Maria Eggertsen Teder

From Outsideness to Insideness

- Placemaking in Public Space

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Doctoral thesis

NTNU
Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Thesis for the Degree of
Philosophiae Doctor
Faculty of Architecture and Design
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To everyone striving for the common good

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Acknowledgements

I came to Trondheim in September 2010, a little confused. I was looking for a new path, professionally and personally. I had been offered a position at NTNU as a PhD candidate, and had decided to take the chance. And before long, a new journey had started - a very special chapter in my life. Writing a PhD is a one (wo)mans' job, but at the same time I have had many people around me without whom this would not have been possible.

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List of included publications

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"Making space for diversity and active user involvement –
Placemaking in public space"
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"Placemaking as co-creation – Professional Roles and Attitudes in Practice"
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Abstract

This thesis originates from observations made in practice, giving rise to a curiosity about the conditions that encourage, or discourage, people to interact with public environments. It investigates the concept of placemaking with the aim of defining what placemaking means to architects and urban designers in theory and practice. It points at possibilities and consequences of the approach, and for whom. Placemaking is the simultaneous building of physical objects and relationships; relationships between people, and relationships between people and places. The theoretical core of the thesis strives to enrich the view on the built environment by adding the perspective of lifeworlds to the urban planning discourse. Five key concepts are used to describe this transformation process: place attachment, place outsideness, place insideness, involvement, and co-creation.

Place attachment theory (section 2.2) – originating in environmental psychology – describes how affective bonds arise between people and specific places. The bond makes people want to stay close to, and care for, the places in question. What makes it particularly interesting in relation to architecture and urban planning is the idea of place meaning (section 3.1) arising through place related actions (i.e. through activities such as building, modifying, or using a built structure) rather than being attached to place as an object. The thesis focuses on how the character of built places (as opposed to natural environments), and the way in which they have been created and are being used, is related to the appearance of place attachment. Involvement in a place can be either self-conscious or unselfconscious. To explore this in relation to place belonging (section 2.2), geographer Edward Relph (1976) set up the dichotomy of place insideness and place outsideness. In short, place outsiders experience a place from a distance/as from above, while place insiders experience and understand it from within/in experience-based detail. Empathetic insideness, which is the level most interesting in the context of placemaking in public space, involves emotional engagement. It does not, however, signify ownership, but rather personal experience of a place and emotional engagement in it. In order to translate placemaking into something that practitioners (i.e. both professional and non-professional placemakers) can relate to, Matthew Carmona's (2014) place-shaping continuum is used. He defines four place-shaping processes influencing a built

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environment: design, development, space-in-use, and management. These should not be considered as a series of isolated activities, but as one integrated process over time. Carmona further divides placemaking into knowing (the design and development phases) and unknowing (the use and management phases) place-shaping. His notions form an image of the entire placemaking process and show how places are shaped *for*, as well as *through*, use. Different actors can be active during different phases of the continuum. The idea of co-creation (section 2.2) transforms the user into a co-creator by active involvement on site in the creation process. Collaboration with others is central, as described by designer Ezio Manzini (2015). Co-creation is not merely about the distribution of decision making power, but as much about duration, intensity, and the possibility for social learning during a creation process.

Based on the five key concepts two case studies were carried out. Pavement to Parks was initiated by the Mayor of San Francisco in 2008, and sought to temporarily transform underused street spaces into green public places. Each Pavement to Parks project is intended to be a public laboratory, testing new ideas together with the local communities. The programme tests new methods for urban development on two different scales: plazas (locations pointed out by the municipality) and parklets (locations chosen by the citizens). The second case study was in Berlin on two so called in-between use projects (Zwischennutzung) in Palast der Republik, the former government building of GDR. In 2004–2005 the building hosted a series of temporary, public events intended to explore new, alternative futures for the building and related place in collaboration with the Berliners. The two projects covered by the case study – Fassadenrepublik and Der Berg – were curated by professional architects and designers, with the aim of creating various scenarios for the future. In addition to the case studies and in order to gain access to real-time and insiders' data from an entire placemaking process from the very first phase of ideation, an action research project was set up in Herrgården in Malmö. In a large, underused flowerbed in the outermost corner of a semi-public yard (close to a public park) a public building session was organized in May 2012 together with the property manager at the time. The idea was to assist the participants – anyone showing up on site on that day was welcome (and encouraged) to join – in building a public place where they would like to spend time.

The analysis of the case in San Francisco showed that place attachment can introduce a new scale and an increased level of detailing and variation to the streetscape. The parklets, where the citizens themselves proposed the locations, generated greater detailing and variation, which indicates that the feeling of place attachment was stronger there than at the locations that were chosen by the municipality (the plazas). The study also showed that frequent use of a place can result in place attachment, particularly if one has the possibility to influence the physical appearance, for example by moveable objects. An individual can enter the placemaking process in any of the phases described by Carmona and still experience emotional bonds and place insideness. Placemaking hence creates

places that generate, and places that are generated by, place attachment. The case in Berlin clearly showed that co-creation is much about attitude. All participants in a placemaking process – professionals as well as non-professionals – have to leave space for others to get involved and thereby share influence over the outcome. If one does not understand and feel part of the overarching concept, then it becomes difficult to feel free and confident in shaping individual parts. A combination of active and collaborative involvement is crucial – co-creation is different from do-it-yourself. The studied cases show that placemaking requires a change of attitude and new professional roles for architects and urban planners – for example as curator, initiator, motivator, teacher, and prototype builder. The action research in Malmö made it clear that active user involvement enables citizen groups who are normally not part of urban development and design to engage. For example, age and language skills become less decisive compared to regular participatory planning processes. The involvement created long-term emotional engagement, lasting beyond the removal of the co-created objects. The action research clearly showed the importance of place management in order for placemaking to be successful, i.e. it is decisive that the placemaking can continue through all four of Carmona's place-shaping phases.

Putting place attachment and co-creation on the conscious, professional agenda of architects and urban planners is the main message from this research. Furthermore, clarifying the possible effects of placemaking on individual well-being as well as on the physical qualities of a place is central in this work. In order to work with placemaking, professional actors (including municipalities) have to become clear about in which of Carmona's phases they are willing to let others contribute, and then find the appropriate working methods for this to happen.

1. Introduction

1.1 General background/rationale

This research project originates from observations made in practice, giving rise to a curiosity about the conditions that encourage, or discourage, people to interact with public environments. Working as a planning architect[1] at the City Planning Office in Malmö, I noticed how the creation of new public spaces often caused dissatisfaction among planners and architects, as well as the public. I experienced many citizens feeling cut off from the development of their close surroundings. At public hearings, (negative) surprise and discontent with development proposals would frequently be expressed, along with distrust of their potential to influence the outcome. Some people found it complicated and/or too time-consuming to get engaged due to the bureaucracy, and therefore refrained from making their voices heard. Others were not familiar with the formal planning process at all. During dialogue workshops with citizens, designed to expand public participation, dejection could often be noticed: "They won't listen to what we want anyway". Having a basic belief in everyone being able – and obliged – to contribute towards creating an inclusive and sustainable society, these encounters made me feel uncomfortable. Many citizens had ideas about how they wanted the city to be, but did not feel capable of turning their ideas into a built reality. Despite participatory planning processes and benevolent design intentions, for some reason the public seemed to struggle to accept many of the new places into their hearts. They did not feel that the places were "theirs", they did not appropriate them. On the other hand, I saw signs of people appropriating other public areas, places that had not passed through the professional "filter" of urban planning and formal design. In many cases, the public even seemed to prefer these "undesigned" places to the ones that had been so carefully developed by professionals. This somewhat discouraging insight – from an urban planner or architect's point of view – formulated the initial research question: how do people create personal place(s) in public space?

Contemporary planning documents from the Scandinavian countries encourage spontaneous and temporary activities in areas that are to be transformed into sustainable

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[1] In Sweden, architects work side by side with urban planners, landscape architects, and traffic engineers at the municipal City Planning Offices. These architects are called "planning architects".

urban landscapes.[2] This could be interpreted as a wish for citizen initiatives. A common aspiration is that spontaneous and temporary initiatives will kick-start activity, strengthen the identity of a place, and raise economic and social interest for the area in question. Citizen initiatives are, therefore, from the municipalities' point of view, regarded as an instrument for boosting other urban functions. But surely, in order to be sustainable, there should be benefits for those who get involved as well. By studying approaches for encouraging non-professionals to take part in urban development, this PhD investigates various aspects of an alternative, more inclusive, professional practice for architects, urban designers, and planners.

When I started searching for built examples, the streetscape of Berlin, with its many informal modifications and additions, stood out as an inspiring contrast. In many places it was almost the opposite of the orderly streetscape of Malmö; for example, it featured paving stones dug up and replaced with sand, hosting deck chairs, various themed bars located along the river Spree, and colourful planters and benches with unique shapes placed around sidewalk trees. These citizen-initiated modifications clearly added something to the places, but what? And could similar qualities be achieved in a more formalized way? Questions like these were the main reason for embarking on this academic journey. My overarching interest is in public space and public life; however, as a practising architect, I have chosen to focus my thesis on built places – to study how physical structures affect, and are affected by, the people using them.

Figure 1.1 Berlin sidewalks modified by the Berliners themselves.

[2] See e.g. Planprogram för Norra Sorgenfri (Malmö Planning Department, 2008:13), Midlertidige byrum på Carlsberg. Evaluering 2011 (Copenhagen Planning Department et al., 2011), Gasverket – gestaltningsprogram för den yttre miljön (Stockholm Planning Department, 2011:13–33), and Byromsprogram Havnepromenaden i Bjørvika – oppsummering (Oslo Planning Department, 2006:32).

1.2 Point of departure

When looking closer at public space modifications in Berlin such as those mentioned above, I noticed that they all had an informal and temporary character. I became curious about the ways in which the temporariness influenced the place-becoming and use. It seemed like the threshold for public initiatives and participation was lower for temporary projects. The temporariness offered a dual situation; on the one hand, objects with a temporary character seemed to be accepted in many places and left untouched (by authorities and other citizens), but on the other hand, they implied an insecurity and risk of unexpected loss for the creators and users. So, initially, I asked myself what made people appropriate public space, making an effort to accommodate space that was not theirs per se, but for everyone to use?[3] Emotionally, the close surroundings are of great importance to most people. It is easy to understand that private property is carefully maintained, but in a public environment such an effort is not as self-evidently worthwhile. Still, many public places in Berlin showed signs of this. Appropriation and temporariness became the theoretical points of departure for this thesis, and were also decisive for the selection of the first case.[4] However, as further described in chapters 2 and 3, these concepts did not give me the full answers to my questions. Instead, they helped me redirect the research towards involvement in place and various place experiences. Why where these places so likeable to many people? This quest eventually led me to what would become the conceptual core of this thesis; the notions of placemaking, place attachment, and co-creation.

Environmental psychologists Manzo and Perkins address a decisive separation of personal accounts of place from the understanding of the politics and dynamics of community planning within current discourse and practice. While literature on place attachment (see section 2.2 for a thorough description of the notion) within the social sciences focuses on the feelings and experiences of individuals, planning literature emphasizes participation and empowerment but overlooks emotional and personal connections to place:

> This lack of cross-pollination is evident when we see parallel discussions on community building, social capital, and citizen participation appear independently in the literature of various fields. […] Yet a combination of these perspectives can provide a richer understanding – not only of how planning impacts our experience of place, but also how community-focused emotions, cognitions, and behaviours can impact community planning and development. (Manzo and Perkins, 2006:336)

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[3] Another initial reflection was: Why did people take matters into their own hands to a greater extent in Berlin than in Malmö? I abandoned that focus, however, after realizing I was not looking for ways to change the formal planning system. Rather, I was searching for ways of working differently, compared to current practice, within the existing system.

[4] Volkspalast in Berlin.

This potential cross-pollination of perspectives caught my interest. Could that be an instrument for infusing planning with a more user-oriented perspective?

Figure 1.2 To appropriate or not to appropriate a place; two examples from Malmö. To the left Stapelbäddsparken and to the right Nobeltorget, both co-created with the skateboarding community but with very different use as a result. Stapelbäddsparken has visitors all year around, while Nobeltorget stands empty most of the time. This thesis is seeking explanations for these differences.

1.3 Main aim and research questions

The main aim of this thesis is to show what placemaking implies to architects and urban designers in theory and practice; to contribute to filling knowledge gaps regarding theoretical definition, raison d'être, benefits for what and whom, participant roles during implementation, and possible side effects. Concepts central to urban development, but to date, rather unknown among architects, urban designers, and planners in general, are sifted out and analysed from the point of view of these disciplines. The main target group is architects and urban designers, but the aspiration is to provide interesting reading for other professional placemakers[5] as well (landscape architects, landscape engineers, gardeners, urban planners, craftsmen, etc.). The ambition has been to investigate placemaking processes in public space from the perspectives of various actors, looking at their motives for participating in placemaking, the different ways of getting involved, and their experiences of the creation process as well as the built result. Theory-wise, the goal has been to explore concepts from various fields such as sociology, geography and environmental psychology, and to clarify their relation to architecture and urban planning.

The overarching research question guiding this study is: How can architects and urban planners work with placemaking in their everyday practice? In order to get as close to the practitioners' reality as possible, the empirical studies have focused on questions such as: Which parts of a placemaking process in public space particularly stimulate place attachment? How does place attachment relate to the materiality and use of the resulting

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[5] See chapter 2.2 for further definition of the term placemaker.

place? (Article 1). How can participatory processes contribute to placemaking in public space? What kind of involvement takes place, and in what ways does such involvement differ from that of regular participatory processes? (Article 2). How do professional practices affect the involvement of other actors in co-creative urban development projects (and vice versa)? Which roles do professional placemakers actually adopt in projects aimed at co-creation of public space? Which professional skills are required? How is their work perceived by other participants; are they succeeding in inviting others into the realm of co-creation? (Article 3).

The thesis is investigating lived places rather than philosophical spaces. I do not wish to dwell more than briefly on the numerous definitions of, and differences between, "space" and "place" as theoretical concepts. Rather my concern is with the experiential aspect that makes both "space" and "place" meaningful to their users. Likewise, I do not find e.g. the discourse on the right to the city[6] irrelevant for my topic; however, the intention of this PhD is to deepen the understanding of the interplay of feelings and actions (i.e. the components of a placemaking process) in relation to a physical, public environment. To make this focus more obvious, I have chosen to use the term *involvement* rather than the more power-oriented term *participation* (the distinction between the two is developed further in chapter 2). The case studies all have active user involvement as a fundamental and intrinsic feature. The results of this research could therefore provide useful input for the political and democratic aspect of urban development as well by developing more inclusive and emancipatory working methods for architects, urban designers, and planners.

1.4 Thesis structure

The thesis is built up around three cases (Volkspalast in Berlin, Pavement to Parks in San Francisco, and Possible Futures in Malmö) and three academic articles. These were not developed in chronological order (a detailed explanation of this can be found in chapter 3), which is the reason for the layout of the cover story. Each article highlights one aspect of placemaking, which is illustrated by an empirical case (case study or action research). The theory chapter (chapter 2) provides the wider context, into which all of these cases (and articles) can be situated. As the research process has developed, through iterative analysis of empirical and theoretical material, the focus of the theoretical framework has shifted along the way. The cover story, therefore, contains some concepts and themes that are not discussed in the articles (partly due to the chronology of theoretical findings, and partly due to publishing journals' restrictions on article length). These concepts have, however, provided me with a richer understanding of placemaking and its possible implications. I would like to share this comprehensive view on placemaking with my

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[6] See e.g. Harvey, 2008 and Lefebvre, 1996.

readers and so, I have chosen to include these concepts and themes here, in the overall discussion.

In summary, this first chapter has provided the reader with a general background – the rationale – for this PhD research and has clarified the main aim and research questions. The transdisciplinary research area, outlined in chapter 2, is a result of the applied research strategy presented in chapter 3 (methodology). The research strategy was abductive[7] – a progressive process of defining and situating transdisciplinary key concepts – and the chapter describes how each case, through analysis of the provided data, led to a refinement of the research focus. Chapter 4 sums up the findings of the empirical studies. Chapter 5 discusses the implications of the research in terms of theory, practice, and research methodology. The main contribution of the PhD is summarized in chapter 6, and finally, the published articles are included as appendices. Appendix D constitutes a popular summary of the thesis, by presenting the material from a lecture and seminar series created for the Municipality of Malmö. To increase the readability, the pages containing the academic articles have a grey edge, and the popular summary has a red edge.

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[7] See further in chapter 3.2.

2. Theoretical framework

This thesis is exploring placemaking interpreted as "places in the making"[8], i.e. as iterative processes of interplay between people, their feelings and actions, and the built environment. Literature on placemaking to date predominantly addresses community building and presents handbooks focusing on various aspects such as social and economic sustainability, and tools for realization of community projects (e.g. Schneekloth and Shibley, 1995, Walljasper, 2007, Hamdi, 2010, Silberberg et al., 2013, Wyckoff, 2015, and Project for Public Spaces, 2016). There seems to be an unspoken consensus that placemaking creates high-quality places, but not much is said about the underlying psychological mechanisms. Place attachment theory (originating in the field of environmental psychology) illuminates how place-related actions create spatial meanings: people-in-places are creating built structures that appear meaningful and appropriate to their creators. On private property, this is rather unproblematic, but in public space the issue becomes more complex. Questions about what kind of place meaning, and for whom, enter the scene. Often, actors with various backgrounds are involved in the creation process. Participatory planning and design has, until now, been used in order to make these various voices and competences heard. In such processes, professional designers gather opinions and requests from future users that inform and influence the resulting product. These relationships are, however, about to change. Manzini (2015) describes how everyone is becoming a designer in today's rapidly changing society, and addresses the need for professional and non-professional designers to work together in order to achieve meaningful social change. This implies professional designers rethinking their own role, which is at the core of placemaking:

> There is, however, a critical difference between engaging the client and our proposal for placemaking. The common practice takes client experiences and parameters, removes them from their situated place, and brings them into the hierarchical world of expert cultures. Placemaking instead brings the expert culture to the place and makes its knowledges and methods vulnerable to the influence of the specific circumstances of place and place constituents. […] placemaking makes expert culture porous and infuses it with the

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[8] See further in Silberberg et al., 2013.

experiences, hopes, dreams, and struggles of places and local placemakers. (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2000:136)

Placemaking does not deny the need for, or the skills of, professional designers. Rather, it calls for co-creation in design. Literature on co-creation is, to date, largely focused on working methods and generative tools. This thesis, instead, seeks to explore new professional roles and attitudes, and their possibilities and limitations in relation to urban design and development.

Figure 2.1 The theoretical framework with the sifted-out key concepts in the middle, and the encompassing, initially explored concepts on the sides.

The purpose of this chapter is to build bridges between these related issues, in order to construct a transdisciplinary, theoretical framework for placemaking. Defining the framework has been a progressive process of navigating between various concepts, all clearly related to urban development, but currently unfamiliar or vague to architects, urban designers, and planners in general. My ambition has been to initially get to know the concepts on their home ground (i.e. in the academic discipline from where they originate), and to subsequently translate them into the language of architecture and urban design. In doing so, I have put emphasis on their relation to built structures (e.g. how place attachment influences the building and use of a physical place). The concepts are, as we will see, related to one another, and their definitions are therefore often intertwined. The first part (section 2.1) presents the so-called encompassing concepts (see figure 2.1). These are concepts that I explored during the initial part of my PhD research, and they all cover themes related to, and relevant for, placemaking. However, as my research questions were refined and the scope narrowed, these concepts came to form the backdrop for the sifted-out, more-precise key concepts described in section 2.2: placemaking, place attachment, place outsideness/insideness, and co-creation.

2.1 Encompassing concepts

Temporariness

Due to economic crises in particular, many cities around the world are provided with spaces for temporary functions and activities when housing markets collapse and investors and entrepreneurs await better times to develop their property (Bishop & Williams, 2012:23). These spaces offer possibilities to explore new concepts in urban development. Creativity can flourish, as uses that would be difficult to incorporate into the urban fabric in the long-run, can still be possible and even valuable for the short term (Temel in Haydn & Temel, 2006:55). For temporary public spaces, economic risks are generally smaller for property owners, as well as placemakers,[9] than they are for more-permanent urban development. Structural requirements might also be less strict and a wider range of land uses might be acceptable. The threshold for getting involved in a temporary project is thereby often lower. (See e.g. Oswalt et al., 2013, Bishop & Williams, 2012, and Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin, 2007.) Berlin, and its numerous temporary projects around the time of the new millennium, can be considered as a forerunner in the research on temporary urbanism (see e.g. Bishop & Williams, 2012:4). In Berlin, as well as in some other European cities, "Zwischennutzung" (the literal English translation would be "in between use", however, "interim use" seems to be the most common translation) has been used as a spatial strategy during the last decade to deal with the complexity and uncertainty of temporarily empty spaces. Zwischennutzung creates a legal framework for temporary use of a place, with the goal of increasing activity and creating broader participation in urban development. "The primary urge is not to create profit and economic growth, but to collectively design and shape physical and social spaces." (Senatsverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung Berlin, 2007:152). The main opportunities with Zwischennutzung for developers include marketing a site to future investors, reducing maintenance and security costs, and showcasing the creative talent of a city (Blumner, 2006:7). By drawing public attention to previously unknown sites, a base for commercial re-development can be created where formal and informal economies can benefit from each other (Studio Urban Catalyst, 2003:25). Since participants often need to collaborate on legal as well as material issues, new social networks can be established (ibid. p.12), as well as unconventional alliances between commercial and non-commercial stakeholders (ibid. p.23). Difficulties in getting the interim users to relocate – they may demand a replacement site or other compensation from the land owners – are brought forward as the primary risks with Zwischennutzung for developers (Blumner, 2006:7). It might also be more time-consuming than traditional urban planning, and the success highly depends on involving and engaging key persons that take responsibility for carrying out the project (Schlegelmilch, 2009:501, Studio Urban Catalyst, 2003:5).

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[9] See definition further ahead in this chapter under the headline Placemaking.

Temporariness was the first concept I immersed myself in. Many of the places that people seemed to have made "theirs" had a temporary character. They were places showing signs of additions, modifications, and frequent use. What was it about them that made them appealing? Ali Madanipour emphasizes the temporal dimension in creating public spaces that are adapted to the diverse needs and desires of the citizens:

> Design as a goal-oriented problem-solving process tends to envisage the built environment as a finished product, working out structure and details and leaving nothing to chance. Cities, however, are constantly changing, inhabited as they are by intelligent and dynamic people. At no point can there be a final shape for a city. (Madanipour, 2010:13)

Urban development, he argues, needs to embrace a dynamic conception of cities and their public spaces. Temporary denotes a limited duration, a finite period of time with a clear beginning and end. Temporary phenomena are challenging to study in the sense that they first come into being the moment they disappear. Only then can they be said to be proven temporary (Bishop & Williams, 2012:5). Some researchers, Bishop and Williams among them, have therefore chosen the intention of the creator as the indicator for temporariness. A place, or a use, is considered temporary if the creator has intended for it to be so. This is also the demarcation I have chosen.

I realized, after my initial investigations on the topic[10], that it was not the temporary character per se that made the places interesting to me. Rather, the temporariness had been a precondition that had made it possible for them to come into being in the first place. For the interim users, the fact that they could create a space and use it the way they wanted to weighed heavier than the risk of premature loss. The "fleeting reconfigurations of space" (Bishop and Williams, 2012:3) provided a lower threshold for citizen (inter)action. Architect and art curator Catharina Gabrielsson (2006) discusses the temporal aspect of public space in relation to control. Just like Madanipour (2010), she advocates accepting that not everything can be controlled in a complex and pluralistic environment:

> The task [of architects and planners] has to be to provide space for conditions we do not know, which also means understanding *time* as a component of space […] I interpret this as us [architects and planners] having to search for a truth, but never to aim for realizing or completing it: the truth has to lay in the gap between the real and the imaginary. (Gabrielsson, 2006:172–173)

According to her, a public space needs to contain a certain element of temporariness in order to be successful. It has to provide the possibility for its users to create different places within it. This leads us to my second area of investigation: the intertwined pair concepts of space and place.

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[10] Literature studies as well as the first case study on two projects from Volkspalast in Berlin.

Space–place

The difference between a physical location and an experienced place is central to this thesis. I will argue that it takes a user, an empirical subject, in order to turn a location on the map into a true place. The discourse on the definitions of "space" and "place" forms the backdrop for this argument. It is a long-lasting discourse, well beyond the field of architectural theory, and my use of the concepts corresponds with the thoughts of a group of geographers in the 1970s. Yi-Fu Tuan and Edward Relph turned to the notions of abstractness and tangibility in order to find adequate definitions and describe the relationship:

> 'Space' is more abstract than 'place.' What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value. […] The ideas 'space' and 'place' require each other for definition. (Tuan, 1977:6)

> Space is amorphous and intangible and not an entity that can be directly described and analysed. Yet, however we feel or know or explain space, there is nearly always some associated sense or concept of place. In general, it seems that space provides the context for places but derives its meaning from particular places. (Relph, 1976:8)

According to this, place depends on space in order to come about, and space depends on place in order to become tangible and familiar. The symbiosis is dynamic and the transition from one state into the other is fluid.

Even though above all, Relph sees place as something having physical and visual form – he defines appearance as one of the main features of place – he also suggests that not all place experiences can be understood as landscape experiences (Relph, 1976:30-31). He points to the need for "lived space" in order to develop a phenomenological understanding of place (ibid. p.8). As opposed to space, places induce emotions: "A place is a piece of the whole environment that has been claimed by feelings." (ibid. p.142). In my understanding, this emotional aspect (based on positive or negative feelings about an environment) is the reason why places are more than just locations on the map. Tuan's definition also reveals a need for lived experience in order for a place to emerge; place is humanized space, providing shelter (Tuan, 1977:54). Places cannot be separated from their emotional and experiential context; if they are, then they are no longer places to "dwell" in the Heideggerian sense. Referring to Heidegger's concept of dwelling as existential foothold, architect C. Norberg-Schulz suggests, with his place phenomenology, that architecture should provide structures that allow a person to orientate himself within, and identify himself with, an environment (Norberg-Schulz, 1980:5). The real concern of architects and planners should be the everyday lifeworld of people (ibid. p.8). "Man dwells when he is able to concretize the world in buildings and things" (ibid. p.23). Gabrielsson concludes:

> What is at stake in the dichotomy between place and space, between "the concrete" and "the abstract", is obviously the way in which the place is connected to *meaning*. […] It is not a concern about what meaning *is*, but about experiencing *that* it is. The meaning is a

> connection between different parts, a correspondence, rather than a substance. (Gabrielsson, 2006:198, my translation)

The way in which I interpret the concepts is that place is site-specific and focuses on experiences, lifeworlds, and the active process of shaping or handling physical structures. It is very much a here-and-now:

> […] what is special about place is not some romance of a pre-given collective identity or of the eternity of the hills. Rather, what is special about place is precisely that throwntogetherness, the unavoidable challenge of negotiating a here-and-now (itself drawing on a history and a geography of thens and theres); and a negotiation which must take place within and between both human and nonhuman. (Massey, 2005:140)

These features are at the heart of placemaking. Space, on the other hand, has a fluid (in all four dimensions, time included), and often rather political, connotation relating to immaterial concepts such as power structures, negotiation, and appropriation. (See figure 2.2 for a visual summary of this symbiosis.) Space is relevant for placemaking too, and for placemaking in public space in particular, but more in the sense of "making space for" than the actual "making of" something.

Appropriation

Many architects and planners have a strong belief that planning and design of physical structures is the key for generating urban life. For example, it is assumed that the artists will come automatically as long as there are spaces assigned for culture. According to spatial agency theory, however: "A building is not necessarily the best solution to a spatial problem" (www.spatialagency.net). In the 1970s, sociologist Henri Lefebvre drafted a much cited and discussed spatial triad in his work The Production of Space, proposing that physical objects, power structures and social practices are key parameters to study when analysing a space and understanding how it is produced. On the city scale I understand Lefebvre's three concepts *representational spaces, representations of space,* and *spatial practices* (Lefebvre, 1991:33) as signifying tangible/architectonic structures, possibilities of participation in the decision-making process, and a range of uses/users of a site. All of these parameters are relevant in the process of creating meaningful public places. Intangible, and sometimes informal, processes involving various actors (professional as well as non-professional) are as significant as the built structures. These processes, or spatial practices in the vocabulary of Lefebvre, are, however, harder to include in the legal framework of the masterplan than the more tangible and enduring physical structures.

Places can also be described in terms of appropriated space. According to Lefebvre appropriation of space implies use value as opposed to property value:

> The right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit. Right […] to participation and *appropriation* (clearly distinct from the right to property) are implied in the right to the city. (Lefebvre, 1996:173-174)

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Appropriation of space thus means using a space as if it were one's own – giving it status of place by customizing and using it according to one's own needs and desires, but without claiming legal or exclusive ownership to it. Appropriated space could be seen as the opposite of Relph's notion of "placelessness", by which he hints at mass-produced environments offering only standardized experiences, or being created exclusively for making profit (Relph, 1976:90). Even if space is a precondition for creating place, place is what gives the space meaning. Architect Jonathan Sime draws a parallel to alienation: "The 'placelessness' which Relph identifies probably stems from a sense of alienation in environments over which he feels he and other people no longer have control" (Sime, 1995:35). He suggests that it might not be possible to create a place in absolute terms on behalf of others; people need to have influence over the production, decoration, furnishing, and maintenance of their environment in order for places to emerge. Tuan calls this influence being "in command of space" (Tuan, 1977:36). According to this, place is appropriated space – an environment having use(r) value due to the possibility of influencing its character. Psychologist Carl Friedrich Graumann lists the following as the main modes of appropriating space from a psychological perspective: motion and locomotion (e.g. touching and grasping objects), sensory exploration (e.g. seeing, hearing, tasting, and smelling), doing (e.g. manipulating, shaping, and destroying), cognitive-linguistic mastery (e.g. mapping, modelling, and naming), communicating (e.g. use of space and spatial objects as media of communication), taking possession (e.g. occupation, fencing, buying, and defending), and personalization of space (e.g. furnishing rooms, decorating, and gardening) (Graumann, 1976:124, in Speller, 2000:52). Just like Lefebvre, Graumann separates appropriation from claiming legal ownership, and he stresses the physical act behind the psychological process: "[…] appropriation is more than acquisition; it is maintenance which, as a rule, means work, mostly of the physical kind" (Graumann, 1988:62, in Speller, 2000:52).
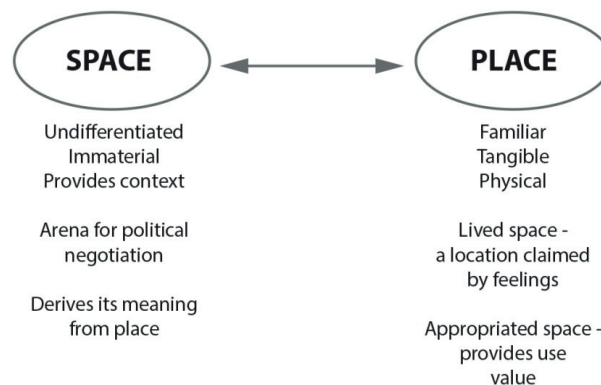
Figure 2.2 A summary of the characteristics of space and place as discussed above.

Appropriation of public space can have a strategic or tactical nature. With Lefebvre's spatial triad and Michel de Certeau's concepts of "strategies" and "tactics" as starting points, urban planner Lina Olsson (2008) discusses spatial appropriation on different levels of society. Appropriating public space means claiming and using spaces as one's own, and this can be done either by legitimate (i.e. legal) strategies, designed to create stability and order, or by tactics, which are self-organized activities subordinate to this order. Strategic processes generate more-permanent and stable domination of space by certain groups, while tactical appropriation typically results in spaces of a more temporal and uncertain character (Olsson, in Betancour (ed.), 2008:11–13). Strategic appropriation could thereby be said to define formally planned functions, whereas tactical appropriation results in informal uses of a site. We will now look closer at these two possibilities.

Participation

Traditionally, planning has been a practice aimed at predicting the future. Urban planner Patsy Healey, among others, traces this back to the ideas of the Enlightenment – free and enlightened individuals building a better world through scientific knowledge and reason (Healey, 1992:145) – and the project of Modernity that followed upon the Industrial Revolution (Healey, 2006:9). Rapid improvements regarding quality of life, as well as growing social inequality and environmental pollution, created a complex and contradictory situation that encouraged "planning the trajectory of the future, rather than being perpetually vulnerable to the volatility of markets" (ibid. p.9). This was to be achieved by instrumental rationality; problems were to be identified and possibilities predicted by means of objective, scientific knowledge. The planners' task was to organize activities in a functionally efficient way convenient to all involved. Even though a more social scientific planning approach has developed in Northern Europe since geographers entered into the field, economic fluctuation has recently increased the focus on property development (ibid. pp.21–22). Planning has evolved into a practice defining limits to what property owners can do with their property (ibid. p.73).

Participation in planning most commonly implies what Sherry Arnstein referred to as "tokenism". Her classic article from 1969 discusses who is in control of political and economic processes in the city. Arnstein sketches a typology of eight levels of participation, ranging from manipulation and therapy (defined as non-participation), via informing, consulting and placation (defined as tokenism) to partnership, delegated power and citizen control (defined as participation) (Arnstein, 1969:217). Partnership and delegated power require that citizens "hold the significant cards to assure the accountability of the program to them" (ibid. p.222). On the very last level – citizen control – power has been fully transferred from the authorities to the citizens regarding implementation of policy and management of resources and institutions (see further under the headline "Involvement" in section 2.2).

The Swedish Planning and Building Act (Plan- och bygglagen, 2010:900) ensures citizen participation on two levels: in the comprehensive plan and in the detailed development

plan, both produced by the municipality. Public hearings (samråd in Swedish) are to be held when a new plan is being prepared, or when changes are made to an existing plan, in order to "produce a solid foundation for decision-making and to provide the opportunity for insight and influence" (see chapter 3 and chapter 5, my translation). Subsequently, the final plan proposal should be displayed for public review for a minimum of three weeks. On both these occasions, citizens can submit written comments about the proposed plans. It is a process of several months (or even years) before public feedback is (or is not) incorporated into the actual proposal. This form of public consultation[11] merely involves citizens in an oral way, and the possibility for influence first arises after the municipality has developed an initial draft. Citizen initiatives and participation beyond words and sketches must therefore find alternative channels. Tactical urbanism is one such way.

Tactical urbanism

Tactical implies small-scale actions serving a larger purpose, according to urban planners Mike Lydon and Anthony Garcia[12] (2015:2). Following this, they define tactical urbanism as neighbourhood-building and activation by short-term, low-cost, and scalable interventions. The benefit of this is instant change in a public environment, while, at the same time, being able to adjust it to changing conditions. The actors range from citizens wishing to improve their own neighbourhood, to formal developers, the municipality, and government (ibid. p.6). According to Lydon and Garcia, tactical urbanism is therefore different from do-it-yourself (DIY) urbanism – typically a way of displaying ephemeral creativity – whereas tactical urbanism is about instigating long-term change. There is a legal spectrum from sanctioned to unsanctioned tactics, and it is not uncommon that projects that arise on the unsanctioned side progress to the sanctioned side if successful and appreciated by the public (ibid. pp.9–10). Just like Lina Olsson and many others, Lydon and Garcia refer to Michel de Certeau and his twin concepts from the military: tactics and strategies. According to De Certeau, strategies are for the powerful (government institutions and the like), while tactics are for the weak (i.e. the citizens).[13] This is also the way in which Lina Olsson (2008) uses the concepts. Lydon and Garcia, however, do not agree that tactics and strategies are for different purposes and actors. They argue that tactics – on the sanctioned side of the spectrum – are for formal institutions (municipalities, governments etc.) as well. They propose tactical urbanism as a way to unite tactics and strategies, while at the same time potentially reaching citizen

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[11] According to Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation, consultation is merely a form of tokenism and has little to do with true participation or citizen power (Arnstein, 1969:217).

[12] Lydon and Garcia refer to Merriam–Webster's dictionary for their definition.

[13] De Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life, as referred to by Lydon & Garcia (2012:9–10).

groups that tend to be less engaged in urban development: the young, old, disenfranchised etc. (ibid. p.11).

Lydon and Garcia see tactical urbanism as a tool for public involvement in urban development. Temporary pilot projects bring planning initiatives to people physically, and enable the potential as well as the disadvantages of a proposal to be experienced in a direct way (as opposed to proposals on drawings being theoretically discussed on planning meetings and public hearings only). "The goal is to show people different opportunities in the real world so that more informed decisions may be made by a more diverse audience of people" (Lydon & Garcia, 2012:15) Only by going beyond two-dimensional maps and drawings, can planning become truly participatory, they argue. So-called placeholder projects (ibid. p.16) can be used to build a bridge between a formal planning process and the eventual implementation. This is where we return to temporariness, but applied in a more formal way than previously discussed. By temporary installations, Lydon and Garcia propose that formal plans can be qualitatively and quantitatively evaluated prior to actual design, capital investment, and construction.

As I see it, the strength of tactical urbanism lies in the process and design iterations. While aiming at matching the design with the everyday actions of the users, one can still go a bit further and explore things that would maybe not be possible for the long-run. Temporarily, one can explore "a city between reality and utopia" (Krasny, in Haydn & Temel, 2006:85), and thereby make the most out of the resulting built reality. The strength of tactical urbanism is the focus on citizen involvement and action in the present, while keeping the long-term perspective of positive change in mind. This is the reason for incorporating the approach in professional practice, and also the reverse: incorporation of professional practice into tactical urbanism. With this emphasis on action and involvement, tactical urbanism points us towards those concepts that I have sifted out as being key for the empirical analysis: placemaking, place attachment, place outsideness and place insideness, involvement, and co-creation.

2.2 Sifted-out key concepts
The above-presented concepts all touch upon the core of this research: the process of establishing personal connections to place in general, and public places in particular. Gradually, however, some other concepts have proven to be more precise in describing the heart of the matter. In order to provide a deeper understanding of the role and scope of architects, urban designers, and planners in an inclusive professional practice, the theoretical lens has moved towards an emotional and action-oriented perspective. Placemaking, which is introduced first, could be regarded as an umbrella, embracing the others. The way in which these key concepts have been applied as analytical tools is further explained in section 3.8 (Analysis of empirical data).

Placemaking

In his quest to strengthen urban design as an independent discipline, architect Matthew Carmona called for an increased focus on process. By comparing built environments with their processes of delivery, he searched for new knowledge about what is unique for urban design (Carmona, 2014:4). According to Carmona, urban design is "an integrated place-shaping continuum through time" (ibid. p.6). This continuum consists of contexts, processes, and power relationships. He defines four place-shaping processes influencing a built environment: design, development, space-in-use, and management. These should not be considered as a series of isolated activities, but as one integrated process over time. Places are shaped *for*, as well as *through*, use, and the place-shaping continuum has different phases: designing, building and using/managing a place (ibid. p.33).

Placemaking is another word for this place-shaping continuum. Placemaking is becoming a frequently used term in various fields, including urban design, and planning. The existing academic definitions are, however, somewhat broad and general. The aim here is to contribute to further defining the concept, specifically from an urban design and planning perspective, as a more-precise definition could facilitate the implementation of the approach. Whereas traditionally, social life has been regarded as the end-product of planned urban landscapes and buildings, today's focus is somewhat shifting towards adapting spaces to already existing realities and needs (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014:414). Already in the 1970s, architect Jan Gehl was advocating locating public activities to places where urban life naturally tends to flow (Gehl, 2001). Today, his architecture studio is one of many around the world turning this idea into built reality. Based on a literature review, and with the ambition of establishing a coherent spelling and use of the term,[14] geographer Alan A. Lew (2017) makes a distinction between "organic place-making" and "planned placemaking". Organic place-making, he argues, is about individuals and groups claiming and shaping places for themselves, by giving meaning to geographical space through social practices. Planned placemaking, on the other hand, involves professional efforts aimed at changing behaviours and shaping people's perception of a place. However, if placemaking is to be relevant for urban planning and design, professional and non-professional efforts need to collaborate in shaping public places. According to architects Schneekloth and Shibley, placemaking is "the way all of us human beings transform the places in which we find ourselves into places in which we live" (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995:1). It can be spectacular, like in designing a new building, or pass almost unnoticed, like in the case of using and maintaining everyday spaces. Professional placemakers,[15] with their in-depth knowledge about spatial processes,

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[14] Within academic literature, placemaking, place-making, and place making all exist, and are used interchangeably.

[15] E.g. architects, urban designers, and planners, facility managers, interior designers, and engineers. Leonie Sandercock (2000) calls them the city-building professions.

have much to contribute to such collaborations, but they represent only one out of many voices (ibid. p.6). However, they note, in Western countries today, placemaking is largely considered the task of professionals – a technical, rational, act rather than an essential, poetic one. Professional placemakers are preoccupied with "world making" for the general public, considering themselves to be the experts of the field (ibid. p.xiii). In line with Schneekloth and Shibley (1995, 2000), Hamdi (2010), Silberberg et al. (2013), Project for Public Spaces (2016), and Wyckoff (2014, 2015), this thesis uses the phrasing "placemaking" as the sole and overarching term for a practice integrating professional efforts and those of the future users of a place.

Susan Silberberg et al. trace the academic origin of placemaking back to the writings of Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch and William Whyte (Silberberg et al., 2013:2). Starting as a reaction against auto-centric planning in the 1960s, placemaking has grown into a practice of creating environments for social interaction, and for improving the quality of community life (ibid. pp.1–2). Designer Ezio Manzini describes it as a process that "produces a new (or renewed) sense of place by connecting a space with the communities that inhabit it" (Manzini, 2015:122). Hence, placemaking is about the social building of places, about connecting people with their built surroundings. Even if the definitions of placemaking are manifold, ranging from community building to a means for economic development, there are common features. One such feature is generating quality by actively involving the future users of a place. "Placemaking is the process of creating quality places that people want to live, work, play, and learn in" (Wyckoff, 2014:2, 2015:32). A quality place, in that context, is a place that people care about and choose to be in. Placemaking in urban design focuses on public spaces, including parks, squares, streets, sidewalks, and other open spaces. It has the site and the human scale as its point of departure, seeking to maximize the shared value of the place (Project for Public Spaces, 2016). User involvement on site is advocated for identifying issues and needs that might be overseen by regular planning: "Actual interventions within the space are believed to be the most effective way to get individuals to participate" (Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014:419).

