century, when the pace of the industrialized world really took hold of many cities. The emerging speed culture of that era caused frustration and concern, yet also a feeling of progress: "But protests, however moving, cannot negate the fact that the world opted for speed time and again. People complain about the intrusion of a telephone but rarely do without one and organize their lives with as many time-saving devices as they can."[48]

What Stephen Kern is addressing in that passage is the ever-evolving human quest for finding time in everyday life. The undertaking of that task changes over time, especially if the everyday social circumstances take a different turn. Few things are more challenging in the everyday "battle for time", argues Shaw, than combining the routines of family life with a job that depends on elastic time-use:

> In unconscious terms, family time is essentially anti-linear and opposed to work time, which is linear and progressive. The ensuing opposition or tension between family and work time appears in many forms, but it is mapped most clearly on to place. Working late, at home, at the weekend or on holiday – though increasingly common – almost always leads to bad feelings because, done in the "wrong" place, it represents a basic incompatibility between work feelings (which are about moving on) and family feelings (which are about staying put).[49]

All my informants mentioned exactly this conflict between work time and leisure time as a reappearing everyday challenge. Everyday life concerns more than staying at home or being at work, however. An important additional factor for the Oslo-based artists is the continuous fight for workspace survival in the inner city. In order to sustain their own spaces of productivity, they're required to attend meetings, launch protests, file letters to the planning department, phone up politicians, raise awareness in the media, et cetera. In sum, these activities are highly time-consuming and normally always come as an extra commitment. In most cases, urban transformation involves new zoning in the form of a planning proposal. The task of having to decipher an urban plan adds to the daily time pressure, not least because such plans can be almost impossible to comprehend for the unskilled reader. In order to understand the impact of an urban plan, one must stay focused over a long period of time, which is a source of exhaustion. The rhythm of a given planning process may be totally at odds with the rhythm of people's everyday lives. Such tempo changes can be hugely problematic according to Shaw: "Because time-keeping is profoundly embedded in everyday life, habits and values, accommodating to a different tempo challenges what is expected and can produce intense feelings of dislocation in those forced to march at an unfamiliar pace."[50]

In short, many Oslo-based artists struggle to keep pace within the existing system of urban governance in Oslo. Time is a social good,[51] and the neoliberal economy is generous towards those who have the money to live and work where they please. This situation leads to inner-city diversity drain and, according to one of my informants, influences the ways in which artists go about their work: "Art is a part of what it emanates from. Art is precisely as important as the place where it is made. This is why inner-city workspaces are extremely important."[52]

CONCLUSION

To summarize, I would like to suggest that the material I have explored in this article finds itself caught between the sedentary and nomadic metaphysics of Cresswell's analysis of mobile cultures in the Western world. On the one hand, if the current urban development trend continues along the same trajectory, it is probable to assume that many artists in Oslo will have to cope with a prolonged feeling of dislocation in the years to come. The feeling of being deprioritized, in addition to the impracticalities caused by frequent physical displacement, undoubtedly has a potentially negative impact on the ability to stay productive. There is an obvious gap between satisfactory working conditions and the realities of life as an artist in Norway's capital city.

Moreover, the present situation seems to generate a class divide, not only between artists and citizens whose daily occupation is more privileged, but also within the art scene itself. While some are able to harvest the benefits of staying in circulation – being in the right place at the right time, receiving grants, seizing available spaces – others are clearly prevented, to some extent, from fulfilling their artistic ambitions.

On the other hand, though, the Oslo art scene can be criticized for its lack of perspective. Being an artist in Norway is, comparatively speaking, not particularly exhausting in the greater scheme of things, especially now that Europe is going through a period of serious economic downfall. Perhaps this reveals a methodological loophole in the survey, and my interviews may have triggered a negative response simply because the informants were encouraged to reflect upon their own well-being, or lack thereof. Or perhaps the widespread debate about the neglected art scene – a frequently emerging topic in the Oslo newspapers – has made it legitimate for artists to raise their voices in concern, thus creating a shared platform of dismay. "Misery has more company than people think" is the headline of a psychological study on the prevalence of other people's negative emotions.[53] By taking this logic to its conclusion, one could argue that Oslo's art scene suffers from a state of emotional pluralistic ignorance, to borrow an expression from the same study.

This is a question of expectations. Ideally, all adult citizens should have the opportunity to be in full employment – if they so wish – with access to adequate work facilities and a permanent home. But is unlimited artistic dynamism perhaps incompatible with absolute permanency, in practical as well as artistic terms? Searching for a perfect equilibrium of nomadic and sedentary life qualities is a tricky quest.

Temporariness may be undesirable, frightening even, but it nevertheless has a pull, an inherit energy, that seems to engender artistic activity, in the form of temporal art projects (of which many would never find a place where they are not temporal), temporality as a theme in art, and the sheer vitality that goes with the underdog role. The fight for survival is a kind of artistic boosterism in itself: it sparks protest exhibitions and artistic activism of various kinds, neatly embedded in global art trends like participatory art and related forms of social performativity. I will therefore argue that artistic productivity in the city of temporality can be stimulated and stifled in equal measures depending, of course, on the local context. In the case of Oslo, I would say that the balance is pretty even for the time being.

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URBAN DESIGN IN THE CITY OF HELSINGBORG: THE CONFLICTING INTERESTS OF MOBILITY AND CULTURAL HERITAGE IN A CONTEMPORARY PROJECT

Magnus Rönn

ABSTRACT

This article presents a case study in Helsingborg. The case began with a developer competition in 2009 and covered the acceptance of the detail plan in 2013 by politicians on the Board of City Planning Department (Stadsbyggsnämnden). The developer competition was organized by the Property Development Administration in the city of Helsingborg (Mark- och exploateringsenheten). When the jury chose a first-prize winner, the City Planning Department (Stadsbyggnadsförvaltningen) was given the task of drawing up a detail plan to implement the winning design proposal. This became a complicated assignment. A cultural heritage building, Ångfärjestation (Steam Ferry Station) from 1898, had to be moved to free up ground for the development. The relation between mobility and heritage values became a key issue in the urban design project.

The County Administrative Board (Länsstyrelsen) has a supervisory role for areas which have been pointed out as important for national cultural heritage, such as the city centre of Helsingborg. If the County Administrative Board finds that the detail plan risks causing significant damage to national interests, it may annul the municipality's decision. This is the fate of the first detail plan in Helsingborg. Part of the dispute concerns the relocation of the Ferry and Train Station, which may be assumed to cause considerable damage. This is a complex of problems. Assessments are founded on both descriptions of national interests and design, as well as on how the cultural heritage value is dealt with in the detail plan.