Another common trait is a belief in the value of the creation process itself – a celebration of process over product – and in non-hierarchic collaborations.

> Placemaking is both a process and a philosophy. It is centered around observing, listening to, and asking questions of the people who live, work, and play in a particular space in order to understand their needs and aspirations for that space and for their community as a whole. With this knowledge, we can come together to create a common vision for that place. (Project for Public Spaces, 2016:18)

Placemaking implies engaging in the practice of urban design and planning beyond an expert culture. By engaging in social and cultural struggles, the profession can become more relevant and responsible (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2000). "Placemaking is not about who is in control; rather it is about the critical capacity of the placemaking process itself

to confirm and interrogate the place-becoming" (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995:xiii). The act of making is moved to the forefront, and the built place itself is only one of the outcomes (Silberberg et al., 2013:3). Anyone involved in any of the phases pointed out by Carmona – designing, building or using/managing a place – can be entitled a placemaker. Schneekloth and Shibley (1995:2), as well as Manzini (2015:37), differentiate between professional and non-professional placemakers. Manzini describes "expert design" and "diffuse design" as being two poles with a field of design possibilities in between. Expert designers (i.e. design professionals), and diffuse designers, naturally have different approaches to a design process, and the dynamic between them is decisive for the outcome. Placemaking involves a distribution of influence and the abandoning of traditional roles. Accepting losing control of the end result is an obvious part of such a practice.

> A critical practice that uses place as the point of departure leaves the safe ground of professional standards that tell us what to do and where to begin. This gives us the opportunity to explore the relative importance of architecture, engineering, and of a host of other contributors to placemaking as they become situated and related. (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995:xiii)

The interdependence of social and physical aspects of place, of people, and of the built environment, is a third common feature. If the placemaking process is well facilitated, the result will be a transformation of the physical as well as the social aspects of place. Interaction with the built environment allows for appropriation, for making the space part of the self. The appropriation of space is an interactive process, transforming the physical environment as well as the people using it. "In the process of appropriating a physical setting, the self or the social are expressed in spatial form, and this in turn has a transformative effect on people" (De Haan, 2005:9). Design, in this context, is seen as a physical and three-dimensional manifestation of place identity (Higgins, 2005:184). Placemaking is thereby closely related to "sense of place", "place meaning", and "place identity", as described by geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, among others (see also geographers Relph, 1976, and Massey, 2005). Places are experienced spaces, spaces endowed with value (Tuan, 1977:6). Placemaking is about materializing these experiences, about establishing personal connections to place.

Place attachment

> A place makes impressions, but it has to be possible to make impressions on the place as well. 'Monumentality', in the negative sense, implies physical premises that make impressions but do not take them, premises that reduce their inhabitants or visitors, premises that are intended for spectating not for participating. (Asplund, 1983:182, my translation)

Even though originating in environmental psychology, place attachment is an interdisciplinary concept with various definitions (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014:2). It signifies an affective bond between people and specific places. The bond makes people

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want to stay close to, and care for the places in question (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001:274). Place attachment thus appears to be a promising concept for architects and urban designers when developing public space. However, the concept as such is, to date, not commonplace within the literature of architecture and urban design. Psychologists Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford (2010) draw a tripartite, theoretical model of place attachment with people, place and psychological process as the main components (see figure 2.3). Maria Lewicka (2010) points out – in an extensive literature review on the research done on place attachment during the last two decades – that both the place and psychological process components of the model are in need of more attention and investigation, in order for place attachment theory to advance further. Lewicka (and others with her, e.g. Hernández et al., 2014, Ujang, 2010) therefore suggests investigating the character of places generating place attachment.
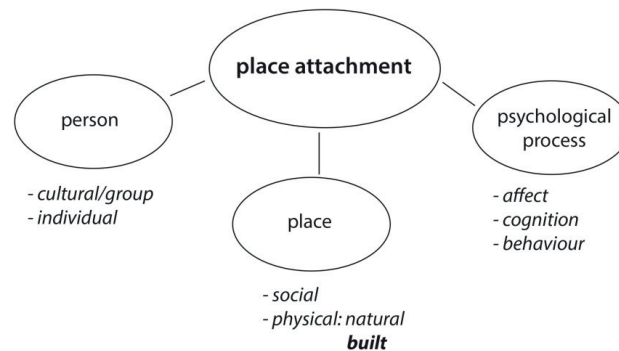
Figure 2.3 My interpretation of Scannell and Gifford's (2010:2) tripartite model of place attachment, indicating the focus area of this thesis: Physical, built (i.e. human-made) places.

According to the previous section, a placemaking process can be described as a series of place-shaping actions performed by one or more individuals. These actions connect people and places, and can, according to place attachment theory, produce spatial meanings: "Spatial meanings are found in the generative principles of action rather than being attached to place as an object; place and its meanings are produced through practice" (Altman and Low, 1992:215). Involvement and the sense of belonging are central to the understanding of place in environmental psychology, and are fundamental for the notion of place attachment. The attachment has both social and physical dimensions and creates a tendency to stay close to, and care for, the valued environment. Place is a space that has been given meaning through cultural processes (ibid. p.5). Place attachment involves "an interplay of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and

behaviours and actions in reference to a place" (ibid. pp.4–5, referring to Proshansky et al., 1983). Place attachment can arise both on an individual and community level.

The need for "true places", as social psychologist Johan Asplund calls them (see quote in the beginning of this section), to "take impressions" could be interpreted as allowing users to interact with the built environment, making it possible for them to somehow adapt it or leave their mark on it. Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan recognizes a greater awareness of built forms and space in traditional societies due to a higher level of active involvement in the creation of one's close environments. In modern societies, he argues, this awareness is much reduced as people are no longer involved in building their own houses or public monuments (Tuan, 1977:104, 116–117). Using Altman and Low's vocabulary, one could say that in modern societies, the affective bond between people and the built environment fails to form due to a lack of engagement in the creation of these environments. Even though the term "place attachment" is less frequent within architectural theory, the need for user interaction in order to create "true places" has been recognized by some, e.g. Jonathan Sime:

> Architecture, in concentrating on the physical dimensions of space and form, is in danger of neglecting the patterns of behaviour and experience which imbue buildings with meaning. […] An individual, in creating a place, is involved by definition in the appropriation and personalization of a physical space through thought and action. (Sime, 1995:38)

Personal connections to place generate a sense of rootedness and belonging, according to these writers, which in turn gives significance and meaning to life. Physical interaction is one dimension of establishing these connections.

Figure 2.4 Physical signs of place attachment: The inhabitants of a building in Malmö have decorated their front gate.

Geographer Sara Westin (2010) establishes two different vantage points on the urban landscape; the eye of the architect/urban planner and the body of the stroller (flâneur). Whereas the architect/urban planner studies the urban landscape visually, from a distance, the flâneur has a tangible, bodily experience of the same environment. "Urbanity" is a delicate attribute, an atmosphere of meetings, change and simultaneity, intimately linked to – dependent upon even – the physical structure of a city (Westin, 2010:193). This difference in perspective was labelled as place outsideness and place insideness by geographer Edward Relph (1976) (see further in the next section). Westin concludes, in her doctoral thesis on the topic, that urban planning is the opposite of urbanity, as planning seeks to "freeze the present, transform processes into objects, and turn insecurity into security" (ibid. p.301). In that sense, urbanity cannot be planned, but can be experienced by the flâneur only. Planning produces "a finite game", environments ready to use with nothing left for the user to put her/his mark on (ibid. p.304). There is no room left for a bodily experience, and thus little room for place attachment to grow. Referring to philosopher Lars Svendsen, Westin calls for an increasing of the potential to create personal meaning in a public environment:

> [...] the lack of personal meaning – the essence of boredom if you want – is caused by all objects and events coming pre-coded to us, while the human being – who is not only a product of the Enlightenment but also of the Romanticism – insists on *personal* meaning. (Svendsen, 2003:38, in Westin, 2010:306, my translation)

Following this, place attachment cannot be created for others by e.g. planners and architects, but has to be experienced in person.

Place outsideness and place insideness

If we return to Carmona's place-shaping processes, he differentiates between "knowing place-shaping" (the design and development phases) and "unknowing place-shaping" (the place management and space-in-use phases) (Carmona, 2014:33). Involvement in a place can be either self-conscious or unselfconscious. To explore this in relation to place belonging, geographer E. Relph set up the dichotomy of insideness and outsideness. Our intentions regarding a place position us as either outsiders or insiders in relation to that place:

> To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is the identity with this place. [...] In short, as our intentions vary, so the boundary between inside and outside moves. In consequence there are possible levels of insideness. (Relph, 1976:49–50)

Our relationship to a place, and our intentions, thus determine where we are on the scale between insideness and outsideness. The position can be either self-imposed or unselfconscious. Relph regards placemaking as a process where places gain authenticity by being modified and dwelt in (ibid. p.146), proposing multiple levels of place insideness

and outsideness. The levels most relevant for the scope of this thesis are presented below.[16]

Objective outsideness suggests a self-imposed distance towards a place, considering it merely a geographical position where objects and/or activities are located. This attitude is, according to Relph, adopted by many planners when making proposals for reorganization of places. Objective outsideness makes it possible to separate oneself emotionally from a place in order to restructure it based on logic, reason, and efficiency (Relph, 1976:51–52). Objective outsideness can be understood as intentionally zooming out and seeing everything as from above, which is the outermost form of outsideness.

Figure 2.5 An objective outsider at work.

Incidental outsideness is the most common relationship that people have to public space. A place is then associated with the functions and activities that are going on there, rather than with its built structures. Incidental outsideness is "a largely unselfconscious attitude in which places are experienced as little more than the background or setting for activities and are quite incidental to those activities" (ibid. p.52).

Behavioural insideness implies being in a place, attending to both its built structures and activities, but without emotional engagement. It indicates being in a place and recognizing a set of objects, views, and activities with observable qualities (Relph, 1976:53).

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[16] See further about the relation between the levels of place insideness and place outsideness and place attachment under the headline "Theoretical concepts applied as analytical tools" in section 3.8 and figure 3.7.

Empathetic insideness is the relationship defined when emotional engagement is involved:

> To be inside a place empathetically is to understand that place as rich in meaning, and hence to identify with it, for these meanings are not only linked to the experiences and symbols of those whose place it is, but also stem from one's own experiences. (ibid. pp.54–55)

Empathetic insideness does not signify ownership, but rather personal experience of a place and emotional engagement in it.

Existential insideness is the outermost form of insideness and occurs when a place, without deliberate reflection, is experienced as full with significance. This is the insideness that most people feel in their homes or hometowns (ibid. p.55).

Figure 2.6 Place insiders in action, attending to both the built structures and proposed activities, and in this case most likely with emotional engagement as well.

These levels of outsideness and insideness thus categorize how people engage in places. At all levels, apart from that of incidental outsiders, built structures are engaged with. Objective outsiders and behavioural insiders, however, do so without emotional engagement and are common positions for professional practice such as architecture, urban planning, and design.
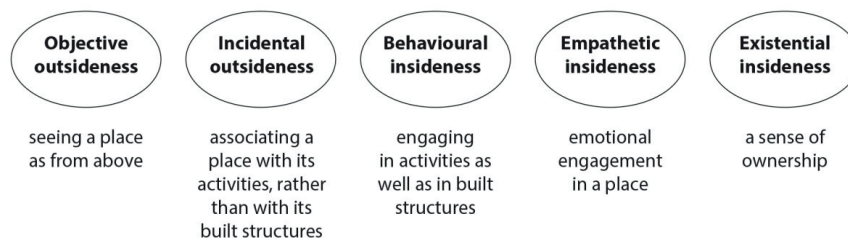
Figure 2.7 Overview of the above-presented levels of outsideness and insideness (Relph, 1976:51–55), as interpreted by the author of this thesis.

Involvement

As we have seen, many writers agree that placemaking implies involving future users of a place in the creation process. However, the term "participation" is under debate. In 1969, Sherry Arnstein defined participation in terms of citizen control over political and economic processes in the city. For a long time, her eight-rung ladder was the backbone of the participation discourse. Today, however, academics from various fields are questioning participation as being primarily about power struggle. Public participation and community-based action have become more complex, and a one-dimensional ladder is no longer sufficient to describe the nature of participation (see, e.g. Ross, Buchy & Proctor, 2002:205). The ladder is also considered too hierarchic as a representation of the mechanisms behind participation.

> Arnstein's approach conceptualizes user involvement activity as a contest between two parties wrestling for control over a finite amount of power. This adversarial model seems to exclude opportunities for collaboration and shared decision-making. […] One aim of user involvement may be to break down boundaries, share experience, and build understanding. (Tritter & McCallum, 2005:164)

A participatory process can have other goals besides citizen control, and the nature of the involvement (intense, long-lasting, short-term etc.), as well as the preconditions for participating, are relevant too. Social learning, collaboration and transfer of skills, and reshaping relationships are some proposed alternative motivations for participation (see, e.g. Tritter & McCallum, 2005, Collins & Ison, 2009, and Gustavsson & Elander, 2016).

> The term social learning has arisen in response to a growing recognition that our understanding of learning has moved away from an educational emphasis, with its focus on individual learning, to one where learning occurs through some kind of situated and collective engagement with others. [Social learning is] the process of co-creation of knowledge, which provides insight into the causes of, and the means required to transform, a situation. (Collins & Ison, 2009:364)

Participatory design can be used as a tool for social learning, for collectively imagining possible futures, and for users to realize that there are alternatives to current practice (Vines et al., 2013:3). This thesis uses the term "active user involvement" rather than "participation" in order to leave the one-dimensional view on power struggle behind.

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"Active user involvement" emphasizes future users of a place taking an active part in shaping their surroundings, thereby establishing the personal connection to place that is fundamental for placemaking. Co-creation is one way of achieving such involvement.

Figure 2.8 Active user involvement (picture from Possible Futures Herrgården, the action research performed during this PhD research).

Co-creation

In urban design, as in many other parts of society, citizens are becoming more and more involved in the creation process: "In a world in rapid and profound transformation, we are all designers" (Manzini, 2015:1). Spontaneous and temporary activities are advocated by politicians and planners when developing new public spaces around the world. This could be understood as a wish for citizen initiatives and involvement. Ezio Manzini sees design capability as a "widespread human capacity", but this capacity, he argues, has to be cultivated in the right way by "design experts" in order for it to flourish. By design experts he means individuals whose field of interest, research, and/or work is the practice and culture of design. Through engagement and dialogue with people other than the design professions,[17] design practice is transforming into a "creative commons for ongoing change" (Binder et al., 2008:1). This implies a rethinking of users as being "co-creators" rather than consumers. The Design Participation conference, organized by the Design Research Society in Manchester, England, in 1971, was a starting point for this development. The aim of the conference was to discuss the importance of user participation in a design process in order to address social issues (Lee, 2008:31). In the

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[17] Design professions are e.g. industrial design, interior design, architecture, and landscape architecture.

proceedings it was concluded that "do-it-yourself", where users have full creative autonomy in the design process, is the only "real design participation" (Banham, 1972, in Lee, 2008:34). Participation is then understood to be what Sherry Arnstein (1969) referred to as "citizen control" (as previously described in section 2.1). When it comes to placemaking and co-creation in urban development, participation should rather be understood as partnership, where the relation between professionals and non-professionals amounts to "sharing planning and decision-making responsibilities" (Arnstein, 1969:221).

However, these variations in influence can be less-hierarchically arranged than in the ladder presented by Arnstein. Manzini proposes a schematic map of participant involvement in order to illustrate a range of possible ways to collaborate in a project, and for collaborations to evolve (Manzini, 2015:106–107). The map has two crossing axes: the degree of active involvement on the vertical and the degree of collaborative involvement on the horizontal. The degree of active involvement refers to how much participants (as individuals) are expected to do, in practical terms, and ranges from passive to active participation. The degree of collaborative involvement indicates the level to which the participants are engaged in some form of collaboration with others. It ranges from doing everything alone to doing everything together.

Around the axis are four fields, which show possible participant involvement modes. The bottom-left corner has low involvement both in practical activity and collaboration. It represents the typical service mode and is labelled as "being served". The bottom-right corner has low involvement regarding activities but high involvement regarding collaboration with others. This field represents co-designed and/or co-managed organizations and is labelled "co-management". The top-left corner has high involvement regarding activities but low collaborative involvement, denoting activities being performed individually and is labelled "do-it-yourself". Finally, the top-right corner has high levels of both activities and collaborations, representing creative communities and is labelled "co-production". Whereas Arnstein's ladder primarily addresses the level of decision-making power, Manzini's map focuses on achieving things individually or collaboratively.
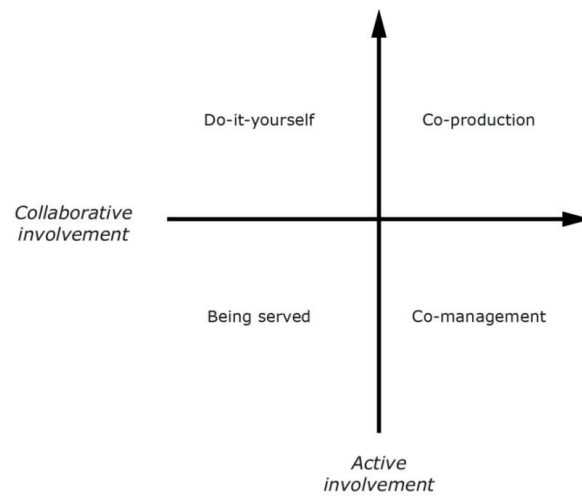
Figure 2.9 The map of participant involvement (Manzini, 2015:107).

Since co-creation is an evolving concept,[18] other related notions are often used to define it. Co-design appears to be the most common one within the design community[19] and is defined as "collective creativity as it is applied across the whole span of a design process" (Sanders & Stappers, 2008:2). It is "the creativity of designers and people not trained in design working together in the design development" (ibid. p.6) and arises in a "realm of collaboration", which both the professional designers and the other participants need to enter together (Lee, 2008:32–33). A sense of partnership should be established from the very beginning:

> In co-design, it is […] in the open exploration of possibilities that designers and non-designers have to lay the foundation for co-creation. The professional designer may be the most competent person at the drawing table, but in co-design, sketching has to take place as a collaboration between designers and non-designers. (Foverskov & Dam in Halse et al. (eds.), 2010:45)

By actively involving and engaging users on different levels, co-design has the potential to generate more user-adapted and adaptable products and environments. The engagement needs to be voluntary and the willingness to participate often depends on the individual's level of expertise as well as creativity and passion for the topic (Sanders & Stappers, 2008:8).

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[18] According to Sanders and Stappers (2008:2), co-creation, as well as co-design, has its origin in the field of participatory design.

[19] Within digital media "interaction design" and "adaptive design" are frequently used. Recently, "transformation design" has emerged among those who use a design process in order to collaborate across disciplines (Sanders & Stappers, 2008:6-7, and Burns et al., 2006:6).

Figure 2.10 Co-creation (picture from Possible Futures Herrgården, the action research performed during this PhD research).

Manzini introduces a second map, which corresponds with the idea of voluntariness and passion for the topic. This is called the map of interaction quality (Manzini, 2015:109). This map illustrates how collaborative involvement can be either light or heavy in terms of social tie strength and relational intensity. The strength of social ties can be indicated by the duration of the interaction or the tendency to create closed social groups. The relational intensity describes the reasons for participants to get involved, ranging from formalized interactions based on, for example, working contracts, to affective interactions based on convivial encounters. Collaboration needs to be encouraged in all quadrants according to Manzini (ibid. p.103). While strong, long-lasting social ties might initially sound like the more positive option, they tend to create closed social groups. Weaker ties might generate more inclusive organizations. A social fabric should, Manzini argues, preferably include strong as well as weak social ties. Equally, high relational intensity (i.e. affective involvement) requires a high degree of personal commitment, which is a limited resource for all individuals (ibid. p.104). Every person, in his or her everyday life, needs to be involved in a range of interactions – some formalized and some affective. (How co-creation has been posited in Manzini's maps during the analysis of the empirical material is described under the headline "Theoretical concepts applied as analytical tools" in section 3.7.)
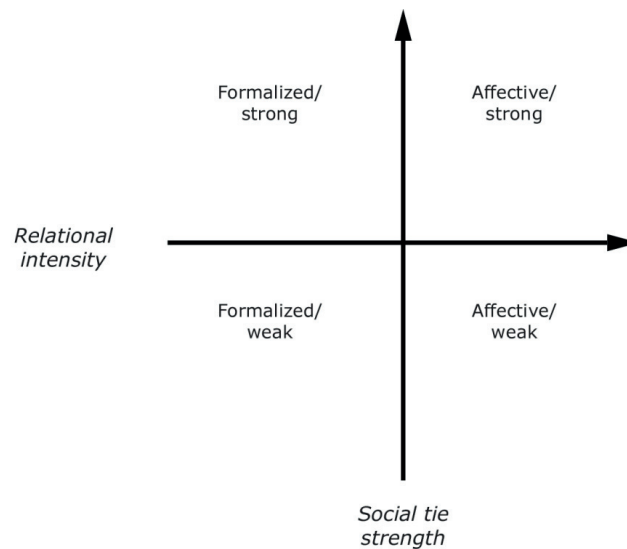
Figure 2.11 The map of interaction quality (Manzini, 2015:109).

Sanders and Stappers (2008:2) suggest co-creation to imply "any act of […] creativity shared by two or more people". In the context of urban development and placemaking, co-creation could be seen as a possible outcome of a co-design process, of a collaborative building process, and/or of a place-in-use process. According to the reviewed literature, one of the main challenges of co-creation within the fields of architecture and urban design today is a communication gap between the various actors involved in the development process: professional designers, other specialized consultants, and different (non-professional) user groups (ibid. p.13). Due to having different backgrounds, there are differences in skill sets such that specialized tools and jargon, as well as a protectionist attitude regarding one's own area of expertise, can easily create boundaries between participants (Sanders, in Halse et al. (eds.), 2010:118). In order to bridge this gap, new approaches are needed: "We need to invite all kinds of people into the front end of the design process to continually iterate between the making of stuff and the telling of stories" (ibid. p.120). This requires a new professional self-image, as described by curator Andres Lepik in the catalogue for the exhibition "Small Scale, Big Change: New Architectures of Social Engagement" at MoMA in 2010–2011:

> Each project is the result of a dialogue in which the architect cedes part of his or her authority to others, marking an important departure from the modernist ideal of the architect as a mastermind who designs everything from teapots to entire metropolises. By re-evaluating the role they play, these architects are signalling their conviction that good design is not a privilege of the few and powerful. (Lepik, 2010:12)

2.3 Summary

This chapter has built a theoretical framework with placemaking at the core, surrounded by key concepts (place attachment, place outsideness and place insideness, involvement, and co-creation) and encompassing concepts (temporariness, space–place, appropriation, participation, and tactical urbanism). The purpose of this has been to make the notion easier to grasp for architects, urban designers, and planners in particular, while at the same time defining gaps in the existing knowledge on the topic.
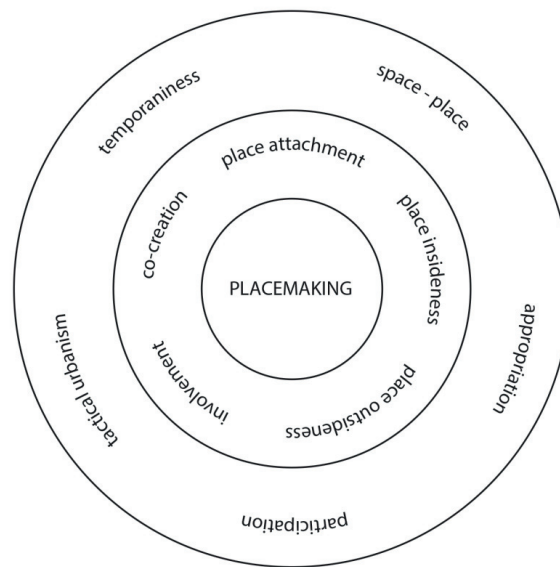
Figure 2.12 The theoretical framework of placemaking.

In summary, if placemaking is to be relevant for architecture, urban design, and planning, then professional and non-professional efforts need to collaborate in shaping public places. Following Lefebvre (1996), Tuan (1977), Graumann (1976, 1988) and others, place is defined as appropriated space; an environment having use(r) value due to the possibility of influencing its character and built structures. Place attachment is the emotional mechanism related to such place-shaping actions. Lewicka (2010, and others with her, e.g. Hernández et al., 2014, Ujang, 2010) suggests further research on the character of places that generate place attachment. By exploring distinguishing material features of such places, and their creation processes, this thesis aims to provide the fields of architecture, urban design, and planning, as well as environmental psychology, with valuable, new knowledge. User involvement is pointed out as a precondition for placemaking in the existing literature. There is, however, a need to investigate further what kind of involvement that is, how it is facilitated, and in what ways such involvement differs from that of regular participatory processes. The enabling approach implies professional

designers embracing a coaching attitude towards clients and users. This is a new role based on an agreement among all actors to treat ideas as open source, and requires the individual actors to let go of control over the end result to some extent. Such a professional role is in its infancy, and needs to be further analysed in terms of its operational qualities and limitations. Are professional placemakers, with their current practice, succeeding in inviting other participants into the realm of co-creation? The next chapter will describe the research strategy chosen for such investigations. The ways in which the key concepts were guiding the analysis is described in section 3.8 (Theoretical concepts applied as analytical tools), and these concepts also lead the overall discussion of the results in chapter 5.

3. Methodology

3.1 Ontological and epistemological position

As we have seen in the previous chapter, geographers, architects, and environmental psychologists all point at meaning, relationships, adaptability, and open creation processes as crucial parameters for the transdisciplinary undertaking of placemaking. The act of physical engagement is, according to environmental psychology, creating place meaning and a sense of place in space. But what kind of meaning can be created through this approach and for whom?

The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy (www.plato.stanford.edu) points at two different theories of meaning: the semantic and the foundational. A semantic theory is a specification of the meaning of something (e.g. a symbol) for a particular person or group, while a foundational theory of meaning explains what it is about the person or group that gives the symbol this particular meaning. The first could be described as a categorization of certain parameters, and the latter as an explanation of the raison d'être of this categorization. A semantic theory is instrumental, while a foundational theory of meaning is more holistic, and existential or cultural in its nature. However, this differentiation does not seem to be sufficient in order to explain the kind of meaning that can be generated by a placemaking process. This first section instead seeks an explanation by aid of cognitive science and sensorimotor experiences.

Embodied realism – Beyond the dichotomy of subjective and objective

> A great deal of artistry in practice, of the knowledge and skill we need to work effectively, is embedded in experience, not easily described or articulated. Academia denies this kind of knowledge, precisely because it is difficult to articulate, codify and teach but which is, we know, fundamental to associative learning – the brain's heart. (Hamdi, 2004:126)

The Renaissance and the rise of the natural sciences represented a paradigm shift; a change of perspective and change to the premises vital for the understanding of concepts such as truth and reality. The objects of natural science became "pure" objects with quantitatively measurable properties only. Even colour, smell, taste, etc. – the so-called sensory qualities – were regarded as something added to these objects by humans, in

order to sense impressions of the objects (Skirbekk & Gilje, 2001:172). Subsequently, the psychophysical dualism of Descartes laid out the path for the Western tradition of disembodied rationalism, in which the rational, objective view became superior to lived, subjective experiences. Descartes' separation of *res cogitans* (soul) and *res extensa* (matter) into two fundamentally different phenomena – the soul being only conscious, not extended, and matter being only extended, not conscious – was the starting point of the rationalistic epistemology. Valid insight, or truth, was not to be based on empirical observation, but on ideas that "appear *clearly* and *distinctly* to our reason" (ibid. p.193). Sense experiences, i.e. subjective experiences in matter, were to be verified by rational, *a priori* reasoning of the soul.

As far as possible I will attempt to avoid the dichotomy between subjective and objective, as it seems rather purposeless to set them up as opposites in the Cartesian way when speaking of placemaking, and the meaning that can be generated by such processes. Instead I would like to draw attention to what I understand as an alternative worldview; the embodied realism of Lakoff and Johnson. Their theory of cognitive science is closely related to the psychophysical parallelism of Spinoza, according to which the body and soul are two manifestations of the same reality (Skirbekk & Gilje, 2001:196). This unified reality is referred to by Spinoza as *substance*: "Substance appears to us in two ways, either as extension or as thought. […] Particular phenomena, including the individual, are thus more or less complex *modi* within the two attributes of substance. Ultimately, everything is, so to speak, connected in substance." (ibid. p.207). Extension (matter) and thought (soul) are not seen as two separated elements as they are by Descartes, but instead represent two aspects of the same thing: everything happens in substance, but reveals itself to us in two ways: extension and thought. Lakoff and Johnson describe this as having "a sense of reality as a bodily experience" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:37). They oppose the fundamental claims of mainstream Western philosophy that the world has a rational structure, that there are such things as universal truths, transcendent reason and morality:

> […] there is no Cartesian dualistic person, with a mind separate from and independent of the body, sharing exactly the same disembodied transcendent reason with everyone else, and capable of knowing everything about his or her mind simply by self-reflection. […] Moreover, since conceptual systems vary significantly reason is not entirely universal. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:5)

Pure objectivity is thus abandoned as a starting point of their embodied realism.

According to cognitive science, accessible conscious thought, or phenomenological conscious experience, is only a minor part of the human mind. Conscious thought consists of everything that we can be aware of: our own mental states and bodies, our environment, and our interactions. In addition to the conscious level of thought, the human mind has a neural level and a cognitive unconscious (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:102–103). This division between these three levels of thought poses a problem for

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the correspondence theory of truth (i.e. Western, *a priori* philosophy): truth-claims at one level may be inconsistent with those at another. The experience of colour provides an illustrative example. At the conscious, phenomenological level, we perceive colour as being "in" the objects, i.e. as being a one-place property. But at the neural level, colour is an interactional property depending on lighting conditions, wavelengths of electromagnetic radiation, our colour cones, and neural processing. A dilemma arises as the scientific truth-claim based on knowledge about the neural level is contradicting the truth-claim at the phenomenological level. The correspondence theory of truth requires one consistent, level-independent, truth. But which level is then to be given priority? Truths based on knowledge of the neural level often contradict what people are experiencing in their everyday life (ibid. p.24, pp.104–106). Cognitive science claims that properties and concepts are created as a result of the way the human brain and body are structured and the way they interact with the physical world:

> Cognitive science and neuroscience suggest that the world as we know it contains no primary qualities in Locke's sense, because the qualities of things as we can experience and comprehend them depend crucially on our neural makeup, our bodily interactions with them, and our purposes and interests. For real human beings, the only realism is an embodied realism. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:26)

It is our bodies that determine the possibilities and limitations for our conceptualization and reasoning according to Lakoff and Johnson.

Spatial metaphor is an essential constituent of the embodied mind. We often envision concepts as if they were three-dimensional containers. We do not see, for example, the two-dimensional boundaries of a garden, but we conceptualize it as a three-dimensional container with an interior that extends into the air in order to conceive of something as being "in" the garden. Spatial-relations concepts do not exist as independent entities in the external world. For example, we do not see nearness and farness. We see objects and assign nearness and farness to them from their relation to some landmark or to our own bodies (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:30–37). The embodied mind theory permits no clear distinction between *per*ception and *con*ception. A crucial question is, however, whether conceptual inference makes use of the same brain structures as perceptual motor inference. For this, Lakoff and Johnson turn to empirical testing.

Primary metaphor is the foundation of embodied realism, and implies a connection between the sensorimotor domains of our brains and the domains of subjective experience and judgement. For example, English speakers commonly conceptualize failing to understand something (subjective experience) by forming an image of something disappearing over the head (sensorimotor experience), or on the contrary, understanding something as grasping it (another sensorimotor experience). This is called conflation, and occurs already during infancy. Affection (subjective experience) is typically correlated with warmth (the sensorimotor experience of being held). The associations are realized neurally by simultaneous activations of the two domains that result in permanent neural connections.

The correlations are so strong that young children do not even distinguish between the two at first, but the differentiation occurs later in life as the ability for abstract, metaphorical thinking is developed (i.e. learning how "to grasp" can imply "to understand" without any actual grasping taking place). *Conceptual metaphors* are founded on everyday experience: "More Is Up" is a subjective judgement of quantity conceptualized in terms of the sensorimotor experience of verticality. The correspondence arises from correlations in everyday life, for example pouring more water into a glass and seeing the level go up (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:45–50). However, results of inferences flow in one direction only, from the sensorimotor domain to the domain of subjective experience and judgement. As a result, sensorimotor experience is more fundamental than subjective experience; for example, vertical motion is used to reason about quantity, but quantity is not often used to reason about verticality (ibid. p.55).

According to Lakoff and Johnson, embodied realism is grounded in our capacity to function successfully in our physical environments. The concepts that we already have fit well in the world we live in, as they have evolved from the way we act (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:43). Reason is both embodied and imaginative; it is embodied in the sense that our fundamental forms of inference arise from sensorimotor and other body-based forms of inference. At the same time, it is imaginative in the sense that bodily inference is mapped by our brains onto abstract modes of inference by spatial metaphors. For cognitive scientists, meaning is closely related to functioning successfully in the world and making sense of it via bodily imaginative structures. This point of view is in sharp contrast to *a priori* philosophy, which considers meaning as an abstract relationship between symbols and states of affairs in the world[20] (ibid. pp.77–78).

The embodied mind theory corresponds well with the idea of creating meaningful places by active, bodily involvement in the creation process (placemaking), and is the ontological foundation on which this thesis stands. Place meaning arises through embodied experiences related to a place. We get to know the world by engaging in it with our bodies, and this engagement results in emotions – pleasant or unpleasant. Following this, a place can become meaningful to someone through active, bodily involvement in any of Carmona's four place-shaping processes (Carmona, 2014, as previously described in chapter 2). I understand placemaking as a combination of place attachment(s) (emotions) and place construction and use (tactile, bodily experience), and this is an ongoing process creating meaning during the entire place-shaping continuum.

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[20] There is an equal discrepancy in the view on truth. According to Lakoff and Johnson, the way we understand the world is determined by many things: the detailed structure of our sensory organs and our brain, our ability to move and manipulate objects, our culture, and our interactions with the environment. What we consider as being true in a situation is shaped by all of these factors. "[…] the very idea that beings embodied in all these concept-shaping ways could arrive at a disembodied truth based on disembodied concepts is not merely arrogant, but utterly unrealistic" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999:102).

Figure 3.1 Placemaking seen as the result of emotions (place attachment) and bodily experiences (place construction and use).

Interpreting lifeworlds

Generating knowledge about embodied experiences (placemaking) resonates with a phenomenological approach and the epistemological foundation of qualitative research methods. Phenomenology is the study of a phenomenon as it is experienced, and focuses on how the individual actively constructs the world (Kvale, 1996), seeking to describe the essence and structure of a person's lifeworld (Hauge, 2009). However, since the researcher makes choices and takes standpoints throughout the research process, all findings are subject to interpretation. Thus, knowledge can be said to be constructed rather than discovered (see e.g. Stake, 1995). Interpretative phenomenology takes into account contextual variables as well as the researcher's interpretation of the collected data (Smith, 2004) and therefore more accurately describes the epistemological position behind the research strategy and choice of methods presented below.[21]

3.2 Research strategy

Coming from practice, I quite naturally phrased a practice-oriented research question: How can architects and urban planners work with placemaking in their everyday practice? Additionally, a stepwise theory development to build up an academic vocabulary seemed appropriate. A theoretical starting point was chosen in order to search for the main research focus (as described in chapter 2). The journey towards defining place attachment and co-creation as key concepts for placemaking has been guided by abductive reasoning and intuition. Rolf Johansson (2000) describes abductive reasoning as backwards reasoning from an interesting phenomenon towards a context that makes the phenomenon understandable. Phenomenon (observed result) + rule (theory) → context (case). In order to test the abductive reasoning from the first part of the study (places in

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[21] Flyvbjerg (2001) also criticizes social science research aiming for de-contextualized universal truths. According to Flyvbjerg, knowledge is context-dependent, and new knowledge should therefore be developed by analysing real-world settings through case studies.

Berlin + initial theory → The case in San Francisco), inductive reasoning was applied: cases in San Francisco and Malmö + analysis of results → conclusion (theory building). Additionally, I initiated several transdisciplinary collaborations, including the parallel reading of some of the literature with a PhD candidate in political science, in order to broaden my repertoire of interpretations. This was particularly useful in relation to the concepts of space–place and appropriation. Henri Lefebvre's texts, in particular, proved more challenging than I had first expected. I believe that the discussions I had with the political scientist revealed dimensions in his texts (philosophical and political) which would otherwise have passed me by. This in turn made me realize that it was in fact concepts other than space–place and appropriation that were at the core of my research interest. The research process thus consisted of several iterations between empirical analysis, theoretical development, and translation into practice (see Camilo Calderon, 2013, for a similar approach).

A two-phase research design involves combining two or more research strategies or methods in a sequence of distinct phases. If the different phases are distinct but at the same time conceptually well-linked, then the approach can provide increased validity to the results. Combining the benefits of the procedures and standards of different research strategies will help neutralize the weaknesses of each particular one (Groat & Wang, 2002:361–362). Two different research methods have been used in this research: case study and action research. The aim has been to grasp and analyse lived realities and experiences: "Theory in our field of knowledge does not come from someplace else; theory does not come from a Kantian world of concepts uncontaminated by our real world contingencies" (Graafland, 2003:21). Experiencing and interacting with architecture includes a certain measure of *tacit knowledge*. According to Oxford Dictionaries *tacit* is that which is "understood or implied without being stated" (www.oxforddictionaries.com). Merriam–Webster defines it as something that is "expressed or carried on without words or speech" or "implied or indicated (as by an act or by silence) but not actually expressed" (www.merriam-webster.com). There are certain aspects of architecture that can be experienced "out in the field" only, by engaging directly in different tasks and acts. Tacit knowledge is thus not merely "silent" knowledge (which is the Scandinavian translation of the term tacit), and it is not merely something that is understood without being verbally expressed, but is, rather, something that is connected to our tactile experience, or, in the words of Lakoff and Johnson, to embodied knowledge. Different research methods generate different kinds of knowledge. The case study method alone (due to its "outsider" perspective, see further in section 3.3) did not seem to be enough in order to document the tacit place knowledge embedded in a placemaking process. Action research appeared better suited to grasp the embodied/non-verbal part of this experience. The two methods described below answered different parts of my research question. The case studies provided insight into how people in general find or create their own place(s) in public space, while the action research highlighted the role of the professional designer in a

placemaking process, as well as the embodied knowledge and meaning that is involved for those who participate.
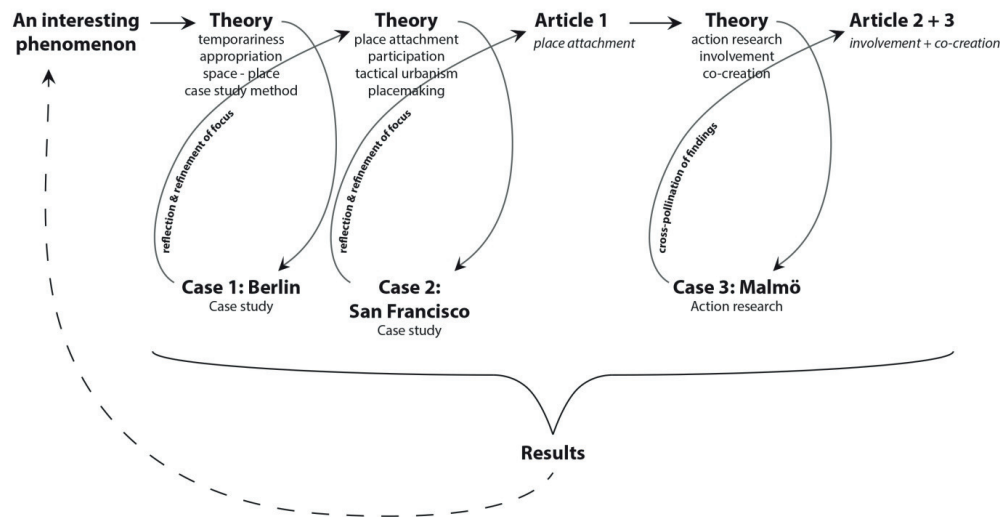
Figure 3.2 The iterative research process.

3.3 Case study method

A case study explores a contemporary phenomenon in depth within a well-defined system, i.e. a specific setting or real-world context. Typically, the situation is complex, with a large number of variables, and the study therefore relies on multiple sources of information (Yin, 2014:16–17). A case study investigates a situation over time through detailed data collection and focuses on the participants' perspectives, their meanings and their subjective views (Creswell, 2007:38). Multiple cases can be studied in parallel in order to illustrate different perspectives on the same issue (ibid. p.157). Various sources and techniques are used for the collection of data (e.g. observations, recordings, archival records, questionnaires, physical artefacts, and photographs) and the information originating from the various sources is subsequently triangulated (compared and cross-analysed) in search of meaningful patterns such as frequency of codes[22] or code combinations (Yin, 2014:106, 134). In the analysis phase, careful consideration of alternative interpretations (so-called "rival interpretations") is essential (ibid. p.133, 168).

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[22] Code segments are recurrent data representing, for example, information that researchers expected to find before the study, surprising information that researchers did not expect to find, or information that is conceptually interesting or unusual (Creswell, 2007:153).

Employing a case study method that uses exploratory research questions (one of them a "how" question) about a contemporary social phenomenon initially seemed suitable. In the case studies presented below, the primary sources of information were qualitative interviews (spontaneous on-site as well as scheduled, semi-structured interviews, complemented by email answers to follow-up questions) and place observations resulting in notes, sketches and photographs. Additionally, various publications and websites about the projects were reviewed, along with records of public debate.