The overall purpose of the study is to present a case that demonstrates the role that cultural heritage plays in the detail planning process regarding aspects of mobility. More specifically, the paper deals with mobility and values at a specific site in the centre of Helsingborg. The methods for collecting and processing the data in the case study are the close reading of documents found in archives and interviews with key actors. Documentation from the

detail planning procedure was provided by the City Planning Department and the County Administrative Board. This documentation made it possible to identify the key actors and have them complete the interview guide. Viewpoints were thus obtained from eleven key actors who influenced the way development interests were weighed against cultural environment interests.

The case study finishes with conclusions and discussion. Here the negative consequences of development are balanced by weighing them against the value of the cultural environment. Ten summing-up conclusions are made, which describe types of compensation, decisions, roles, power relations, organization, and steering of planning work. The final discussion takes up the preconditions for a systematic reunification of cultural environment experiences in the detail planning processes.

KEYWORDS
Cultural environment, compensation, damage, national interests, detail plan

INTRODUCTION

This case study describes an urban design project in Helsingborg dealing with mobility of cultural values in the city. It is an informative and pedagogic case from a cultural heritage perspective. Leading politicians in the city wanted to build a hotel and congress centre in the centre of the city in Helsingborg. This area was of national interest for the cultural heritage protected by law. The site was the location of a valuable cultural-historical Steam Ferry Station from 1898. Since the area to be exploited was noted to be of national interest, the authority over land use is shared between the city, through the local planning board, and the state, through the County Administrative Board. In this case, the final approval of a detailed plan will be a governmental decision. The County Administrative Board has the right to reject local detail plans which threaten to considerably damage national interests. The tricky issue is the degree of damage and the nature of cultural heritage losses that can be foreseen.

The city's politicians and officials / civil servants see the urban design project as a difficult and complex planning task marked by contradictory opinions by citizens and experts. Key actors with development interests believe that the Steam Ferry Station could be moved elsewhere in the area. For the developer, the procured architect, and the administrators in Helsingborg, the urban design project includes a relocation of the Steam Ferry Station that could

both preserve existing cultural values and add new qualities to the area. Key actors with cultural heritage interests believe that the value in this case is directly linked to the location of the building. This culturally based value cannot be moved or re-created elsewhere without significant loss, according to consultants and experts in the Culture Administration and the County Administrative Board. The two opposite expert perspectives are clearly manifested in this case study.

Moving houses as a method for preservation of cultural heritage values and saving important buildings is nothing new. On the contrary, it is an old practice that has been used by several Swedish cities for over a hundred years in order to re-create the image of history in environments by saving individual buildings from destruction. Two very well-known examples in Sweden are *Skansen* in Stockholm, from 1891, and *Kulturen* in Lund, established in 1892. Both of these environments have been constructed by moving old houses into new areas as a kind of historicism in urban design. The same methodology is behind the formation of *Old Linköping*, from 1952, and *Wadköping* in Örebro, which was constructed in 1965 by moving old buildings from the surroundings into the new plot.

The relocation of Kiruna in the north of Sweden is a contemporary example. In Kiruna, cultural values, previously pointed out by municipal and governmental organizations, have been removed from buildings in order to minimize the requirement for conservation by relocation. A small selection of buildings with cultural values will be moved to the new city.[1] Researchers have been carrying out several studies on cultural heritage in the planning process for the relocation of Kiruna and Malmberget.[2] However, the demands for moving historically valuable buildings in these studies are not understood as a form of cultural compensation, which is central to this case study in Helsingborg.

PURPOSE AND QUESTIONS

The overall aim of this article is to highlight the role that cultural heritage played in the city building project up until the detail plan. The specific purpose is to show how professional architects, urban planners, developers, and politicians have understood mobility and values. My intention is to describe, analyze, and discuss three aspects of the value of cultural heritage based on the case study in Helsingborg, a city in the south of Sweden. I will describe and discuss the following aspects of the planning process:

- Cultural heritage values tied to a fixed location versus mobile qualities and values
- Influence, actors, and interests in planning processes
- Identifiable values, influence, and cultural heritage compensation

The first aspect focuses on the cultural environment as a value tied to a specific place and context that is unique. To what extent can the cultural heritage qualities and value be moved and reconstructed at another location? Is the original environment more authentic than the later contribution, which tells us a story about the change?

The second aspect deals with the interests in the planning process and how they are organized to work with the detail plan. Which key actors represent development interests, that is, cultural heritage interests in the planning? How are these interests represented in the planning? Which directive means are used to preserve and safeguard the cultural heritage values?

The third aspect concerns the cultural heritage, values, and damages from detail plans in areas of national interest. Which negative impacts on the cultural heritage are acceptable? How are compensation measures described in the planning material? How are compensation measures dealt with by the key actors in the planning process?

The article treats the experiences from the research project *Steering Tools and Compensation Measures within the Cultural Heritage Domain*, financed by a grant from The National Heritage Board research and development unit. One of the case studies in the research project deals with an urban design project in Helsingborg.[3] This article analyses the empirics in the case based on an analysis model, constructed to fit the conference theme. The article is organized in three parts. The first part is the introduction, which describes the background, aim, method, analysis model, and key actors. This is followed by the description of the case study beginning in 2006, with the location followed in 2009 by a developer competition. The case study continues until 2013, when the second detail plan was accepted. The article ends with conclusions and discussions about the role cultural heritage plays in the urban design project. Using the theoretical analysis model, three comprehensive views are formulated about the key actors' opinions regarding cultural heritage, influence, and cultural heritage compensation. The results are based on the urban design project in Helsingborg – but the conclusions are not limited

to this specific case. Rather, they are generally applicable to planning in sites with valuable cultural heritage.

THEORY AND METHOD

This study investigates a controversial urban design project in the city of Helsingborg. This choice of case was mainly motivated by its ability to clarify how experts in planning processes deal with cultural values. It is a strategically motivated selection. The case study provides data on the issue of whether cultural values are mobile or should be understood as qualities fixed at plot. Planning for exploitation of land and designing projects in cultural heritage areas generate value-based judgement, provoke experiences and fundamental quality issues, which for researchers in the humanities corresponds to reality and experiment in natural science.

The relocation of buildings with cultural value is connected to issues such as destruction and loss, restoring, reconstruction, and discussions on adding qualities in a new context.[4] I would like to include compensation measures as a way of restoring values in this discussion. The very existence of value is a precondition for compensation. Furthermore: without value, it is not possible to find an overall best solution in architectural and urban design when exploitation counterposes value in cultural heritage.[5] Design solutions are always good or bad, better or worse, from a certain perspective – clients' objectives, expert points of view, or else seen from the horizon of politicians and local citizens. Different kind of values are embedded in cultural heritage as mobile or fixed at the site, both as a research subject and as a controversial professional practice.

Learning by cases is central to the production of both professional knowledge and research-based findings in architecture and urban design. I have been inspired by Håkan Törnebohm and his scientific approach to case studies as a research strategy in this article for this reason.[6] Case studies are noted for their similarity to praxis.[7] Research findings can be put into practice. Knowledge acquired through case studies may be reused by consultants and civil servants in administrating new assignments as principles, rules for action, and as patterns for how planning problems can be solved. Bent Flyvbjerg has defended case studies as a method and research strategy in a very articulate way.[8] According to Flyvberg, case studies are useful both for developing and securing new knowledge – not only for generating theories and testing scientific hypotheses.

DATA COLLECTION

Data in this case study have been collected from three sources: 1) studying archives, 2) close reading of documents, 3) interviews with key actors. Important words and significant sentences were noted and interpreted by close reading. To access these documents, the archives (diaries) were examined on site at the City Planning Department in Helsingborg and the department for cultural heritage and social planning at the County Administrative Board in Skåne.

The municipal archives comprised many more documents than the archives of the County Administrative Board. The City Planning Department's archives contained decisions, programs, exhibition documents, consultant reports, detail plans, and reports on implementation. The County Administrative Board's archives, in turn, included documents related to their role as the body to which the proposal is submitted with the power to reject the detail plan in areas of national interest if there is a probable risk of substantial damage.

The interviews of key actors were made based on a questionnaire. In total, thirteen persons were identified as important informants for the urban design project. Of those, nine answered the questions in the survey. Additional telephone interviews with two other persons were made. The replies from eleven of the thirteen informants, together with the documents from the archives, give a very good picture of how the cultural environment was dealt with in the planning process.

KEY ACTORS

There are five typical key actors in the urban design project in Helsingborg, who to varying degrees steered the conditions for the cultural environment during the planning and development of the detail plan:

- *Politicians:* Elected members who decide on planning projects and the direction of the municipality's plan work.
- *Administrators:* The City Planning Department is responsible for the design plan and drawing up documents for consultation/decisions. The administrators may assign tasks to consultants. The Property Development Administration regulates the building rights and developing contracts. The detail plan proposals are submitted to the Cultural Administration in the city for evaluation when they concern cultural heritage.

- *Developers:* Real-estate firms and building companies who wish to develop the land with new buildings.
- *Consultants:* Architect firms are assigned to design new buildings. Moreover, consultants are engaged to investigate the environmental and cultural heritage impact. The museum is given the task to prepare for an eventual listing of the Steam Ferry Station.
- *County Administrative Board:* The Department for Cultural Heritage and Social Planning at the County Administrative Board analyses the plan documents and evaluates the consequences for the cultural heritage and impact on areas of national interest.

There are citizens in the background. They try to influence the planning indirectly through politicians and directly by taking part in meetings, demonstrations, petitions, and appeals. However, the main focus is on the professionals and their involvement in the project, not on the citizens.

ANALYSIS MODEL

To analyze the role of cultural heritage in the city planning project, a model has been constructed using crossing axes: the horizontal axis represents the basic *interest* in planning and the vertical axis shows the attitude towards the *value* of cultural heritage.

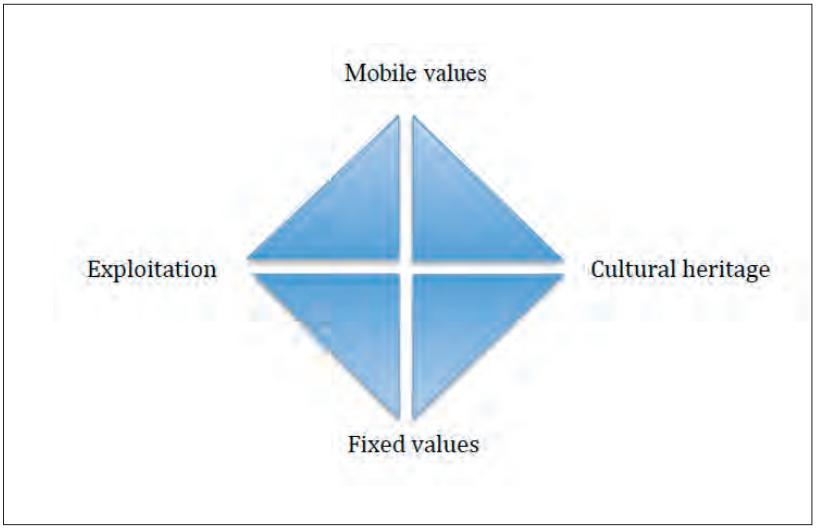


Figure 1. Cultural values and interests in urban design projects

The horizontal axis is two-sided. On the one side, there is the exploitation interest with key actors driven by changing the use of the land for new purposes. Their goal is to carry out the urban design project. On the other side, there is the cultural heritage interest represented by key actors who see the preservation and administration of cultural heritage as their responsibility. Their aim in participating in the planning is to protect the values of the cultural heritage.

The vertical axis in the model describes two different cultural heritage values. On the one side is the idea of value as divisible and with mobile qualities. According to this idea, cultural heritage values to a varying degree can be moved, changed, copied, and reconstructed at another location by compensation measures. Values are made mobile. Thus the values lost through exploitation can be reconstructed in a new spatial context without diminishing the quality of the cultural heritage. The other side of the axis is represented by the idea that cultural heritage is an entirety, totally unique for each location. Values take place in a specific way. There is a story to be told about values at a plot. Here, the cultural heritage value is dependent upon the context. It is understood and experienced as a whole. This kind of heritage value demands authenticity, truth, history, and cannot be separated into parts or moved from the location without causing irreparable damage, which can only be partially repaired by compensation.