3.4 Case selection

The first case study was performed in order to further refine the research questions and analytical concepts, to make them more adequate for theory building and practice development (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1996:59). The chosen cases are all examples of situations where a "place attachment by involvement" process has been possible. The primary selection criterion was that the projects should have a high level of user interaction – they should be projects that went beyond mere user consultation or placation (Arnstein, 1969:217). The chosen projects should encompass several design and implementation phases in order to create an open arena for public, full-scale experimentation and to enable a large number of individuals to get actively (bodily) involved with the physical structures of the place. For practical reasons, the projects and information about them had to be easily accessible, i.e. they should be situated in contexts already familiar to me, and where language would not constitute a communication barrier.

Case 1 – Fassadenrepublik and Der Berg

Temporariness, participation, and appropriation constituted the main theoretical focus in the beginning, and a series of temporary, involvement-based urban interventions in Berlin were therefore chosen for the initial study. Having attended the Berlin projects as a visitor in 2004 and 2005, the projects were vivid examples of my initial curiosity about appropriated public places. Both projects were curated by professional architects and designers, and explicitly aimed to explore new, alternative futures for a well-known, public space, in collaboration with the Berliners. The public was invited to join the exploration in a tangible way through three-dimensional experiments investigating what the place could become. Community building was one goal, as was creative freedom for the participants: "The mountain creates a social body, a place for settlement and community, a place for free artistic production" (Oswalt et al., 2013:298, about Der Berg). Based on this, the projects appeared well-suited for investigating the experiences of co-creative placemaking.

Palast der Republik on Berlin's Schlossplatz was temporarily converted into a public and cultural venue in 2004–2005. Once built for the East German government, the building was completely stripped of all interior decoration after the reunification of Germany, and was left to await demolition due to the discovery of asbestos. Both the building and the

place itself were politically contested, which resulted in a stormy debate about their future. Some strongly favoured a reconstruction of the baroque castle that previously stood on the site, as Palast der Republik was claimed to be a symbol of oppression and dictatorship. Others regarded the building as an important representation of their personal history that they wanted to keep for the future (Sandström and Teder, 2005). Cultural actors saw the empty building as an attractive place for different kinds of events. These cultural initiatives were joined by Urban Catalyst under the name Volkspalast.

Two of the projects during Volkspalast – Fassadenrepublik[23] (in the summer of 2004) and Der Berg[24] (in the summer of 2005) – were chosen for further investigation. Fassadenrepublik implied the staging of a Potemkin water city where visitors could travel around the flooded basement in rubber boats and disembark on different islands. The islands were equipped with various façades – proposed by the public via the internet prior to and during the event – for a future building on the site. There was an open invitation for façade suggestions, and the initiators received about 100 in total. Some citizens came to build their own proposed façades on site prior to the opening, and some were built by invited participants (e.g. practising architects, designers, artists and performance artists, as well as students). Fassadenrepublik was open to the public for nine days. Performance artists staged different interactive scenarios on the islands, including a university, an "Institute for ancestors' adoption" and a parliament, in order to extend public debate beyond the question of façades to content and programme. The visitors could propose façades to be torn down and replaced by new ones, as well as suggest new functions for the building. It was possible to give lectures at the university or initiate debates about themes connected to the future of the building at the parliament. The goal was to get people with no previous connection to each other (participants as well as visitors) to discuss the future of the place, as well as to make the visitors play an active part in the modifications of the space (Based on Deuflhard & Krempl-Klieeisen, 2006, Oswalt et al., 2013, and on interviews with various participants in November 2011).

Der Berg was an installation both inside and outside of Palast der Republik, with the goal of public exploration of various possibilities for the future use of the site. The overall concept (a mountain with three different routes through it, and a small hotel) was developed by the initiators (a group of around five people). This project struggled with getting permissions from the city (regarding, for example, fire and evacuation), which made the final completion very hectic. It was a collaborative building process, with many decisions being made on site. The initiators showed a few collages and renderings of the mountain to the participants, who then got their own part to work on. It was "a living

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[23] The main organizers of Fassadenrepublik were Raumlabor architects.

[24] The main organizers of Der Berg were Raumlabor architects and Club Real.

structure of collective work" according to one of the organizers. Different artists and architects built up a landscape that the visitors could climb and discover either as mountaineers, pilgrims, or philosophers. The routes had various stops intended for discussion and debate about possible functions for the building, as well as places to leave written notes with comments and suggestions. The hotel provided an opportunity to stay overnight, in order to extend public access to the site beyond office hours and to further expand the perspective on its potential uses. Der Berg was open to the public for 23 days and had more than 40,000 visitors. The goals were to get as many people as possible to experience the building in person, to collectively investigate what the place could be in the future, to make people feel at home in the city centre, and to co-create a new identity and meaning for Schlossplatz (Based on Deuflhard and Krempl-Klieeisen, 2006, Oswalt et al., 2013, and on interviews with various participants in November 2011).

During both projects, the initiators encouraged participants, as well as visitors, to physically interact with the space in different ways: "Come realize your own vision for the place" was the intended moto. Palast der Republik was not a fragile building that you had to treat with care, but a place well-suited for a collaborative building process. One of the initiators called Volkspalast "a contemporary market of ideas", a place where the citizens could express their ideas physically through the means of temporary installations. The ambition was open construction – anyone interested could join the building process – during Fassadenrepublik as well as Der Berg, but the majority of participants originated from the initiators' personal networks and had a background in art, design, or architecture (Based on interviews with various participants in November 2011).

Figure 3.3. Fassadenrepublik and Der Berg in Volkspalast, Berlin.

Semi-structured interviews were carried out with the professional initiators (architects and cultural workers) as well as with various professional and professionals-to-be (architects, designers, construction workers, lighting technicians, and artists, as well as students of architecture and design)[25] in the fall of 2011. The interview questions covered the creative process, roles in the project, motivations for participating, decision-making hierarchies, designer tools and overall satisfaction with the process and results. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded in order to discover common themes among the stories of different actors. In some cases, the informants provided visual material from the process such as photographs, sketches and functions diagrams. In addition, various publications and websites about the projects were reviewed, as well as my own notes and photographs from site visits in 2004–2005. When the gathered material was compiled and examined, statements about different roles – satisfaction/dissatisfaction with these, in particular – were found to dominate among the responses of the interviewees. At that point in the research process, when I had my mind set on investigating appropriation of public space and the effect of temporary initiatives on the experience of place attachment, the data about various experiences with professional roles appeared to be out of scope. Initially, the first case study left me with more questions than answers. Being located on a highly contested and debated location, the recounted place experiences were strongly influenced by the informants' political beliefs. Nevertheless, the discovery of obvious discontent among several of the interviewees pushed the research process forward into a new direction. The somewhat surprising answers gave me insight into a whole new aspect of the theme: the effects of various ways of getting involved in a place, and the need for being able to establish a personal connection. However, I lacked information from one entire citizen category: the non-participating users. As the case study was made in retrospect, there was no way to fill this information gap. I realized that I needed to study a place that I could visit for real-time observations.

Case 2 – Pavement to parks

Having steered more in the direction of the experience of, and the interaction with, physical structures as such, a new set of place observations and interviews was necessary. For the second case study, the public space improvements programme Pavement to Parks in San Francisco was chosen. The projects included in the programme are explicitly aiming at exploring new and innovative ways of developing and managing public space. The public is encouraged to engage in the process, by being either actively involved in the design and building of new public plazas, or as initiators and managers of public mini-parks (so-called parklets). A qualitative approach was again chosen, as the research interest was in the various kinds of attachments, rather than the quantitative degree of attachment. (Williams, in Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2014:94). Priority was now given to the informants' relation to the physical structures, both during creation and use, and physical traces of place attachment. Non-participating users as well as participants were

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[25] The interviews, with 15 individuals in total, were exhaustive and lasted between one and one and a half hours. Some of the interviewees participated in both projects.

interviewed.[26] This was the point where placemaking entered the scene as the overarching key concept.

The Pavement to Parks programme aims to assist merchants, community organizations, business owners, and residents in taking individual action in the development of the city's public realm (San Francisco Planning Department, 2014). It seeks to temporarily transform underused street spaces into public places. Initiated by the Mayor of San Francisco in 2008, each Pavement to Parks project is intended to be a public laboratory, testing new ideas together with the local communities. The intention of the experimental approach is to allow for a larger number of people to engage in the urban development process. Each project should reflect the diversity and creativity of the people who design and build it, and by that add "beauty and whimsy" to the streets of San Francisco. By opening up the legal framework, citizens who are not commonly involved in urban development projects are supposed to get the possibility of creating places where they want to spend time.

The programme tests new methods for urban development on two different scales: plazas and parklets. Plazas are the result of stepwise transformations of underused paved surfaces such as large intersections. The locations are initially pointed out by a team from various municipal departments (including the San Francisco Planning Department). An initial design session is announced via public notice both on site and in the local newspaper, and one or more professional placemakers are engaged by the municipality to lead the creation process. As a first step, a full-scale mock-up is built out of very simple material (e.g. cardboard), and then, for some months, community feedback is collected by studying the use of this mock-up. Both materials and design solutions are meant to be inexpensive, temporary and easily movable to allow for changes. After testing their initial performance, some locations are reclaimed permanently as public open spaces, and are given a more-permanent design. Seating, landscaping, paving treatment, plantings, bike racks, and art are common features of all plazas. Parklets are much smaller in scale and signify a temporary transformation of parking spaces. They are based on Public–Private Partnerships, where citizens apply for a permit to create and maintain mini-parks on a yearly basis. Before getting the permit, a public notice period has to be announced, displaying an image (drawing, rendering etc.) of the intended design on site for ten days. If there are objections, then a public hearing has to be held (just like in a regular urban development process). Questions, comments and concerns are collected by the initiator, and eventually a design proposal is created to obtain the permit. The municipality encourages the involvement of professional placemakers in the application for permits, but it is not a formal requirement. The parklet is subsequently built, either by professional construction workers or as a participatory community project, depending on the

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[26] This was done in order to compare the place experiences described by participants and non-participating users.

preferences of the initiator. The majority of parklets are initiated by business owners who can use the space as an extension for their business (e.g. for outdoor seating). They can do so on the condition that the spaces always remain open for non-consumers as well. Out of numerous locations throughout the city,[27] two plazas and two parklets were chosen for more thorough investigations due to the availability of extensive first-hand information that they provided. For all four of them, in-depth interviews could be made with placemakers from the design and building phases, with some of them also providing photographic documentation of the creation process. In addition, the places-in-use could be visited during various times of the day and week, which made on-site interviews with a range of users possible.

Figure 3.4 Castro Plaza and 4 Barrel Coffee Parklet, San Francisco.

The main research questions, in the quest for a place-based understanding of place attachment suggested by Lewicka (2010) and others (see chapter 2.2), were: Which parts of the placemaking process particularly stimulated place attachment? And how did place attachment relate to the materiality and use of the resulting places? Interviews were done in the spring of 2012 with project managers from the San Francisco Planning Department, architects and designers who had been involved in the creation, business owners who had initiated the parklets, and with current users on site (a few of them having participated during the design or building phases as well). The process was thereby studied on both the municipality and community levels. Questions regarding the creation process, roles in the project, motivations for participating, ways of involvement in the design and building of the place, experienced emotional bonds (i.e. place attachment), use of the place, and overall satisfaction with the process and results, were asked in semi-structured interviews. In total, interviews were conducted with 60 individuals, out of which ten were in-depth (lasting between an hour and an hour and a half). The interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded in order to discover common themes among the

[27] When the case study was performed in the spring of 2012, there were about 30 Pavement to Parks sites in total.

stories of different actors. In some cases, the informants provided picture material from the creation process, such as photographs and sketches, as well as email answers to follow-up questions. This information was combined with the author's on-site observations at different times of the day and week (resulting in notes and photographs), and with the written information found on websites, in journals, and in newspapers. Studying the places-in-use gave many new insights regarding physical traces of place attachment, but at the same time induced further questions about the creation process. All information about the design and building phases of the placemaking process was still second-hand data provided by others. In order to fully understand the mechanisms of placemaking in relation to urban design and development, it seemed necessary to follow a process through all four of Carmona's place-shaping phases.

3.5 Action research method

The Berlin and San Francisco projects consisted of several design and implementation phases, creating an open arena for public, full-scale experimentation and making it possible for a large number of individuals to get directly involved with the physical shaping of the places. However, in both cases, I, as a researcher, entered the process when one or more rounds of experimentation and implementation had already been completed. All information about initial planning, designing and building was therefore recalled in retrospect by the interviewees. During the course of the research, embodied place knowledge often seemed to have originated from the building phase, and hence this phase became my main curiosity. In order to gain real-time access to data regarding the entire process from the very first phase of ideation and planning, an action research project was set up in Malmö – the city where this could most easily be carried out due to personal circumstances – in 2012. In this third case, I acted as researcher and professional placemaker simultaneously, and thereby played an active part in initiating and organizing the project as well as in the implementation on site.

I chose to employ an action research method for two reasons:
1) Coming from practice, I had a practice-oriented research question, primarily aimed at the development of working methods (while contributing to theory development in parallel). The working methods that I hoped to develop further dealt with the co-creation of public space, which made the choice even more convincing:

> A primary purpose of action research is to produce practical knowledge that is useful to people in the everyday conduct of their lives. […] It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities. (Reason & Bradbury, 2008:4)

Bringing about positive social change as part of the research is inherent to action research (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003:15). Action research thus shares the ethical foundation of placemaking. The method enables the testing of knowledge in action, with those who do

the testing being the interested parties. There is no observer in such a collaboration, rather there is "common search for common good" (Swantz, in Reason & Bradbury, 2008:42). Expert knowledge and local knowledges are combined, and mutual learning is at the heart of action research. "[Professional] Practice is seen as thoughtful educational engagement, and not simply the execution of skills" (Whitehead & McNiff, 2006:83).

2) Architecture and urban design are professions with a high level of tacit knowledge. Reading Donald Schön (1991), and particularly chapter 3 where he describes the review procedure at a school of architecture, I remember how I often felt during my architecture studies and in the beginning of my professional career: confused, unsure, and not knowing how to incorporate the advice from teachers or more experienced colleagues into my own work and designs. I simply had not developed enough tacit knowledge about the profession yet. Action research implies "reflection-in-action" (Schön, 1991) and conscious reflection on professional practice and tacit knowledge: "We should ask not only how practitioners can better apply the results of academic research, but what kinds of knowing are already embedded in competent practice" (Schön, 1995:29). Schön describes a professional practitioner as a specialist who encounters certain types of situations again and again (Schön, 1991:60). From the professionals' perspective, I understand action research as staging such situations in order to consciously reflect upon them, and subsequently communicate those experiences to others. Following Schön, tacit knowledge is knowledge in practice that is difficult to describe in words only. In a teaching situation, it is a challenge to visualize and orally describe the tacit knowledge that an experienced designer applies in his or her work. Conscious reflection-in-action helps a practitioner to evaluate these tacit understandings and to make new sense of them, or to change them. As action research makes one reflect upon one's own practice in an analytical way, it is well suited for design professions. It is a way of grasping the tacit knowledge embedded in practice, thereby making it possible to communicate to others (e.g. other practitioners, or students of architecture and design).

Inspired by the action approach of Chris Argyris and Donald Schön (1974, 1978), Friedman and Rogers define "action science" as the theoretical grounding of action research (Friedman & Rogers, in Reason & Bradbury (eds.), 2008:253). The aim of action science is to make individual and collective frames and practices explicit, in order to critically examine and consciously change them. Framing denotes a way of making sense of reality, defining what should be attended to, what should be ignored, how to organize data into meaningful patterns etc. Re-framing, on the other hand, implies changing the internal logic of a frame, and thereby provides opportunities for productive problem-solving. What we "know" should be regarded as a hypothesis rather than a fact, and is subject to continuous testing. Testing is a tacit form of experimentation for trying various frames and for putting new possibilities into practice. Directly observable behavioural data, such as recordings and photographs of the lived reality, are the preferred objects of analysis (ibid. pp.253–256). An inherent scepticism on the views and advice of distant

experts is at the core of the approach.[28] (Pedler & Burgoyne, in ibid. p.319). A link to embodied realism is easy to see. Also, the epistemology of action research and co-creation appear closely related, both emphasizing learning as a social phenomenon originating in practice. "[…] action research goes beyond the notion that theory can inform practice, to a recognition that theory can and should be generated through practice […]" (Brydon-Miller et al., 2003:15).

The aim of the third case was to explore how professional practice could be reinterpreted in order to increase the possibility of involvement for other actors. Interaction with physical structures was studied as it unfolded during the entire placemaking process (from planning/designing through to building and then using). By being on site during both building and use, interactions with the physical structures, as well as the impact these interactions had on the place experience, could be documented. The main research questions during the action research were: What kinds of involvement are possible with the practice of placemaking, and how do they differ from those of regular urban development? What is the motivation for professionals and non-professionals to get involved? What are the greatest challenges with involving a wide range of people in placemaking?

Photo-documentation

With the researcher being part of the studied process, as is the case in action research, there is a risk of biased interpretations. Therefore, an external observer was engaged during the building session, taking complementary notes as well as photographs of the actions. Photo-documentation implies taking photographs in a systematic way (Rose, 2012:301). The shooting script[29] was to document the course of events with as much detail as possible, with particular focus on who acted, how they got involved, and what their relations were to the physical objects being created. The selection criteria for the photographs used in the subsequent analysis was that the people should not be posing, but acting "naturally". Visual coding was then employed, with common themes sought for and classified in the same way as in a text material, and the results were compared to the coding of the interviews and written field notes.

Case 3 – Herrgården

The project started with an urge to find a case where real-time data could be obtained from the entire placemaking process. Due to practical circumstances it had to be located in an environment where I could rapidly establish the required professional connections. The obvious choice was Malmö and Herrgården, an area where I had been engaged professionally before. Herrgården is part of Rosengård, a city district in eastern Malmö with 22,000 inhabitants. It is characterized by a multicultural population speaking over

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[28] A distant expert is to be understood as someone who is not part of the lived circumstances.

[29] The initial instructions for the photographer.

one hundred different languages, cramped living conditions and a high degree of mobility into and out of the area. The residential welfare is generally lower than in the rest of Malmö and the district has a low average age, with large amounts of children and young adults. Herrgården was built during the 1960s and 1970s, and consists of large building slabs with big, open yards between them. The yards have a public rather than a semi-private character. The building stock and public spaces now require refurbishment and upgrading, and a sustainable transformation will demand that changes in the physical environment are linked to the socioeconomic needs of the population. The area has a long history of dialogue-based participatory planning initiatives, among them is "Rosengård! Strategies for Sustainable Development in a City District" (Malmö Planning Department, 2008) and a new area plan for renewal and densification, "Område Herrgården i Rosengård, PP 6031" (Malmö Planning Department, 2012).

The meta-purpose of the action research project (called Possible Futures) was to investigate, together with potential users, whether the site had potential for hosting public activities, and if so, what these activities might be. It was a way of testing how to involve empathetic insiders – future users to whom it seemed important – in a direct and significant way in the design and construction. Involvement was voluntary and there were no specific target groups. Anyone showing up on the day of the building session was welcome to join (See Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014:421 for a similar approach). For the sake of the research it was essential to keep the definitions of *participants* and *results* open. Everyone present at the site at the time of the construction was considered to be a participant, and it was the participants' ideas that guided the building process. The scenario that the place totally lacked potential to become a public space was a result as valid as any.

Figure 3.5 The site in Malmö during the building session.

The project provided an opportunity to study a placemaking process in detail from within. It consisted of a series of events: 1) performing idea interviews on site in order to inform inhabitants about the project and to get a primary understanding of their goals and desires for public spaces in the area, 2) assembling a functions program (with categories such as meeting, playing, sitting, and shielding) based on the idea interviews to give the property owner/manager a rough idea about what to expect, 3) estimation and ordering of building materials, 4) discussions about how to make the use of temporary public objects safe and secure, 5) finding professional placemakers[30] who could act as group leaders during the building session, 6) preparing the site for construction, 7) public building session, lasting approximately half a day, producing temporary mock-ups, 8) test period of approximately three months, and 9) evaluating the results and considering turning one or more mock-ups into permanent installations on the site. Originally, numbers 1–8 were to be repeated one more time, but due to practical circumstances the projected came to a premature end.[31] In total, approximately 40 individuals were actively involved in the process. Interviews were done directly after the building session with professional[32] as well as non-professional participants. In addition, spontaneous interviews were held with people on site one year later. In total, 32 interviews were performed, out of which 14 were recorded and transcribed. Notes, photographs and interview transcripts were coded in order to map the various means of involvement.

3.6 Case-independent interviews

When comparing the interview material from the case studies, statements by men were dominating among the professional placemakers. I therefore decided to do an additional round of interviews with female professionals who had experience of placemaking in various ways. I returned to projects that I had previously considered as potential cases, but had turned down due to practical circumstances (time, location, total number of participants that I could get in contact with, etc.). In addition to providing a better gender balance among the interviewees, these interviews – four in total – gave me the opportunity to cross-validate the intelligibility of my key concepts, and assess their utility for practice (e.g. whether co-creation and place attachment were intelligible and operational concepts for practising architects and urban designers). The interviewees were one business partner, one studio owner, one civil servant, and one project leader in a private office.

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[30] For example, architects, and landscape architects.

[31] The property was sold to another owner. See further in chapter 4 "Findings", article 2.

[32] Architects, planners, a carpenter, and a landscape engineer.

3.7 Ethical considerations

All interviewees read and signed a consent agreement before the interviews and recordings started. The consent agreement stated the purpose of the study, emphasized that the interviewee was free to end the recording and/or the interview at any time, and informed about the routines for anonymization of personal data. During the Malmö case, the children who were too young to read such a document were given the same information orally. The entire research project was reported to NSD (Norsk senter for forskningsdata) and all personal data was anonymized according to their guidelines.

In article 1 (about the San Francisco case) the quoted interviewees are named with their professional title (architect, project leader, etc.). The studied locations are depicted and the details of the originator (architect name) are given (according to good professional practice within the architect community). The quotes are, however, not assigned to specific locations, and thereby sufficient anonymity is achieved for the interviewees. The age and gender indications in article 2 (about the Malmö case) do correspond to the reality, but the names are fictive. Those interviewees who could nevertheless be identified (e.g. the property manager's representatives) have given their approval to the description. The faces of the children and other participants who have not expressly provided their approval of being depicted have been pixelated. In article 3 (about the Berlin case) the quoted interviewees are again named with their professional title (architect, project leader, etc.). The initiating architects and artist are named (according to good professional practice within the architect community), and quotes could thus only be related to a group of about five people, but not directly to specific individuals within the group.

3.8 Analysis of empirical data

The studied projects differ in size, duration, and context. The Berlin case was located on a central and politically contested site. In San Francisco, the places (30 locations in total, out of which four were examined in depth) were located in central, mixed-use and residential areas. The action research in Malmö was carried out next to a public park in a residential area. These differences were, however, considered subordinate, as the aim of the empirical studies was to register and analyse iterative co-creation processes in terms of 1) the experience of interaction with physical structures in general, 2) stories about place attachment and physical traces of place attachment, 3) various kinds of involvement, and 4) the dynamics between different actors. The changing of the research method, and thereby the role of the researcher, was deliberate and decisive in order to access real-time data from all the phases of a placemaking process (from planning/designing to building and then using), as well as for exploring new working methods in practice.

For all three cases, the results from field observations, interviews, and document and website analysis were triangulated. The stepwise-deductive-inductive method (SDI) described by Axel Tjora (2010) was used for the analysis. Field notes, interview

transcripts, and photographs were coded manually in order to identify common themes (codes) in the empirical material. The themes were derived directly from the empirical material rather than developed *a priori*.[33] Subsequently, these themes were categorized into key themes (Tjora suggests using 3–6), which constituted the backbone of the analysis. The key themes were then discussed based on the theoretical concepts presented in chapter 2. The aim was concept development rather than new theory building (ibid. p.147).

Theory-wise, the concepts of Relph (various levels of outsideness and insideness), Altman and Low (place attachment), and Manzini (maps of participant involvement and interaction quality) were the main tools for analysis, as they encompass the individual experience of a place as well as the physical structures (see further in the next section). The original ambition was that the analysis would result in cross-pollination of findings from all cases. This was, however, not possible in the published articles, due to length restrictions. New analytical concepts that were discovered during the course of the research were, however, subsequently applied to previous cases. This resulted in a second round of analysis, which, in the Berlin case, uncovered a new aspect of the collected data – extensive information about various aspects and experiences of the professionals' role in co-creation. A comprehensive, cross-case discussion about all the findings is found in chapter 5 of this cover story.

Creating diagrams has been important throughout the research process, serving as a visual analysis tool pushing the concept development forward. Below are some examples from different phases of the research, visualizing the findings on placemaking and the interrelation between different key concepts in various ways.

Figure 3.6a Diagram from the process of defining placemaking; visualizing Altman and Low's place meaning theory.

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[33] In the Berlin case, the codes were rather *a priori* during the first round of analysis. Having become more experienced with qualitative research during the second round of analysis, I managed to derive the codes more directly from the empirical material. This resulted in the discovery of a new key theme – professional roles.
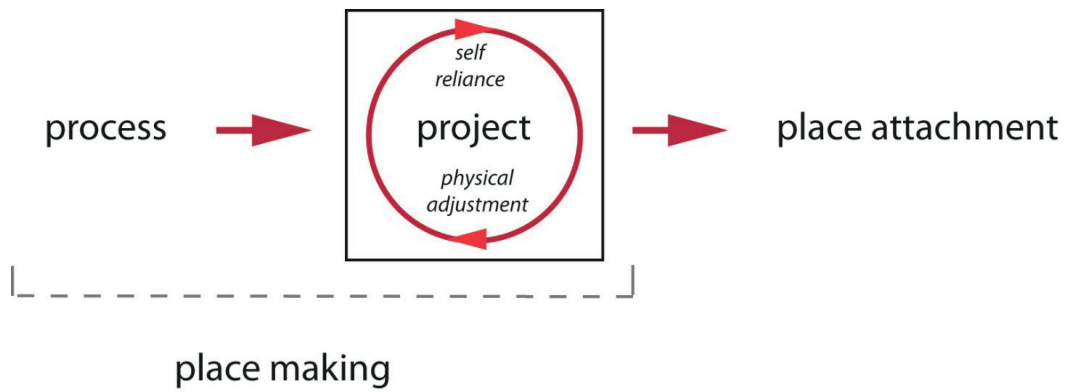
Figure 3.6b Diagram from the process of defining placemaking; early diagram trying to visualize the interrelation between placemaking and place attachment. This diagram was further developed and eventually resulted in the model presented in figure 4.2.
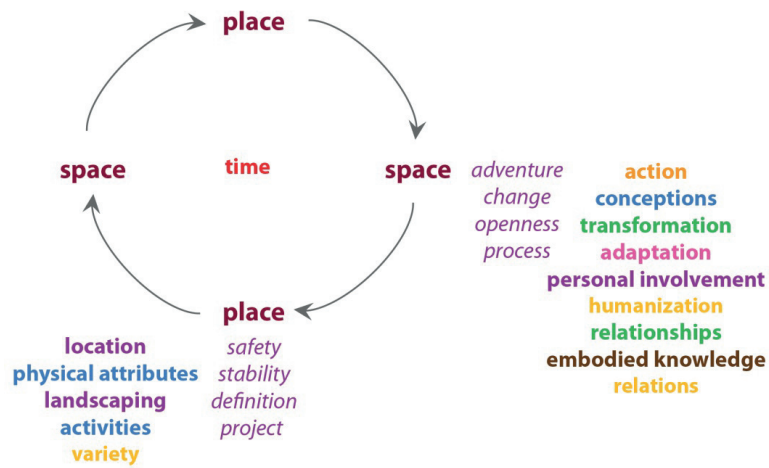
Figure 3.6c Investigating the relation and differences between space and place in terms of temporal features by means of key words from the literature review performed during the initial part of the PhD research.
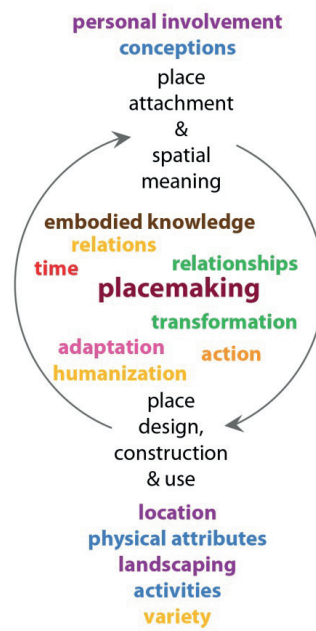
Figure 3.6d Diagram from the process of defining placemaking; Applying the key words used in figure 3.6c to a placemaking model.
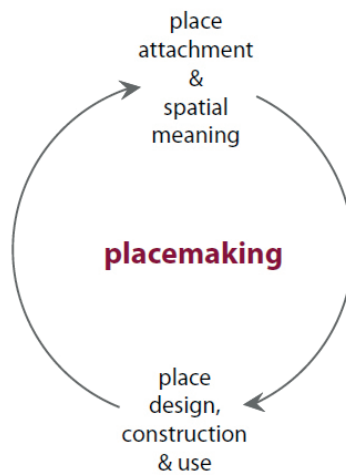
Figure 3.6e Diagram from the process of defining placemaking; Getting close to the final model for explaining placemaking in this thesis.

Reliability, validity, and generalizability

My own professional experience as an architect enabled me to pose detailed questions and to organize the building session during the action research, but the same fact also demanded high reflexivity regarding my own preconceptions about the situations I was investigating. For example, the codes that I derived during the first analysis of the data from the Berlin case were rather *a priori* – they were based on my own previous experiences as an architect. Critically reflecting upon the codes that I derived compared to those derived by a fellow PhD candidate from a sample of the same empirical material[34] made me realize this, and during the second analysis I managed to stay more open to the empirical data. During the course of the PhD I have published articles in academic journals of related fields, which ensures a reasonable level of validity (Tjora, 2010:162). In the articles, as well as in this cover story, I have sought to be as transparent as possible about the methods that I have used and the reasons for making important decisions (e.g. regarding whom to interview). The concepts that I am discussing are testable and can be further developed by other researchers and practitioners (e.g. the diagram in figure 4.2). The research is therefore conceptually generalizable (ibid. pp.168–169).

Theoretical concepts applied as analytical tools

Relph's levels of place outsideness and insideness indicate how our place intentions determine our actions in relation to a place. They are indicators for how we will relate to a place in the future; how we will use it and care for it. A common approach among architects, in my understanding, is behavioural insideness. One attempts to create both structures and activities, but without emotional engagement – a very "professional" attitude. The empathetic insideness, where emotions become involved, is interesting. Empathetic insideness does not signify ownership, but rather personal experience of a place, and feelings of connection and concern for it. On this level, insiders identify with and care for a place, but do not exclude others from doing so too. Emotional engagement is, as we have seen in the previous sections, immanent in place attachment. The emotional bond grows stronger with action, by involvement in shaping built structures. Using Relph's concepts, place attachment is thus something that originates in place insideness, and is experienced directly by those insiders who are relating to a place emotionally (i.e. empathetic and existential insiders, see figure 3.7 below). This is the kind of place relations that are studied and analysed in this research.

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[34] As a way of evaluating my own work, I asked a fellow PhD candidate specializing in a totally different topic to analyse and code one of the interviews that I had worked with.
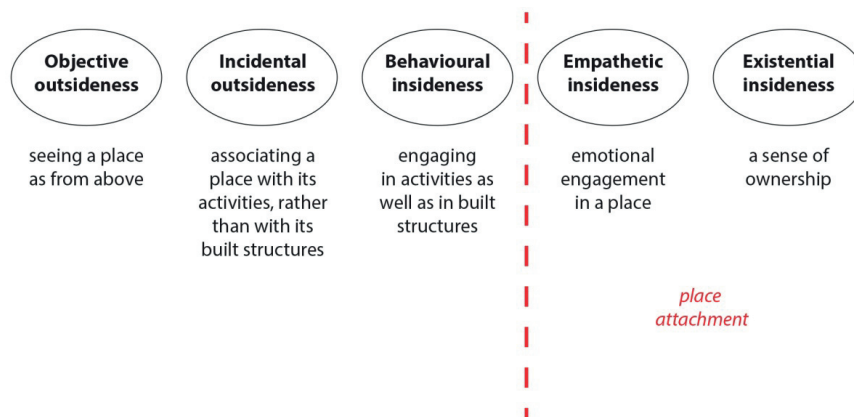
Figure 3.7 Relph's levels of outsideness and insideness in relation to place attachment. Emotionally motivated place engagement (to the right of the dotted line) is the kind of engagement studied in this research.

Relph defines placemaking as a continuous process where places gain authenticity by being modified and dwelt in by insiders (Relph, 1976:146). He concludes that empathetic or existential insideness are the levels that generate robust, long-term engagement in a place. It seems like the most extreme form – existential insideness, which is related to a sense of ownership – marks the point where, in the context of public space, there is a risk of excluding other users. As sociologist Mimi Sheller phrases it:

> Public space only becomes public when people access it, but they can only do so temporarily, as it must always be accessible to others as well. It is a space on which no individual has a claim, no one can put down roots, but all can momentarily occupy. (Sheller, in Bergmann & Sager, 2008:32)

The distinction between empathetic and emotional insiders became important in the San Francisco case (case 2) in particular.

As seen in chapter 2, involvement came to replace participation as an analytical parameter. Manzini's maps of participant involvement and interaction quality indicate possible involvement modes, levels of social tie strength, and relational intensity (all relevant for the assessment of co-creation in a project). When it comes to placemaking – connecting spaces and communities – being actively involved, together with others, in the creation process is decisive. I therefore suggest that co-creation of public space – as well as placemaking – be posited in the top-right corner of Manzini's participant involvement map (see figure 3.8). This is the kind of involvement that has been studied and analysed in this research.

Do-it-yourself   Co-production

**Co-creation/
placemaking**

*Collaborative
involvement*

Being served   Co-management

*Active
involvement*
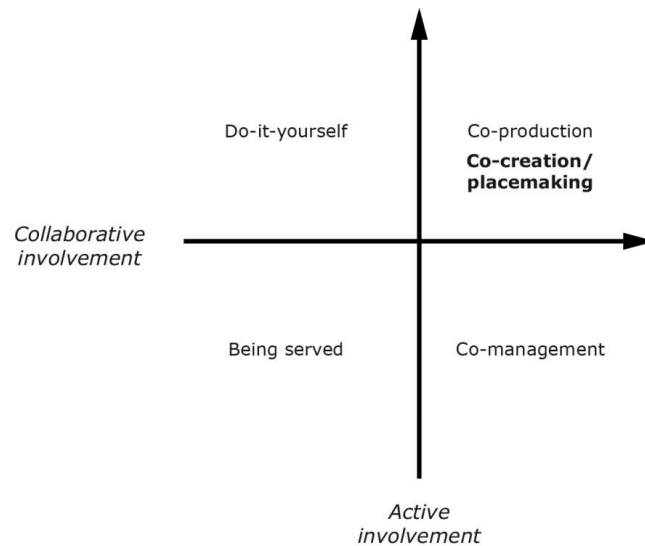
Figure 3.8 The author's adaptation of Manzini's map of participant involvement (Manzini, 2015:107).

Furthermore, since co-creation and placemaking thrive on affective interactions with other people as well as built structures, I propose it to be posited on the right side of Manzini's interaction quality map. The tie strength could, however, be either strong or weak, as seen in figure 3.9. As strong social ties tend to create closed groups, and weaker ties might generate more open and inclusive collaborations and places, both are relevant from a public space perspective. This could be compared with the two concepts empathetic and existential place insideness discussed in the previous paragraph, which are both relevant from a place attachment persepctive. Manzini's diagrams were used in the analysis of the Berlin case (case 1) in particular. The next chapter provides a comprehensive overview of the main results of the analysis of the three cases (as presented in the three separately published articles).
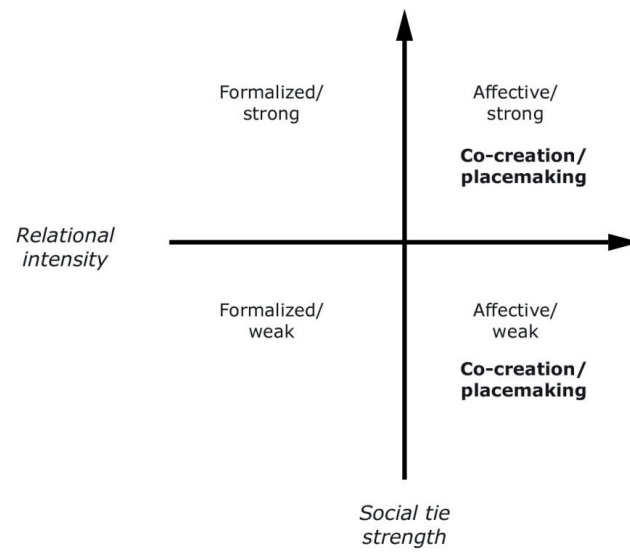
Figure 3.9 The author's adaptation of Manzini's map of interaction quality (Manzini, 2015:109).

4. Findings

This chapter presents a summary of the empirical findings made during this PhD research. The key concepts of place attachment, involvement, and co-creation each formed the base for one academic article. The articles are presented in chronological writing order, as this gives the most transparent account of the theory development during the thesis. As mentioned previously in chapter 3, a second round of analysis, once co-creation had entered the scene as one of the key concepts, illuminated a new aspect of the collected data in the Berlin case (case 1); this was extensive information about various aspects and experiences of the professionals' role in co-creation. This is why the findings of case 1 are presented first in the third article. The overarching research question – How can architects and urban planners work with placemaking in their everyday practice? – will be discussed in chapter 5.
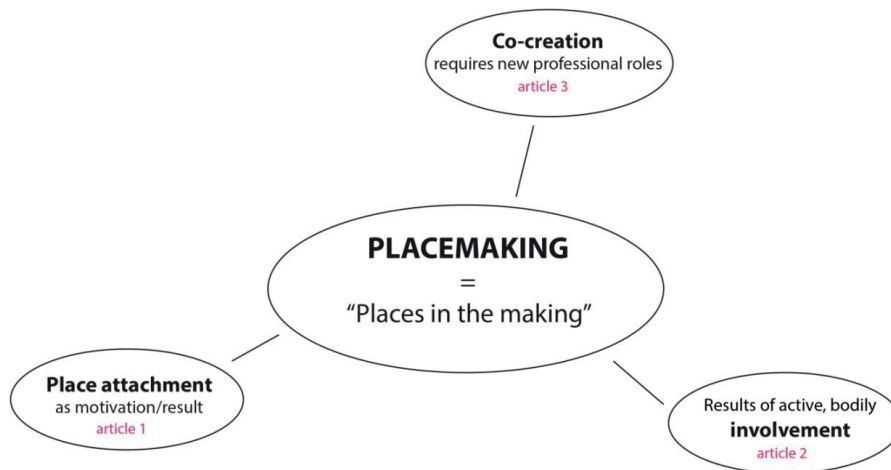
Figure 4.1 The main components of placemaking from an architecture, urban design, and planning point of view: place attachment, involvement, and co-creation. Each concept formed the base for one of the academic articles that form the backbone of this thesis.

4.1 Article 1 "Investigations of place attachment in public space"

Published in *The Nordic Journal of Architectural Research*, 2018:2, vol. 30, pp. 5-30, September 2018.

The first article develops the theoretical framing for placemaking by searching for a place-based understanding of place attachment. The empirical data was collected from the case study in San Francisco (case 2).

Aim of the article: To investigate the character of places generating place attachment (material features and creation processes) in order to provide the fields of architecture, urban design, and planning, as well as environmental psychology, with new knowledge applicable to theory and practice.

ERQ (Empirical research question) 1: Which parts of a placemaking process in public space particularly stimulate place attachment?

Findings:

o Place attachment can be either a reason for users to get actively involved, a result of their engagement in the creation process, and/or resulting from their use of the place. An individual can enter the placemaking process in any of the phases[35] and still experience emotional bonds and insideness. Placemaking hence creates places that generate, and places that are generated by, place attachment.
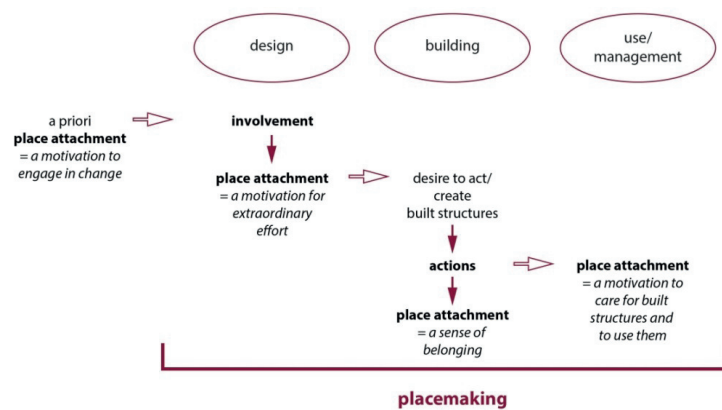
Figure 4.2 Occurrence of place attachment in the context of a placemaking process.

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[35] Referring to the phases of Carmona's (2014) place-shaping continuum, previously discussed in chapter 2.

ERQ 2: How does place attachment relate to the materiality and use of the resulting place?

Findings:

o Place attachment can introduce a new scale and an increased level of detailing and variation to the streetscape, as seen in many parklet designs.
o The parklets, where the citizens themselves proposed the locations, generated greater place attachment and citizen engagement than the plazas, where the locations were chosen by the municipality.
o In San Francisco, it was easier for the municipality to let go of control when the scale was small (as in the case of parklets), and it was likewise easier for citizens to get engaged when they could get an overview of the project. Place attachment was therefore greater in the smaller-scale projects.

Additional findings

o Place attachment can be used as an analytical tool for assessing whether a placemaking process has allowed for the creation of emotional bonds to a place.
o Professional placemakers are often emotionally distant from the places they are creating, whereas non-professionals are commonly the opposite – emotionally connected.
o As personal preferences or experiences tend to determine place relations, place attachment can contribute to, or detract from, the public dimension of a place. Place attachment can result in open, inclusive spaces, or in a very particular use, with some citizen groups gaining exclusive access to a place.
o Place attachment makes placemaking distinguish itself from regular urban planning and construction.
o New working methods, and a humble and collaborative attitude, need to be developed in order to invite a larger group of individuals into the placemaking process.[36]

4.2 Article 2 "Making space for diversity and active user involvement – Placemaking in public space"

Forthcoming in *Journal of Urbanism: International Research on Placemaking and Urban Sustainability.*

The second article describes what involvement does to a place and its people. The empirical data was collected from the action research in Malmö (case 3).