CASE STUDY

The case study begins in 2006 when the City of Helsingborg ordered an investigation to determine the best location for a congress and hotel compound. A location in the city near the cultural centre with good public transportation was suggested. This site was the location of the Steam Ferry Station from 1898; it was of cultural heritage value and already in the city's preservation program and pointed out as a building of national interest. A design process developed with strong political and commercial exploitation interests that came into conflict with cultural heritage interests, represented by citizens, politicians, and the body organizations that want to preserve cultural values in the city of Helsingborg.

The Municipal Council decided that the design should aim at restoring the Steam Ferry Station to its original condition. The building was designed by the architect Folke Zettervall and commissioned by the Swedish State Railways and promoters.[9] In spite of the fact that the station was planned to be a

temporary building for ferry and train traffic, the architecture was diligently and lavishly designed. Already in 1902, an extension was planned for customs inspection. In 1920, the ceiling was raised to accommodate telegraph services. In 1970, a restaurant wing was added. In 1993, a rock club moved into the premises as the other activities had ceased. This alteration became a part of the architecture.

DEVELOPER COMPETITION

In March 2009, the City of Helsingborg organized a developer competition. This was a competition by invitation starting with prequalification of interested candidates. The municipality intended to let three to six teams composed of developer and architect firms participate in the competition. The competition task included a congress and hotel complex, offices, and housing with activity premises on the ground floor. The aim was to find both an architecturally attractive solution and a developer for long-term administration, including a hotel operator. The invited team was to be awarded 350,000 SEK for an approved proposal. The winner of the competition would have the sole right to negotiate with the municipality on the conditions for implementing the urban design project.[10]

The site of the developer competition is a large area of land in the centre of the city. There are two factors of national interest in the area: the port and the cultural heritage. The Steam Ferry Station is part of the national interest in terms of cultural heritage. According to the invitation, an evaluation of the future of the station building was included in the competition task. The building may be moved within the competition area.

The City of Helsingborg has international ambitions and marketed the competition at the Building Conference in Cannes. The competition was also advertised in Europe in the *Official Journal of the European Union*. To be considered for the competition, the design teams had to meet the following must-have requirements:

- Description of the consortium or firm, including contact information and the responsible representative
- The financier/investor/backer and promoter
- Architect, landscape architect, as well as other consultants and collaborators with their contact information and responsible representative
- Congress and hotel operators

- Presentation of reference projects of similar nature; extent, accomplishment, and time, preferably with external references.
- Description of particular competence or expertise, which should eventually be considered to develop and implement the congress and hotel project
- Short presentation of the environmental policy and management system/organization used in the project
- Original signature of the authorized signatory

According to the invitation, the selection of teams for the competition would be based on the following criteria:

- Fulfilment of the formal requirements outlined in the invitation
- Economic and organizational capacities of the firms/consortiums, congress and hotel entrepreneurs, and other collaborators
- Overall relevant competence of firm/consortium, with particular attention paid to level of knowledge regarding architecture, landscape architecture, and urban design
- Ability and competence for planning, financing, implementation, and for owning and administering projects of similar content and size
- Experience and references for firms/consortiums, congress and hotel entrepreneurs, other collaborators, architects, consultants, and experts

In total, ten design teams submitted applications. The municipality's project group decided upon the following five teams to participate in the competition:

- Foster + Partners Ltd (English team)
- HSB Nordvästra Skåne & Veidekke Fastighetsutveckling (Swedish team)
- Wihlborgs, JM & PEAB (Swedish team)
- Midroc Property Development + Schmidt/Hammer/Lasse (Swedish/Danish team)
- Briggen AB (Swedish team)

In May 2009, the competition brief was presented to the design teams. Four tasks were specified: 1) Congress compound with space for 1,000–1,400 seats, 2) Hotel with a capacity of 200–250 rooms, 3) Shops, exhibition area, café, restaurant, and leisure activities adjoining the congress and hotel compound, 4) Housing with premises on the ground floor. The brief included

a series of goal phrases, such as high architectural quality, attractive areas, variation, diversity, and durable solutions. One issue in the competition brief was the Steam Ferry Station. The future of the building was described in the competition as follows:

> The building will be part of the total concept of the competition proposal. The competitors must decide if the station house should remain at its present location – with or without annexes and platforms – or if it should be moved to a different location in the competition area. A conclusive evaluation must be made about the building's authenticity being dependent upon its preservation at the original site or if the historical heritage remains intact regardless of a change in location. The applicant is at liberty to suggest uses for the building.[11]

The competition jury was made up of thirteen persons: five leading politicians and seven officials in prominent positions. In addition, an independent architect from Stockholm was included. According to the competition program, the jury's decision should be based on the following six criteria:

- An urban structural hold on the location and buildings
- Architectonic design and character
- Functionality – content, utilization, and coordination between congress and hotel operations
- Concept for procedures concerning organization, visions, arrangements, and operation of hotel and congress activities
- Prerequisites for implementation process, ownership, and administration
- Price per square meter building area and volume (leasehold fee with 4 per cent interest)

In January 2010, the jury publicly announced the winner. The officials examined the proposal nine times. A unanimous jury awarded the first prize to Midroc Property Development and their partner, the Danish architect bureau Schmidt/Hammer/Lassen. The proposal was named Salt Crystals (SALTKRISTALLERNA) and the jury substantiated their decision as follows:

> The proposer behind Salt Crystals has in a convincing way presented a proposal that was well thought through, with realistic, dynamic architecture and a well-balanced urban spatial connection. The urban structural

Figure 2. Winning design in the developer competition by Midroc Property Development. Architect: Schmidt/Hammer/Lassen. Source: City of Helsingborg

> concept is attractive as the new building fits well into the existing city grid. The design of the thoroughfares and spaces creates good preconditions for inviting walks, green areas and attractive places available to all. The architecture is independent and original. The design of the proposal provides a balanced project which complements the city with a landmark. The congress compound and hotel have a functional and attractive overall solution from both a financial and sustainable perspective.[12]

In short, the jury found that the new location for the Steam Ferry Station in the winning suggestion is convincing and in a positive way enhances how the park in the city centre is experienced. Focus lies on the new building. The jury wanted to modify the architectural solution in the proposal on three counts: 1) The hotel's southern façade should be reworked to give a lighter impression, 2) The design of the public area should be developed in close cooperation with the city, 3) The northern part of the residential area should be further studied considering the passageways and sight lines along the quay. With these recommendations, the jury submitted their decision to the politicians to continue the process for the urban design project.

DETAIL PLAN PROGRAM

In February 2010, the Municipal Council in Helsingborg decided to proceed with the winning proposal from the developer competition. Four months later, the City Planning Department presented a suggestion for a detail plan program which entailed moving the Steam Ferry Station to free up land for the new congress and hotel compound. The winning design was described as a landmark, a symbolic building with sculptural façades. The new meeting

of city and water was looked upon with approval by the City Planning Department.

The cultural heritage played a secondary role in the competition brief. However, the area was noted since 1997 to be of national interest as cultural heritage due to its historical value. This designation was motivated as follows:

> Port and industrial city with shipping, strategically located at the most narrow area of Öresund and with lineage dating back to the early Middle Ages. The city reflects many developments from the early medieval high town around the royal castle/fort, the expanding small town during high Middle Ages, the fortification town of the 1600s, to the late 1800s and 1900s expansive port and industrial town. The later 1800s and the early 1900s town development with the compact area of stone buildings, boulevard, spaces, parks and public buildings. The successive development after 1800s of the port and railroad with auxiliary buildings demonstrates the functioning as an important port and railroad town. Affluent villa areas, workers' areas, industries and other workplaces reveal the town's social and functional stratification.[13]

The proposal for the detail plan program has a chapter which describes the consequences for the cultural heritage. Relocation of the Steam Ferry Station is now presented as preserving the cultural heritage. The building will be restored to its original state at a new site by demolishing expansions and rebuilding it. The area has already lost several cultural historical values through the removal of the train tracks and by tearing down buildings in the port. This is why relocation should be an acceptable influence on the cultural heritage value. The building was even designated as being of special value by the municipality's preservation program in 2002. However, according to the City Planning Department, the preservation program is only a suggestive reference in planning – not a compulsory steering document. At the same time, it was noted that a cultural heritage problematic existed in the area and had to be further investigated. The County Administration could reject the detailed plan. This is a risk that has to be taken into account.

CONSULTATION

In June 2010, the City Planning Department issued a report from the consultants. The suggestions had been criticized by residents, citizens, and representatives from the body of administrators. Some were positive towards the proposal for a new building, but "many expressed their negative opinion

based on the influence the change would have on the city image/profile".[14] Two critical key actors were the County Administrative Board and the City Culture Administration. The County Administration Board feared that the planning program would considerably harm the area's national interest. The objections concerned both the pulling down of the Steam Ferry Station's annexes and its removal to a fictitious place. The Cultural Administration expressed similar criticism. The city antiquarian considered it to be particularly urgent to preserve the building at its original location because of earlier demolitions in the city. The Steam Ferry Station's architecture is typical for the period and the extensions mediate information about the activities there. To support the idea of preservation, reference was made to the area as being of national interest for the cultural heritage, the municipal preservation program, and the demands in the planning and building law.

The City Planning Department hoped that the antagonism between the development interests and the cultural heritage interests would be bridged. The promised inquiry about the cultural heritage value at the site was seen as an opening step:

> The City Planning Department esteems that, based on the total picture, the proposed building in the area follows the actual building structure and in a good way links together neighbourhoods from the 1800s and 1900s with the northern port's modern slab block … The work with cultural heritage during the consultations will shed light on the question of the Steam Ferry Station location and preservation as well as its relation to national interests for cultural heritage in Helsingborg's city centre. An environmental impact description (MKB) will be drawn up where the relation to national interests as well as the position in the preservation program is clarified. The question of the symbolic value of Salt Crystals should be put in relationship to the city's needs and the direction the city has chosen … The cultural heritage interests should be seen in relation to town building and take into consideration the structure and intentions from the big picture where representative democracy is expressed … The final design of the development has not yet been decided upon, but in the consultation phase the City Planning Department will examine more closely the building/structure height and amplitude and at that time look further into the opinions that have arisen.[15]

CULTURAL HERITAGE INQUIRY

The municipality hired SWECO, a large consulting firm in Sweden, to make an in-depth cultural heritage analysis, as part of the environmental impact study (MKB).[16] SWECO concluded in their study that the exploitation would have a considerable negative impact on the cultural heritage.[17] SWECO advised against moving the Steam Ferry Station location. The building represents a national cultural heritage worth protecting, a historic link which together with the quays/platforms relates to Helsingborg as a important port and railroad city. Demolishing the annexes was also discouraged since they make the built environment understandable and portray the station's development. The annexes generate historical comprehension. What is more, the architecture of the winning competition proposal was criticized because the building's volume, scale, and expression diverged from the urban cityscape.

SWECO's cultural heritage analysis required adjusting the urban design project to the cultural heritage values in the detailed plan for the area. The analysis concluded with the consultants proposing the following measures for action:

- Information sign/exhibition about the development of the station and port should be made
- The national interest in cultural heritage should be evaluated and updated according to the changes which have occurred since the area was designated as such
- Strengthening of the Steam Ferry Station's protection in the detail plan
- A proposal to investigate if the Steam Ferry Station should be designated as a cultural heritage building
- Make goal-oriented efforts to clarify the historical value of the structure on site

ArkeoDok, a smaller company in the culture sector, was given the assignment to test how changes in the area influence the cultural heritage as these values were reported to be in the national interest of the area. ArkeoDok satisfied the client's interests and defended the municipality's direction for the detail plan. By way of alteration it is noted that the physical environment in the city covers a long period of time from the 1300s to the 1900s. From a historical perspective the changes would be typical for the town, and the site has no other cultural-historical trace left from the "railway and ferry but the Steam Ferry Station and the adjoining two platform roofs, which today

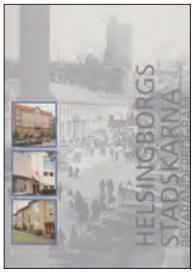


Figure 3. The 2002 conservation program in Helsingborg, front page
Figure 4. The report on designating the Steam Ferry Station as a cultural heritage building, front page
Figure 5. Steam Ferry Station in Helsingborg. Source: Internet

function as a roof over a carpark".[18] The conclusion from ArkeoDok was that the value of the area as a national interest for cultural heritage would be undermined. Therefore, a relocation of the Steam Ferry Station should be permitted. Also, the restoration to its original state by demolishing extensions and reconstructing the buildings was seen by ArkeoDok as an acceptable influence on the cultural heritage. No mention was made of cultural heritage compensation in this study.