Aims of the article: To investigate how active user involvement affects the character of built structures, as well as the users' experience of the resulting place. To contribute to

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[36] This finding was reinserted into the research process. New working methods were tested in the Malmö case, and article 3 about the Berlin case discusses new professional attitudes.

further defining placemaking, specifically from an urban design and planning perspective, by illustrating how active user involvement can be a way of representing difference and diversity in the urban landscape.

ERQ 3: How can difference and diversity be represented in public space by means of placemaking?

Findings:

- In terms of involvement, the Urban Laboratory in Herrgården involved several citizen groups who are normally not part of urban development and design: children, teenagers, adults with poor language skills, and skilled workers.
- The place in Herrgården was pluralistic in the sense that it reflected various community and citizen narratives. Each object was different in terms of function as well as detailing and straightforwardness regarding intended use. The tangible engagement – shaping a place with one's own ideas and hands – made it possible for demographical diversity to shine through in the built result.

ERQ 4: What kind of involvement takes place, and in what ways does such involvement differ from that of regular urban development?

Findings:

- The process actively involved future users in digging, carpentry, touching, measuring, carrying, drilling, screwing, suggesting, testing, drawing, playing, and using.
- The resulting place and objects were imbued with the hands and fingerprints of the participants. In an area where things were said to be ruined as soon as they were put in place, the co-created objects were almost untouched by vandalism.
- The active user involvement generated qualities beyond visual aesthetics, such as user adaptation and flexibility. For instance, the height of the back wall of the footgolf goal was determined by the playing children themselves. It was, as a result, used for many different kinds of games.

Additional findings

- The importance of the place management phase in placemaking should not be underestimated. Long-term professional commitment is crucial for success. Long-term relationships between professional and non-professional participants could have augmented the positive effects of the placemaking process in Herrgården.
- Placemaking is the simultaneous building of physical objects and relationships; relationships between people, and relationships between people and places.
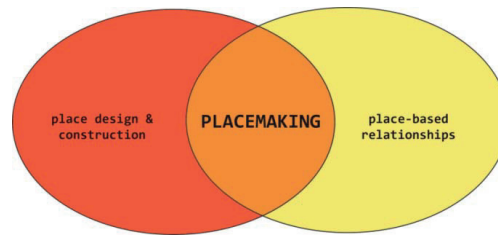
Figure 4.3 Components of placemaking.

- o Place attachment can survive the physical place itself.
- o Social learning was stimulated. New knowledge about the area was co-created for all parties, including the property manager's representative.

4.3 Article 3 "Placemaking as co-creation – Professional Roles and Attitudes in Practice"

Published in *Co-Design*, May 15, 2018. DOI 10.1080/15710882.2018.1472284.

The third article investigates implications of placemaking for practitioners. The empirical data was collected from the case study in Berlin (case 1).

Aims of the article: To contribute to the project of rethinking how professional placemakers see their own role. To explore new professional roles and attitudes, and their possibilities and limitations in relation to urban design and development.

ERQ 5: How do professional practices affect the involvement of other actors in co-creative urban development projects?

Findings:

- o A new professional attitude is necessary for placemaking to be fully operational in public space. This implies putting focus on the working process in terms of co-creation as much as on the built result.

ERQ 6: Which roles do professional placemakers actually adopt in projects aimed at co-creation of public space?

Findings:

- o The empirical studies revealed several roles that the professional placemakers took on: the traditional role, the involver, the curator, the enthusiast, and the facilitator. Compared to the roles covered in the reviewed literature, the negotiator, and the metadesigner were missing.

ERQ 7: Which professional skills are required?

Findings:

- o The involver appears particularly important for engaging people who are new to the design context. For placemaking in public space, the involver might even be a precondition for an open and inclusive process. The general public can only become co-creators when they know how to contribute. This adds a democratic dimension to the new professional roles.
- o The notions of agonism, metadesign, and infrastructuring, and related professional skills, can provide a deeper understanding of the challenges involved in the new roles. Addressing conflicts in co-creation is about accepting differences and making them visible, turning them into diversity rather than rivalry. Conscious infrastructuring ensures involvement of various stakeholders throughout a placemaking process – from initial design, through construction to place use and management.

ERQ 8: How is the professionals' work perceived by other participants; are they succeeding in inviting others into the realm of co-creation?

Findings:

- o A "metadesigner", ensuring robust structures for participant involvement throughout the processes, was missing, as was a "negotiator", addressing conflicts in a constructive, "agonistic" manner (Mouffe, 2009). The critical point for co-creation, to disconnect the sense of overview from claiming exclusive authorship of the built result, did therefore only partially succeed.
- o The main challenge and reason for conflict was a communication gap between the various participants of the co-creation process. This seems to have originated mainly in insecurity about the new roles and working methods, and in differences in training and experience.
- o The initiators intended to give the participants creative freedom. Many participants, on the other hand, experienced a lack of clarity of their role, and furthermore, they found that it did not always correspond to the responsibility that they were given. The ambition to create a place for free artistic production was problematic. With the aim of placemaking being co-creative place production, individual efforts are always part of a larger collective effort. Free artistic production is more in accordance with do-it-yourself, i.e. active, but not collaborative, involvement.

Additional findings

- o Co-creation is different from do-it-yourself in terms of demanding not only a high level of active involvement, but also a high level of collaborative involvement. A multi-dimensional view on involvement, such as Manzini's, corresponds with this pluralistic framing of placemaking, whereas a hierarchical representation, such as

Arnstein's, risks framing it merely as a struggle for decision-making power. Manzini's maps thus appear better suited for assessing the involvement at play in placemaking.
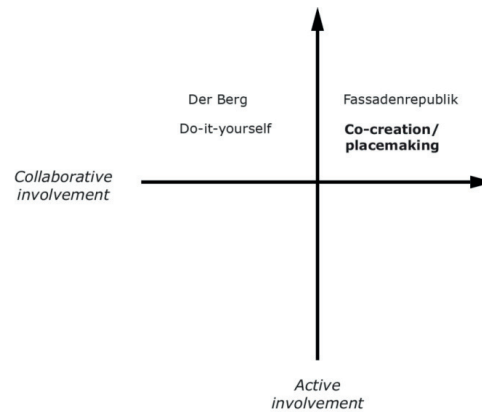
Figure 4.4 Co-creation compared to do-it-yourself and the studied projects in Berlin (case 1). Adaptation of Manzini's participant involvement map (2015:107).

o When comparing the two Berlin projects, Fassadenrepublik – the smaller one, both in terms of scale/surface and number of participants – was more successful from the perspective of co-creative placemaking. The participants felt more collaboratively involved and had a better understanding of the overall vision. This resulted in a personal connection to the project.

o Experimenting collaboratively in full scale and on site is the main characteristic that made the case study projects different from "regular" urban design projects.

4.4 Complementary, case-independent interviews with female practitioners

In addition to the case studies and action research, I interviewed a number of women practising or encouraging placemaking in their everyday work. Extracts from the interviews with one of the partners of Assemble studios in London (interviewed in May 2017), the founder of Wayward plants in London (interviewed in December 2011), a civil servant from the City Planning Office of Copenhagen (interviewed in December 2011), and a project leader from Snøhetta architects in Oslo (interviewed in February 2012) are presented below as complementary data to answer my empirical research questions and to verify the intelligibility of my key concepts. As described in section 3.6, these interviewees were intentionally all women, in order to achieve a better gender balance in total among the interviewed professionals. The research questions were the same as in the published articles.

ERQ 1: Which parts of a placemaking process in public space particularly stimulate place attachment?

Findings:

o The place design and construction phases were pointed out as particularly important for stimulating place attachment:

> Civil servant: In my experience, it is the creation process. During use, and especially when a temporary function is turned into something more permanent, it is difficult to hold on to the energy that is created during the creation process. The creation process leaves space for differences, the unplanned and the unpredictable – for citizen involvement.

ERQ 2: How does place attachment relate to the materiality and use of the resulting place?

Findings:

o Place attachment can create visual differences (in a positive sense):

> Studio partner: Two of our projects, Sugarhouse studios and the Yardhouse, are done in the same way; we just built the basic framework and all tenants got a bay to finish off according to their own needs. Thus, they all looked different, some had doors and some didn't, and so on.

> […] Our first project, the Cineroleum, was really amazing because it had so many different parts to it, which had been authored by the people working on it. During the construction conversation, people were in charge of different parts, so it had this richness to it because it had multiple authors.

Figure 4.5 The Yardhouse (photo: Assemble studio)

Figure 4.6 Sugarhouse studios

o Place attachment can create geographically rooted memories and cultural experiences:

> Project leader: When developing the Oslo opera it was a very tiny property, which meant that there was almost no room for a public plaza (there was also no requirement that there should be one). But the design team felt that such a big investment in public space, and a flagship project for the development of the new waterfront, should give something to everyone, not just to the visitors of the Opera's performances. The main purpose of the sloping roof is to make people see the sea. The slope was thus essential – no volume (except the technical box for the stage) is sticking up above the slope. The only thing that is proposed to you on the roof (there are no signs, no benches etc. indicating what to do up there) is to "gå på tur" [go hiking] which is a very meaningful thing to do for a Norwegian. It is like taking the most fundamental thing in Norwegian culture and transferring it from the countryside into the city. Even if you arrive at the central station and have only one hour in Oslo, you can get a very condensed experience of Norway. This gives the place a local character; it creates a memory that is geographically rooted.

Figure 4.7 The Oslo Opera House.

ERQ 3: How can difference and diversity be represented in public space by means of placemaking?

Findings:

o   If the placemakers are a diverse group, then the built result is more likely to display diversity:

> Studio partner: In the office, we talk a lot about the city being most interesting when it is multiple and diverse, and where there are many authors, and that is something that we should try to support further in the smaller scale in our projects as well.

> Civil servant: In Copenhagen we have introduced something called "kvarter-slyft" [blocklift]. It is an area renewal programme over 5 years, looking at ways to cooperate about places close to people's homes. The state gives subsidies for co-creating public spaces, some of them temporary and some of them permanent. The municipality opens a secretariat on the location during these years, and guides the transformation process.

o   Temporary projects often display more diversity;

> Studio founder: I find it easier with temporary projects. Permanent projects take longer time to plan, the funding has to be different and trained workers are necessary. With numerous volunteers, a project becomes inclusive. Temporary projects have more freedom from the council and playfulness comes out strongly. A temporary project allows time for the community to "warm up" and see what it is about, which reduces community suspicion.

> Project leader: A public place should not be like a memorial with a predefined notion of what the meaningfulness of it should be. In general, one could say that if a public place gets an "official" nickname it is a meaningful place, then it has created a lasting impression, or memory, in people's minds. A notion of what is local, a local character, creates place meaning, as opposed to places that could have been anywhere in the world. In a temporary project you can be more conceptual, and by going a bit more "extreme" there is a greater possibility to affect people, make them react and maybe find new meanings for a place.

ERQ 4: What kind of involvement takes place during placemaking, and in what ways does such involvement differ from that of regular participatory processes?

Findings:

o   Involvement was, apart from active engagement in its construction, understood in terms of learning new skills (for all participants) or even as learning to run the resulting place. Involvement was also seen as being able to finish off a design foundation laid out by professional designers:

> Studio partner: The second project that we did (Folly for a flyover) had probably about 100 people working on the construction. We've done a few different ones like that in

different forms, so open construction is one way that we have tried to address that. Another way is to give people the opportunity to access resources or learning about something, to learn skills about something that they can do back home or in their work [e.g. the public access workshop space called Black horse workshop]. And another way is through open-ended design, so that people essentially are finishing off the projects themselves. So, for instance in the Yardhouse, or in the Black horse workshop, or even in housing projects that we've made, we've tried to make really simple finishing or just unfinished surfaces, not waste time and money for people who would then adapt things as they wish anyway.

o Trying things out in full scale and creating debate by means of temporary projects:

Studio partner: The original brief for the New Addington Central Parade in Croydon was to design the square and then to have a big celebration at the end with a public event. And we proposed to flip it around so to use the public event in the square as a way of testing ideas to then build the design from. So, we built the infrastructure that we learnt could be useful to draw out groups in different community spaces around the square. Really cheap and really ugly, renting temporary staging in the night. So it wasn't very attractive, but it was about being able to demonstrate the use through 1:1 tests of different things in the spaces, and that people could interact with that directly. So it was like physical consultation, people might not come in and look at the model in that area, or they wouldn't know how to read a plan. But the kids could push around the skate ramp and get it in the best position so that they knew they could get the best height, and then from that we could do the permanent design. So in that project, the community had input into what was useful and what wasn't, and where things went.

Project leader: [Temporary] public interventions are a better way of generating a debate about the future of a place. People react in different ways to what you propose, but the important thing is that they *do* react in the first place, that they engage in what is happening.

ERQ 5: How do professional practices affect the involvement of other actors in co-creative urban development projects (and vice versa)?

Findings:

o The professionals have the power to decide if all voices will count equally:

Studio partner: There are always ethical choices, you can argue for what is more efficient, what is less wasteful, or in terms of opening things up to people, more than you can on aesthetics. You can have a conversation more than you can have a vote on that, because it's all a matter of taste. In the Cineroleum project, it meant that everyone took control of various parts of the project, worked on them, and then came back together [to look at the result].

o A process that is easy to understand for the participants (i.e. transparent) will be more inclusive:

Studio founder: Wayward plants' ambition is always to work in an accessible way – the projects should be easy to understand for the participants. The biggest challenge as a [professional] designer is to achieve coherence in the project while at the same time letting the many different hands that built it be visible – coherent collaboration. During

the Union Street Urban Orchard, it was a very informal process also regarding level of commitment. There was always an open-door policy; when a new participant showed up, his or her skills would be assessed and then tasks were assigned.

ERQ 6: Which roles do professional placemakers actually adopt in projects aimed at co-creation of public space?

Findings:

o As a curator, one can develop a conceptual frame for participants to fill in. The difficulty of achieving architectural coherence in a co-created project was clearly verbalized and stressed. Laying out a basic architectural infrastructure (regarding, for example, materials and/or basic functions) was proposed as a way of getting around this problem:

Studio founder: Wayward plants lead the construction of the Urban Orchard on site, and defined a design concept including the materials [recycled pallets were the main building material]. The idea of working with the pallets was thus decided from the beginning, as was the basic constructions, and the uses of the different sheds. The sheds themselves were then designed on site. So, the architectural infrastructure was established beforehand and then the ideas of the participants were incorporated into that on site. There was an "ordinary" drawing of the vision. The first week on site was spent making a prototype for the use of the pallets. As the land was borrowed for just a short while, it had to be a plant nursery rather than permanent flower beds.

Figure 4.8 The use of recycled pallets at the Union Street Urban Orchard.

ERQ 7: Which professional skills are required?

Findings:

o Letting go of control was, just like the case studies showed, problematic from the professionals' point of view:

Studio partner: To be able to prioritize what is most important about our involvement, where we fit in, where we need to make decisions about the way things should be and

where it should be left open-ended and left out of our control, when that is actually better. To develop ideas together with others, and know how to translate those ideas or feelings into good design.

Project leader: It takes a lot of courage for a trained designer to invite others into something you are not 100% in control of. This is a new role to learn for architects and designers, who are currently trained in controlling creation processes and outcomes.

ERQ 8: How is the work of the professionals perceived by other participants; are they succeeding in inviting others into the realm of co-creation?

Findings:

o Robust infrastructuring as well as flexibility were suggested as ways of improving professional practice:
Studio partner: When people meet you, the way they think of you, what kind of prejudices they bring into that, is crucial for succeeding. The only way we've found of getting through that really is just long-term and quite intense commitment to places, which shows that you are really putting yourself into it. Then people trust your intentions and dare to get involved.

Civil servant: In terms of the municipality, no. The municipality is mostly criticized for being too inflexible and slow, every process takes too much time. The Danish planning regulations make it very difficult to work with temporary land uses and open-ended, inclusive design processes.

Discussion

The key concepts were, generally speaking, intelligible for the interviewed professionals. They could relate to them and see the usefulness of them in their work, even if they had not heard of e.g. place attachment as a theoretical concept before. Some of the findings were similar to the ones in the case interviews; letting go of control was seen as problematic from the professionals' point of view – this requires a new professional approach and new working methods to be learnt. Also, the need for transparency during the process was stressed, in order to enable all participants to gain an overview of the overall design intentions, legal restrictions, etc.

The themes of some other findings appeared here, but were only hinted at during the case interviews. One such theme is a conviction that the design and building phases are creating the strongest place attachments. There was also a strong belief in temporary projects automatically generating quality places for the public, diversity within the project group, and locally connected designs. There was more awareness about social learning – that learning new skills during the placemaking process is a result as important as the built structures – among the female professionals than the males. The curator was seen as the most important role to play during co-creation, with setting up a structure for iterative design within a conceptually coherent frame seen as one of the most important tasks. The implications of these differences are part of the discussion in the following chapter.

5. Discussion

This chapter discusses the findings from all three articles and cases, as well as the complementary interviews with practitioners. It is an attempt to cross-pollinate the results presented in the last chapter to form a comprehensive discussion about the overarching research question guiding this study: How can architects and urban planners work with placemaking in their everyday practice? The discussion is organized around three themes: implications for theory, implications for practice, and methodological reflections.

5.1 Implications for theory

Main conceptual components of placemaking

Placemaking is the simultaneous building of physical objects and relationships; relationships between people, and relationships between people and places. The empirical studies revealed that the on-site, full-scale, collaborative experimentation was a distinguishing feature that made the studied projects different from "regular" urban design projects. During the analysis of the empirical material, place attachment, active involvement, and co-creation were sifted out as the main components of placemaking from an architecture, urban design, and planning point of view (see figure 5.1). Temporariness is not decisive for placemaking per se, but, nevertheless, an iterative process with several rounds of public prototype building and common testing allows more people to be actively involved during the place-becoming. The more people that are involved, the more embodied place meaning can be generated (see more about place meaning further down in this section). Also, since temporary projects often have lower structural demands, the threshold for getting involved becomes lower. Basically, anyone can join when involvement is about digging, painting, planting, or pushing around, as seen in the many studied examples. This, in my understanding, is a promising start for a public place – a place that everyone feels that they can adjust, use, and appropriate.
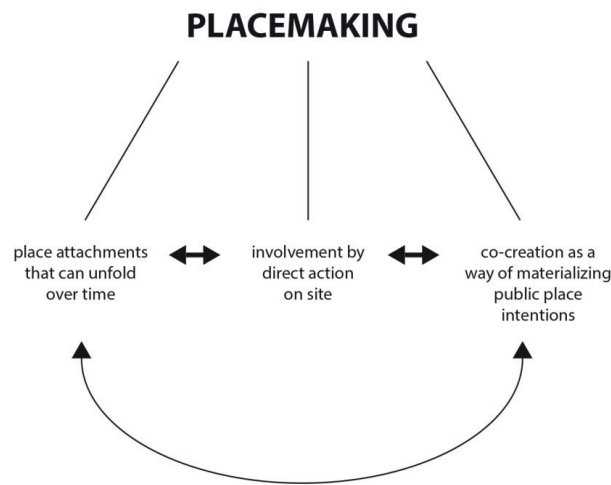
PLACEMAKING

Figure 5.1 Place attachment, involvement, and co-creation were sifted out as the main components of placemaking from an architecture, urban design, and planning point of view.

Placemaking and the four place-shaping phases

Place attachment can be used as an analytical tool for assessing whether a placemaking process has allowed emotional bonds to be formed to a place, or in what phase this has failed to happen. The case study on the Pavement to Parks programme in San Francisco showed that place attachment can be either a reason for users to get actively involved, a result of their engagement in the creation process, and/or result from their use of the place (see figure 4.1 in chapter 4). All four of Carmona's place-shaping phases are thus relevant for placemaking, and also for the experience of place attachment. An individual can enter the placemaking process in any of the phases and still experience emotional bonds and empathetic (or existential) insideness. However, the empirical material highlighted the designing and building phases as having the greatest potential for this; this is when the preconditions for influence on materiality and use are being set. Whereas practical professional work typically resulted in short-term commitment to a place, many of the interviewed non-professionals described long-term emotional engagement, lasting beyond the removal of the co-created objects. Among the interviewed children in Malmö, the ones who had participated in the building session were the ones most convinced that the place would in fact bloom again in the future. For them, the question was not if, but when, there would be a new playground.

Having someone feeling responsible for the places on a long-term basis was crucial for the success of the San Francisco projects according to several interviewees. The Malmö case also showed that the importance of the place management phase should not be

underestimated. With careful management, place attachments can be sustained over time and eventually even start a new iteration of the placemaking process (new place design). If unaware of existing place attachments, the management phase can, on the contrary, cause great disappointment, as was the case in Malmö, when the co-created objects were removed without notice or explanation. Figure 1.2 (in chapter 1) shows another situation that illustrates the importance of place management. Both places were, as previously mentioned, co-created with the skateboarding community, but are used very differently. Their geographical location in the city is indeed different, but the management situation seems to be more influential for the use and public life. Stapelbäddsparken has a supervisor (the skateboarding association Bryggeriet) who, apart from being present on site and ensuring it is maintained, arranges events and a summer café. Place management is thus important for upholding and safeguarding place attachments that have arisen during place design and construction.

Qualities generated by place attachment

In Scannell and Gifford's place attachment model (2010, see figure 2.3 in chapter 2), the place component is related to the place creation process, as well as to the materiality and use of the resulting built places. This makes the link to placemaking, architecture, and urban design easy to see. Inspired by Lewicka's (2010) suggestion to investigate the character of places generating place attachment, I have explored distinguishing material features of physical, built places as one part of my research. The aim was to bring the place attachment concept closer to the practice and vocabulary of architects, urban designers, and planners. The San Francisco case showed that place attachment surely can introduce a new scale and level of detailing to the streetscape. The same was experienced in many of Assemble studio's collaborative projects (the Yardhouse, Sugarhouse studios, and the Cineroleum). Active user involvement can also generate qualities beyond visual aesthetics, and can be a means for representing difference and diversity in the urban landscape. In the Malmö case, user adaptation and flexibility was built into the structure; for instance, the height of the back wall of the footgolf goal was determined by the children themselves. The place was, as a result, used for many different kinds of games. Also, the active, hands-on involvement resulted in a long-lasting care for the place. In an area where things were said to be ruined as soon as they were installed, the co-created objects in Malmö stood almost untouched by vandalism for four months.

Balancing different levels of place insideness and social tie strength

Relph's (1976) concepts of place outsideness and insideness show that place attachment can be positive as well as negative for the use of public space. Existential insideness can result in one group gaining exclusive access to a space. Appropriation then results in an informal privatization, which is experienced as positive for the existential insiders but negative for the public character of the place. This was the case with the skateboarders at the Showcase Triangle plaza in San Francisco. A better balance between the levels of place insideness could, however, be achieved by an iterative process. In the second round

of prototyping and testing, a new material and place character was chosen for Showcase Triangle plaza, and the skateboarders were given a designated skate ramp in the same area.

Manzini (2015:102) discusses the potentially negative effects of social ties; if they are too strong, then newcomers, or those not capable of extensive commitment, can feel inhibited from joining a project. Also, the risk for conflict seems to grow with the social tie strength. Strong social ties can therefore be an indicator for existential insideness. In both of the studied Berlin projects, involvement was clearly based on voluntariness and passion for the topic. It could, therefore, be posited on the right side of Manzini's interaction quality map (i.e. scoring high in relational intensity, see figure 5.2). However, the social tie strength varied. The professional participants originated mainly from the initiators' personal networks and they experienced strong social ties. They had a long-lasting commitment to the initiators as well as to the built result. For the non-professional participants (the students), the ties were weaker as only a few of them were personally connected to the initiators. They seem to have found collaboration less problematic in terms of what was expected of them. Their tasks were smaller and less conceptual, and the nature of their work was disconnected from claims to creative authorship.[37]
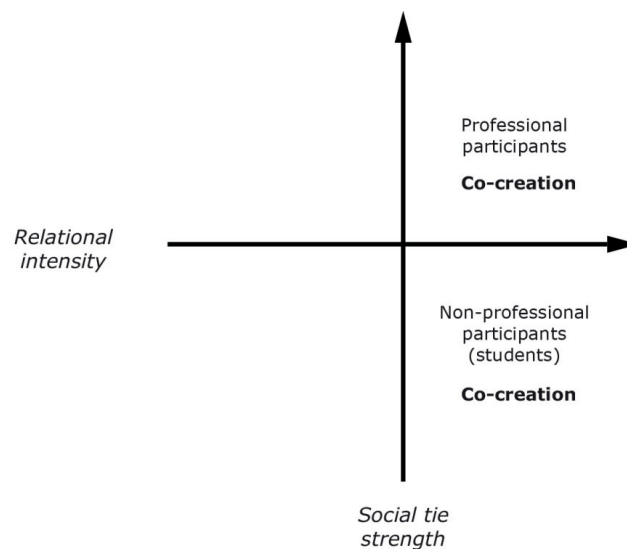
Figure 5.2 The non-professional participants experienced weaker social ties than the professional participants in the studied Berlin projects. Adaptation of Manzini's interaction quality map (2015:109).

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[37] Many of the students participated as part of the "Baupraktikum", which formed part of their architecture studies (to get practical experience of building construction).

The nature of involvement at play in placemaking

Manzini describes the nature of the involvement that is decisive for placemaking. When comparing the two Berlin projects, Fassadenrepublik – the smaller one, both in terms of scale/surface and number of participants – was more successful from the perspective of co-creation. The participants felt more collaboratively involved and had a better understanding of the overall vision. This resulted in a personal connection to the project, despite the short duration (two weeks). Many participants of Der Berg, on the other hand, expressed feelings of isolation, even though they definitely were actively involved.
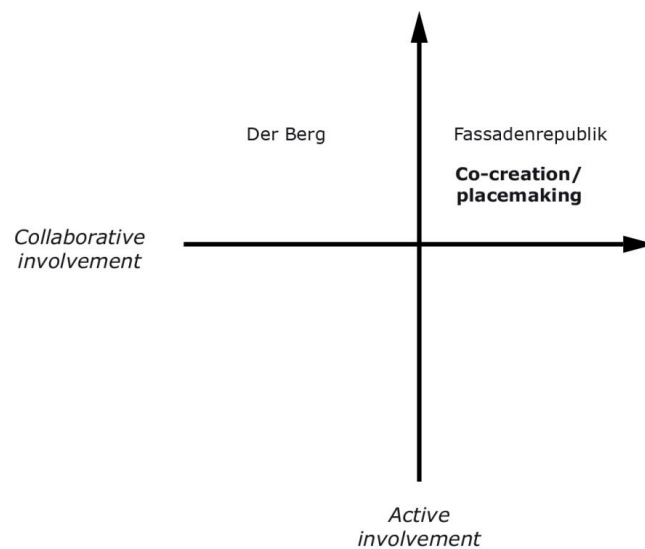
Figure 5.3 The participants of Fassadenrepublik felt more collaboratively involved than those of Der Berg. Adaptation of Manzini's participant involvement map (2015:107).

Placemaking and place meaning

The empirical findings support the place meaning theory proposed by Altman and Low (1992). When applied to their thinking, placemaking signifies a continuous circle, where a feeling of self-reliance generates creativity that makes a person carry out adjustments to a place. These adjustments increase the sense of self-reliance, which in turn generates even further creativity and adjustment:

> Spatial meanings are found in the generative principles of action rather than being attached to place as an object; place and its meanings are produced through practice. [...] Place can be seen as one component among several that interacts in producing meaning [...] (Altman & Low, 1992:215).

It is the place experience that creates place meaning according to Relph (1976) and Tuan (1977), and it is therefore not possible, following their line of thought, to plan meaningful places for others. Only the preconditions for others to experience and co-create places, which can then become meaningful to them as a result of their actions, can be planned. Lakoff and Johnson's (1999) embodied knowledge and place meaning theory explains why place attachment can survive the physical place itself, as was the case in both Berlin and Malmö. Embodied place meaning grows, in my understanding, in the bodies of those who have bodily experience of the place in question.

Suggestions for further research

In summary, a crucial task for a placemaking process in public space appears to be how to involve empathetic insiders – future users to whom it seems important – in an active and bodily way in design and development, as well as in place management and use. For Carmona's categories, active user involvement in the shaping of places implies converting management and use from unknowing into knowing place-shaping – turning everyday processes into conscious place interventions. Relph's concepts of place outsideness and place insideness, as well as Manzini's map of interaction quality, are useful for balancing different interests in a placemaking process. Combining them both into the same case is an interesting opportunity for further research on the topic. Also of interest is to continue the investigation of the character of places generating place attachment, which was started during this PhD research, but could be taken into further detail.

5.2 Implications for architecture, urban design, and planning practice

The importance of active user involvement

The empirical studies showed that temporary projects are not always participatory in a regular sense (with a public call for participation), but could be regarded as participatory in the sense that they are developed directly by the public for the public. Professional placemakers are often emotionally distant from the places they are creating. This is not problematic from a placemaking point of view, however, as long as they allow for others to become emotionally engaged. In San Francisco, it was easier for the municipality to let go of control when the scale was small (as in the case of parklets), and it was likewise easier for citizens to get engaged when they could get an overview of the project (more traces of place attachment were found when investigating parklets than plazas). Working on a smaller scale thus appears to facilitate place attachment. In terms of who got involved, several citizen groups who are normally not part of urban development and design were identified in the Malmö project: children, teenagers, adults with poor language skills, and skilled workers. Active involvement of these individuals occurred during both building and use. The preparations involved planning of budget and logistics, production of information material, public outreach, and obtaining building material. These tasks were all performed by professional placemakers. The implementation, on the

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contrary, actively involved future users in digging, carpentry, touching, measuring, carrying, drilling, screwing, suggesting, testing, drawing, playing, and using.

Balancing various roles

When professional and non-professional placemakers are acting and being creative together, there are differences in training and experience. The main challenge and reason for frustration and conflict that the empirical studies revealed was a communication gap between the participant categories. This gap seems to have originated mainly from insecurity about the new roles and working methods, and in varying expectations on results. Some participants, particularly in the larger-scale projects, felt that they lacked an understanding of the overarching ideas and concepts. A work leader – someone to ask for practical advice during construction and who could negotiate conflicts – was missing. The role of "the curator" – looking after the totality and making sure that individual parts did not restrict each other or became too dominant – often proved demanding for the professional placemakers. The critical point for co-creation, defined as disconnecting the sense of overview from claiming exclusive authorship of the built result, or, as one of the interviewed professionals called it, achieving "coherent collaboration", only partially succeeded in the studied examples. Achieving coherence in design, while letting the many hands that built it be visible, is a true challenge, but is also an important success criterion for any professional placemaker. The professionals in the studied examples struggled with finding the appropriate balance between the various roles in order to cope with the challenges of communication gaps, insecurity, and the sharing of authorship. "The enthusiast", who was not discussed in the reviewed literature, appeared to also be a crucial role to take on as keeping spirits up when time and resources are scarce (as often is the case in temporary projects) was key to success in the studied cases. A routine for professional self-analysis – systematically analysing one's own actions – might be a way of balancing the many roles and verifying that initial intentions become reality.

Accommodating differences in the built environment

The full-scale prototyping in the studied examples shows a way to accommodate differences in the built environment.[38] By enabling the co-creation of visions for, and the building of, pluralistic public places, urban landscapes accommodating "positive expressions of already-existing differences" (Sandercock, 2000:14) were created. Various community narratives were reflected from the beginning.[39] In Malmö, personal

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[38] "How might difference, in its many guises – ability, age, gender, class, ethnicity, sexual preference – be accommodated in and through the built environment?" Leonie Sandercock asks in her article "Cities of (In)Difference and the Challenge for Planning" (Sandercock, 2000:7).

[39] "Community narratives must be listened to and planners need to think not of place identity but of place identities, just as it is more helpful to think of design qualities as opposed to quality in the absolute. Plurals reflect the pluralism inherent in the concepts. This inevitably brings conflicts which cannot be avoided; it is impossible to keep everyone happy, but the need to work with diversity should be the starting point of the design process, not a painful afterthought" (Higgins, 2005:203).

connections to the place were thereby established on many levels, but could surely have been stronger if the second phase – making some of the objects permanent – would have been implemented, as was originally intended. Long-term relationships between professional and non-professional participants would have augmented the positive effects of the placemaking.

Stepwise place development

The character of the places generating place attachment is inclusive and inviting, they show detail and care in their design, and/or can be customized during use and management. Places that are, or can be, organized according to the needs of the users are valued and cared for. Placemaking hence creates places that generate, as well as places that are generated by, place attachment. A stepwise place development makes it possible to add, alter, or remove designs and guidelines as a project proceeds. In San Francisco, a first version of the plazas was set up very fast (one of them in as little as 72 hours) using simple materials and temporary designs. That first version could then show if, and how, people would use the place, and if there were other requirements that needed to be fulfilled as well. An iterative placemaking process can hence help balance different public interests. This has practical implications for professional placemakers. An iterative process implies a degree of temporariness, and the effects of temporariness on place attachment are, as previously discussed, dual. On the one hand, temporariness makes the threshold for getting actively involved lower, which means a potential for creating places with embodied meaning. On the other hand, there is a risk of disappointment for those actively involved if the duration of the place is not very clear from the beginning. The effects of place attachment on public space are dual too. Place attachment can result in open, inclusive spaces, or in a very particular use, where some citizen groups may gain exclusive access to a place. This balancing act is an important task for professional placemakers to consider. New working methods, as well as a humble and collaborative attitude, need to be established in order to invite a larger group of individuals into the development of public space. How to proceed with a design step by step, how to create full-scale mock-ups and to build them together, with future users, and how to make observations of places-in-use between iterations are all professional skills that need to make their way onto the training agenda.

Keeping public space public

As existential insideness may result in the exclusion of others, it appears to be empathetic insideness that is fruitful when creating public places. On that level, users identify with and care for a place, but do not exclude others from doing so as well (Relph, 1976, pp.54–55). This is a delicate balance that needs to be safeguarded in order for public space to remain public. To provide non-professional participants with design tools and to show them how their ideas could materialize are other important roles for all professional placemakers. Many professional designers and architects have practical experience of construction and of trying things out in full scale; this is not the case with many non-

professional participants. Highlighting professional skills might make it easier for professionals to let go of some control over the end result, without the risk of "losing face":

> […] moving beyond expert culture is not about the destruction of expert knowledges and practices, but rather about repositioning and situating them in a larger context of placemaking, that is, in the everyday practice of making and transforming the world. (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2000:130)

Also, being clear about in which parts of a project others can contribute freely, and for how long, seems crucial for a smooth and satisfying placemaking process. The process can become easy to understand for everybody involved by establishing a basic design infrastructure beforehand, into which the ideas of the participants can be incorporated on site. A system for citizens to initiate and realize new public places, such as the Parklets programme in San Francisco, is an example of such an infrastructure. For this, infrastructuring and being a "metadesigner", responsible for ensuring robust structures for participant involvement throughout the processes, are important professional concerns.

Suggestions for further research

I interpret successful, professional placemaking as considering both the place attachment of others, and a coherent, co-created place design during the creation process. This apparently requires a new professional self-image that is accepting of the idea of shared authorship over ideation and design. The aspect of initiating public experiments and trying things out in full scale and on site, together with non-professional participants, could certainly be further developed. Neither being a curator nor a teacher is part of the professional training of architects and designers today, but learning about these roles is necessary in order to adopt the coaching attitude essential for co-creation in placemaking. This provides interesting opportunities for further research, as does the need for developing routines and procedures for long-term professional commitment, and ways of communicating the benefits of placemaking beyond monetary gains.

5.3 Methodological reflections

Limitations of the chosen research methods

The first case study (Berlin) was made in retrospect, when Palast der Republik had already been demolished and replaced by an empty lawn. Due to that, site investigations were not possible, which was a limitation for studying place attachment. The first case could not provide any observable information regarding physical traces of place attachment, only such traces which were included in the stories of the interviewees (which proved to be very little). The interviewees had certainly had time to put things into perspective, but, nevertheless, their responses were often emotional (possibly due to the fact that the building and place had indeed been demolished against their will), and focused on

fragmented parts of the process. Their place attachment was strong, but the physical, place-based aspects of it could not be grasped with the chosen research method.

The second case study (San Francisco) also proved to have some limitations. Here, non-participating users and physical traces of place attachment were readily available, but instead, non-professional participants could only be reached by chance (as the initiators did not have their contact information). From the plaza processes, no participants were encountered at all. Some of the current plaza users saw the places being built or altered, but none were part of the creation process, or saw any signs during the construction explaining what was going on. The gathered data thus made it difficult to point out specific phase(s) of the placemaking process that would be more decisive for the growth of place attachment than others. Studying the places-in-use gave many new insights regarding physical traces of place attachment, but at the same time induced further questions about the creation process. The case study method as such was insufficient for grasping the placemaking process in its totality.

The third case – the action research – was set up in a way that would provide access to the kind of information that was lacking from the two case studies. Literature on action research (e.g. Brydon-Miller, 2003, Reason & Bradbury, 2008) covers some common challenges found when practising the research method: gaining the trust of a community that one wants to work with, alternating between being an active part of the project and observing the sequence of events from the side, overcoming barriers to participation, achieving the desired grade of social change, and scaling up action research projects and extending them beyond the local context. I found it very useful to have an external observer documenting the most intensive part of the process (the building session) in a non-reflective, comprehensive way. I, as the action researcher, could then fully engage in the sequence of events, keep an overview of the overall structure, and do the analysis of the actions later, by studying the documentation. Robust infrastructuring[40] implies building long-term relationships and trust with stakeholders. According to several interviewed practitioners, this commitment is necessary for a more responsible research practice and for long-lasting social change. Social boundaries were unquestionably reshaped during the building session in Malmö, as individuals with no previous relationship were imagining and testing possibilities for the place together. Personal connections to the place were established on many levels, but could surely have been stronger if the second phase – making some of the objects permanent – would have been implemented, as was originally intended. Long-term relationships between professional and non-professional participants would have augmented the positive effects of the placemaking, but, as it was, these relationships failed to form due to the unexpected

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[40] See e.g. Emilson (2014) and Bjögvinsson, Ehn & Hillgren (2012) for the Malmö Living Labs' use of the concept.

change of owner and property manager. The informal agreement of a continuation proved insufficient, and is perhaps the most important learning from that project. Knowledge about the benefits of placemaking beyond monetary gains grew among the participants during the process, but this knowledge was not transferred to the new property owner, who therefore failed to see the full value and potential of the resulting place. Finding ways of extending the results and learning beyond the local context are therefore crucial tasks for similar projects in the future. From a research point of view, the project provided the desired data, but from an ethical point of view it was problematic, as it did not live up to the expectations of the participants about lasting change in their area.

Suggested methodological improvements for future work

Overall, the applied research methods – case studies, action research, and complementary, case-independent interviews – complemented each other well. As a researcher, I was able to alternate between an outsider's and insider's perspective, and could test findings from the initial case studies in practice in the subsequent action research. The case-independent interviews enabled me to cross-validate the intelligibility of the results and the theoretical key concepts with practising professionals. In retrospect, a second round of interviews would have been desirable for the case studies. Not semi-structured like the first round, but structured around the key concepts as they had evolved during the course of the research. As it was, I could receive email answers to follow-up questions from some of the interviewees, but I would have preferred to do live interviews in order to get more-exhaustive answers. Setting up a structure enabling a second round of interviews is therefore a suggestion for methodological improvement. Regarding the action research, as already mentioned, securing a more robust infrastructure for long-term professional commitment would have been necessary. By having a better way of communicating the results and value of the first phase (the public building session in the case of Herrgården), the research process may be able to continue despite a change of property owner or initial organizer.

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6. Concluding reflections

The main topic in this work – placemaking – has matured since I started this research in 2010; not only for me, but for the profession as such. Not only has it become more commonly used in academic literature, but practitioners now recognize the concept to a greater extent. The need to explain what placemaking is has decreased during the course of this PhD. Part of this maturing, however, includes defining more precisely what placemaking actually implies. The main contribution of this thesis is transferring the concepts of place attachment and co-creation into the active, professional consciousness and language of architects, urban designers, and planners (academics as well as practitioners). By understanding the mechanisms behind it, placemaking has the potential to create inclusive and appreciated public places in various contexts. Working with plurals and differences as a starting point makes it possible to develop urban landscapes that reflect the societies living within them. This thesis has shown how place attachment materializes as increased detailing and variation in place design, long-lasting care, unusual and surprising functions, and a human scale. In my opinion, these signs of embodied place meaning are features that increase the value of places, both public and private. For the transdisciplinary undertaking of placemaking, geographers, architects, and environmental psychologists all point at value, meaning, relationships, flexibility, and open creation processes as crucial components. The act of physical adjustment is, according to environmental psychology, what is creating meaning and a sense of place in space. I believe – just like geographers Relph, Tuan, Westin, and others with them – that personal meaning is contagious, that it spreads. Places that someone has cared about are experienced differently than places that have been given a more casual or arbitrary treatment. The results of this research show that place attachment and placemaking has a value for the people involved in the place creation, as well as for other users.

place design,
construction
& use

**PLACEMAKING =
PLACES IN THE MAKING**

place attachment
& relationships

Figure 6.1 Placemaking as presented in this thesis. Place attachment and relationships, as well as place-in-use, are covered by article 1 discussing the case in San Francisco. Place design, construction, and use are covered by articles 2 and 3, discussing the involvement process in Malmö and roles in co-creation in Berlin.