LISTED BUILDING

At the same time as the work with a detail plan was going on, there was an alternative rescue plan to apply for protection by designating the Steam Ferry Station as a cultural heritage building. Has the station the quality to become a listed building? The County Administrative Board appointed the Regional Museum in Kristianstad to make a study for classification as a listed building in cooperation with the County Antiquarian in Skåne. The study concluded that the Steam Ferry Station has a high cultural heritage value and a unique history that makes it "really remarkable from a cultural-historical perspective".[19] Within the County Administrative Board there were divided opinions about the cultural heritage value. The County Deputy Director General rejected the application for protection as a listed building. The Cultural Heritage Director and the County Antiquarian at the county cultural heritage unit filed divergent opinions with the following motivation:

> The Steam Ferry Station more than well fulfils the criteria for being a listed building. The building is exceptionally remarkable because of its cultural heritage value. The Steam Ferry Station is unique from a national

> point of view and has a very high cultural heritage value … The building is linked to great community and social historical values. In spite of the fact that the Steam Ferry Station was no longer used as a station from 1991, the complex with its two platforms is easily understood in its historical context. Changes have occurred in its exterior with respect to the building's character. For example the lantern is now built in and preserved and possible to restore … In addition, a considerable amount of older decorations are preserved.[20]

DECISION, INTERVENTION, AND NEW START

The key actors representing the cultural heritage interests were not able to influence the detail plan. The relocation of the Steam Ferry Station remained. The City Planning Department had continued to prioritize the planned exploitation rather than alternative localities for the congress and hotel complex. The City Planning Department maintained that the proposal was drawn up in conjunction with the developer behind the winning proposal in the competition, Midroc Property Development, and the Danish architect firm which designed the new buildings at the site.

In May 2011, a divided Municipal Council approved the detail plan. The County Administrative Board annulled the detail plan referring to the considerable damage it would cause to the cultural heritage.[21] The municipality appealed the County Administration's decision to the government. It seemed like this would be a long, drawn-out process with an unpredictable outcome. Eight months later, the municipality interrupted the legal process, giving the City Planning Department the task to resume the planning. The basic idea for the urban design project remained, but, at the suggestion of the municipality, Midroc Property Development ended their cooperation with the Danish architecture office. The urban design project would instead be reintroduced in a parallel commission with three new architect firms from Sweden: JAIS arkitektkontor, Wingårdhs arkitektkontor, and Sandell/Sandberg arkitekter. Two of them are well-known firms in Sweden with good reputations. An evaluation of the proposals resulted in JAIS arkitektkontor working further on the congress and hotel complex. Wingårdhs arkitektkontor will design the housing complex in the area. Sandell/Sandberg were not given any assignment.

THE SECOND PROGRAM FOR A DETAIL PLAN

In December 2012, the municipality approved the second program for the detail plan. Even if it was based on the earlier detail plan, there were a few important differences in the design of the urban design project. This time guidelines were somewhat better adapted to the cultural values of the area. The municipality hired the architect firm Brunnberg & Forshed to prepare a city and cultural environmental analysis of the new building by JAIS arkitekkontor and Wingårdhs arkitektkontor. The City Planning Department described the impact on the cultural heritage as follows in the revised detail plan:

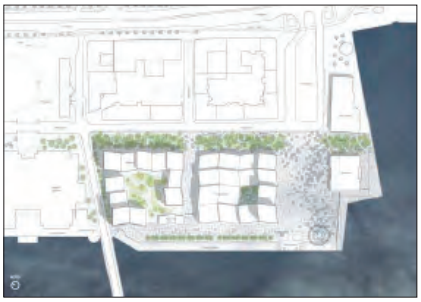
> The proposed building is derived from the building structure that formed the city centre and its relationship to the earlier port activities … the present plan suggestion does not pose any significant damage to the national interests, instead reinforcing the national interest by recreating a lost building in the Steam Ferry block … Moving the original part of the building body and placing it adjacent to the customs house and dock results in positive effects significant for national interests in cultural heritage. The Steam Ferry Station would have a more prominent location in relation to the surrounding stone house which is much higher … linking the ferry traffic and Sweden's first railway connection abroad (strengthens).[22]

CONSULTATION AND REFERRAL

The consultation meeting for the second program attracted 300 participants. The City Planning Department report showed that many citizens were still responding negatively to the plans. In the report, personnel from the department referred to the fact that the assignment came from politicians and "maintained that the proposed building offers prerequisites for quality urban space".[23]

According to the County Administrative Board, the program needed to be completed with a statement concerning the impact on national interests. The planned relocation of the Steam Ferry Station 70 meters away was again criticized by the County Administrative Board. The Culture Administration in the city felt that the proposed building was more suitable for the cityscape. There were still disagreements about the location of the Steam Ferry Station. On this point the opinion of the Culture Administration was in agreement with that of the report from the County Administrative Board on the revised

Figure 6. New building for congress and hotel complex by JAIS arkitektkontor (architect firm). Source: City of Helsingborg



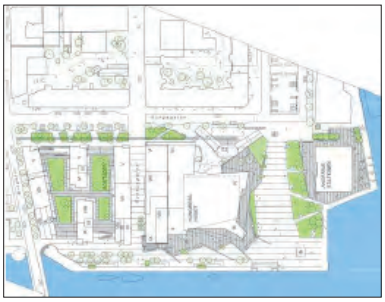


Figure 7a and 7b. From left; First and second detail plan for the urban design project. Source: City of Helsingborg

detail plan. Instead of moving and tearing down the annex buildings, the Culture Administration wanted the detail plan complemented with a protection clause enabling the building to be preserved at its original location.

The Second Cultural Heritage Inquiry

In May 2013, a new cultural heritage inquiry was presented. Two new consultant firms were asked by the City Planning Department to assess the impact of the detail plans on the area; Ramböll and Acanthus. Ramböll is a large consulting firm with international assignments. Acanthus is a small consulting firm in the cultural sector. The summary conclusion reached this

time was that the detail plan "would result in a certain degree of damage to the national interest".[24] But the damage was not judged to be very substantial.