Place attachment, as well as placemaking, are closely related to the feeling of place insideness (Relph, 1976), which arises through an interplay of emotions and actions performed at certain places. Professional placemakers most commonly relate to a place as either objective outsiders or behavioural insiders, but might experience emotional bonds and thus become empathetic insiders during some projects. As personal preferences or experiences tend to determine place relations, place attachment can give or take from the public dimension of a place. Existential insideness is related to a sense of ownership, and can, if not balanced properly, result in some citizens gaining exclusive access to a public space. Likewise, very strong social ties in a co-creation process can result in the public character of a place disappearing (Manzini, 2015). Professional placemakers therefore need to be aware of place attachments and social ties – their own as well as those of others – when developing public places. If well balanced, however, placemaking has the potential of creating arenas for practicing citizenship:

> If we wish to move beyond the privatized conceptualization of citizen as voter and consumer, we require sites for the practice of citizenship. Placemaking can be such a public space. (Schneekloth & Shibley, 2000:138)

For architecture and urban design, placemaking implies finding ways for active user involvement beyond words and sketches. My interpretation of the empirical data gathered through this research is that successful placemaking means considering both place attachment and place design during the creation process. Co-creation and active, bodily involvement (as was, for example, operationalized by an urban laboratory in the Malmö project) can be a way of inviting a larger part of the population into an urban development process. The participatory methodology in the Malmö project acknowledged young children as active citizens with valuable perspectives on their environment. Full-

scale prototyping made it possible for these children to realize their own ideas for a playground with their own hands, and to try it out on the same day. The increasing belief in the co-creation process among the participants, and the site turning into a place in people's minds, were factors that contributed to strengthening the placemaking. Long-term commitment by professional placemakers is, however, crucial for achieving lasting social change and avoiding the risk of exploiting social resources and local engagement. Voluntary involvement, rather than seeking to engage a representative selection of citizens, resulted in enduring place engagement in the Malmö project. Those individuals most eager to use the resulting place (the children) were the ones participating during brainstorming and building. They were the ones who benefited most from the process, but were also the ones most hurt by the premature removal of the built result. Working with plurals and differences as a starting point makes it possible to develop urban landscapes that reflect the societies living within them.

As one of the interviewed professionals pointed out, it takes a lot of courage to invite others into something that you are not 100% in control of. I believe that there is a need for a change in professional attitude, as much as for developing new working methods, if placemaking is to become regular practice. This thesis argues that co-creation requires *all* participants – professional as well as non-professional – to leave space for others to get involved and thereby share influence over the outcome. If one does not understand and feel part of the overarching concept, then it becomes difficult to feel free and confident in shaping individual parts. A combination of active and collaborative involvement is crucial – co-creation is different from do-it-yourself. The dynamic of the Brazilian game Capoeira can illustrate this principle of taking turns: all participants stand in a circle, singing and either clapping hands or playing an instrument. Two of them then decide to step into the middle of the circle and perform various movements for a while. When someone else steps in, one of them goes back to the circle. All participants need to both step in and out of the middle in order for the dynamic to work. If not, the session ends. A protectionist attitude to ideas and designs is discordant with co-creation. A shift in attitude among all actors is therefore required, if placemaking and co-creation are to be incorporated into regular professional practice.

Figure 6.2 Capoeira: taking turns in acting and observing, following the common rhythm of the group. The same basic principles are valid for placemaking (Photo: Sven Teder).

The enabling approach of placemaking implies embracing a coaching attitude towards those formerly called clients or users. These individuals should instead be considered as co-creators. As a consequence, professional placemakers such as architects, urban designers, and planners have a new role to grow into. Apart from the traditional tasks of a technical and organizational nature, important features of this new role include: initiating and curating co-creation projects; involving non-professional participants in the creation process from the very beginning; providing design tools for the non-professionals, in order for their ideas and desires to take spatial shape; motivating and keeping spirits up when time and resources might be scarce; and assisting in trying things out at full scale and on site (i.e. full-scale prototyping) before final designs are agreed upon. This new role, however, requires larger system changes. Adapted educational programmes teaching new designer skills and attitudes appear to be necessary in order to fully implement the co-creative placemaking approach.

Writing this cover story revealed some key insights to me: First, it became clear in which way architecture (and thereby the work of the architect) is part of a larger, psychological process, and how physical interaction with an environment (building, moving objects around and so on) affects the relation to that place on a psychological level. Second, the timeline in placemaking became obvious. How the architect/urban planner or designer is involved in one phase, and the importance of creating preconditions – as a professional placemaker – for others to become place insiders in other phases. Models for bottom-up

place initiatives to take shape, such as the Parklets programme in San Francisco that delegates initiative and design, as well as place management on a yearly basis to various citizens, is part of such robust infrastructuring. Third, successful placemaking happens through co-creation. As a professional, one can have different roles in different projects or even phases. One can be a place insider or a place outsider. The crucial task is to lead a creative process that allows for a place to bloom and to continue to do so through all of the place-shaping phases.

I began this PhD research with the intention of searching for ways to plan for the unplanned. Did I find what I was looking for? Yes, to a certain extent. This thesis covers different ways of creating, or leaving, space for non-professional placemakers in the urban development. Article 1: Investigations of Place Attachment in Public Space, highlights place attachment as an analytical concept for assessing the space given for establishing emotional bonds to a place (and emotional bonds being more-often created between non-professional placemakers and places, than between professional placemakers and places). Article 2: Making Space for Active User Involvement – Placemaking in Public Space, covers concrete ways for getting people involved in a placemaking process, including those citizen groups that normally are not included or involved in the urban development. Article 3: Placemaking as Co-creation – Professional Roles and Attitudes in Practice, presents various roles that professional placemakers can take on when inviting others into an urban development process. The complementary, case-independent interviews with practitioners deepen the insights into a practitioner's everyday working life, highlighting concrete ways for inviting others into the realm of co-creation, as well as challenges to overcome during the course of a placemaking process. Trying new methods for achieving, as well as analysing, coherence in the built result, while at the same time letting the work of the participating individuals shine through, is an important task for practice development. Further investigations on the character of built places generating place attachment is an equally interesting possibility for future research in this area.

I hope that this work in its totality will inspire professional placemakers to become more daring and allowing in their practice; to believe in the abilities of others to contribute, while at the same time seeing the value and extent of their own professional knowledge. I have come to believe, during the course of this research, that it is not so much about planning for the unplanned, but rather about allowing for, and believing in, the unplanned. Not all the time and everywhere, but where it matters to people the most. In the human scale, in places where people would like to spend time in their everyday life, and where everyone interested can contribute. This way, in my understanding, placemaking can create a vivid, multifaceted, and sustainable urbanity.

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Appendix A

INVESTIGATIONS OF PLACE ATTACHMENT IN PUBLIC SPACE

Abstract

Place attachment – an affective bond between people and specific places – makes people want to stay close to and care for certain environments. Originating in environmental psychology, the concept also appears relevant for architecture and urban design, although to date it is not commonplace within the literature in those fields. Psychologists Scannell and Gifford (2010) sketch a tripartite, theoretical model with people, place and psychological process as the main components of place attachment. A number of scholars have since suggested that the place component needs further investigation. This article explores relevant theoretical concepts to be used as analytical tools in such an investigation. Various definitions of placemaking and place attachment and Relph's (1976) categories of place outsideness and insideness are discussed. Distinguishing material features and the creation process for a public space improvement programme in San Francisco (Pavement to Parks) are then explored in a qualitative case study. Analysis of the empirical material revealed the presence of place attachment in different phases of the placemaking process and how place attachment is related to the materiality and use of the resulting places.

Keywords

Placemaking, place attachment, place outsideness/insideness, place-shaping continuum

Introduction

Place attachment signifies an affective bond between people and specific places. The bond makes people want to stay close to, and care for, the places in question. Place attachment thus appears to be a promising concept for architects and urban designers to work with when developing public space. However, this concept is currently not commonplace within the literature on architecture and urban design. Psychologists Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford (2010) present a tripartite, theoretical model of place attachment, with people, place and [psychological] process as the main components. In an extensive literature review of research on place attachment performed during the past two decades, Maria Lewicka (2010) points out that both the place and [psychological] process components of the model are in need of more attention and investigation,

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in order to advance place attachment theory. She and others (e.g. Hernández et al. 2014) therefore suggest investigating the character of places generating place attachment. By exploring distinguishing material features of such places and their creation processes, this article aims to provide valuable, new knowledge within the fields of architecture and urban design and environmental psychology.

The work is part of a PhD project exploring placemaking as "places in the making"[41], i.e. as iterative processes of interplay between people, their feelings and actions, and built structures. Two empirical research questions were the main focus of this study: Which parts of a placemaking process in public space particularly stimulate place attachment? and How does place attachment relate to the materiality and use of the resulting place? Starting with a literature review, relevant theoretical concepts were explored. A case study was then conducted on the Pavement to Parks programme in San Francisco, to provide empirical material for analysis. Finally, place attachment, materiality and use were assessed based on geographer Edward Relph's (1976) notions of place insideness and outsideness.

Placemaking – shaping the public realm for and through use
In his quest to promote urban design as an independent discipline, architect Matthew Carmona calls for an increased focus on process. By comparing built environments with their processes of delivery, he seeks new knowledge about what is unique for urban design (Carmona 2014, p. 4). According to him, contexts, processes and power relationships form a place-shaping continuum (ibid., p. 6). He defines four place-shaping processes influencing a built environment; design, development, space in use and management. These should not be considered a series of isolated activities, but one integrated process through time. Places are shaped <u>for</u> and <u>through</u> use, and the place-shaping continuum has different phases; designing, building and using/managing a place (ibid., p. 33).

The place-shaping continuum can also be called placemaking. Architects Lynda Schneekloth and Robert Shibley suggest that placemaking is as old as human society itself. It is about transforming places in which we <u>are</u> into places in which we <u>live</u>. It can be spectacular, or pass almost unnoticed: "Placemaking consists both of daily acts of renovating, maintaining, and representing the places that sustain us, and of special, celebratory one-time events such as designing a new church building or moving into a new facility." (Schneekloth and Shibley 1995, p. 1). Susan Silberberg and colleagues trace the academic origin of placemaking back to the writings of Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch and William Whyte (Silberberg et al. 2013, p. 2). Starting as a reaction against auto-centric planning in the 1960s, placemaking has grown into a practice of creating environments for social interaction and for improving the quality of community life (ibid. pp.1-2). Designer Ezio Manzini describes placemaking as a process that "produces a new (or renewed) sense of place by connecting a space with the communities that inhabit it" (Manzini 2015, p. 122). Hence, placemaking is about the social building of places, about connecting people with their close surroundings.

The creation process is an essential component of placemaking. "[…] the most successful placemaking initiatives transcend the 'place' to forefront the 'making' (Silberberg et al. 2013, p. 3).

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[41] See further in Silberberg et al. 2013

Anyone involved in any of the phases identified by Carmona (designing, building or using/managing a place) can be denoted a placemaker. Schneekloth and Shibley (1995, p. 2), and Manzini (2015, p. 37), differentiate between professional and non-professional placemakers. Manzini describes "expert design" and "diffuse design" as being two poles with a field of design possibilities in between. Expert designers (i.e. design professionals) and "diffuse" designers naturally have different approaches to a design process, and the dynamic between them is decisive for the outcome.

Place attachment – an affective bond formed by interplay of actions and emotions

> A place makes impressions, but it also has to be possible to make impressions on the place. 'Monumentality', in the negative sense, implies physical premises that make impressions but do not take them, premises that reduce their inhabitants or visitors, premises that are intended for spectating, not for participating. (Asplund 1983, p. 182, translation by the author)

As mentioned above, a placemaking process can be described as a series of place-shaping actions performed by one or more individuals. These actions connect people and places and, according to place attachment theory, can produce spatial meanings: "Spatial meanings are found in the generative principles of action rather than being attached to place as an object; place and its meanings are produced through practice" (Altman and Low 1992, p. 215). Although originating in environmental psychology, place attachment is an interdisciplinary concept with various definitions (Manzo and Devine-Wright 2014, p. 2). Involvement and a sense of belonging are central for the understanding of place in environmental psychology and are fundamental for the notion of place attachment. In environmental psychology, place attachment is defined as an affective bond between people and certain places (Hidalgo and Hernández 2001, p. 274). The attachment has both social and physical dimensions and creates a tendency to stay close to, and care for, the valued environment. Place is a space that has been given meaning through cultural processes (Altman and Low 1992, p. 5). Place attachment involves "an interplay of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviours and actions in reference to a place" (ibid., pp. 4-5, see also Proshansky et al. 1983). Thus, place attachment can arise on both individual and community level and involves interplay of emotions and actions.

The need for "true places", as social psychologist Johan Asplund calls them (see quote in the beginning of this section), to "take impressions" could be interpreted as letting users interact with the built environment, making it possible for them to somehow adapt it or leave their mark on it. Geographer Yi-Fu Tuan claims that there is a greater awareness of built forms and space in traditional societies, due to a higher level of active involvement in the creation of their close environments. In modern societies, he argues, this awareness is much reduced, as people are no longer involved in building their own houses or public monuments (Tuan 1977, pp. 104, 116-117). Using Altman and Low's vocabulary, one could say that in modern societies the affective bond between people and the built environment fails to form, due to lack of engagement in creation of these environments. Although the term place attachment is less frequent within architecture theory, the need for user interaction in order to create "true places" has been recognised by some, e.g. Jonathan Sime: "Architecture, in concentrating on the physical

dimensions of space and form, is in danger of neglecting the patterns of behaviour and experience which imbue buildings with meaning. […] An individual, in creating a place, is involved by definition in the appropriation and personalization of a physical space through thought and action." (Sime 1995, p. 38).

Self-conscious and unselfconscious placemaking
Involvement in a place can be either self-conscious or unselfconscious. If we return to Carmona's place-shaping processes, he differentiates between "knowing place-shaping" (the design and development phases) and "unknowing place-shaping" (the place management and space-in-use phases) (Carmona 2014, p. 33). According to geographer Edward Relph, the intentions of individuals regarding a place position them as either outsiders or insiders in relation to that place. This position, he claims, can be either self-imposed or unselfconscious, and is closely related to the sense of belonging: "To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is the identity with this place. […] In short, as our intentions vary, so the boundary between inside and outside moves. In consequence there are possible levels of insideness." (Relph 1976, pp. 49-50). Relph regards placemaking as a continuous process where places gain authenticity by being modified and dwelt in (ibid., p. 146). He proposes multiple levels of place insideness and outsideness. Below, the levels most relevant for the scope of this article are presented (see also Figure 1).

Objective outsideness suggests a self-imposed distance to a place, considering it merely a geographical position where objects and/or activities are located. According to Relph, this attitude is adopted by many planners when making proposals for reorganisation of places. Objective outsideness makes it possible to separate oneself emotionally from a place, in order to restructure it based on logic, reason and efficiency (Relph 1976, pp. 51-52). Objective outsideness can be viewed as intentionally zooming out and viewing everything from above, which is the outermost form of outsideness. Incidental outsideness is the most common relationship that people have to public space. A place is then associated with the functions and activities that are going on there, rather than with its built structures. Incidental outsideness is "a largely unselfconscious attitude in which places are experienced as little more than the background or setting for activities and are quite incidental to those activities." (ibid., p. 52).

Behavioural insideness means being in a place and attending to both its built structures and activities, but without emotional engagement. Thus it involves being in a place and recognising a set of objects, views and activities with observable qualities (Relph, 1976, p. 53). If emotional engagement is involved, the relationship is defined as empathetic insideness: "To be inside a place empathetically is to understand that place as rich in meaning, and hence to identify with it, for these meanings are not only linked to the experiences and symbols of those whose place it is, but also stem from one's own experiences." (ibid., pp. 54-55). The outermost form of insideness is called existential insideness and occurs when a place, without deliberate reflection, is experienced as full of significance. This is the insideness that most people feel in their homes or hometowns (ibid., p. 55).

These levels of outsideness and insideness categorise how people engage in places. All levels except incidental outsiders engage in the built structures of a place. However, objective outsiders and behavioural insiders do so without emotional engagement.
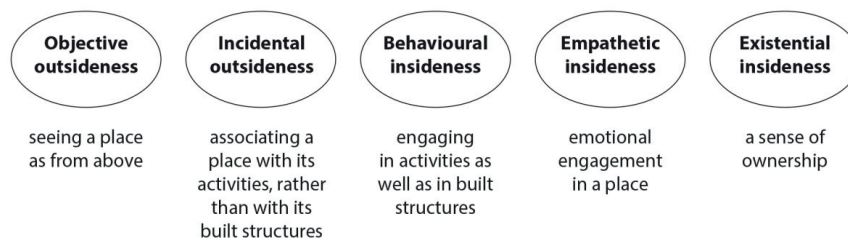
Figure 1: Overview of the different levels of outsideness and insideness as interpreted by the author. Adapted from Relph 1976, pp. 51-55.

Theoretical concepts applied as an analytical tool
Relph's levels of outsideness and insideness indicate how people's place intentions determine their actions in relation to a place (Figure 2). A common approach among architects appears to be behavioural insideness. They consider both built structures and activities, but without emotional engagement, or have a very "professional" attitude in other words. Empathetic insideness, where emotions become involved, is interesting. Emotional engagement is, as we have seen in previous sections of this paper, immanent in place attachment. The emotional bond grows stronger with action, by involvement in shaping built structures. Using Relph's concepts, place attachment is thus something that originates in, and is experienced by, insiders directly. Insideness (and outsideness) is an indicator of how people will relate to a place in the future and how they will use it and care for it. Empathetic insideness does not signify ownership, but rather personal experience of a place and feelings of connection and concern for it.

Relph concludes that empathetic and existential insideness are the levels that generate robust, long-term engagement in a place. The most extreme form, existential insideness, which is related to a sense of ownership, marks the point where, in the context of public space, there is a risk of excluding other users. A crucial task for a "true" placemaking process in public space thus appears to be how to involve empathetic insiders, i.e. future users to whom it seems important, in a direct and concrete way in design and development, and in place management and use. Using Carmona's categories, active user involvement in the shaping of places implies converting management and use from unknowing into knowing place-shaping, turning everyday processes into conscious place interventions.
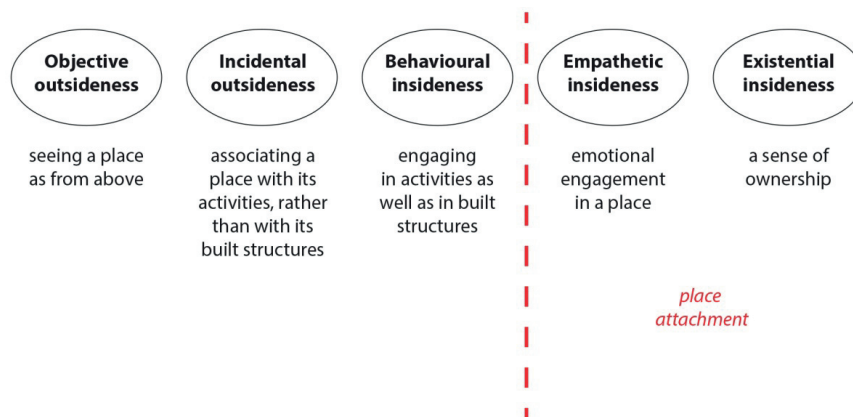
Figure 2: Illustration and interpretation of the levels of outsideness and insideness defined by Relph (1976) in relation to place attachment.

In a case study in San Francisco, the theoretical concepts discussed above were used to analyse the place relations of various actors (i.e. the informants). The main research questions in seeking to develop a place-based understanding of place attachment in the case study were: Which parts of the placemaking process particularly stimulated place attachment? and How did place attachment relate to the materiality and use of the resulting places?

Empirical studies
The public space improvement programme Pavement to Parks in San Francisco was chosen for the case study. The projects included in the programme are explicitly aimed at exploring new and innovative ways of developing and managing public space. The public is encouraged to engage in the process, either through active involvement in the design and building of new public plazas or as initiators and managers of public mini-parks (so-called parklets). The programme therefore seemed appropriate as a case for exploring place attachment during all four of Carmona's place-shaping phases. A qualitative approach was chosen, as the research focus was on various kinds of attachment, rather than on the quantitative degree of attachment (Williams 2014, p. 94).

To study the experiences and influences of place attachment on Pavement to Parks projects, interviews were performed in spring 2012 with project managers from the San Francisco Planning Department, architects and designers who had been involved in the creation of plazas and parklets, business owners who had initiated parklets and current users on-site (a few of whom also participated during the design or building phase). Questions regarding the creation process, roles in the project, motives for participating, ways of involvement in the design and building of the place, emotional bonds experienced (i.e. place attachment), use of the place and overall satisfaction with the process and results were posed in semi-structured interviews. In total, interviews were conducted with 60 individuals, of which 10 were in-depth (lasting between an hour and an hour and a half). The interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded, in order to discover common themes among the stories of different actors. In some cases the informants provided picture material from the creation process, such as photographs and sketches. This information was triangulated with the author's on-site observations at different times of the day

and week (resulting in notes and photographs), and with the written information found on websites, in journals and in newspapers.

The Pavement to Parks programme

The Pavement to Parks programme in San Francisco aims to help merchants, community organisations, business owners and residents take individual action in the development of the city's public realm (San Francisco Planning Department 2014). The programme seeks to temporarily transform under-used street spaces into public places. Initiated by the Mayor of San Francisco in 2008, each Pavement to Parks project is intended to be a public laboratory testing new ideas together with local communities. The intention of the experimental approach is to allow a larger number of people to engage in the urban development process. Each project should reflect the diversity and creativity of the people who design and build it, thereby adding "beauty and whimsy" to the streets of San Francisco. By opening up the legal framework, citizens who are not commonly involved in urban development are given the possibility to create places where they want to spend time.

The programme tests new methods for urban development on two different scales: plazas and parklets. Plazas are the result of stepwise transformations of underused paved surfaces, such as large intersections. The locations are initially identified by a team from various city departments (including the Planning Department). An initial design session is announced via public notices on the site and in the local newspaper, and one or more professional placemakers are engaged by the city authority to lead the creation process. In a first step, a full-scale mock-up is built from very simple materials (e.g. cardboard), and community feedback is collected by studying the use of this for some months. Both materials and design solutions are meant to be inexpensive, temporary and easily movable, to allow for changes. After testing their initial performance, some locations are reclaimed permanently as public open spaces and are given a more permanent design. Seating, landscaping, paving refurbishment, plantings, bike racks and art are common features of all plazas.

Parklets are much smaller in scale and signify a temporary transformation of parking spaces. They are based on public-private partnerships, where citizens apply for a permit to create and maintain a mini-park on a yearly basis. Before getting a permit, a public notice has to be posted, displaying an image (drawing, rendering etc.) of the intended design on-site for 10 days. If there are objections, a public hearing has to take place (as in a conventional urban development process). Questions, comments and concerns are gathered by the initiator and eventually a design proposal is created for the permit. The city authority encourages the involvement of professional placemakers in applications for permits, but this is not a formal requirement. The parklet is subsequently built either by professional construction workers or as a participatory community project, depending on the preferences of the initiator. The majority of parklets are initiated by business owners who can use the space as an extension of their business (e.g. for outdoor seating). They may do so on the condition that the space also remains open to non-customers.

Among numerous locations throughout the city[42], two plazas and two parklets were chosen for more thorough investigations because of the access to first-hand information that they provided. For all four sites, in-depth interviews were held with professional placemakers from the design and building phases. In addition, the places-in-use could be visited at various times of the day and week, which made on-site interviews with a range of users possible.

Jane Warner Plaza (previously known as Castro Commons)

Jane Warner Plaza, located on 17th Street at Castro and Market Street, was one of the first Pavement to Parks pilot projects. The first phase (Pavement to Parks Demonstration) lasted from May 2009 to April 2010. The design and installation was performed by Public Architecture and included moveable seating (chairs) and planters made of cardboard tubes (Figure 3). After being evaluated for a year, the place was upgraded to a Pavement to Parks Trial Plaza, for which the design was done pro bono by Boor Bridges Architecture. The place was given a greater sense of enclosure by low concrete walls, more seating and more greenery. Drought-tolerant and wind-tolerant plants were added, including palm trees and succulents (Figure 4). The Plaza was converted into a permanent public space in August 2013. The Castro Community Benefit district, together with the city authority, was responsible for community outreach during the first two phases, and since then has been responsible for managing and activating the plaza. The moveable seating allows for flexible use and from early morning until late evening the place is used by people walking, resting, watching, socialising or eating. The plaza is a pedestrian-friendly terminus for one of the streetcar routes and thereby creates a front door to the Castro neighbourhood (based on the interviews and http://pavementtoparks.org/plazas/#plaza-projects).

Figure 3: Jane Warner Plaza during the first phase (Pavement to Parks Demonstration). The objects are made from very simple materials (e.g. cardboard planters) and are easy to move around. Photo: City of San Francisco Planning Department.

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[42] When the case study was performed in the spring of 2012, there were about 30 Pavement to Parks sites in total.

Figure 4: Jane Warner Plaza during the second phase (Pavement to Parks Trial Plaza). The objects are more robust (e.g. terracotta planters) and some are no longer easy to move around (e.g. the cast concrete flower beds).

Showcase Triangle Plaza

The San Francisco-based group Rebar designed, acquired materials and built the first phase of Showcase Triangle Plaza, located on 8th Street, between 16th and Irwin Streets. The place is lined by two cafés, which makes it busy at lunchtime and at week-ends. An art school (California College of the Arts) is located a few blocks away, and the plaza is also frequently used by students. The Pavement to Parks Trial period was between September 2009 and winter 2012, and prior to construction Rebar organised a community meeting to generate a public discussion about the design. During the Trial period, old granite kerbstones formed green islands for people to relax on, play and enjoy the greenery. Large granite blocks, which had previously been used in the city centre, were reused for creating flexible seating areas. Former debris boxes filled with trees and plants provided lush greenery. Unused terracotta sewer pipes filled with soil and planted with various drought-tolerant plants were placed around the periphery of the plaza to provide a physical edge and barrier to the noise from the street (Figure 5). Showplace Triangle is to be redesigned as a permanent public space (based on interviews and http://pavementtoparks.org/plazas/#plaza-projects).

Figure 5: Showplace Triangle Plaza during the Pavement to Parks Trial period. Reused kerbstones and granite blocks create islands for sitting between two restaurants. Photo: Rebar.

Devils' Teeth Baking Company parklet

Devils' Teeth Baking Company parklet was opened in December 2011. It is located in the Outer Sunset District on 3876 Noriega Street, and was initiated by the owner of the bakery, as there was previously no place to sit outside on the block. The bakery, which manages the space, built the parklet with the help of a city grant and volunteers from the local community. An architect (working for Matarozzi Pelsinger Builders) who lives two blocks away donated the design pro bono, and another community member drew the planting scheme and helped organise a community planting day with donated plants (Figure 6). Matarozzi Pelsinger Builders built the parklet at cost. The parklet replaces three diagonal parking spaces and provides seating in two clusters, space for bikes, strollers and playing, and protective greenery to the street. Since its completion, the parklet has been frequently used by the local community and bakery customers from other parts of the city (Figure 7). The bakery hands out drawing chalk for children and sometimes uses the space for various festivities and events. At the time of this study, the parklet was also being used by community members as a social space after closing hours (based on interviews).

Figure 6: Community members planting donated plants at Devils' Teeth Baking Company parklet. Photo: Shane Curnyn.

Figure 7: Devils' Teeth Baking Company parklet on a weekday morning. Various citizen groups have found their own niche to use.

Luna Rienne Gallery (previously known as Fabric 8 Gallery) parklet

Luna Rienne Gallery parklet on 3318 22nd Street in the Mission District is a venue for public art. Open since September 2011, it hosts designs (rotating on a yearly basis) by artists featured in the gallery. The case study was conducted during the first design, called "The Peace Keeper", by local artist Eric Otto. During this design, the parklet was a space intended for quiet relaxation, as well as spontaneous interaction between citizens. The major elements were designed after a couple of

brainstorming sessions with the gallery owners and a neighbourhood committee; beanbags for relaxation, a lighthouse, greenery and a protective back to the street. The proposal was displayed on the gallery window for some weeks and a few adjustments were made based on comments from the community, e.g. the back was lowered to maximise viewing and visibility and some permanent seating was added. The parklet was built from recycled materials, with the supporting structure being constructed in the artist's studio. The structure was subsequently affixed to a steel frame and completed on site, in order for the community to see and be part of the building process. There was a request for community donations in terms of materials or labour, which resulted in donations of plants. The Peace Keeper parklet was used during the opening hours of the gallery (the bean bags were taken inside after closing hours and during rain and a "closed" sign was hung up in front of the entrance) (Figures 8 & 9). The gallery owners put out video games on sunny days, and the space was then often filled with people relaxing or playing games. At night, the lighthouse provided light and a sense of safety to the sidewalk (based on interviews, http://fabric8.com/parklet/2011.html and http://pavementtoparks.org/parklets/featured-parklet-projects).

Figure 8: The Peace Keeper design for the Luna Rienne Gallery parklet on a rainy day; the bean bags have been taken inside and a "closed" sign is displayed.

Figure 9: The Peace Keeper design for the Luna Rienne Gallery parklet during an art opening at the gallery. The lighthouse is lit during the hours of darkness to contribute to a safe atmosphere on the sidewalk.

Analysis and results

During analysis of the empirical material, the main focus was on interview answers revealing if and when in the process place attachment was experienced, factors transferring people from one of Relph's levels of outsideness or insideness to another, and how the place was used. The site observations focused on whether and how the involvement and place attachment were related to the materiality and use of the places.

Which parts of the placemaking process particularly stimulated place attachment?

For some, place attachment seems to have been the reason for engaging in placemaking in the first place. One architect reflected: "I did it for free and I don't think I would have ever done that if it hadn't been in my neighbourhood. […] You know, to design and help construct it and then having this be a place where I get to sit and meet my friends [made this project special]." The architect was a local, familiar with the neighbourhood and community, which made him an empathetic insider of the place from the very beginning. This insideness was reflected in his careful design. A parklet design that he produced for a different neighbourhood (for which he was paid the usual architect's fee) did not appear as careful and place-specific, and thus during that project he seemed to have been a behavioural insider. Business owners applying for parklet permissions expressed the same kind of a priori place attachment: "We've had the business for 30 years and wanted to give something back to the community." "I really did it because I wanted to add value to the neighbourhood […] It's about giving back to the community." "A lot of pro bono work goes into these things because people are… it is a public project and it is a nice way to give back if you are a larger office and you can […]. The owner of this place, he is very neighbourhood and community oriented."

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For others, place attachment grew during the design and building phases of the placemaking process. The San Francisco Planning department encourages applicants not to do any actual parklet design until they have completed the public notice phase, because "we might reject them and they get sort of attached, and then we don't want them to have to spend money on design until they know that they can actually build it." Engaging in a design process was anticipated as immediately triggering emotions, empathetic insideness and place attachment. One design team organised two public preparation events before building of the parklet started. The sessions were used for calculating material demand and organising the construction work. Many community members, who had not previously heard about the plans, volunteered for building after participating in those events. Participation during the building of the place generated a sense of involvement, according to the informants. A business owner initiating a parklet recalled: "We had a sign saying 'If you have succulents [to donate], please bring them!' So we didn't have to buy any of them. One of the women [in the community], she came and planted everything – for free – to help. So she did all the planting, all the organising and [later on she was also] weeding it." They ended up with a lot more plants than they could actually fit in the parklet. Another parklet builder reported: "It definitely has my hand, my touch, and all those little pieces of wood were leftovers from other projects and all those like colours and markings, I know where they came from, so there is a lot of connection of me to it." The professional placemakers too felt that active involvement in the construction enhanced their bond to the place; "[…] the fact that we were going to be involved in the construction, so you know we were intimately involved in this space, so it was less like a public landscape design, and more of a private residential design in terms of our connection." This resulted in many of them working for free to complete the projects: "This was kind of amazing in that we were… It's a design and build thing that we have going. So I'm an architect and able to build it! […] Yes, so I offered to build it for free." Thus, in many cases the placemakers went from being incidental outsiders or behavioural insiders to empathetic insiders of the places during the design and building phases.

Place attachment also arose during the use and management of some places. The Showplace Triangle unexpectedly became extremely popular with skateboarders, which the city authority found problematic: "It's been really popular with skateboarders and we are not opposed to skateboarders but... they sort of push everyone else out of the place." It emerged that it was the reused black granite which was attracting the skateboarders, due to nostalgia (it had once been the pavement in another very popular skating location in the city). This turned the skateboarders into existential insiders, discouraging others from using the place. An evaluation and alteration of the first design was part of the project plan, and the same granite was then used for a purpose-built skate park at a nearby location instead. The design of the plaza was adjusted to make it more attractive to other user groups, e.g. some of the granite was replaced by grass and more traffic-shielding vegetation and seating were added. Having someone feeling responsible for the places on a long-term basis was crucial for the success of the Pavement to Parks projects, according to several interviewees. The parklets, where the citizens themselves proposed the physical locations, seem to have generated greater citizen engagement than the plazas, where the locations were originally identified by the city authority. One architect reflected: "I think the public private aspect of the parklet is such that it has a defender. Like if business owner X is concerned about this thing in particular, it has someone who looks after it." A project manager at the San Francisco Planning Department recounted: "We've had developers ask if they can put up a

parklet in front of their building, but before it's built and leased out we'll say no because we want someone to be there and keep an eye on the space." He believed that place attachment and empathetic insideness would arise during the management of the space.

How was place attachment related to the materiality of the resulting place?

Before the construction of Devils' Teeth Baking Company parklet, vehicles and traffic determined the scale and pace on Noriega Street. Once built, a new scale and level of detailing and variation was introduced. The parklet gave the sidewalk, with its pedestrians, cyclists, dogs, strollers, sunbathers, bakery customers and other socialisers, a new dignity and sense of place (Figure 10).
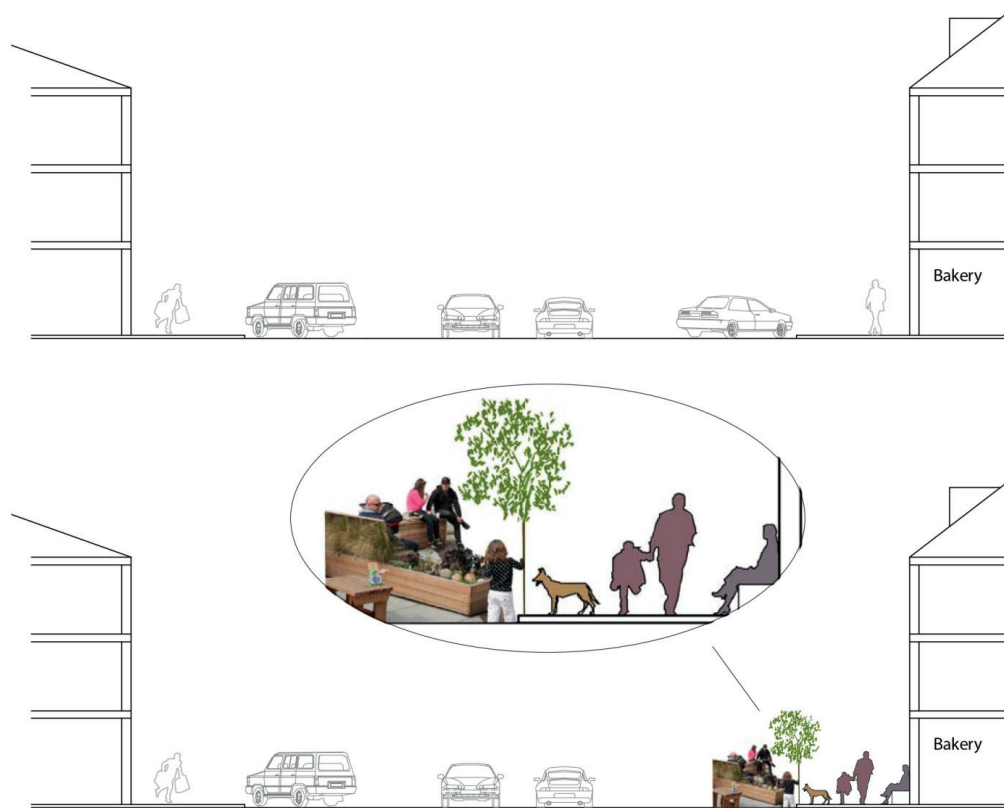
Figure 10: Noriega Street section before (top) and after (bottom) Devils' Teeth Baking Company parklet was built.

In the parklets described above and in other parklets throughout the city, unusual materials such as driftwood and reused red cedar, donated plants of various species and new types of seating (e.g. bean bags) were added to the streetscape due to the place attachment experienced by the placemakers (Figures 11 & 12). One designer concluded: "The parklets are participatory primarily in the sense that they're all unique. Because rather than the city building them and doing one kind of design for each location, each property owner, home owner, residents' group, has their own idea about what it is, so you've got this remarkable variety of design ideas within the certain framework of the parklet." The plazas, which had less citizen involvement during the design and

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building phases, did not undergo similar material additions and variations to the streetscape. At Showplace Triangle Plaza, however, familiar urban elements, such as the granite kerbstones and debris boxes, were reused in creative ways.

Figure 11: Example of physical marks of user interaction and place attachment; unusual plants in a parklet hosted by a private house owner on Valencia Street.

Figure 12: Example of physical marks of user interaction and place attachment; driftwood from the nearby beach used for sitting and climbing in a parklet on Judah Street (hosted by Trouble Coffee).

As place attachment arises through interplay between emotions and actions, having the possibility to leave physical marks at a place could facilitate the attachment process. This was formalised in different ways in the examples studied here. Many parklet developments were aimed at letting local artists display their work (on a short- or long-term basis). One designer invented a modular system, i.e. a plug-and-play design for parklets consisting of different public furniture. With this design, each permit applicant would be able to find the combination of e.g. benches, planters and tables that best suited the situation. One business owner funded construction of a parklet by selling floor plaques on which names could be engraved to community members. The plaques had a free design, based on the buyer's wishes (Figure 13). The parklet designer recalled: "Someone wanted to put the name of their dog actually, instead of their own name, and then they stuck their dog's paw into the concrete." Adjustable furniture was perceived as important for the feeling of customisation once the place was in use. One designer explained the initial ideas of the design group: "This piece here, which was movable in this design [was] for people to have different types of engagement. […] So if you want to sit by yourself, you can pull it out and sit somewhere. If you want to make a group setting, you can." A user at one of the parklets said: "I actually have my own way of sitting in the parklet, where I push one of the cushy chairs up against the slope and you can literally recline all the way, it is really like taking a nap if you needed to." These interactions with the built structures enabled community members to become empathetic insiders of the new public spaces in their areas.

Figure 13: Example of physical marks of user interaction and place attachment; floor plaques created by the participants in a parklet on Judah Street (hosted by Trouble Coffee).

Initially, there were very few design guidelines for the parklets, which resulted in some of them looking much like outdoor seating to be used by business/café customers only. A project leader at the San Francisco Planning Department said about one of them: "It looks private. […] They've actually been asking people to leave. […].We now require them to use different furniture than they would have for outdoor café seating or inside the restaurant." The business owners in this case felt ownership – existential insideness – regarding the space; they felt it was for them and

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their customers only. The city authority therefore eventually had to introduce more specific requirements: "We are requiring people [i.e. parklet applicants] to include some sort of public civic gesture, that would be permanent seating, and if permanent seating doesn't work then bike racks. And they've got to have some sort of landscaping in them to feel more 'parky'." (Figure 14).

Figure 14: Left: A rather private looking parklet and right: a more "parky" looking parklet.

How was place attachment related to the use of the resulting place?

Once installed, the sidewalk extensions that the parklets constitute were used in many new ways (Figure 15). People spent more time on the sidewalk, lingering differently than before. As street benches are often lacking, many interviewees appreciated the seating opportunities in the new, non-commercial spaces. One user said: "It's not a place where you have to buy a drink to stay there, you can just walk up to it like a park, any park, and you can sit down and enjoy it for what it is and for as long or as little as you want."

15: Parklet on Valencia Street hosted by the Freewheeling Bike Shop, an example of a new kind of use of the sidewalk. The parklet creates a non-commercial space to stop and relax in for a while.

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Many parklets were used at night-time or during the closed period of the host business: "It was a Tuesday so they were closed. Still, people would get a burrito across the street and sit down on the parklet." The sidewalk sometimes turned into a playground for climbing or drawing, as some host businesses provided canvases and paint, or chalk, for spontaneous creativity (Figure 16). A new user group – children – could thereby modify and put their mark on the place. One parklet architect, apparently comfortable with users inventing their own "rules" for the use of the built structures, and thus becoming insiders of the place, said in interview: "We wanted the concrete to have as few control joints as possible so it would be a canvas for children with chalk. […] They also draw on the wood, but I can't really control that – all I can do is create a framework, but that's ok!" The architect in this case was clearly not an existential insider of the place, who would claim exclusive right to invent the rules for its use.
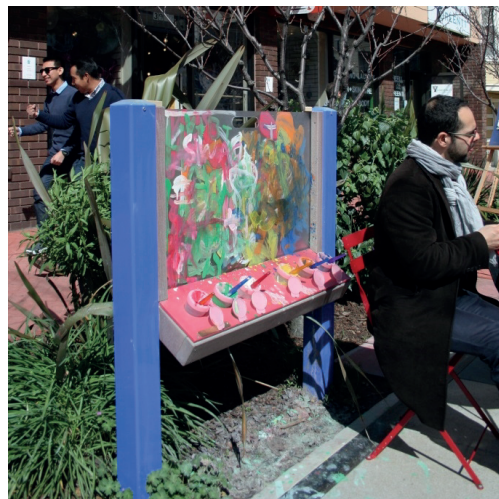
Figure 16: Parklet on 24th Street hosted by Just for Fun, where canvas and paints provide an opportunity for a new user group – children – to make changes to the sidewalk.

In the plazas and parklets featuring moveable seating, a common way to make alterations to the place-in-use was to rearrange chairs to better suit personal preferences (sun, shade, alone, in groups etc.). The users also discovered favourite spots unexpected to the architect or designer: "And the acute corner where it looks like your professor would tell you 'What happens there?' that's the most popular seat! It works like a chaise longue." Due to flexible design, or to design customised by empathetic insiders, various social groups often used the spaces side by side, and thus met or saw each other in a new way. This was particularly evident at the parklet on Noriega Street: "I am always the only Chinese person here, even though there are many in the area, but they go to other places. So I feel a bit different from the other guests here, but the atmosphere is friendly and the place feels open and inviting." The architect of the place concluded: "The idea, from the big picture, was to use angles to create two different spaces; one that was open to the sidewalk and another that was a little more intimate and sort of closed-off. So then you could have two different groups of people potentially occupying the parklet at the same time. […] And we've seen that too. There'll be a group of African Americans who have just finished in church,

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and they're having a coffee, and there'll be a group of Asian folks who have just finished in a different church, sitting on a different section of the bench, and then there'll be a group of parents in a different section, and then there'll be a group of, you know, surfers having beer." The architect was part of the local community – an insider – and could thus customise the design according to its needs.