Thus the obstacles to carrying out the detail plan were reduced. The consultants' arguments were as follows:

> The suggested plan entails a relocation of the Steam Ferry Station … part of the Steam Ferry Station's cultural heritage value will be negatively influenced by tearing down the various annexes. The building's present design is the consequence of changing needs over the years and an important part of the building's authenticity and cultural heritage value … The consequence of the plan suggestion is that the understanding of the Steam Ferry Station as a vehicle of the site's history will be limited … A relocation and demolition of some parts will negatively influence the national interest … the damage cannot however be deemed significant.[25]

To limit the effects of the urban design project on the area's cultural heritage, the consultants recommended the following measures:

- Draw up information material connecting the station's future with the original location and platform roof which stresses the location's historical ties
- Design the station's new location using groundwork and furnishings that underline the connection of the platform roof with the original location
- Signs and information material at Harbour Square and inside the building at the new location would add to the understanding of the station's original location and purpose

FROM CONSULTATION TO DECISION

The City Planning Department presented the new detail plan after a divided County Administrative Board refrained from giving the Steam Ferry Station listed status. Thus another deterrent to the planned development disappeared. The County Administrative Board's decision not to list the building was now used as an argument since "the relocation would not significantly reduce the building's cultural heritage relevance".[26] According to the detail plan, the municipality intended to sell the land for housing to Midroc Property Development. The land for the congress and hotel complex, however, would be leased out. The municipality would sell the Steam Ferry Station to Midroc Property Development, who in turn would assume the costs for the

relocation and rebuilding of the new dock/mooring. The land would then be leased.

In August 2013, a divided County Administrative Board accepted the new detail plan. The Cultural Heritage Department within the County Administrative Board had another opinion about the plan. The Director of the Cultural Heritage Department and the Antiquarian Administrator presented divergent meanings with the following explanation:

> The Steam Ferry Station and surrounding environment and platform roof play an important role in Helsingborg's port and railway history. The national history interest description for Helsingborg states: "since the 1800s successive expansion of the port and railroad with ancillary buildings reflects its role as an important port and railway city". As the Steam Ferry Station with platform roof is the last preserved part of the railway and port activities which existed and developed during the late 1800s and early 1900s, the considerable damage that a demolition and relocation would represent for that area cannot be ignored.[27]

The city's Cultural Department was still against moving the Steam Ferry Station. Politicians in the Culture Department were not as critical as the officials and considered the new revised proposal feasible. The opposition to the detail plan on the part of the city's citizens had not diminished in intensity. There were both demonstrations and petitions for a public vote to try to stop the demolition of the Steam Ferry Station.

In November 2013, politicians approved the new detail plan. The plan description portrayed the Steam Ferry Station as a valuable building at its new

Figure 8. Poster from the demonstration in support of saving the Steam Ferry Station. Source: Internet

position on the dock. Protection against vandalism of the building had been introduced in the regulation. The building's original facade and colour would be preserved. The restoration and relocation of the Steam Ferry Station was no longer looked upon as a detriment, but rather as having "several positive effects of importance to the national cultural heritage".[28] According to the City Planning Department, qualities had been added to the site. The new location had given the building a more prominent place in the city, which clarifies the site's cultural historical relation to the ferry and the city's first railroad.

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

There are two very different descriptions of the detail plan from 2013. The City Planning Department focused on the positive effects of the development on the cultural heritage and downplayed the negative consequences. That point of view was the opposite of that expressed by the City's Cultural Department and the County Administrative Board's department for cultural heritage and urban design. In conclusion, I wish to present a summary from the research questions used in the three case studies about the role of the cultural heritage in the urban design project. The first conclusion is that the attitude towards cultural heritage values being either mobile or fixed qualities at the site typically follows the interests of the key actors, their professional backgrounds, and their position in the planning process. The second conclusion is that the exploitation interest sets the agenda in the urban design project with one exception. Behind the development lie the strong resources of political and commercial interests. A third conclusion is that the urban design project includes cultural heritage compensation, measures that intend to reduce the damage to the cultural heritage in the area, even if the word compensation never occurs in the planning material, statement, or decision about the detail plan.

There are two dimensions in the model about interest and value in planning which are extra prominent in the case study (see Figure 1):

Dimension 1: Mobile values – Exploitation. This dimension combines the development of the area with the idea of mobile cultural heritage values. These interests are represented by the key actors who wish to use the land for the urban design project and therefore claim that the Steam Ferry Station could be moved without damaging the national interest of cultural heritage in the area. An equivalent type of cultural heritage value can be recreated by a newbuilt quay in the port.

Dimension 2: Fixed values – Cultural heritage. This dimension links preservation of the cultural heritage to the idea of the value belonging to a specific place and its context. The quality is fixed to a place and experienced as a whole. Since the cultural heritage value stems from the historical process at a specific location, this quality has a unique character; thus the Steam Ferry Station cannot be moved from its context without considerably harming the national interest of the cultural heritage.

For this reason, the detail plan has a too negative impact on the historical values of the site. The result is two incompatible positions with regard to the Steam Ferry Station in the urban design project, in spite of the fact that both dimensions contain key actors who, on a rhetorical level, maintain that the cultural heritage plays an important role in the planning.

The exploitation interests in the case study are represented by key actors who believe that the Steam Ferry Station can be moved and reconstructed. Quality can be added to a new location. The reconstructed station building is ascribed an experience value which overrides the demand for historical accuracy. This attitude is shared by leading politicians in the city, head officials, promoters, architects, and consultants hired to support the realization of the urban design project. One of the consultants engaged to evaluate the influence on the cultural heritage advised against the planned development. This firm was later replaced. Other consultants described the relocation and reconstruction of the Steam Ferry Station as acceptable with view to the alterations in the national interest in the area.

The other clear interest is represented by key actors who are opposed to moving the Steam Ferry Station, including the demolition of the annexes. The cultural heritage value and the demand for scientific truth are given priority before the visitors' experience of a relocated building based on a visual image *in situ*. The expansions are part of the history on the spot and are therefore considered important for understanding the function of the Steam Ferry Station over the years. Relocation along with demolition leads to irreparable damage to the cultural heritage and creates a fake cityscape in the port. This cultural heritage interest is conveyed by the city antiquarian from the Cultural Administration, municipal politicians from the opposition, one of the consultants, officials from the County Administration's cultural heritage unit, and the antiquarian at the regional museum who was hired to make a report

on the designation of the Steam Ferry Station as a cultural heritage building. Consultants have a flexible position in the urban design project and can act as a representative for exploitation interests as well as cultural heritage interests in the plan project.