Some places united people in new ways. Business owners who had worked next door to each other for years, but never talked to each other, suddenly felt that they had a common interest to discuss once a parklet was built. Interactions with the built structures and adjustments/alterations to the places became nice surprises; according to one parklet user at the Luna Rienne Gallery, people would suddenly be doing things "right there on the sidewalk that you normally wouldn't catch yourself doing, like playing video games with strangers". Place attachment thus enabled spontaneous events to take place – events that appealed to the empathetic insiders. In other places, place attachment resulted in a very particular use, with some citizen groups gaining exclusive access to the space. This happened, as described above, at Showplace Triangle Plaza, which became so popular with skateboarders that other users were scared off. The skateboarders became existential insiders of the place; their attachment and use turned into a sense of ownership which excluded others. Empathetic insideness thus developed into existential insideness, which was rather inhibiting for the public use of the space.

The case study approach adopted in this study proved to have some limitations. Participants from the community could only be reached by chance (as the initiators did not have their contact information). For the plaza processes, no participants at all were encountered. Some of the current plaza users saw the places being built or altered, but none of them was part of the creation process or saw any signs during the construction explaining what was going on. The data obtained made it difficult to point out specific phase(s) of the placemaking process that were more decisive for the growth of place attachment than others. However, the empirical material did reveal that place attachment could arise during any of the phases in the process. It also revealed various ways in which place attachment related to the materiality and use of the places; extra detail and care in the design and building of the valued places could be seen. The dynamic also worked the other way round; places which were carefully designed and built and/or could be customised during use generated a sense of place attachment among their users. Very little damage had been noticed by the parklet hosts.

Discussion
This case study on the Pavement to Parks programme in San Francisco showed that place attachment can be either a reason for users to get actively involved, or a result of their engagement in the creation process and/or of their use of the place (see Figure 17). All four of Carmona's place-shaping phases are thus decisive for placemaking, and for the experience of place attachment. An individual can enter the placemaking process in any of the phases, and still experience emotional bonds and empathetic (or existential) insideness. The place component in Scannell and Gifford's place attachment model appears to be related to the place creation process, and to the materiality and use of the resulting places. Additional research on these parameters could further advance place attachment theory and make architects and urban designers more familiar with the concept.
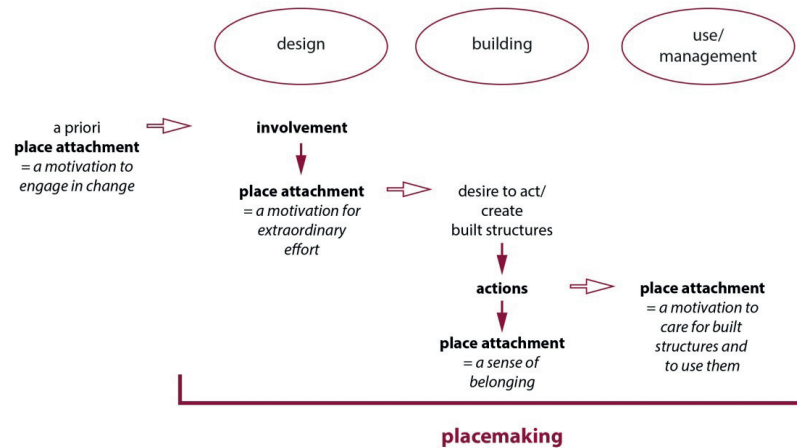
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Figure 17: Theoretical implications of the findings of this study. All phases of the placemaking process can contribute to place attachment. An individual can enter the process in any of the phases and still experience emotional bonds and insideness.

The character of the places generating place attachment is inclusive and inviting, they show detail and care in their design and/or they can be customised during use and management. If empathetic insiders are involved in the placemaking process, the resulting place is likely to introduce a new scale and level of variation to the streetscape. Places that are designed according to the needs of the users or that can be customised during use are valued and cared for. Placemaking hence creates places generating, and places generated by, place attachment. Step-wise development makes it possible to add, alter or remove designs and guidelines as a project proceeds. In San Francisco, a first version of the plazas was set up very quickly (one of them in as little as 72 hours), using simple materials and temporary designs. This first test phase showed if, and how, people used the place and if there were other requirements that needed to be fulfilled. An iterative design process can help balance different public interests, as in the case of Showplace Triangle Plaza. This has practical implications for professional placemakers. New working methods, and a humble and collaborative attitude, need to be developed in order to invite a larger group of individuals into the placemaking process. Proceeding with a design step-by-step, creating mock-ups and building together with future users and making observations on the place in use between iterations provides fertile ground for place attachment.

The case study showed that temporary projects are not always participatory in a conventional sense (with a public call for participation), but could be regarded as participatory in the sense that they are developed directly by the public for the public. Ensuring that place attachment does not develop into exclusion is an important role for the city authority in placemaking processes in public space. As existential insideness may result in the exclusion of others, it appears to be empathetic insideness that is most fruitful when developing public space. On that level, users identify with and care for a place, but do not exclude others from doing so (Relph 1976, p. 54-

55). This is a delicate balance that needs to be safeguarded in order for public space to remain public.

Concluding reflections
Place attachment and "true" placemaking are closely related to the feeling of place insideness and arise through the interplay of emotions and actions performed at certain places. Professional placemakers most commonly relate to a place as either objective outsiders or behavioural insiders, but might experience emotional bonds and thus become empathetic insiders during some projects. As personal preferences or experiences tend to determine place relations, place attachment can contribute to, or detract from, the public dimension of a place. Professional placemakers thus need to be aware of place attachments, their own and those of others, when developing public places. Detail and variation regarding materiality and use seem to increase with the level of user involvement and emotional bonds. If they were more well-known to architects and urban designers, place attachment and placemaking could enrich the discourse on public space and appropriation, and provide a path to vivid urban landscapes.

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Appendix B

MAKING SPACE FOR DIVERSITY AND ACTIVE USER INVOLVEMENT – PLACEMAKING IN PUBLIC SPACE

Abstract

Placemaking is becoming a popular term among urban planners and designers. However, the academic definitions of the term are broad. This article seeks to further define and develop the concept for these professions by analysing an action research case in Malmö, Sweden. Based on the writings of Leonie Sandercock, it asks: "How can difference and diversity be represented in public space by means of placemaking?" Initially, theoretical approaches to placemaking, participation and involvement are explored. Subsequently, the Living Labs approach is introduced, with case analysis focusing on the experiences of professional, as well as non-professional, placemakers. Central to this analysis are the key questions: "Which actors got involved? When and how did they get involved in the process? And how did that involvement affect the built result?" Finally, reflections on what kinds of involvement lead to placemaking, and in what ways such involvement can address demographic diversity are presented.

Keywords: active user involvement; diversity; placemaking; Urban Laboratory; Living Labs

Diversity and the built environment

Just like most Western cities, Malmö is demographically diverse. Around 150 languages are spoken among its inhabitants (Malmö University, 2015). How can such diversity be represented in the built environment? Urban planner Leonie Sandercock (2003c) notes that planning in multicultural cities – cosmopolis – requires a different approach than that of Modernism. Different population groups in terms of ability, age, gender, class, ethnicity, sexual preference and religion, have different claims on the city and public spaces. In order to achieve a city responsive to these differences – these multiple publics – architects and urban designers, as well as planners and other city-building professions, need to acknowledge and react on those claims (Sandercock,

2000a:7, 2000b:15). Placemaking is becoming a frequently used term in various fields, and among them is urban planning and design. At its core, placemaking is about simultaneously connecting people to one another and to the built environment. The academic definitions are, however, somewhat broad and general. The aim of this article is to contribute to further defining the concept, specifically from an urban planning and design perspective, as one way of representing difference and diversity in the urban landscape. It investigates placemaking as "places in the making",[43] i.e. as iterative processes of interplay between people and built environments. As a starting point, relevant theoretical approaches to placemaking, participation and involvement are explored. Possible Futures, an action research project conducted during the summer of 2012 to investigate ways to accommodate diversity in and through the creation of a public place, provides empirical material for the inquiry. The analysis focuses on which actors got involved, when in the process, and how, as well as looking at how that involvement affected the built structures. This results in a discussion about what kinds of involvement lead to placemaking, and in what ways such involvement can address difference and demographic diversity. All photographs and illustrations are by the author of this article.

Placemaking

Placemaking is gaining ground within urban planning and design. Whereas traditionally, social life has been regarded as the end-product of planned urban landscapes and buildings, the focus is now somewhat shifting towards adapting spaces to already-existing realities and needs (Cilliers and Timmermans, 2014:414 referring to Gehl, 2001, among others). Based on a literature review, and with the ambition of establishing a coherent spelling and use of the term,[44] geographer Alan A. Lew (2017) makes a distinction between "organic place-making" and "planned placemaking". Organic place-making, he argues, is about individuals and groups claiming and shaping places for themselves by giving meaning to geographical space through social practices. Planned placemaking, on the other hand, involves professional efforts aimed at changing behaviours and shaping people's perception of a place. However, if placemaking is to be relevant for public space, professional and non-professional placemakers need to work together. According to architects Schneekloth & Shibley, placemaking is "the way all of us human beings transform the places in which we find ourselves into places in which we live" (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995:1). Professional placemakers (e.g. architects, urban planners and designers), with their in-depth knowledge about spatial processes, have much to contribute to such collaborations, but they represent only one out of many voices (ibid., p. 6). Designer Ezio Manzini describes placemaking as "a process that produces a new (or renewed) sense of place by connecting a space with the communities that inhabit it" (Manzini, 2015:122). In line with Schneekloth & Shibley (1995, 2000), Hamdi (2010), Silberberg et al. (2013), Project for Public Spaces (2017), and Wyckoff (2014, 2015), this article uses "placemaking" as the sole and overarching term for a practice integrating professional efforts with the efforts of the future users of a place.

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[43] See further in Silberberg et al., 2013.

[44] Within academic literature, placemaking, place-making, and place making all exist, and are used interchangeably.

Even if the definitions of placemaking are manifold and under debate, there are common features. One such feature is generating quality by actively involving the future users of a place. Placemaking in urban design focuses on public spaces, including parks, squares, streets, sidewalks and other open spaces. The aim is to create quality places for living, working, playing and learning. (Wyckoff, 2014:2/2015:32) A quality place, in that context, is a place that people care about and choose to be in. Placemaking has the site and the human scale as its point of departure, seeking to maximize the shared value of the place (Project for Public Spaces, 2017). Cilliers & Timmermans (2014:419) argue that active user involvement on site is the most efficient way to get as many individuals as possible to participate and to identify issues and needs that might be overseen by regular planning. Another common trait is a belief in the value of the creation process itself and in non-hierarchic collaborations. Placemaking implies engaging in the practice of urban planning and design beyond an expert culture. The approach includes surrendering some of the professional control over the end result, and putting trust in joint knowledge and abilities: "Placemaking is not about who is in control; rather it is about the critical capacity of the placemaking process itself to confirm and interrogate the place-becoming" (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995:xiii). The interdependence of social and physical aspects of place, of people and built structures, is a third common feature. Interaction with the built environment allows for appropriation, for making a space part of the self. The appropriation of space is an interactive process, transforming the physical environment as well as the people using it (De Haan, 2005:9). Design, in this context, is seen as a physical and three-dimensional manifestation of place identity (Higgins, 2005:184). Placemaking is thereby closely related to "sense of place" and "place meaning", as described by geographers Relph (1976), Yi-Fu Tuan (1977), and Massey (2005) among others. Places are experienced spaces, spaces endowed with value (Tuan, 1977:6). Placemaking is about materializing these experiences, and about establishing personal connections to place. It can be a way of creating new worlds together with others through collaboration; learning from them rather than fearing them (Sandercock, 2004:134).

Participation becomes involvement

As the previous section showed, placemaking implies involving future users of a place in the creation process. However, the term participation is under debate. In 1969, Sherry Arnstein defined participation in terms of citizen control over political and economic processes in the city. For a long time, her eight-rung ladder was the backbone of the participation discourse. Today, however, academics from various fields are questioning participation as primarily being about power struggle. Public participation and community-based action have become more complex, and a one-dimensional ladder is no longer sufficient for describing the nature of participation (e.g. Ross, Buchy and Proctor, 2002:205). The ladder is considered too hierarchic as a representation of the mechanisms behind participation. A participatory process can have other goals besides citizen control, and the nature of the involvement (intense, long-lasting, short-term etc.), as well as the preconditions for participating, are relevant to study too. Social learning, collaboration, transfer of skills, building trust and understanding and reshaping relationships are some alternative motivations for participation (e.g. Sandercock, 2000b, Tritter & McCallum, 2005, Collins and Ison, 2009, and Gustavsson & Elander, 2016). Social learning is defined as learning through situated and collective engagement with others. It is a process of co-creation of knowledge, aiming at transforming a situation (Collins and Ison, 2009:364). This article will henceforward use the term "active user involvement" rather than "participation" in order to leave

the one-dimensional view on power struggle behind. "Active user involvement" emphasizes future users of a place taking an active part in shaping their surroundings – establishing the personal connection to place that is fundamental for placemaking.

Living Labs

Living Labs is one way of formalizing social learning through active user involvement in design. Originating at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the concept spread rapidly around the world. The definitions vary; there are common features but many different implementations. The European Network of Living Labs (ENOLL) defines Living Labs as "both practice-driven organizations that facilitate and foster open, collaborative innovation, as well as real-life environments or arenas where both open innovation and user innovation processes can be studied and subject to experiments […]" (ENOLL, 2017). Living Labs are applying a systematic user-centred co-creation approach focused on rapid prototyping. They operate as intermediaries among citizens, researchers, businesses, cities and regions. Many Living Labs are, however, driven by industry and commercial interests, with consequences for how open "open innovation" can be (Emilson, Hillgren, and Seravalli, 2014:35). The Malmö Living Labs (part of the research lab MEDEA at Malmö University) were set up based on three methodological ideas: "1) To set up *collaborative* design processes, where diverse stakeholders with complementary skills work side by side and where mutual respect and learning is supported. 2) To build *long-term relationships* and trust with stakeholders. 3) To perform early *prototyping* where possibilities are explored in real-life contexts but where potential dilemmas also are highlighted" (Emilson, 2014:19, italics as in original source). Establishing such long-term relationships with diverse actors is referred to as "infrastructuring" (Emilson, Hillgren, and Seravalli, 2014:38).

Research method

A Living Lab is an example of action research, producing practical knowledge useful for people in their everyday lives. Action research seeks to "bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities" (Reason and Bradbury, 2008:4). Bringing about positive social change as part of the research is inherent to action research (Brydon – Miller et al., 2003:15), and as such it shares the ethical foundation of placemaking. The method enables the testing of knowledge in action, where those who do the testing are the interested parties. There is no traditional observer in such a collaboration, rather there is "common search for common good" (Swantz in Reason and Bradbury, 2008:42). Expert knowledge and local knowledges are combined, which increases validity (Brydon – Miller et al., 2003:25) and mutual learning is at the heart of the approach (Pedler and Burgoyne in Reason and Bradbury (eds), 2008:319).

The action research presented in this article, Possible Futures, is inspired by the Malmö Living Labs method-wise, but differs regarding the aim. The primary motivation of Possible Futures was to investigate how active user involvement affects the built structures and the users' experience of the resulting place. Possible Futures is therefore named an "Urban Laboratory" in order to show the conceptual similarities with, and likewise its independence from, the Malmö Living Labs. The setting was a real-life environment, and the possibility for truly open innovation beyond commercial interest was crucial. Only by meeting these criteria could the prototyping possibly reflect the diversity among the participants in the built result. Sandercock (2003a:321) calls for

cross-cultural activities and not merely the sharing of public space in order to address difference and diversity. Possible Futures was investigating whether a site had potential for hosting public activities, and what these activities might be. This was done during a public building session. Involvement was voluntary and there were no specific target groups. Anyone showing up on the day of the building session was considered a stakeholder and welcome to join (See e.g. Cilliers & Timmermans, 2014:421, for a similar approach regarding stakeholders). For the sake of reflecting diversity, it was essential to keep the definitions of *participants* and *results* open. Anyone present on site at the time of the construction was considered a participant, and it was the participants' ideas that guided the building process. The scenario that the place totally lacked potential to become a public space was a result as valid as any.

The researcher being part of the studied process, as with action research, introduces a risk of biased interpretations. An external observer was therefore engaged during the building session, taking complementary notes and photographs of the actions. Interviews were done directly after the building session with professional[45] as well as non-professional participants. In addition, spontaneous interviews were done with people present on site one year later. In total 32 interviews were performed, out of which 14 were recorded and transcribed.

For data analysis, the stepwise–deductive–inductive method (SDI) described by Axel Tjora (2010) was used. The notes, interview transcripts, and photographs were coded manually in order to identify common themes (codes) in the empirical material. The themes were derived directly from the empirical material rather than developed a priori. These themes were then categorized into four key themes, which formed the backbone of the analysis. The key themes are discussed based on the theoretical concepts presented in the introduction of this article (diversity, placemaking, and involvement), as well as the methodological ideas of the Malmö Living Labs.

Possible Futures

The context

Herrgården is part of Rosengård, a city district in eastern Malmö with 22,000 inhabitants. It is characterized by a multicultural population speaking over one hundred different languages with cramped living conditions and a high degree of mobility into and out of the area. The residential welfare is generally lower than in the rest of Malmö and the district has a low average age, with large amounts of children and young adults. Herrgården was built during the 1960s and 1970s, and consists of large building slabs with big, open yards between them. The yards have a public rather than a semi-private character. The building stock and public spaces now require refurbishment and upgrading, and a sustainable transformation will demand that changes in the physical environment are linked to the socioeconomic needs of the population. The area has a long history of dialogue-based, participatory planning initiatives, among them "Rosengård! Strategies for sustainable development in a city district" (2008) and a new area plan for renewal and densification (2012) (Malmö Planning Department, 2014).

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[45] Architects, planners, a carpenter and a landscape engineer.
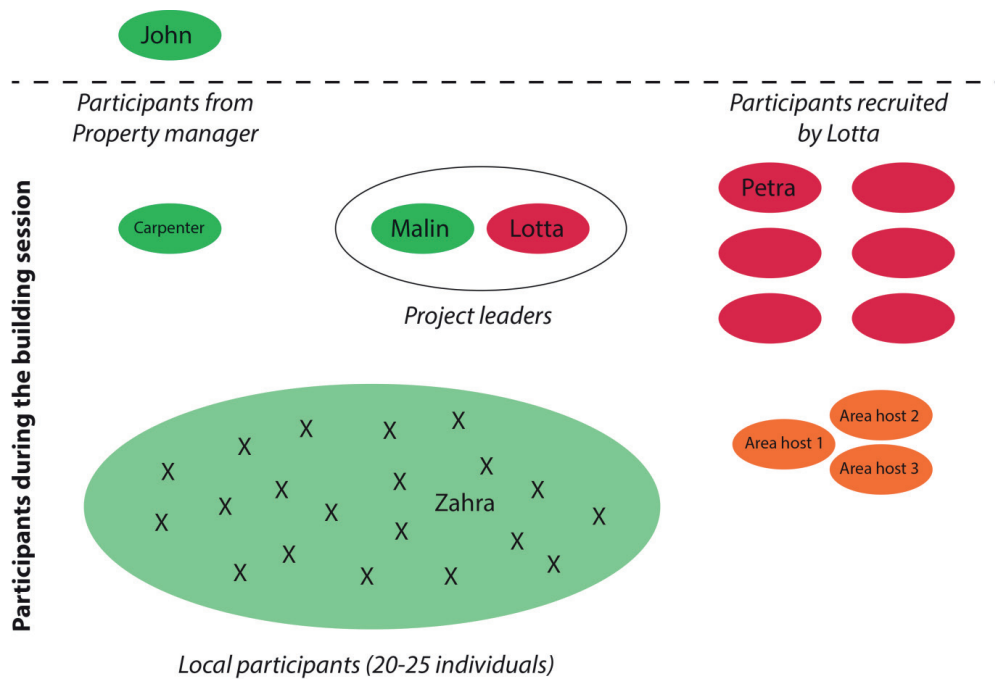
Figure 1a. Diagram showing the main categories of participants in Possible Futures.

Alias	Approx. age	Gender	Role in the project	Affiliation
Lotta	35	F	Project leader	University
John	50	M	Head of department	Property manager
Malin	35	F	Project leader	Property manager
Petra	35	F	Team leader	Volunteer
Zahra	5	F	Participant	Local resident

Figure 1b. Chart presenting the profiles of the key informants.

The stories

In total, approximately 40 individuals were actively involved in the project. We will now follow five of these – each representing one of the main participant categories, without which the project would not have been possible – through the process (see figures 1a and 1b).[46] The section gives an overview of the sequence of events, as well as insight into some key moments that were crucial for the progress of the project. Lotta, the author of this article, was the initiator as well as the main organizer. In collaboration with the City Planning Office, she chose a suitable city district. Initial discussions with a new property owner – who was already upgrading the outdoor environment – further narrowed the selection of possible sites. The owner put Lotta in contact with the property manager, who was from then on the main partner in realizing the project. John, the head of department for outdoor management, was enthusiastic about the idea and proposed a meeting to discuss the setup. At the meeting, John explained that he saw an opportunity to address some issues that they were struggling with, such as lack of communication with the inhabitants and vandalism. There was a "smaller sum"[47] earmarked for upgrading the outdoor environment in their budget, and John immediately supported the idea about building objects for public use. He saw a potential to get to know the area better through the Urban Laboratory, and hoped that the property would get a new image through the project, which could increase its value. However, he was less interested in the placemaking process as such, and in the social learning associated with it. Lotta emphasized the possibility of testing and evaluating different long-terms solutions for the area, as an attempt to give the process more dignity. She proposed dividing the project into three phases: a public building session with full-scale prototyping, a test period followed by an evaluation, and finally, if successful, making some of the objects permanent.

John paired Lotta up with Malin – one of his team leaders for outdoor management. She was immediately enthusiastic about the idea and eager to realize it. It provided a break in her everyday routine, and furthermore, she had previous, positive experiences of participatory gardening with residents in the area. John strongly suggested one yard in particular, but left it to Lotta and Malin to decide the precise location. From that moment on, John was present for brief consultations, but was never out on the actual site with the rest of the team. Lotta and Malin walked through the area together and an underused flowerbed in the outermost corner of the yard suggested by John, closest to the public park in Herrgården, was chosen. It currently had a fence in need of repair, some overgrown plants and an elevation that could make a viewpoint overlooking the park. Lotta communicated continuously with the City Planning Office regarding the choice of site, as well as the best method of public outreach. Financial issues and specific questions about what to build or not to build were discussed with John. In order not to restrict the outcome of the building session beforehand, Lotta chose to discuss potential activities rather than specific objects. Inspiration images were categorized as "sitting", "playing", "meeting", and "screening off" rather than showing specific chairs, benches, walls or playing equipment. These images (see figure 2), combined with "idea interviews" with people in the area, about a month prior to the

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[46] The area hosts constituted another participant category, but none of them were willing to participate in interviews; neither were the carpenter or the adult participants.

[47] The exact amount was never known by Lotta or Malin.

building session, gave the property manager a rough idea of what to expect.. Everyone passing by was asked what they would like to have or do on the site. The responses were mostly hesitant: "I don't know" or "I can't think of anything in particular" were the most common answers, but benches and tables, and something for children were ideas that several interviewees had. Some adults replied "I don't speak Swedish."

Figure 2. Inspiration images used during the initial discussions with the property manager.

All practicalities regarding the event were organized by Lotta and Malin. Due to the uncertainty regarding participants, all plans had to be very flexible. Keeping the end result truly open proved more difficult than initially thought; gathering building material in advance limited the options for what could be built (e.g. it is difficult to build a trampoline – a wish that came up during the idea interviews – with only wood). After consulting the property managers' in-house carpenter, five different dimensions of boards and poles, and five different colours of paint were bought. Malin was responsible for all practicalities on site before the building session, putting up a sign with information about what was about to happen, removing small shrubs and checking the stability of the existing low fence. She communicated with John about budget and practicalities, as well as persuaded the in-house carpenter to join the building session.[48] Flyers about the event were placed at the local library and a community centre in the area, as well as at a local café and a few corner shops, and the staff promised to translate the information if necessary. Three multilingual "area hosts" were engaged for the event. Area hosts are employed by the municipality to circulate

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[48] Initially, he was very hesitant about the – for him – unconventional, working method.

around an area on a daily basis in order to get acquainted with the residents and the daily life and happenings. They constitute a bridge between the people living in an area and the authorities, and are familiar faces to most of the residents. Through her personal network, Lotta had recruited six professional volunteers (planners, architects/designers and artists) to act as team leaders. The day before the building session, Lotta emailed a preliminary plan for distribution of tasks to all volunteers, and repeated the basic idea that the first hour (approximately) would be used for brainstorming, trying to grasp the ideas people had in mind (including documenting things that could not be realized immediately, so that the session could function as a workshop about ideas for the future as well). After that, the professionals would assist the non-professional participants in building the proposed objects, or come up with their own ideas if necessary.

The building session took place on a Saturday afternoon in May. Initially, Lotta briefed the volunteers again about the plan. Assigning appropriate tasks to people along the way was important; asking newcomers what they would like to do, and checking who they could work together with. The carpenter, Malin and Lotta would circulate between the different teams with the aim of ending up with a few finished objects that were ready to use by the end of the session. Lotta also presented the ideas that had come up during the idea interviews: a climbing frame, a place for barbequing, an outdoor gym, a small hut for children to hide in, and seating by the basketball court. At the beginning of the building session, Malin and the carpenter felt a bit awkward and restless. Normally, they would start working, tangibly, with their hands, from the very first minute. Later, when some children had joined them and the brainstorming had resulted in a couple of concrete ideas, Malin started feeling more at ease. Throughout the building session, Malin was very active in talking to people passing by, telling them about what was going on, and asking if they would like to join in. Mostly it was young children that were interested in joining. Many girls, and a few boys as well, said that they would rather watch than take active part.

Figure 3. The building activity being observed from an adjacent balcony.

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Five girls, four and five years old, turned up right at the beginning of the session. For brainstorming, two professionals gave them paper and pens, and they started drawing all sorts of things (not necessarily things that they wanted for the site, but things they liked in general). The two professionals decided, in dialogue with the children, to build an art labyrinth; a structure with white walls where children could draw, or hang up drawings and other things that they had made. Then two seven-year-old boys turned up. They had many ideas about what they would like on the site: a trampoline, a(nother) basketball court, a football goal, a springboard, hurdles and a climbing frame. They also wanted something that they called "footgolf". They started explaining, with great enthusiasm, what that was: "It is like a course with different goals into which you are supposed to kick the football. The course can go up and down and you have to follow the ball around it. The goals can be holes in the ground or up in some wall or so." One professional made a sketch from the boys' description, which they approved of. It was a hole in the ground with a back wall to bounce back the ball if kicked too hard. The wall should be about one metre high, according to one of the boys.[49] Malin had the idea to provide the course with a "sponsored" ball, but the local children thought differently: "You can't leave a ball here, it will disappear." So, whoever wanted to play would have to bring a ball along with them. The children planned the course and the game in detail; they marked different spots where one should stand and kick the ball, the further away from the hole, the more points rewarded if you hit the hole. After a little more than an hour, there was an urge to start building something in order to keep the carpenter, and the children who had turned up so far, motivated to stay. Lotta decided that the concrete suggestions that had come up at that point – the footgolf goal, the labyrinth, a minigolf course and a bench by the existing basketball court – would be the first things to be built. Lotta distributed the objects among the professionals, who were then accompanied by various numbers of children. She checked on the different teams throughout the event, helping them to find ways to realize their objects. Lotta became the head of construction, design, and the timing, while Malin took on the role of communicating with the public.

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[49] This height later proved to be just perfect, as other children could use it as support when standing and watching the game, and for totally different things like playing kiosk.

Figure 4. Finding a way for everyone to get involved.

The bench by the basketball court was built by the area hosts and five young boys, while about ten children and two of the professionals took on the footgolf goal. They started digging a hole in the ground, and tried it out with a football in order to be sure that the ball would fit in it. (To score you would have to kick the ball into the hole.) The younger children were taking turns holding up boards, which were screwed into place by one of the adults. The carpenter helped to simplify the construction, so that no poles would have to be put down into the ground. None of the children had used an electric screwdriver before, and were eager to learn how to use it. They took turns holding and screwing. A year later, one boy even described screwing with the electric screwdriver as his strongest memory of the place itself. Some other children were busy making the hole in the ground sufficiently deep. Many more were circling the site, asking questions or just watching. The minigolf course engaged a couple of teenagers towards the end of the session. Finding ways for everyone to feel useful was sometimes a challenge, but carrying and holding were tasks as important as any. One hour before the building was to be completed, Lotta decided to switch focus to finishing the objects that were already under construction. Lotta and Malin felt responsible, both towards the property manager and the residents, that they would not just end up with "a pile of boards". Whatever was standing on the site by the end of the session had to be something that could be used during the summer, something that the participants could feel proud of. The carpenter concluded, before leaving: "This was really fun, everything went way better than I had expected." Lotta, Malin and three of the professionals remained on site to finish as much of the remaining object – the labyrinth – as possible, together with about ten children. The carpenter had left hammers and nails, which were now used for the first time during the day. An adult with building experience, who lived just nearby, suddenly turned up. "Why didn't he join earlier?!" Malin said. "He could have made a big impact on how the place and objects turned

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out!" Everyone present commonly decided that the labyrinth would have to do with two walls only for the time being, and it thereby turned more into a stage. To mark the end of the day, the footgolf goal was inaugurated with much joy by about ten boys (all the girls were gone by then) and the remaining professionals.

Figure 5. Valuable help from a local craftsman toward the end of the building session.

Figure 6. The footgolf goal being inaugurated to mark the end of the day.

The next morning, Lotta, Malin and one of the professional volunteers went to the site again to paint. The place already showed traces of use (footprints on the objects and the newly raked ground). They painted for three hours and during the last half hour a young boy kept them company. This was a boy, who, at the beginning of the building session, said: "They will just ruin everything anyway" and started hitting the fence himself with a sledge hammer. Just before leaving the building session though, one of the professionals had heard him tell a friend "not to destroy these things". He circled the site during the painting as if he was guarding it. From the company's point of view, the building session had been a success, and they composed a thank you note that was put up on all doors surrounding the yard. The professionals too had found it very exciting and Petra, a trained architect with previous experience of participatory urban planning and design, said she was happy to "experience a new way of creating public places in practice". For her, the best part was to see how people's image of the environment changed over the day, and how social relationships were reshaped: "Many kids screwed their first screws that day, and that together with a professional carpenter. That was true bridge-building!" According to Petra, her main contributions had been to help materialize the ideas that came up during the brainstorming, pointing out a multitude of possibilities, and explaining limitations in a straightforward way. She felt that the full-scale prototyping was a good, tangible, and maybe the only possible way, to cooperate with such young children. Models, she believed, would have been too abstract for them to fully understand. A concern for the place and its builders had grown during the event, and from that day on, Petra listened a bit more attentively when Herrgården was mentioned in various contexts. This was also the case with the other professionals. Many of them told how being on site (as opposed to sitting behind a desk or computer), collaborating with people very different from themselves, and seeing a built result taking shape first-hand, had changed their views both on their own professional role and of the area itself. To Malin, the site was always pretty: "I always found it pretty, even if there were weeds or so, that's the things that I normally look for. Even if it was a grey day, that place always had a little sunshine!" She described the event as building in various ways: building of physical objects, such as the footgolf and the labyrinth; building relationships between people, who otherwise would have been unlikely to interact; and building self-esteem and pride.

Lotta emailed a written conclusion of the building session to John, including some suggestions about further work to be done on the labyrinth. However, she never got any response. She asked Malin and some of the professionals to do site observations during the test period, in order to monitor how the place was used (due to personal reasons, Lotta could not be present herself during that time). Malin and Lotta agreed to organize a meeting with John four months later to evaluate the test period, and discuss the possibility of making some of the objects permanent. The objects survived well through the summer, with only minor damage and graffiti; the place was used in different ways by children, as well as teenagers and young adults. The footgolf was clearly the most popular, with daily games, and it was also used to play kiosk by Zahra – one of the girls who had been drawing during the brainstorming – and her friends. The minigolf course appeared most difficult to use, as you had to bring your own club and ball, which no one in the area had, according to the children.[50] The semi-finished labyrinth served as a stage every once in a

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[50] The minigolf course was initiated by one of the volunteering professionals.

while. One day someone even brought out a gym bicycle, and the line to try it was very long, according to Zahra.[51]

During the follow-up meeting Malin, John, one of their colleagues and Lotta discussed the result of the building session. John was enthusiastic, and Lotta and Malin were asked to come up with a proposal for making the place more permanent. The objects would be removed during the winter in order to preserve them and prevent them from becoming scruffy and instead, a multilingual sign would be put up explaining what was going on. Lotta and Malin met one month later, attempting to specify costs and a time plan. The objects were still out on the site, but Malin would try to get them into storage and put up a sign before the end of the year. Then there was silence, until two months later, when it was written in the local newspaper that the residential area had got a new owner. Malin invited Lotta for lunch in order to explain the situation. It was clear that there would be no continuation of the project. Things were turbulent, and directions about what to prioritize in terms of time and money were unclear. Eventually, the management contract was lost to another company. Due to this, it was never possible to do a proper evaluation of the test period, nor to further discuss making some of the objects permanent, as was originally intended. What was left of them was simply removed, without any explanation on site about what had happened. During spontaneous interviews on site one year after the building session, it was clear that the unexplained removal of the objects had caused great frustration among the children in the area.

Analysis and discussion
The coding of the empirical material resulted in four key themes: main participant categories, ways of being active in the project, personal connection to place/emotional engagement, and social learning – all of these categories reflect the building of inclusive places. These themes are discussed next, based on the theoretical concepts presented in the first part of this article (diversity, placemaking and involvement), as well as the methodological principles of the Malmö Living Labs.

Main participant categories and ways of being active in the project
In terms of involvement, the Urban Laboratory involved several citizen groups who are normally not part of urban development and design: children, teenagers, adults with poor language skills and skilled workers. Active involvement of these individuals occurred during the building session and the test period that followed. Some of the participants were questioned during the idea interviews, but other than that, the preparations for the building session were not very different from regular participatory processes.[52] The implementation, contrastingly, actively involved future users in digging, carpentry, touching, measuring, carrying, drilling, screwing, suggesting, testing, drawing, playing and using. The dominance of children, who formed such a large part of the group of participants, was not planned nor particularly sought after. As it turned out, however, it had a great impact on the built result. The site was turned into a temporary playground, with

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[51] Already, the idea interviews had revealed wishes about an outdoor gym, and, when that was not built, apparently someone took matters into their own hands.

[52] The preparations involved planning of budget and logistics, production of information material, public outreach, and obtaining building material. These tasks were all performed by professional placemakers.

objects developed for children by the children themselves, assisted by the professional participants. The reason for the children to be in such majority is beyond the scope of this article. Lack of language skills, disinterest in the site in question and distrust in participatory processes in general among the teenagers and adults in the area are all plausible explanations and topics for further research.

Figure 7. Examples of active user involvement.

Personal connection to place/emotional engagement

The active, hands-on involvement affected the built environment in many ways. The place and objects were imbued with the hands and fingerprints of the participants. In an area where things were said to be ruined as soon as they appeared, these objects stood almost untouched by vandalism for four months. The young boy with the sledge hammer lost the desire to smash the

objects once they were built – by him and his friends – and were ready to use. The active user involvement thus generated qualities beyond visual aesthetics. The height of the back wall of the footgolf goal was determined by the children themselves and was, as a result, used for many different kinds of games. Hence, flexibility was built into the structure due to the approach employed. The users' experiences of the resulting place were also affected by their active involvement in the construction. Whereas practical professional work mainly resulted in short-term commitment, many of the interviewed non-professionals described lasting emotional engagement – well beyond the removal of the objects. Among the interviewed children, those who had participated in the building session were the ones most convinced that the place would in fact bloom again in the future. For them, the question was not if, but when, there would be a new playground.

Social learning

The Urban Laboratory in Herrgården highlights several aspects of placemaking when compared to the methodological ideas of the Malmö Living Labs:[53]

1) Setting up a collaborative design process was successful. Belief in the value of the creation process itself and in non-hierarchic collaboration grew among the participants over the course of the events. New knowledge about the area was co-created for all parties, including the property manager's representative, John. To begin with, he saw increased property value as the main benefit of the project; but, during the course of events, and his meetings with Lotta and Malin, he came to understand the social gains of the placemaking process itself. He gained a deeper understanding about the area, and the wishes and lives of the inhabitants.

2) Unlike Malmö Living Labs, Possible Futures was a short project focusing particularly on concrete, tangible place development through collaborative building. Social boundaries were indeed reshaped during the building session, as individuals with no previous relationship with each other were imagining and testing possibilities for the place together. Personal connections to the place were established on many levels, but could surely have been stronger if the second phase – making some of the objects permanent – would have been implemented, as was originally intended. Long-term relationships between professional and non-professional participants would have augmented the positive effects of the placemaking but, as it was, these relationships failed to form, due to the unexpected change of owner and property manager. The informal agreement of a continuation proved insufficient. Knowledge about the benefits of placemaking beyond monetary gains grew among the participants during the process, but this knowledge was not transferred to the new property owner, who therefore failed to see the value and potential of the resulting place. Had Possible Futures been part of long-term infrastructuring (e.g. as part of a Living Lab), then it could have served as a fruitful way of identifying stakeholders, generating place relations and attachment, as well as testing various ideas over time in full scale. This would have made the placemaking more powerful and obvious.

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[53] The Malmö Living Labs do not use the term placemaking in their description, but as the setup was similar, the methodological ideas of the Malmö Living labs are used here as an analytical tool.

3) The full-scale prototyping highlighted certain potentials as well as dilemmas. Many ideas for the future use of the place were documented, and four of them were realized. Each object was different, in terms of function as well as detailing and straightforwardness. While the intended use of the minigolf course was obvious to part of the building team – the professionals – the situation was reversed regarding the footgolf goal. There, the local children were the experts, and it was their intentions and ideas that were reflected in the built result. The prototyping thereby showed a way to accommodate differences and demographic diversity in the built environment. By enabling the co-creation of visions for, and the building of, pluralistic public places, urban landscapes accommodating "positive expressions of already-existing differences" (Sandercock, 2000a:14) can arise. The place in Herrgården was pluralistic in the sense that it reflected various community and citizen narratives from the beginning.[54] Great disappointment was, however, a fact when the process was interrupted without explanation, and this was felt most of all among the participating children. Robust structures for long-term professional commitment would have been necessary in order to avoid this disappointment.

Conclusion

Possible Futures was making space for "the creativity of ordinary folks" (Sandercock, 2004:137). The involvement categories – digging, carpentry, touching, measuring, drilling, screwing, suggesting, testing, drawing, playing and using – are means of telling non-verbal stories, stories of those normally not heard in urban development debates. Activities such as these lower the threshold for involvement, and thereby invite a larger part of the population into a placemaking process. The tangible engagement, shaping a place with one's own ideas and hands, makes it possible for demographic diversity to shine through in the built result. Voluntary involvement, rather than seeking to engage a representative selection of citizens, resulted in enduring place engagement in Herrgården. The individuals most eager to use the resulting place (the children) were the ones participating during brainstorming and building. They were the ones who benefited most from the process, but were also the ones most hurt by the premature removal of the built result.
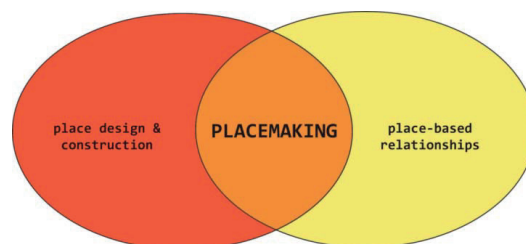
Figure 8. Placemaking is the simultaneous building of physical objects and relationships: relationships between people, and relationships between people and places.

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[54] "Community narratives must be listened to and planners need to think not of place identity but of place identities, just as it is more helpful to think of design qualities as opposed to quality in the absolute. Plurals reflect the pluralism inherent in the concepts. This inevitably brings conflicts which cannot be avoided; it is impossible to keep everyone happy, but the need to work with diversity should be the starting point of the design process, not a painful afterthought" (Higgins, 2005:203).

In summary, placemaking in public space is fundamentally related to active user involvement and the building of inclusive places. It implies tangible, hands-on involvement of various individuals and groups, who are establishing relationships to the places being built and to one another simultaneously. Placemaking requires a belief in the value of the process itself, and in the interdependence of people and the built environment. The splitting out of the placemaking concept into multiple terms/meanings proposed by Lew (2017) appears, therefore, to be irrelevant for urban planning and design – placemaking in public space is the integrated practice of professional and non-professional actors working together on place development. Preparations are quite similar to regular participatory processes; the difference lies in the implementation. For urban planning and design, placemaking means finding ways for active user involvement beyond words and sketches. Such involvement can, if the process is well facilitated, reflect difference and diversity and help create pluralistic public places.

Working with plurals and differences as a starting point makes it possible to develop urban landscapes that reflect the societies living within them. The participatory methodology in the project presented above – Possible Futures in Herrgården – acknowledged young children as active citizens with valuable perspectives on their environment. Full-scale prototyping made it possible for these children to realize their own ideas for a playground with their own hands – trying out the result on the same day. This involvement clearly differs from that of regular urban development. However, the results of the presented action research stress the importance of building long-term relationships between professional and non-professional placemakers in order to avoid disappointment and disillusionment.

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Appendix C

PLACEMAKING AS CO-CREATION – PROFESSIONAL ROLES AND ATTITUDES IN PRACTICE

Abstract

Citizens around the world are becoming more and more involved in the creation processes of various fields. However, the extent to which citizen initiatives and involvement are possible depends on the way in which professionals work. How do professional practices affect the involvement of other actors in urban development projects? The paper reviews current literature on placemaking and co-creation in order to identify suggested professional roles. Manzini's maps of participant involvement and interaction quality, and Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation are presented as a framework for understanding different kinds of engagement. A case study in Berlin is analysed regarding how the suggested roles work in practice. Through semi-structured interviews with initiators and participants, the paper explores how the professionals experienced working with co-creation, as well as the other participants' experiences of the professionals' part in the process. The concluding discussion highlights the challenges that were experienced and suggests ways to move forward toward truly co-creative placemaking.

In urban development, as in many other parts of society, citizens are becoming more and more involved in the creation process. "In a world in rapid and profound transformation, we are all designers" (Manzini, 2015:1). Ezio Manzini sees design capability as a "widespread human capacity", but this capacity, he argues, has to be cultivated in the right way by "design experts" in order for it to flourish. By design experts he means individuals whose field of interest, research, and/or work is the practice and culture of design. This paper discusses the role of such design experts – professional architects and designers – in placemaking in public space.

Placemaking is "a process that produces a new (or renewed) sense of place by connecting a space with the communities that inhabit it." (Manzini 2015:122) Placemaking is collaboration, a design dialogue between various actors, connecting them with their built surroundings. The professional placemaker – the design expert – is important in this dialogue, but is only one of many voices. (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995:6) Placemaking can hence provide an opportunity for citizens to act and to be creative in public space. However, this opportunity is not entirely unproblematic;

> There weren't any clear roles; they were all blending into each other. I experienced taking a lot of initiative myself and sometimes there were collisions with other participants due to different preferences and priorities. […] And there wasn't really anyone to ask for advice about how to solve these conflicts. […] I often felt unsure about what was expected of me.[55]

This article is a contribution to the project of rethinking how professional placemakers see their own role. It is building on Degnegaard's 2014 article, and his call for further research on how to design co-creation settings for society-wide concerns. With public space being such a concern, this article specifically investigates the nature of the participation at play in placemaking, and how different professional roles affect the possibility for involvement of other actors. Examples from current theory and practice are presented, followed by a case study in Berlin. The analysis results in a discussion about experiences with new designer roles, and suggestions for future research and policy.

Placemaking – creating space for collaborative involvement
The academic origin of placemaking can be traced back to the writings of Jane Jacobs, Kevin Lynch and William Whyte. (Silberberg et al. 2013:2) Starting as a reaction against auto-centric planning in the 1960's, placemaking has grown into a practice of creating environments for social interaction, and for improving the quality of community life. (ibid, pp.1-2) The definitions of placemaking are manifold, ranging from community building to a means for economic development, but a common trait is belief in the value of the creation process itself and in non-hierarchic collaborations. Placemaking has the site and people scale as its point of departure, seeking to maximise the shared value of a place (Project for Public Spaces, 2016; Wyckoff, 2014 and 2015). Placemaking in public space implies engaging in the practice of urban planning and design beyond an expert culture. Such collaboration can be described as co-creation.

Co-creation being an evolving concept, related notions are often used to define it. Co-design is the most common one within the design community[56] and is defined as "collective creativity as it is applied across the whole span of a design process." (Sanders and Stappers, 2008:2) Through engagement and dialogue with people outside of the design professions[57], design practice is

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[55] A participant recalling experiences from a temporary project in Berlin. See further in the empirical studies section.

[56] Within digital media 'interaction design' and 'adaptive design' are frequently used, and 'transformation design' has emerged among those who use the design process in order to collaborate across disciplines (Sanders and Stappers, 2008:6-7 and Burns et al., 2006:6).

[57] Design professions are e.g. industrial design, interior design, architecture, and landscape architecture.

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transforming into a "creative commons for ongoing change" (Binder et.al, 2008:1). This implies a rethinking of users as being "co-creators" rather than consumers. The Design Participation conference in 1971, organised by the Design Research Society in Manchester, England, was a starting point for this development. The aim of the conference was to discuss the importance of user participation in a design process in order to address social issues (Lee, 2008:31). The proceedings concluded that "do-it-yourself", where users have full creative autonomy in the design process, is the only "real design participation" (Banham, 1972 in ibid. p. 34). Participation was then understood to be what Sherry Arnstein referred to as "citizen control". In her much cited article from 1969, Arnstein discusses control over political and economic processes in the city. She sketches a ladder with eight levels of participation ranging from manipulation and therapy (defined as non-participation), via informing, consulting and placation (defined as tokenism) to partnership, delegated power and citizen control (defined as participation) (Arnstein, 1969:217). This ladder has since been a common tool for assessing involvement.

However, the variations in influence can be less hierarchically arranged than in Arnstein's ladder. One recent proposal is Manzini's map of participant involvement that illustrates a range of possible ways to collaborate, and for collaborations to evolve (Manzini, 2015:106-107). The map has two crossing axes; the degree of active involvement on the vertical and the degree of collaborative involvement on the horizontal. The degree of active involvement refers to how much participants (as individuals) are expected to do in practical terms and ranges from passive to active participation. The degree of collaborative involvement indicates the level to which the participants are engaged in some form of collaboration with others. It ranges from doing everything alone to doing everything together. Around the axis are four fields, showing possible participant involvement modes. The bottom-left corner has low involvement both in practical activity and collaboration. It represents the typical service mode and is labelled "being served". The bottom-right corner has low involvement regarding activities but high involvement regarding collaboration with others. This represents co-designed and/or co-managed organizations and is labelled "co-management". The top-left corner has high involvement regarding activities but low collaborative involvement. It denotes activities being performed individually and is labelled "do-it-yourself". Finally, the top-right corner has high levels of both activity and collaborations. This represents creative communities and is labelled "co-production". When it comes to placemaking - connecting spaces and communities - being actively involved, together with others, is decisive. This article therefore suggests placemaking to be posited in the top-right corner of Manzini's participant involvement map (Figure 1).
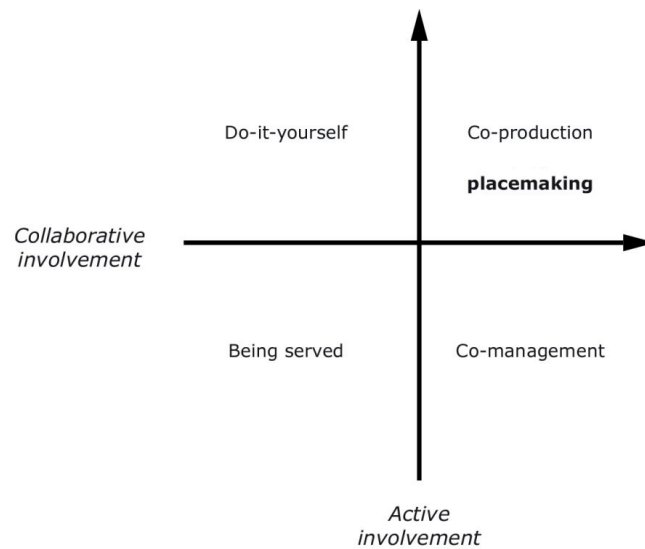
Figure 1. The author's adaptation of Manzini's map of participant involvement (Manzini, 2015:107).

Co-creation is "the creativity of designers and people not trained in design working together in the design development" (Sanders and Stappers, 2008:6) and arises in a "realm of collaboration" which both the professional designers and the other participants need to enter together (Lee 2008:32-33). A sense of partnership should be established from the very beginning:

> [It is] in the open exploration of possibilities that designers and non-designers have to lay the foundation for co-creation. The professional designer may be the most competent person at the drawing table, but in co-design, sketching has to take place as a collaboration between designers and non-designers. (Foverskov and Dam in Halse et al. (eds.), 2010:45)

The engagement is voluntary and the willingness to participate often depends on the individual's level of expertise as well as creativity and passion for the topic (Sanders and Stappers, 2008:8). Manzini introduces a second map, corresponding with this idea: the map of interaction quality (Manzini, 2015:109). This map illustrates how collaborative involvement can be either light or heavy in terms of social tie strength and relational intensity. The strength of social ties can be indicated by the duration of the interaction or the tendency to create closed social groups. The relational intensity describes the reasons for participants to get involved, ranging from formalised interactions based on e.g. working contracts to affective interactions based on convivial encounters. While strong, long-lasting social ties might initially sound like the more desirable option, they tend to create closed social groups. Weaker ties might generate more inclusive organizations. A social fabric should, Manzini argues, preferably include strong as well as weak social ties (ibid. p. 103). As co-creation thrives on voluntariness and passion for the topic, this

article proposes placemaking to be posited on the right side of Manzini's interaction quality map (Figure 2).

Formalized/
strong

Affective/
strong

placemaking

Relational
intensity

Formalized/
weak

Affective/
weak

placemaking

Social tie
strength
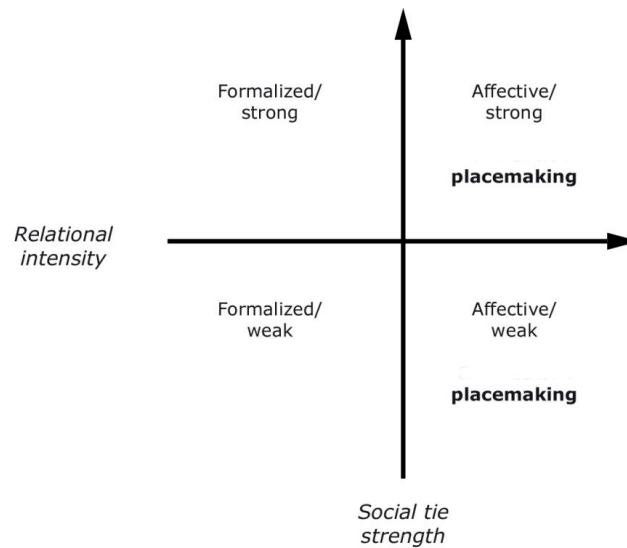
Figure 2. The author's adaptation of Manzini's map of interaction quality (Manzini, 2015:109).

We will now return to Arnstein's ladder representing involvement as a hierarchy based on the level of decision-making power. Placemaking entails surrendering some of the individual control over the end result and putting trust in joint knowledge and abilities: "Placemaking is not about who is in control; rather it is about the critical capacity of the placemaking process itself to confirm and interrogate the place-becoming". (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995:xiii) As a consequence, placemaking is not on the top stick of Arnstein's ladder from an individual's point of view. In co-creation as well as in placemaking, the relationship is rather a partnership between all those involved in the creation process – professional as well as non-professional actors (Figure 3). A partnership denotes "shared planning and decision-making responsibilities." (Arnstein, 1969:221)

Citizen/participant control	
Delegated power	*Participation*
Partnership **placemaking**	
Placation	
Consulting	*Tokenism*
Informing	
Therapy	*Non-participation*
Manipulation	
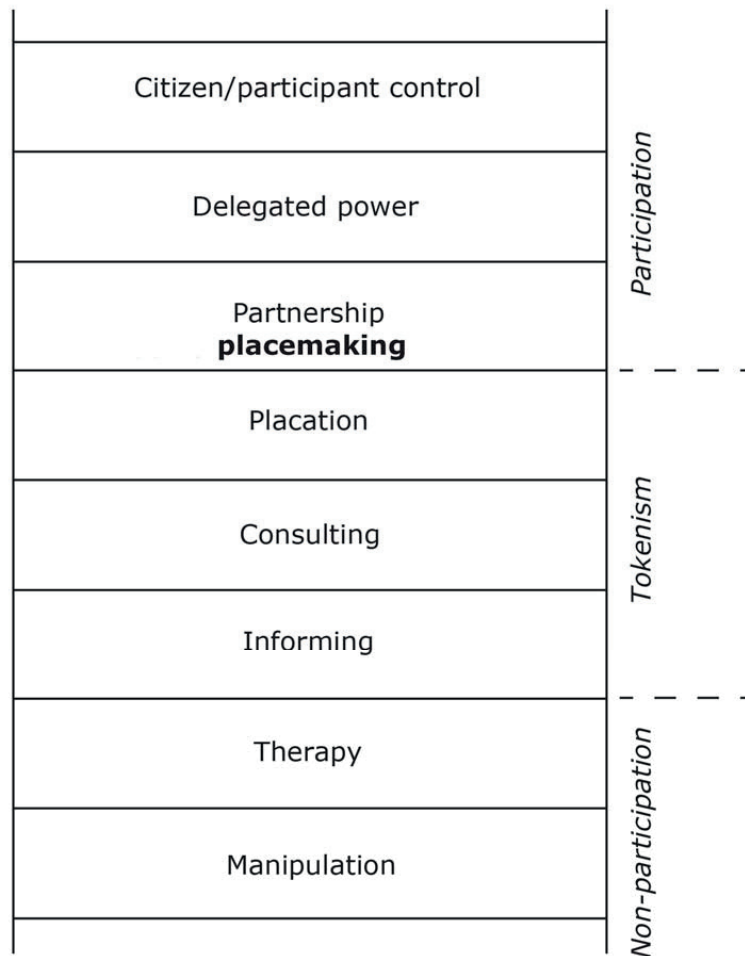
Figure 3. The author's adaptation of Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969:217).

According to the reviewed literature, one of the main challenges with co-creation is communication gaps between the various actors (Sanders and Stappers 2008:13). Due to different backgrounds there are differences in skill sets. Specialised tools and jargon, as well as a protectionist attitude regarding one's own area of expertise, easily create boundaries between participants (Sanders in Halse et al. (eds.), 2010:118). In order to bridge these gaps new approaches are needed: "We need to invite all kinds of people into the front end of the design process to continually iterate between the making of stuff and the telling of stories." (ibid. p. 120) The following section presents some proposed ways in which this invitation could take place.

New professional roles for enabling partnerships
The reviewed literature emphasises the need for a new professional approach in order for co-creation to flourish. Several aspects of this approach are described.

Overseeing and connecting – the curator
Atelier d'architecture autogérée, a collective platform based in Paris, suggests turning to artistic practices for inspiration. Seen as a curator rather than a master, the architect becomes "a connector of people, things, desires, stories, opportunities." (Petrescu, 2005:57) They suggest focusing on "[…] *architecture-related* activities, rather than *architecture-specific* ones, which would consider architecture in terms of its specific means (tools, competences, processes), rather than its specific ends (constructions and buildings)." (Petrescu, 2007:3–4). This view is shared by the trio behind *Spatial Agency – Other ways of doing architecture* [58]. In order to initiate empowering social relationships "[…] the role of the architect can be extended to take into account the consequences of architecture as much as the objects of architecture." (Awan et al., 2011:33) The interdisciplinary platform Urban Catalyst in Berlin[59] calls this becoming an "enabler":

> The heroic and visionary designer is replaced by an agent working on others' behalf. He or she is not a 'decider' but rather an enabler who brings the various actors together. The users themselves become producers of space. The planner's role is that of a strategist, agent, or curator. He or she mediates among the disparate worlds of the users, owners, and governmental bodies. (Oswalt et al., 2013:217)

Embracing design activities over time – the metadesigner
The programming of space is described as the central task, and this can, according to metadesign theory (A.Telier /Binder et al., 2011), occur during the initial design phase as well as during the use of a place. Metadesign embraces the activities of professional designers as well as future users, and every use situation is considered a potential design situation, a possibility for design-in-use (ibid p. 171). This layering of design activities over time can be conceptualised as infrastructuring, which denotes setting up long-term structures for user adaptation, appropriation, and redesign of a place or object (see e.g. A.Telier /Binder et al., 2011, Karasti 2014, Marttila and Botero, 2016). Design experts are then, rather than creating places and objects ready for use, shaping solutions that allow former-users to engage directly in the design and production of places and objects. (Seravalli, 2014:107)

Facilitating visualization and social learning – the facilitator
Being a facilitator is another aspect of this new role. Rather than preparing and presenting traditional design proposals, professional designers can facilitate the active engagement of various stakeholders in the creation of these. (Brandt and Agger Eriksen in Halse et al. (eds.), 2010:71) By introducing and assisting with generative design tools, future users can make sketches and prototypes and thereby co-create their own future (Sanders in ibid., p. 119, Robertson and

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[58] Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider and Jeremy Till

[59] Urban Catalyst was initiated as a research project in 2001 – 2003, and later developed into a platform for research, design, public intervention, conferences, exhibitions, and publications.

Simonsen, 2012). Such active engagement provides a path to social learning, i.e learning through situated and collective engagement with others, with the aim of transforming a situation. (Collins and Ison, 2009:364)

Addressing conflict – the negotiator
In a group of various stakeholders, conflicting interests and discontent between disciplines are common phenomena (Sanders in Halse et al. (eds.), 2010:117). Finding ways to handle these conflicts and barriers is an important part of the co-designer role (Brandt and Agger Eriksen in ibid., p. 72). Agonism has been proposed as a way of framing such collaboration beyond consensus (see e.g. Hillgren et al., 2016, Seravalli et al., 2015). Originating in the writings of political philosopher Chantal Mouffe, agonism implies embracing conflict in order to illuminate and transcend dominating power relations. The idea is that opposing views should be exposed as a respectful and fruitful "struggle between adversaries" rather than being regarded as an obstructive "struggle between enemies[60]" and as such, avoided. (Mouffe, 2009:551) The concept of agonism can be used for increasing the level of diversity in a co-creation setting (Seravalli et al., 2015) as well as for motivating and initiating cross-sector collaborations (Hillgren et al., 2016).

ROLES FOUND IN THEORY
Curator - *connecting people & opportunities*
Metadesigner - *preparing for (re)design-in-use*
Facilitator - *providing/teaching design tools*
Negotiator - *addressing conflict*

Figure 4. Overview of the roles found in the reviewed literature.

In summary, co-creation implies embracing a coaching attitude toward future users (Figure 4). It requires all participants to treat ideas as open source, and individual actors – professional placemakers included - need to let go of control over the end result to some extent. This approach could, however, be further analysed in terms of its operational possibilities and qualities. The initial research question was therefore developed into the following empirical questions: Which roles do professional placemakers actually adopt in projects aiming for placemaking in public space? And how are these roles perceived by other participants; are the professional placemakers succeeding in inviting others into the realm of co-creation?

Empirical studies
A case study was made in order to study how the various aspects of the roles suggested by theory were experienced in practice. For this, a series of temporary, involvement-based urban interventions in Berlin were chosen. Having attended two specific projects as a visitor - Fassadenrepublik (in 2004) and Der Berg (in 2005) - they provided access to a wide range of first-

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[60] The "struggle between enemies" is labelled antagonism by Mouffe.

and second-hand data. Both projects were curated by professional architects and designers, and explicitly aiming for exploring new, alternative futures for a well-known, public space in collaboration with the Berliners. The public was invited to join the explorations in a tangible way by on-site experiments investigating what the place could become. Community building was one goal, as was creative freedom for the participants: "The mountain creates a social body, a place for settlement and community, a place for free artistic production." (Oswalt et al., 2013:298, about Der Berg) Based on this, the projects appeared well-suited for investigating the experiences of co-creation and placemaking.

Fassadenrepublik and Der Berg

Palast der Republik on Berlin's Schlossplatz was temporarily converted into a public and cultural venue in 2004–2005. Once built for the East German government, the building was completely stripped of all interior decoration due to findings of asbestos after the reunification of Germany, and was left to await demolition. Both the building and the place itself were politically contested, which resulted in a stormy debate about their future. Some strongly favoured a reconstruction of the baroque castle that previously stood on the site, as Palast der Republik was claimed to be a symbol of oppression and dictatorship. Others regarded the building as an important representation of their personal history to be kept for the future (Sandström and Teder, 2005). Various cultural actors saw the empty building as an attractive place for different kinds of events, which were joined by Urban Catalyst under the name Volkspalast[61]. Two events, Fassadenrepublik and Der Berg, were investigated with focus on the professional roles taken on and the possibilities for co-creation that these roles entailed (Figure 5).
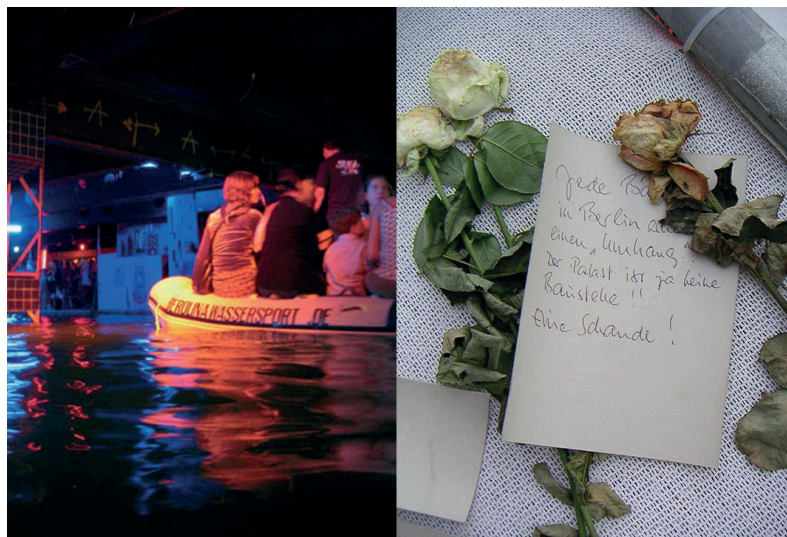

Figure 5. Images from visitors' interaction during Fassadenrepublik (Photo: Raumlabor) and Der Berg (Photo: the author).

[61] Demolition of Palast der Republik started in 2006 despite the stormy debate and various proposals for new uses. Humbolt Forum, a replica of the former castle, is currently under construction and is estimated to be completed in 2019.

Fassadenrepublik[62] implied the staging of a Potemkin water city where visitors could travel around the flooded basement in rubber boats and disembark on different islands. The islands were equipped with various façades – proposed by the general public via the internet prior to and during the event – for a future building on the site. The invitation to contribute with façade proposals was open to anyone interested, and the initiators received about 100 proposals in total. Some citizens came to build their own façades on site prior to the opening, and some façades were built by invited participants (e.g. practicing architects, designers, artist, and performance artists, as well as students of architecture and design). Fassadenrepublik was open to the public during nine days. Performance artists staged different interactive scenarios on the islands, for example, a university, an "Institute for ancestors' adoption" and a parliament, in order to extend public debate beyond the question of façade to content and programme. The visitors could propose façades to be torn down and replaced by new ones, as well as suggest new functions for the building. It was possible to give lectures at the university or initiate debates about themes connected to the future of the building at the parliament. The goal was to get people with no previous connection to each other (participants as well as visitors) to discuss the future of the place, as well as to make the visitors take active part in the modifications of the space. (Based on Deuflhard and Krempl-Klieeisen, 2006, Oswalt et al., 2013, and on interviews with participants, November 2011.)

Der Berg[63] was an installation both inside and outside of Palast der Republik aiming at public exploration of various possibilities for the future use of the site. The overall concept (a mountain with three different routes through it, and a small hotel) was developed by the initiators - a group of five professional architects and designers. Der Berg struggled with getting various permissions (regarding e.g. fire and evacuation), which made the final completion very hectic. It was a collaborative building process with many decisions being made on site. The initiators showed a few conceptual images of the mountain to the participants (practicing architects, designers, and artists, as well as students, and a few non-professional placemakers (i.e. without background in design)) who then got their own part to work on. They built up a landscape that the visitors could later climb and discover either as mountaineers, pilgrims or philosophers. The routes had various stops intended for discussion and debate about possible functions for the building, as well as places for leaving written notes with comments and suggestions. The hotel provided an opportunity to stay overnight, in order to extend public access to the site beyond office hours and further expand the perspective on its potential uses. Der Berg was open to the public for 23 days and had more than 40 000 visitors. The goals were to get as many people as possible to experience the building in person, to collectively investigate what the place could be in the future, to make people feel at home in the city centre, and to co-create a new identity and meaning for Schlossplatz. (Based on Deuflhard and Krempl-Klieeisen, 2006, Oswalt et al., 2013, and on interviews with participants, November 2011.)

During both projects, the initiators encouraged participants as well as visitors to physically interact with the space in different ways. "Come realize your own vision for the place" was the

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[62] Main organizers were Raumlabor architects and Peanuts architects.

[63] Main organizers were Raumlabor architects and the artists' collective Club Real.

intended moto. One of the initiators called Volkspalast "a contemporary market of ideas", a place where the citizens could express their ideas physically through the means of temporary installations. The ambition was open construction - anyone interested could join the building process - but the majority of participants originated from the initiators' personal networks and had a background in art, design, or architecture (Figure 6).

Figure 6. Der Berg from the outside and the inside (Photos: the author).

To study the experiences of professional involvement in these two projects, semi-structured interviews were performed with the initiators as well as with various participating professionals and professionals-to-be (architects, designers, construction workers, lighting technicians, and artists, as well as students of architecture and design)[64]. The interviews covered the creative process, roles in the project, motivations for participating, decision-making hierarchies, designer tools and overall satisfaction with the process and results. All interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded in order to discover common themes among the stories of different actors. In some cases, the informants provided visual material from the process such as photographs, sketches and functions diagrams. In addition, various publications and websites about the projects were reviewed, as well as the author's own notes and photographs from site visits in 2004–2005.

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[64] The interviews, with 15 individuals in total, were exhaustive and lasted between one and one and a half hour. They were made by the author of this article in November 2011. Some interviewees participated in both projects.

Analysis and discussion

The case study was done in retrospect when Palast der Republik had been demolished. It focused on the designing and building phases of the placemaking process, and the people involved in those activities (mainly professionals with different levels of expertise, all inclined towards collaboration due to the way the project was initially framed). The analysis therefore reflects the experiences of participants with various degrees of design skills, rather than a cross-section of all participants. As the interviews were done in retrospect, the interviewees had certainly had time to put things into perspective. Nevertheless, their responses were often emotional and revealed long-lasting engagement and connection to the place. Statements about different roles, and satisfaction/dissatisfaction with them, were dominating among the answers.

The creation process was similar for the two projects; a small group of initiators developed the overall concept, and then gathered a bigger group of participants[65] for the final design and construction. Much of the creative and constructive work was done on site without detailed drawings or design meetings. During Der Berg, a group of approximately 20 people gathered regularly in the mornings to roughly coordinate the construction of different parts.

Roles taken on

The empirical studies revealed several roles that the professional placemakers took on. The traditional role included technical and financial issues, e.g. designing the supporting frame, or making sure that the right solutions were chosen in relation to the overall budget and vision. The involver mainly focused on inviting others to take an active part in the creation process, and delegated control and responsibilities. Once a larger group had become involved, the initiators acted as curators, facilitating communication between the participants, moderating discussions and making sure that the individual parts formed a meaningful totality. An architect involved in both projects described the work like this:

> I think I was more important in the conceptualizing phase. And then in the running phase. […] Our role was to see how this all fits together and who is where, and the organization of the whole thing.

Keeping spirits up when time and resources were scarce was crucial, and the enthusiast therefore had an important role to play. One of the initiating architects concluded:

> [I was constantly] running around and just persuading people that it is going to happen. [I kept saying] I'm sure that we can do it.

To provide less experienced participants with design tools, and to propose how their ideas could materialise, were other frequent tasks. A participating architect reflected:

> One can point out possibilities, and show a multitude and diversity of options. To make it easier for the participants to actively engage, but also in order to open up for a wider discussion about previously not mentioned possibilities. There are examples

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[65] There are no exact figures for the number of participants, only estimations. With between 180 and 200, Der Berg was clearly the bigger project of the two.

of the opposite, where a blank sheet and the question "what would you like" is presented. It is hard for non-professionals to start from scratch; they often need some kind of framework. The professionals can help visualize, clarify and simplify complex preconditions.

Missing roles and related challenges

Several participants felt that they lacked an understanding and overview of the overall concept:

> But then, in the building process, I realized what it is about. So I didn't really know in advance what is going on. But on the other hand I think nobody did.

> From the inside of the building process was very unorganized, very chaotic, very… very narrow minded, in a way.

The main challenge and reason for conflict that the study revealed was indeed communication gaps between various participants. This seems to have originated mainly in insecurity about roles and working methods, and in differences in training and experience. Also, the initiators and participants recounted different understandings about how ideas were being communicated: according to the initiators, conceptual sketches and images were used, whereas the participants mainly recalled oral communication. A work leader – someone to ask for practical advice during construction, someone who could negotiate conflicts – was missing:

> There weren't any clear roles; they were all blending into each other. I experienced taking a lot of initiative myself and sometimes there were collisions with other participants due to different preferences and priorities. […] And there wasn't really anyone to ask for advice about how to solve these conflicts. […] I often felt unsure about what was expected of me.

> It was a very interesting project but it was incredibly exhausting too and these different roles… You had to do so many things that you had never done before. […] There were so many people involved that there wasn't really a communal atmosphere.

The lack of a communal atmosphere during Der Berg was mentioned by many of the interviewees.[66] The large number of participants and the tight time-frame seem to be the main reasons for that. In Manzini's vocabulary, many of the participants of Der Berg experienced being actively but not collaboratively involved, which they found frustrating. From the initiators' point of view, however, the nature of their involvement seemed less problematic:

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[66] An exception to this was a group of students building the hotel, who also cooked and ate together every evening.

There is always lots of freedom to decide about the part you are working on, you can do whatever mostly, and you can also try to influence the whole project if you join early.

The initiators intended to give the participants creative freedom. Many participants, on the other hand, experienced a lack of clarity about their role, and furthermore, that it did not always correspond to the responsibility that they were given:

It was very unclear what you exactly had to do. If you just had to send in an idea or if you had to build the thing yourself.

The sharing of authorship was not always successful:

We were not there [when the design decision was made]. And we could not join them in their process. And I think... Yeah. It's not really our work in the end.

Others seemed to find it less problematic:

I think you could influence as much or little as you wanted, and I think in most cases people were happier if you did more than less because it was quite a lot of work.

From one initiator's point of view, the sharing of authorship was valid only for certain parts:

About the things that were really important for the authorities – to get the permissions to do it - I said 'it has to be like this'. But for the art things there was more discussion.

The view on sharing of planning and decision-making responsibilities (Arnstein's definition of partnership) was thus split.

Participant involvement and interaction quality

Both studied projects are examples of collaboration between actors with various levels of design expertise. When comparing the two, however, Fassadenrepublik – the smaller one both in terms of scale and number of participants – was more successful in terms of co-creation. The participants felt collaboratively involved and had a better understanding of the overall vision (Figure 7). This resulted in a personal connection to the project, an experience of being part of a creative community:

In Fassadenrepublik more because it was not so big and the people taking part were not so split up between all these small projects like it was in Der Berg where people didn't really see each other, they were all connected to their corner. But in Fassadenrepublik we were like a family.

The process of Der Berg was experienced as much less coherent. One participant recalls:

> We did have meetings but as we split up quite soon in areas of responsibility, we didn't talk too much about the whole at a certain point, because it was just not possible anymore. Because it was so big no one could have the overview really.
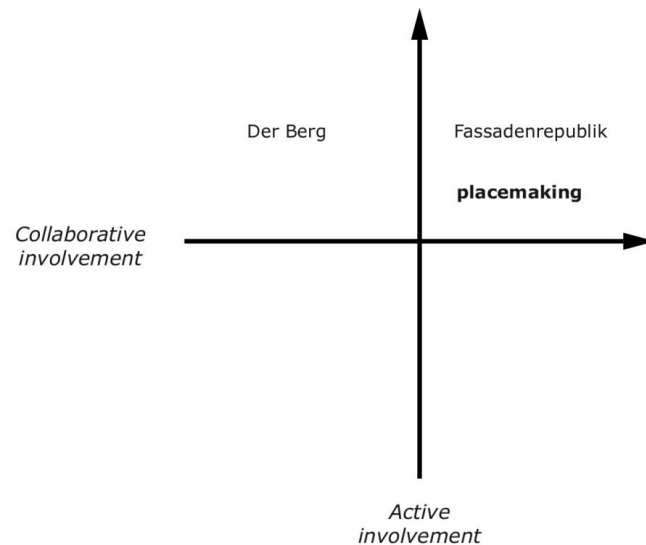

Figure 7. The participants of Fassadenrepublik felt more collaboratively involved than those of Der Berg. Based on Manzini's map of participant involvement (Manzini, 2015:107).

Involvement was, during both projects, clearly based on voluntariness and passion for the topic. Both could, therefore, be posited on the right side of Manzini's interaction quality map. However, the social tie strength varied. The professional participants originated mainly from the initiators' personal networks and experienced strong social ties. They had a long-lasting commitment to the initiators as well as to the built result. For the students, the ties were weaker. They found collaboration less problematic in terms of what was expected of them, and their tasks were often smaller and less conceptual (Figure 8).[67]

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[67] Many did it as *Baupraktikum* within their architecture studies (i.e. to get practical experience of construction).

Professional
participants

placemaking

Relational
intensity

students

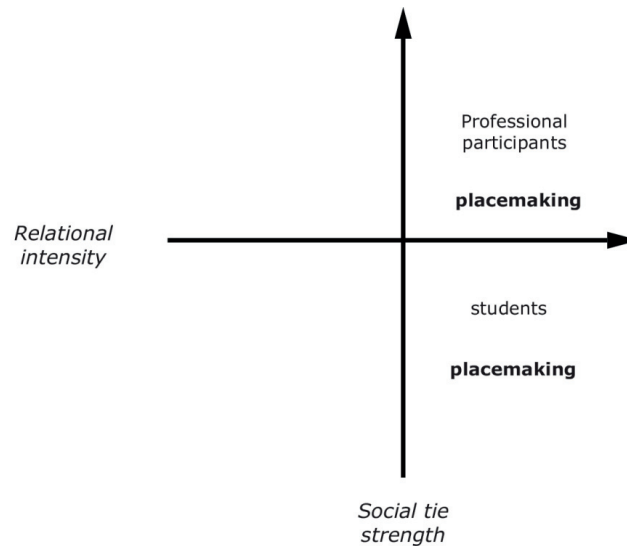**placemaking**

Social tie
strength

Figure 8. The students experienced weaker social ties than the professional participants, and found collaboration less problematic. Based on Manzini's map of interaction quality (Manzini, 2015:109).

The initiators' ambition of getting people with no previous connection to each other to discuss the future of the place, to collectively investigate what the place could become, and take active part in the modifications of the space were reached by the placemaking processes. And very many people were indeed able to experience the building in person. The ambition to create a place for free artistic production, however, was more difficult to fulfil. With the aim of placemaking being co-creative place production, individual efforts are always part of a larger oeuvre. Free artistic production is more in accordance with do-it-yourself, i.e. active but not collaborative involvement. (Manzini 2015:107) The interviewed participants of Fassadenrepublik experienced partnership, i.e. they were sharing planning and decision-making responsibilities (Arnstein, 1969:221), whereas many of the participants of Der Berg rather described placation, which allows participants to advise but not to decide. (ibid. p. 217) This in spite of the initiators' ambition of placing the participants on the top stick of Arnstein's ladder (Figure 9).
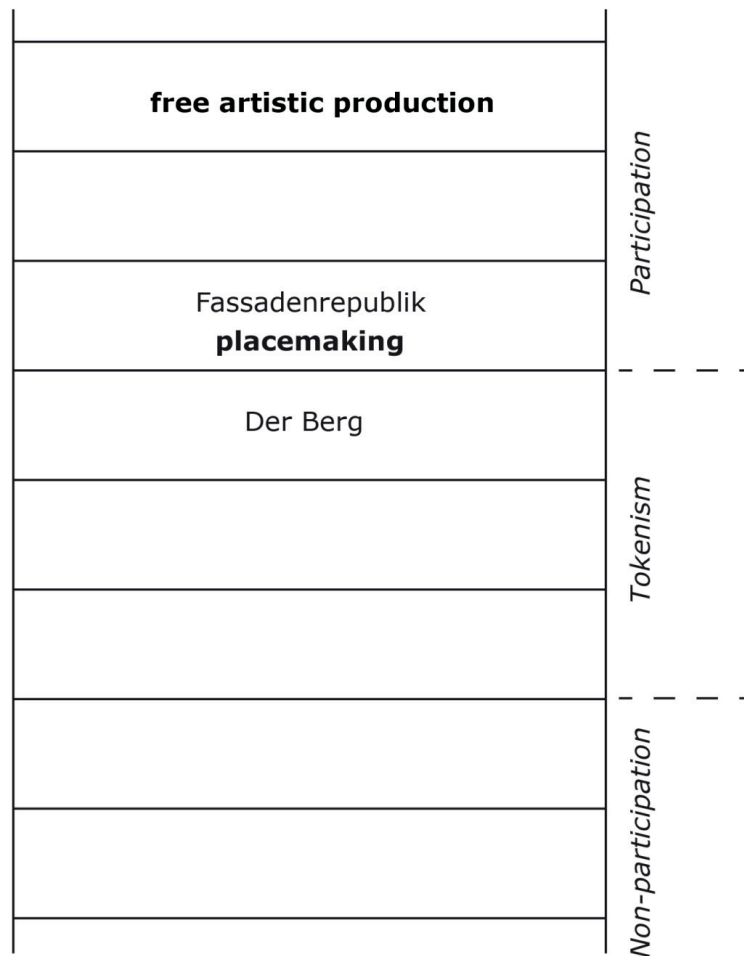
Figure 9. The involvement during Fassadenrepublik could be classified as participation, but during Der Berg rather as tokenism according to many interviewees. Free artistic freedom resembles do-it-yourself and is on the highest stick of the ladder. Based on Arnstein's ladder of participation (Arnstein, 1969:217).

Summary

Co-creation did take place during both studied placemaking processes, even though only partially during Der Berg. There, the intended "open discussion about the future of the place" was blurred due to communications gaps, lack of overview, and confusion regarding roles. The initiators sent out contradictory messages: community building (placemaking) and artistic freedom (do-it-yourself) simultaneously. This left many participants of Der Berg in a conceptual paradox.

The results of the case study showed some deviations from the roles found in the reviewed literature. The difference between traditional and new designer roles appeared less distinct in practice: the professional placemakers acted in the traditional designer role during some phases of the project, and in one or more of the new roles during other phases. The roles often overlapped or blended into each other, and the professionals struggled with finding the appropriate balance between them. "The involver" and "the enthusiast" were not discussed in the reviewed literature, but were pointed out as important by the participants in both projects. The involver appears particularly important for engaging people who are new to the design context. For placemaking in public space the involver might even be a precondition for an open and inclusive process. Only if knowing how to contribute, the general public can become co-creators. This adds a democratic dimension to the new professional roles. Furthermore, a "metadesigner" ensuring robust structures for participant involvement throughout the processes was missing, as well as a "negotiator" addressing conflicts in a constructive, agonistic manner. The critical point for co-creation, to disconnect the sense of overview from claiming exclusive authorship of the built result, did therefore only partially succeed. The lack of a routine for professional self-analysis – systematically analysing one's own actions to verify that intentions become reality – might be one reason for this (Figure 10).

ROLES FOUND IN THEORY
Curator - *connecting people & opportunities*
Metadesigner - *preparing for (re)design-in-use*
Facilitator - *providing/teaching design tools*
Negotiator - *addressing conflict*

ROLES FOUND IN PRACTICE
Traditional designer
Involver - *inviting others to take part*
Curator - *connecting people & opportunities*
Enthusiast - *keeping spirits up*
Facilitator - *providing/teaching design tools*

ROLES MISSING IN PRACTICE
Metadesigner - *preparing for (re)design-in-use*
Negotiator - *addressing conflict*

Figure 10. Overview of the roles found and the roles pointed out as missing in the studied projects compared to those found in the reviewed literature.

The two models presented in the literature review – Arnstein's and Manzini's - are complementing each other, illustrating two different perspectives on involvement in the studied cases. In an urban development context, placemaking entails co-creation of public space, and as such, a materialisation of public debate. If based on agonism, this materialisation has the potential to reflect the diversity of the contex within which it was created. A multi-dimensional view on involvement, such as Manzini's, corresponds with this pluralistic framing of placemaking, whereas a hierarchical representation, such as Arnstein's, risks framing it merely as a struggle for decision-making power. Manzini's maps thus appear better suited for the assessing the involvement implied by placemaking. In co-creation, it is crucial to have someone looking after the totality and making sure that individual parts do not restrict each other or become too dominant. With a metadesigner, aware of the previously described challenges and trained in turning antagonism into agonsim, co-creation can present diversity within a coherent framework. However, in order to become relevant for placemaking in public space, the metadesign has to include infrastructuring for the building phase in addition to the initial design and design-in-use phases.

Concluding reflections

This paper argues that placemaking in public space needs to be based on the philosophy of co-creation. Co-creation requires all participants – regardless of their level of expertise – to leave space for others to get involved as well, and thereby share influence over the outcome. If one does not understand and feel part of the overarching concept, it becomes difficult to feel free and confident in shaping individual parts. A combination of active and collaborative involvement is crucial – co-creation is different from do-it-yourself. The dynamic of the Brazilian game Capoeira can illustrate this principle of taking turns: all participants stand in a circle, singing and either clapping hands or playing an instrument. Two of them then decide to step into the middle of the circle and perform various movements for a while. When someone else steps in, one of them goes back to the circle. All participants need to both step in and out of the middle in order for the dynamic to work. If not, the session ends (Figure 11). If the preconditions and limitations for placemaking are clearly stated - i.e. which parts can or cannot be co-created - the sharing of authorship can become smoother. Atelier d'architecture autogérée describes the co-creation process as: "a 'collective bricolage' in which individuals are able to […] 'collage their own collage onto other collages', in order to discover a common project." (Petrescu 2007:45) Protectionism regarding ideas and designs is discordant with co-creation. A shift in professional attitude is therefore required if placemaking is to be practiced in the development of public space.

Figure 11. A Capoeira session in Brasilia. Taking turns in stepping in and out of the circle is crucial for the dynamic to work. (Photo: Sven Teder)

Placemaking implies embracing a coaching attitude toward those formerly called clients or users. As a consequence, professional placemakers – such as architects and designers – have new roles to grow into. Involving other actors in the creation process from the very beginning, providing design tools, motivating and keeping spirits up when time and resources might be scarce, and assisting in trying things out at full scale before final designs are agreed upon, are important aspects of a co-creative approach. The notions of agonism, metadesign and infrastructuring can provide a deeper understanding of the challenges involved in the new roles. Addressing conflicts in co-creation is about accepting differences and making them visible, turning them into diversity rather than rivalry. Conscious infrastructuring ensures involvement of various stakeholders throughout a placemaking process – from initial design, through construction to place use and management. However, neither being a curator, a facilitator, or a negotiator is part of the professional training of architects and designers today. Therefore, larger system changes in terms of adapted educational programmes appear necessary in order to fully implement co-creation in placemaking.