The influence of the key actors in the detail planning is shown as both the focal point and the periphery. That is a second general conclusion in the case study. In the centre is a project organization with officials from the municipal planning department and representatives for the promoters who have the task of making the land available for exploitation. They set the agenda and push on. At the heart of the urban design project is strong, organized, resourceful exploitation interest that develops new buildings, produces proposals for detail plans, and orders studies from consultants. The cultural heritage interest is on the periphery as adviser that should react on the proposals from the centre. The Cultural Heritage Department in the City of Helsingborg was one of the consulting bodies that could not prevent the moving of the Steam Ferry Station by referring to legislature and the city's preservation program. It didn't help that the preservation program was adopted by municipal deputies at a high level. But since the cultural heritage is of national interest, the County Administrative Board is not just a consultant who gives their viewpoint on proposals but an authority outside the city on the periphery with the power to repeal detail plans approved by the municipality if they risk causing substantial damage to areas with national interests. That is an effective steering tool which, once used in this case, led to the municipality being forced to revise the detail plan and take cultural heritage into greater consideration. Then they pulled back. A divided County Administrative Board chose to accept the second detail plan even though it included the relocation of the Steam Ferry Station in the same way as the proposal they rejected earlier.

It was not only among the key actors in the centre that there was an internal disagreement over the cultural heritage in the urban design project. Within the County Administrative Board there were divergent opinions about the degree of damage to the national interests. This became apparent in the approach both to the detail plan and the investigation for listing the Ferry Station as a cultural heritage building.

The third conclusion concerns compensation measures. The urban design project includes proposals from consultants and officials who aim to repair

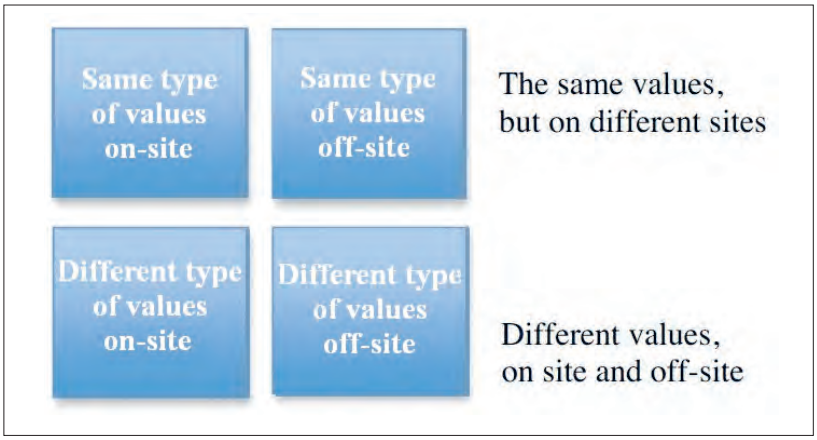


Figure 9. Compensation measures (Benjamin Grahn, Rönn and Swedberg, 2014

the damage caused by development in the area. Cultural heritage compensation in this case turns out to be both a suggestion for measures in the planning material and regulations in the detail plan. In the research project *Steering Tools and Compensation Measures within the Cultural Heritage Domain*, a model was constructed to support the analyses of compensation measures. The model includes four typical principles for compensation:

I will use the model as a tool for analyzing cultural compensation in the urban design project and present findings in the case study.[29] The following compensation measures, based on the model, is a starting point for the discussion:

- Same value–same place: restoration of a similar type of cultural heritage value at the site of the damage
- Same value–different place: restoration of similar type of cultural heritage value at another site
- Other value–same place: restoration of different type of cultural heritage value at the site of damage
- Other value–other place: restoration of different type of cultural heritage value in a different area or other approach

Using this model, several different measures to compensate the negative influence of the development on the cultural heritage can be identified in the urban design project in Helsingborg. I have found three examples of cultural compensation connected to the Steam Ferry Station as an object in the planning process:

- *Compensation measure:* restoration of the Steam Ferry Station by demolition of annexes and moving the building to a newly constructed quay in the port
- *Type of compensation*: replication of equivalent cultural value, perceived as the original, at another location in the area
- *Compensation measure:* connecting the relocated Steam Ferry Station with the remaining platform roof using new surface material / paving material and furnishing the public space.
- *Type of compensation:* a new cultural heritage value is created at the location of the damage
- *Compensation measure:* putting up signs with information about the cultural heritage of the port and relocated Steam Ferry Station to spread knowledge about the original role of the building
- *Type of compensation:* another cultural heritage value at the same location as the damage and at a new position in the area

Cultural heritage compensation has been discussed in four workshops in the research project.[30] One of the workshops dealt with compensation in Helsingborg, both as a concept and as a professional practice in detail planning. The restoration and relocation of the Steam Ferry Station is a controversial compensatory measure, particularly among the key actors who see themselves as representatives for cultural heritage interests. The interpretation of the discussions during the workshop was that the concept compensation and the measures were explained by its context.[31] Several different measures may appear as compensation for this reason. The purpose determines whether they are compensation or not. Based on the case, Andersson notes that cultural heritage compensation can range from financial transactions (costs for consultation fees and costs for measures) to the restoration of the cultural heritage value through design, information, and regulations in the detail plan pertaining to land use and architecture.

One experience from two other workshops was that cultural heritage compensation is seen as an inconvenient concept.[32] Some workshop participants

from cultural heritage institutions saw the risks of thinking in terms of compensation. Putting a price on cultural heritage would allow promoters to buy their way out of demands for preserving cultural values. Antiquarians view cultural heritage compensation by reconstructing another type of value at another location as problematic. According to this point of view, there is a risk that the cultural environment may become an object with limitations that could be compensated for instead of remaining a quality entity. Maria Håkonsson's solution for conflicts of interest in the detail plan was to transfer the discussion of compensation to the comprehensive plan. I am not convinced that a solution can found in the planning system without a fundamental change to rules, knowledge, and participants.

All workshops in the research project were critical to the proposed compensation measures from consultants in the case studies.[33] Many workshop participants wanted a clearer connection between loss of cultural heritage value, damage, and compensation measures. But there was no straightforward connection in the case studies in the research project between identified cultural heritage value in the inquiry, negative impact by exploitation, location, and suggestion for compensation measures. The cultural heritage compensation appears rather to be a creative process, a searching for good actions implemented by persuasion and negotiation rather than reference to specific rules in laws. Compensation measures in practice have a free connection to the loss of value on the site. For this reason, cultural heritage compensation appears essentially to be a controversial measure in the planning process, and this is appropriately conveyed in the Helsingborg case.

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