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Appendix D

This part constitutes a short version of the thesis intended for non-academic practitioners and the general public. It is based on the material from a lecture and seminar series created for the municipality of Malmö in February 2018. The original Swedish version of the text is kept in italics.
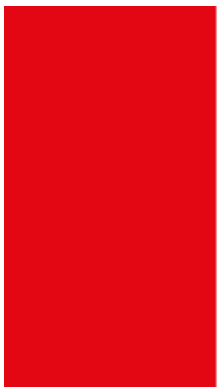
Point of departure – Berlin sidewalks

This thesis originates from observations made in practice, giving rise to a curiosity about the conditions that encourage, or discourage, people to interact with public environments. Working at the City Planning Office in Malmö, I noticed how the creation of new public spaces often caused dissatisfaction among planners and architects as well as the public, as they were not used the way they were planned for. In many cases, the public even seemed to prefer "undesigned" places to the ones that had been carefully developed by professionals. Based on these experiences I have investigated the concept placemaking. The aim has been to define what placemaking means to architects and urban designers in theory and practice, as well as pointing at possibilities and consequences, and for whom. The streetscape of Berlin, with its many informal place modifications and additions (see the images above where a few paving stones have been removed in order to create a flowerbed and a beach bar), inspired me and became my starting point. These citizen-initiated modifications clearly added something to the places, but what? And could similar qualities be achieved in a more formalized way?

Den här avhandlingen har sitt ursprung i observationer i yrkeslivet, som gjorde mig nyfikenhet på de omständigheter som uppmuntrar, eller avhåller, människor från att interagera med en offentlig miljö. När jag arbetade på Malmö stadsbyggnadskontor la jag märke till att nya offentliga platser ofta orsakade missnöje hos såväl arkitekter och planerare som hos allmänheten, eftersom de inte användes så som det varit tänkt. I många fall verkade allmänheten tom. tycka bättre om "icke-designade" platser, dvs. platser

som inte blivit formellt planerade utan uppstått spontant. Utifrån dessa erfarenheter har jag undersökt begreppet placemaking (platsskapande). Syftet har varit att definiera och konkretisera begreppet specifikt för arkitekter och stadsplanerare, samt att peka på möjligheter och konsekvenser när man tillämpar detta, och för vem. Berlins trottoarer med sina många exempel på informellt och temporärt platsskapande (se bilderna ovan där några trottoarstenar lyfts bort för att ge plats åt en rabatt respektive en strandbar) inspirerade mig och blev min utgångspunkt. Jag frågade mig vad de specifika kvaliteterna hos dessa platser - initierade av invånarna själva - var? Och kunde denna typ av platsskapande översättas till mer formella processer?
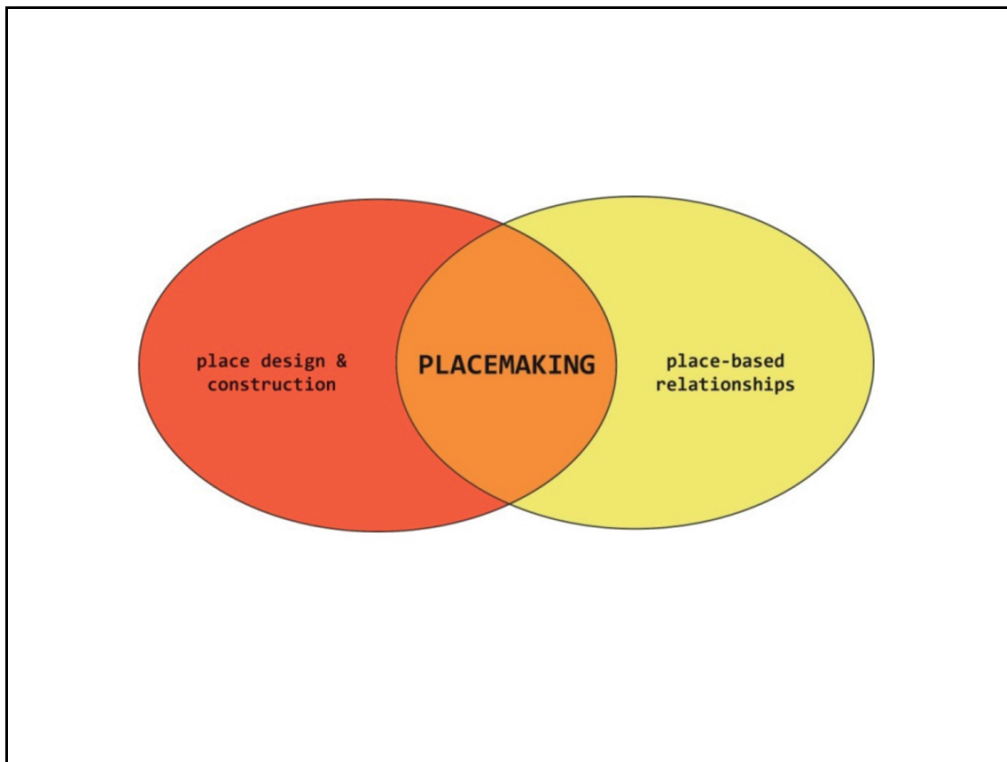
There are many definitions of placemaking ranging from a tool for economic development to community building. Placemaking is the simultaneous building of physical objects and relationships; relationships between people, and relationships between people and places. Ultimately, it is about transforming built environments into lifeworlds, and in public space this transformation is based on collaboration.

Det finns många olika definitioner av placemaking: från ett verktyg för ekonomisk utveckling till att bygga grannskaper/gemenskaper (community building). Placemaking är en kombination av fysiskt platsbyggande och skapande av platsrelationer – relationer mellan mäniskor och relationer mellan människor och platser. Ytterst handlar det om att omvandla byggda miljöer till livsmiljöer, och när detta görs på offentliga platser sker det under samskapande.

Placemaking is much about attitude. All participants – professionals as well as non-professionals – have to leave space for others to get involved and thereby share influence over the outcome. If one does not understand and feel part of the overarching concept, then it becomes difficult to feel free and confident in shaping individual parts. A combination of active and collaborative involvement is crucial – collaboration is different from do-it-yourself. The dynamic of the Brazilian game Capoeira can illustrate this principle of taking turns: all participants stand in a circle, singing and either clapping hands or playing an instrument. Two of them then decide to step into the middle of the circle and perform various movements for a while. When someone else steps in, one of them goes back to the circle. All participants need to both step in and out of the middle in order for the dynamic to work. If not, the session ends.

Placemaking handlar mycket om attityd. Alla deltagare – såväl professionella som icke-professionella – måste ge plats åt varandra i skapandeprocessen. Om man inte förstår och känner sig delaktig i helheten är det svårt att känna sig fri och självsäker i att utforma fristående delar. En kombination av aktivt och kollaborativt deltagande är essentiellt – samskapande är något annat än do-it-yourself. Den brasilianska sporten capoeira illustrerar denna princip om att turas om; alla deltagare står i en ring, och sjunger, klappar händer eller spelar något instrument. Två av dem bestämmer sig för att kliva in i mitten av cirkeln och utföra vissa rörelser under en tid. Om någon annan kliver in, kliver en av dem ut i ringen

igen. Alla deltagare måste både kliva in och ut ur mitten av ringen för att dynamiken ska fungera. Annars avstannar sessionen.
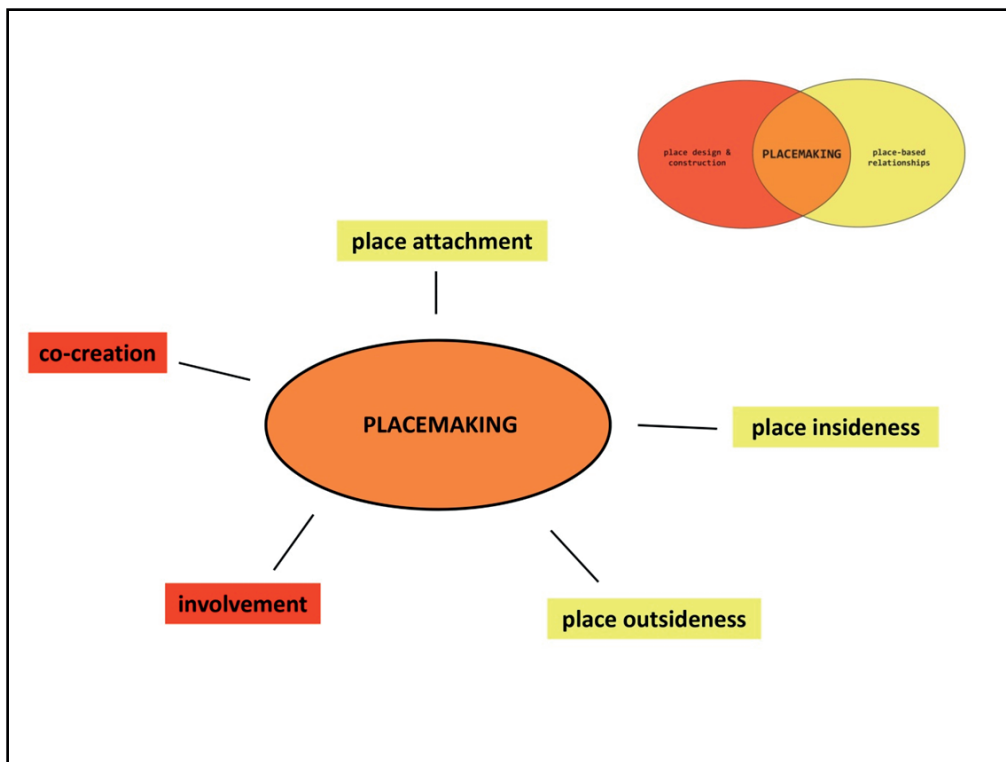
I am using five key concepts to describe the creation of lifeworlds that placemaking implies. Both professional and non-professional placemakers, as well as emotional engagement, are needed in order for placemaking to become successful in public places. This is described by the yellow concepts connected to place relations: place attachment, place insideness, and place outsideness. Professional placemakers are, for example, architects, designers, landscape architects, and urban planners. A non-professional placemaker is anyone interested in creating a place without having professional training in doing so. The red concepts – involvement and co-creation – are related to physical place building, and describe how involvement is not merely about the sharing of power (as described, for example, in Sherry Arnstein's "Ladder of citizen participation" from 1969), but as much about interaction quality and social learning.

Jag använder mig av fem nyckelbegrepp för att beskriva det byggande av livsmiljöer som placemaking innebär. Både professionella och icke-professionella aktörer behövs för att placemaking ska kunna ske på offentliga platser, liksom ett känslomässigt engagemang, vilket de gula begreppen – platsanknytning (place attachment), platsinnanförskap (place insideness), och platsutanförskap (place outsideness) – som är kopplade till platsrelationer beskriver. Professionella aktörer är t.ex. arkitekter, designers, landskapsarkitekter och stadsplanerare. Icke-professionella aktörer är alla som är intresserade av att skapa en plats utan att ha det som sitt yrke. De röda begreppen – delaktighet (involvement) och samskapande (co-creation) – berör det fysiska platsbyggandet, och beskriver hur delaktighet inte enbart

handlar om maktfördelning (så som t.ex. Sherry Arnsteins trappa från 1969 – The ladder of citizen participation – beskriver det), utan deltagandets karaktär är lika viktig.

Castro Plaza

4 Barrel Coffee Parklet

Case 1: San Francisco – Pavement to Parks

Based on these five key concepts I carried out two case studies. Pavement to Parks was initiated by the Mayor of San Francisco in 2008, and seeks to temporarily transform underused street spaces into green public places. Each Pavement to Parks project is intended to be a public laboratory, testing new ideas together with the local communities. The programme tests new methods for urban development on two different scales: plazas and parklets. Plazas are the result of stepwise transformations of underused paved surfaces such as large intersections. The locations are initially pointed out by a team from various municipal departments (including the San Francisco Planning Department), and interested citizens can influence the design during two test phases. Parklets are smaller in scale and signify a temporary transformation of parking spaces. They are based on Public–Private Partnerships, where citizens apply for a permit to create and maintain mini-parks for the general public on a yearly basis. This case study mainly focused on the concepts covering place relations – place attachment and place belonging – and how these concepts can materialize through active involvement during place creation.

Med utgångspunkt i dessa fem huvudteorierteorier gjorde jag två fallstudier. Projektet Pavement to Parks i San Francisco initierades av stadens borgmästare 2008 och handlar kortfattat om att omvandla onödigt stora eller underutnyttjade asfaltytor till gröna platser som kan komma allmänheten till glädje. Varje Pavement to Parks-projekt ska vara ett publikt laboratorium som testar nya idéer tillsammans med invånarna. Omvandlingen görs i två olika skalor och kategoriseras om plazas eller parklets. Plazas är

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större ytor som kommunen väljer ut, och som intresserade invånare sedan kan vara med och påverka utformningen av under en eller två testfaser. Parklets är parkeringsplatser som på invånarnas eget initiativ omvandlas till gröna sitt-, lek-, eller umgängesplatser för allmänheten under ett år i taget genom att initiativtagaren ansöker om ett särskilt tillstånd hos kommunen. Huvudfokus i denna fallstudie låg på de begrepp som behandlar platsrelationer – platsanknytning och platstillhörighet – och hur dessa materialiseras genom delaktighet under utformningen.

The Jane Warner Plaza, located in the Castro district, was one of the first Pavement to Parks pilot projects. Prior to the transformation it was a large intersection for cars and street cars (top left picture). The first phase (Pavement to Parks Demonstration) lasted a year and included moveable seating (chairs) and planters made of cardboard tubes (top right picture). After being evaluated for a year, the place was upgraded to a Pavement to Parks Trial Plaza, and was given a greater sense of enclosure by low concrete walls, more seating and more greenery (bottom left picture). The Plaza was converted into a permanent public space in August 2013 (bottom right picture). (All images by The San Francisco Planning Department except the bottom left one.)

Jane Warner plaza ligger i Castro-distriktet och var ett av de första omvandlingsprojekten. Innan omvandlingen var det en stor vägkorsning för bilar och spårvagnar (bilden uppe till vänster). Den första fasen (som kallas demonstration) varade under ett år. Då fanns flyttbara stolar och bord på platsen, liksom stora blomkrukor av papp och små betongblock som avgränsning mot trafiken (bilden uppe till höger). Under testfasen (trial), som varade i tre år, fanns större, men fortfarande flyttbara, planteringar i riktiga krukor, liksom högre (fasta) betongelement (bilden nere till vänster). Efter det gjordes en utvärdering och kommunen kom fram till att platsen var mer lämplig som offentligt torg än som vägkorsning, och den fick en permanent utformning 2013 (bilden nere till höger). (Alla bilder utom den nere till vänster är tagna av San Francisco Planning Department.)
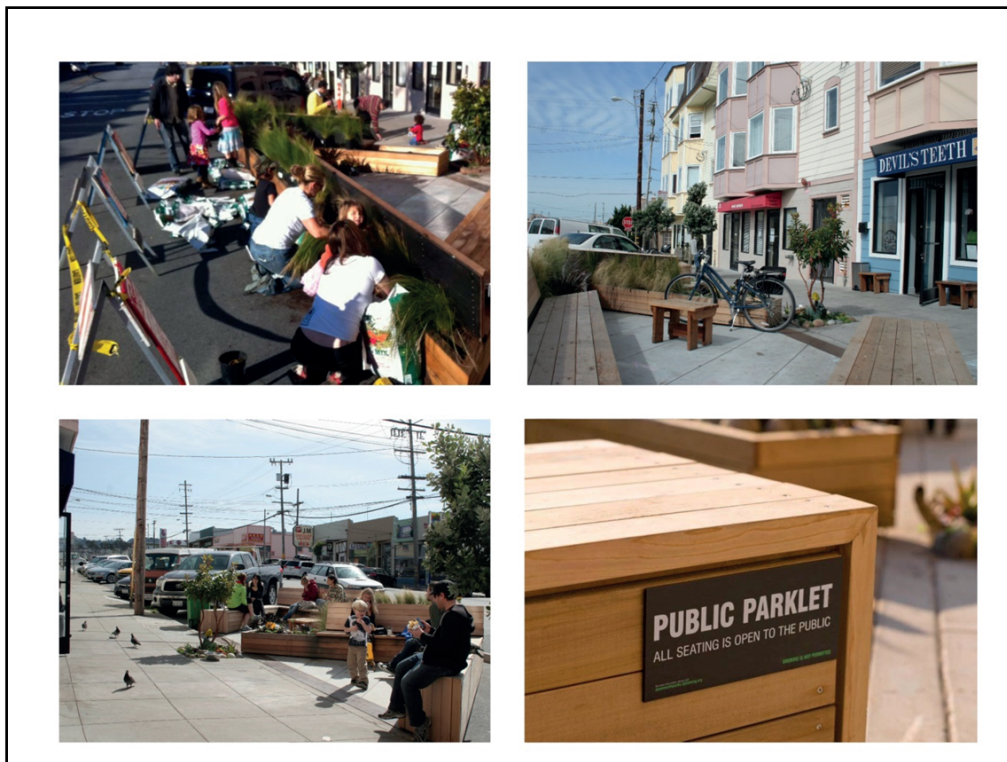
Devils' Teeth Baking Company parklet is located on the main street in the Outer Sunset District (a residential area). It was initiated by the owner of the bakery, as there was previously no place to sit outside on the block. A local architect donated the design pro bono, and another community member drew the planting scheme and helped organise a community planting day with donated plants (top left picture, by Shane Curnyn). The parklet replaces three diagonal parking spaces and provides seating in two clusters, space for bikes, strollers and playing, and protective greenery to the street. Since its completion, the parklet has been frequently used by the local community and bakery customers from other parts of the city. The bakery hands out drawing chalk for children, biscuits for dogs, and sometimes uses the space for various festivities and events. The parklet is also being used by community members as a social space after closing hours. The bottom right picture shows a sign that has to be clearly visible on all parklets. It clarifies that the parklet is a public space where everyone is welcome to linger, with or without purchase at the hosting business.

Devils' Teeth Baking Company parklet ligger på affärsgatan i bostadsområdet Outer Sunset strax utanför centrum. Den initierades av ägaren till bageriet för att tillföra kvarteret och gatumiljön något positivt i form av sittplatser och sociala ytor. En lokal arkitekt gjorde designen och många boende i området var med och planterade växter som de själva donerade (bilden uppe till vänster). Parkleten, som ersätter tre parkeringsplatser, är nu en populär mötesplats för hela området, och det kommer även folk

från andra delar av staden (både för att se parkleten och för att köpa bageriets berömda kanelbullar). Det finns små flyttbara möbler, hundkex och kritor att rita med på trottoaren. Platsen används flitigt även på kvällar och de dagar då bageriet är stängt, och många sitter där och äter sin take away mat från mataffären på andra sidan gatan även när bageriet är öppet. Bilden nere till höger visar en skylt som ska sitta väl synlig på alla parklets. Den tydliggör att det rör sig om en offentlig plats där alla är välkomna oavsett om de köpt något eller ej (till skillnad från en regelrätt uteservering).
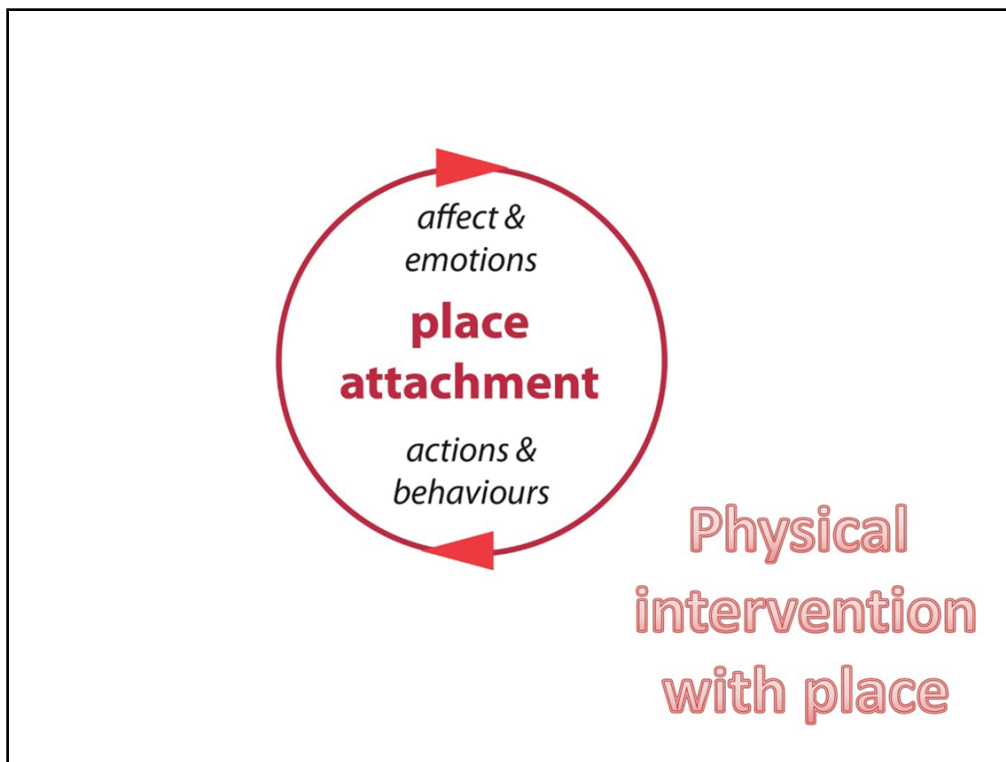
The place attachment theory describes how affective bonds arise between people and specific places. The bond makes people want to stay close to, and care for the places in question. It is a self-reinforcing spiral where experiences and/or making physical adjustments to a place fosters emotions, and these emotions in turn create a tendency to care for and further modify the valued environment. Place attachment can arise both on an individual and community level. It is an interdisciplinary concept originating in environmental psychology. What makes it particularly interesting in relation to architecture and urban planning is the idea of place meaning arising through place related actions (i.e. through activities such as building, modifying, or using a built structure) rather than being attached to place as an object. Following this, place attachment cannot be created for others by, for example, planners and architects, but has to be experienced in person.

Platsanknytningsteorin (place attachment) beskriver hur känslomässiga band uppstår mellan människor och platser. Det handlar om en självförstärkande spiral där upplevelser och/eller att vara med och göra fysiska förändringar på en plats ger upphov till känslor, som i sin tur föder vidare engagemang för platsen. Dessa känslomässiga band kan man uppleva såväl som individ som del av ett kollektiv eller en grupp. Place attachment är ett tvärvetenskapligt begrepp med ursprung i miljöpsykologin. Det som gör det särskilt intressant i förhållande till arkitektur och stadsplanering är tanken om att platsens mening skapas genom praktiker (dvs. när man gör något kopplat till en plats, så som att bygga, förändra eller

använda den), snarare än att vara inneboende i byggda objekt i sig. Det är, enligt denna teori, därför svårt att skapa platsmening åt andra.

For me, as an architect, citizen interaction with the physical, built environment is particularly interesting to study. The photos above (from Sevedsplan in Malmö) show an example of how place attachment can take physical shape. The inhabitants in an apartment building have decorated their entrance with a mosaic in order to show that they care about the streetscape where they live, and to make it more personal.

För mig som arkitekt är invånarnas interaktion med just den fysiska, byggda miljön intressant att studera. På bilden ovan (från Sevedsplan i Malmö) kan man se ett exempel på hur platsanknytning kan ta sig fysiska uttryck. De boende i ett flerfamiljshus har dekorerat sin entré med en mosaik för att visa att de bryr sig om gatumiljön där de bor och för att göra den mer personlig.

Scannell, Leila, and Gifford, Robert, "Defining place attachment: A tripartite organizing framework" in Journal of Environmental Psychology, 30, pp. 1-10, 2010
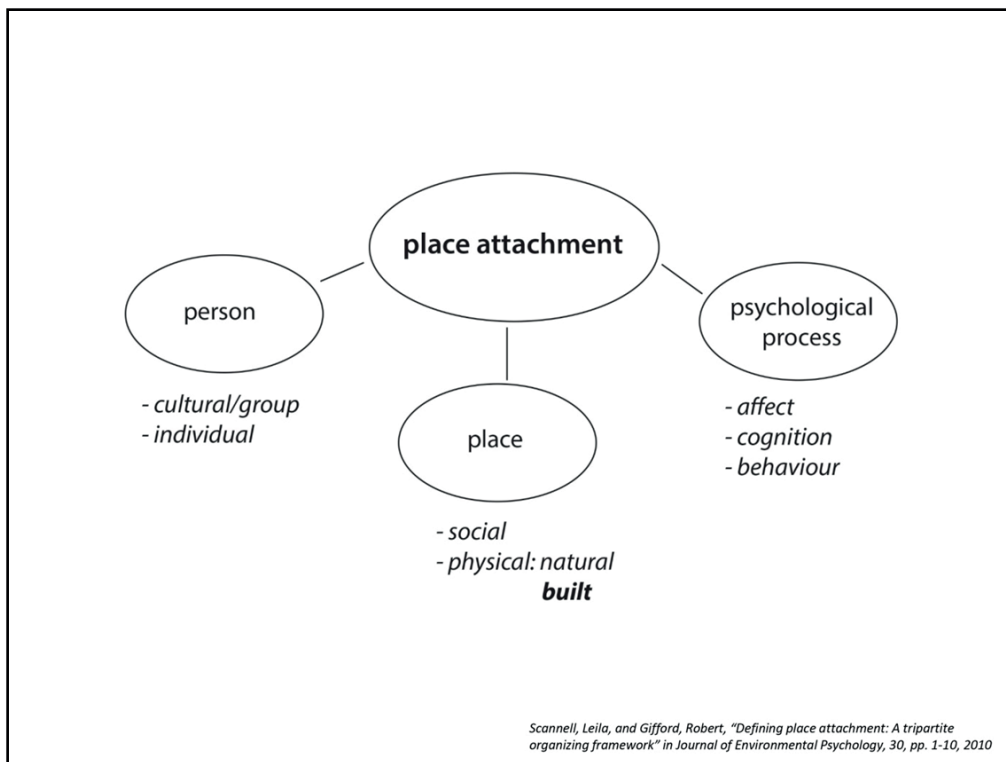
This thesis focuses on how the character of built places (as opposed to natural environments), and the way in which they have been created and are being used, is related to the appearance of place attachment. The image above, created by environmental psychologists Leila Scannell and Robert Gifford (2010), gives an overview of all the other parameters that are decisive too for the appearance of place attachment (but are out of scope for this thesis).

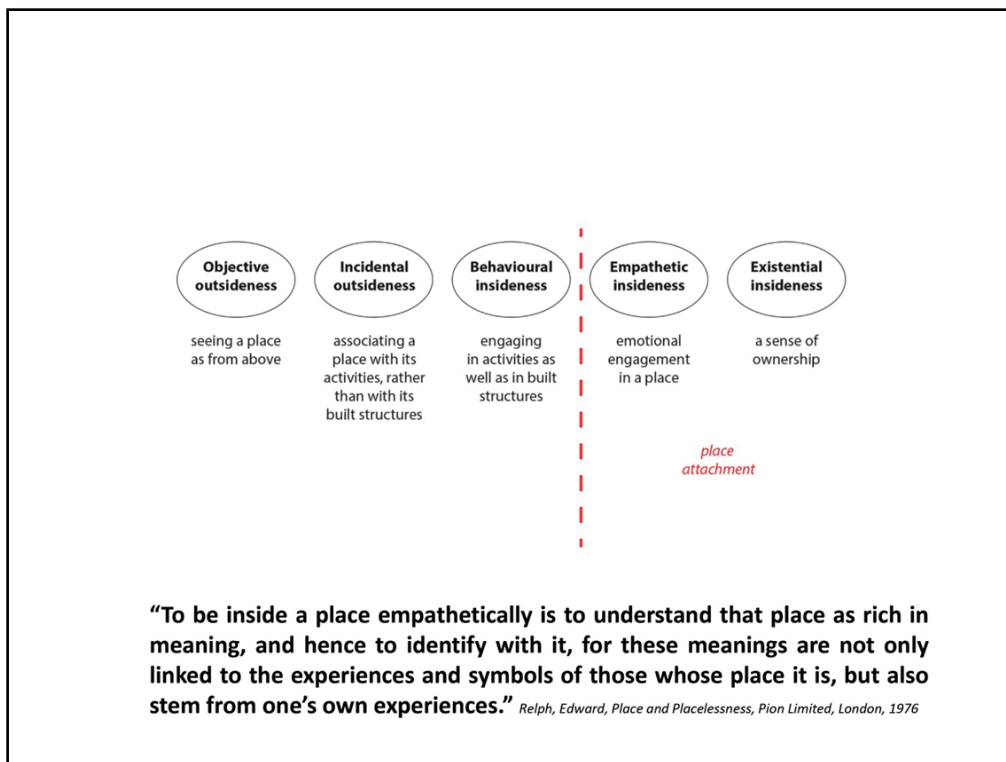*Denna avhandling fokuserar på hur karaktären hos byggda platser (i motsats till naturliga miljöer), och sättet de kommit till och används på, är relaterat till förekomsten av platsanknytning. Bilden ovan, som är framtagen av miljöpsykologerna Leila Scannell och Robert Gifford (2010) visar även övriga faktorer som spelar in för förekomsten av platsanknytning (men som alltså ligger utanför omfattningen för min avhandling).*
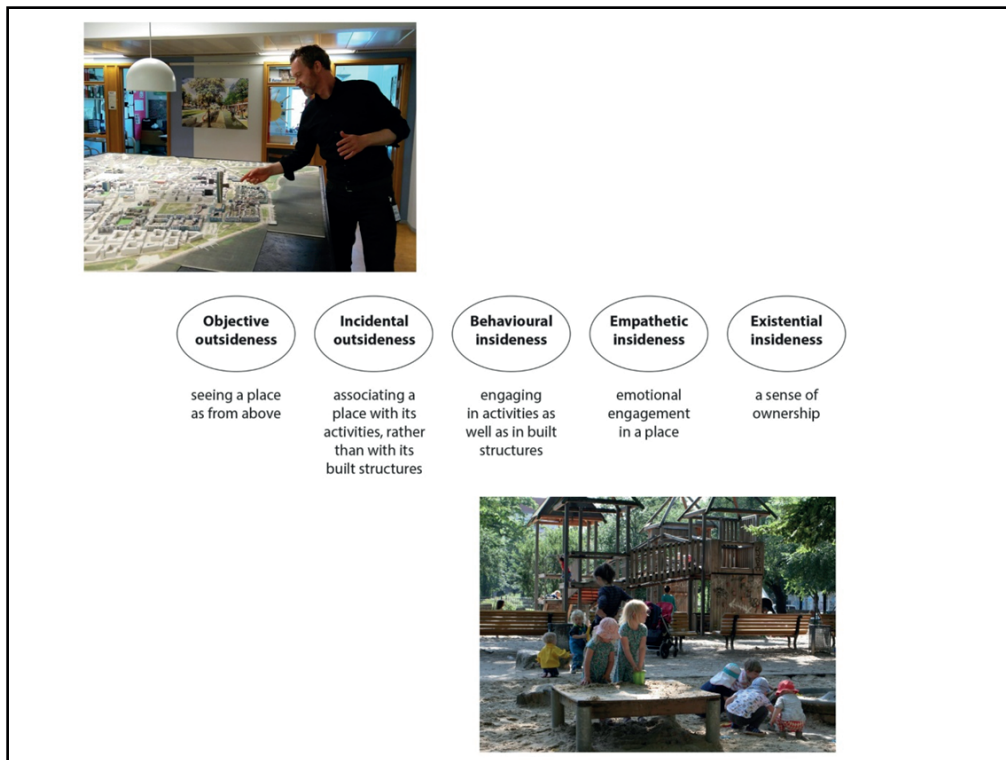
Objective outsideness — seeing a place as from above

Incidental outsideness — associating a place with its activities, rather than with its built structures

Behavioural insideness — engaging in activities as well as in built structures

Empathetic insideness — emotional engagement in a place

Existential insideness — a sense of ownership

Involvement in a place can be either self-conscious or unselfconscious. To explore this in relation to place belonging, geographer Edward Relph (1976) set up the dichotomy of place insideness and place outsideness. Our intentions regarding a place position us as either outsiders or insiders in relation to that place, and the levels most relevant for the scope of this thesis are shown in the image above. Objective outsideness suggests a self-imposed distance towards a place, considering it merely as a geographical position where objects and/or activities are located. This attitude is, according to Relph, adopted by many planners when making proposals for reorganization of places. Objective outsideness makes it possible to separate oneself emotionally from a place in order to restructure it based on logic, reason, and efficiency. Incidental outsideness is the most common relationship that people have to public space. A place is then associated with the functions and activities that are going on there, rather than with its built structures. Behavioural insideness implies being in a place, attending to both its built structures and activities, but without emotional engagement. Empathetic insideness involves emotional engagement. It does not, however, signify ownership, but rather personal experience of a place and emotional engagement in it. Existential insideness is the outermost form of insideness and occurs when a place, without deliberate reflection, is experienced as full with significance. This is the insideness that most people feel in their homes or

hometowns. In short, place outsiders experience a place from a distance/as from above, while place insiders experience and understand it from within/in experience-based detail.

Engagemang i en plats kan vara antingen medvetet eller omedvetet. Platsinnanförskap (place insideness) och platsutanförskap (place outsideness) är en teori utvecklad av geografen Edward Relph (1976) och illustrerar ett spektrum av platstillhörighet. Våra intentioner i förhållande till en plats gör oss till antingen place outsiders eller place insiders, och de nivåer som är mest relevanta för den här avhandlingen visas i bilden ovan. Objektivt utanförskap innebär en självpåtagen distans där man betraktar en plats enbart som en geografisk punkt där olika aktiviteter äger rum. Denna position anammas, enligt Relph, ofta av stadsplanerare när de ska skapa en miljö. Den gör det möjligt att studera och strukturera en plats utifrån logik, rationalitet och effektivitet. Oavsiktligt utanförskap är den relation som de flesta människorna har till offentliga platser. Då associerar man platsen främst med de aktiviteter som pågår där, snarare än med dess byggda strukturer. Beteendemässigt utanförskap innebär att man befinner sig på en plats och är medveten om såväl dess byggda strukturer som de aktiviteter och funktioner som äger rum där. Detta sker dock utan känslomässigt engagemang i platsen som sådan. Empatiskt innanförskap, däremot, innefattar ett känslomässigt engagemang, men utan att man därför känner ett ägarskap. Det innebär istället att man har personliga upplevelser av en plats. Existensiellt innanförskap är den yttersta formen av innanförskap och innebär att man, omedvetet, ser en plats som full av mening. Denna typ av platsinnanförskap känner de allra flest människor för sin bostad eller sin hemstad. Kortfattat kan man säga att place outsiders upplever en plats på distans/uppifrån, medan place insiders upplever och förstår den inifrån/på en upplevelsebaserad detaljnivå.

Objective outsideness — seeing a place as from above

Incidental outsideness — associating a place with its activities, rather than with its built structures

Behavioural insideness — engaging in activities as well as in built structures

Empathetic insideness — emotional engagement in a place

Existential insideness — a sense of ownership

place attachment

"To be inside a place empathetically is to understand that place as rich in meaning, and hence to identify with it, for these meanings are not only linked to the experiences and symbols of those whose place it is, but also stem from one's own experiences." Relph, Edward, Place and Placelessness, Pion Limited, London, 1976

Looking at place attachment in relation to Relph's theory about place belonging, one can see that place attachment corresponds with place insideness as it is based on emotional engagement in a place and its development.
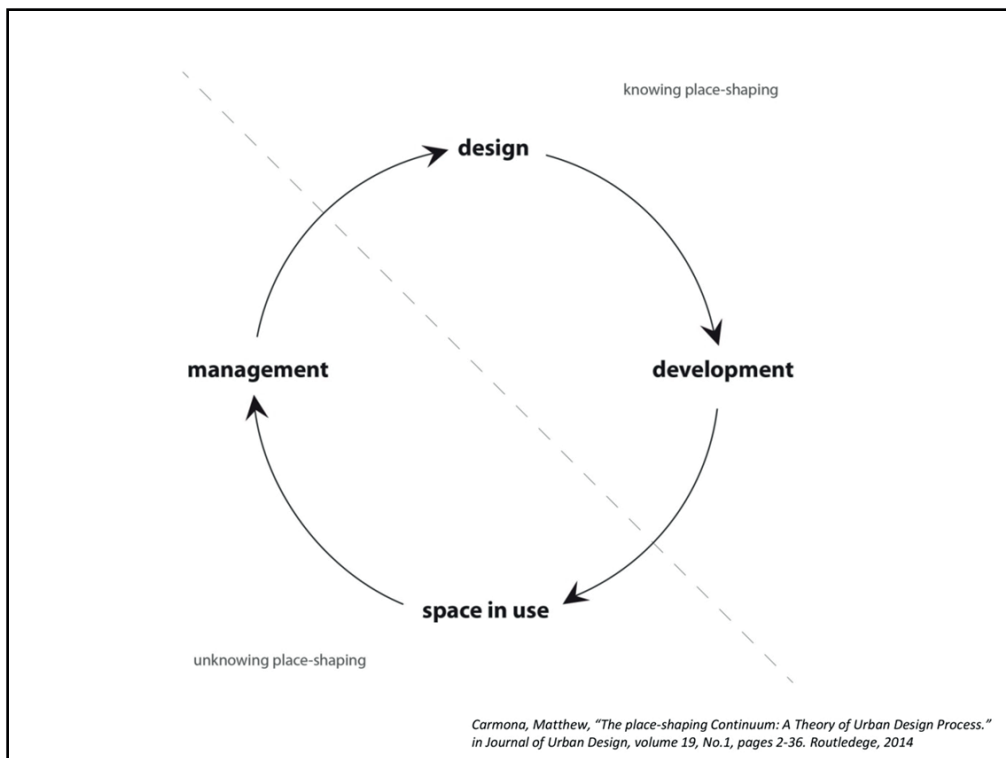
Om man tittar på platsanknytning i förhållande till Relph's teori om platstillhörighet, så ser man att platsanknytning är relaterat till platsinnanförskap eftersom det bygger på ett känslomässigt engagemang i platsen och dess utveckling.
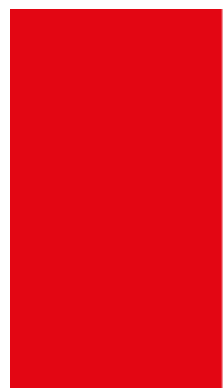
Place insideness might sound like entirely positive, but, when discussing public space, existential insideness entails a (sometimes) excluding feeling of ownership. This might result in exclusion of other user groups, which in turn compromises the publicness of the place. Above, an example from Malmö – Stapelbäddsparken in the Western Harbour – is shown. There, the skateboarders regard the place (which technically belongs to all citizens in Malmö) as theirs, and therefore try to limit the access for others by constraining the tolerated use to skateboarding and inlines. (The sign says "Within the red line you are only allowed to use skateboards and inlines.")

Platsinnanförskap är inte odelat positivt när man pratar om offentliga rum, även om det kan låta så. Den mest extrema formen som kallas existentiellt innanförskap, och som innebär att man känner ett exkluderande ägarskap för platsen, äventyrar ibland platsens offentlighet då andra brukargrupper kan känna sig ovälkomna. Ovan ses ett exempel från Malmö – Stapelbäddsparken i Västra Hamnen - där de som åker skateboard känner att platsen (som tekniskt sett tillhör alla malmöbor) är deras, och därför försöker begränsa andra invånares tillgång till platsen genom att begränsa dess användning till just skateboardåkning och inlines.

Carmona, Matthew, "The place-shaping Continuum: A Theory of Urban Design Process." in Journal of Urban Design, volume 19, No.1, pages 2-36. Routledege, 2014

Architect Matthew Carmona's (2014) place-shaping continuum is useful in order to translate placemaking into something that practitioners (i.e. both professional and non-professional placemakers) can relate to. He defines four place-shaping processes influencing a built environment: design, development, space-in-use, and management. These should not be considered as a series of isolated activities, but as one integrated process over time. Carmona further divides placemaking into knowing (the design and development phases) and unknowing (the use and management phases) place-shaping. His notions form an image of the entire placemaking process and show how places are shaped *for*, as well as *through*, use. Different actors can be active during different phases of the continuum.

För att översätta placemaking till något som praktiker (dvs. både professionella och icke-professionella platsskapare) lätt kan relatera till är arkitekten Matthew Carmonas platsskapandets kontinuum (the place-shaping continuum, 2014) användbart. Han beskriver platsskapandet som en kontinuerlig process som genomgår vissa återkommande faser. Carmona delar vidare upp platsskapandet i medvetet platsskapande (design- och byggfaserna) och omedvetet platsskapande (användnings- och förvaltningsfaserna). Hans begrepp ger en bild av hela placemakingprocessen och visar hur platser skapas både för och genom användning. Olika aktörer kan vara verksamma under olika faser av detta kontinuum.

The analysis of the case in San Francisco showed that place attachment can introduce a new scale and an increased level of detailing and variation to the streetscape (as illustrated by the before- and after sections in the image above). The parklets, where the citizens themselves proposed the locations, generated greater detailing and variation (some examples can be seen in the images on the right above), which indicates that the feeling of place attachment was stronger there than at the locations that were chosen by the municipality (the plazas). The study also showed that frequent use of a place can result in place attachment, particularly if one has the possibility to influence the physical appearance, for example by moveable objects.

Analysen av fallet i San Francisco visade bland annat att platsanknytning kan skapa mer variation och detaljering i gatubilden (vilket illustreras i för- och efter sektionerna ovan). Variationen och detaljeringen var större när medskaparna själva valde platsen, dvs. vid parklets (några exempel kan ses på bilderna till höger ovan), vilket indikerar att deras känsla av platsanknytning var starkare där än på de platser som valdes ut av kommunen (plazas). Studien visade även att ett frekvent användande av en plats kan skapa platsanknytning, särskilt om man har möjlighet att påverka dess fysiska utseende, tex. genom flyttbara objekt.

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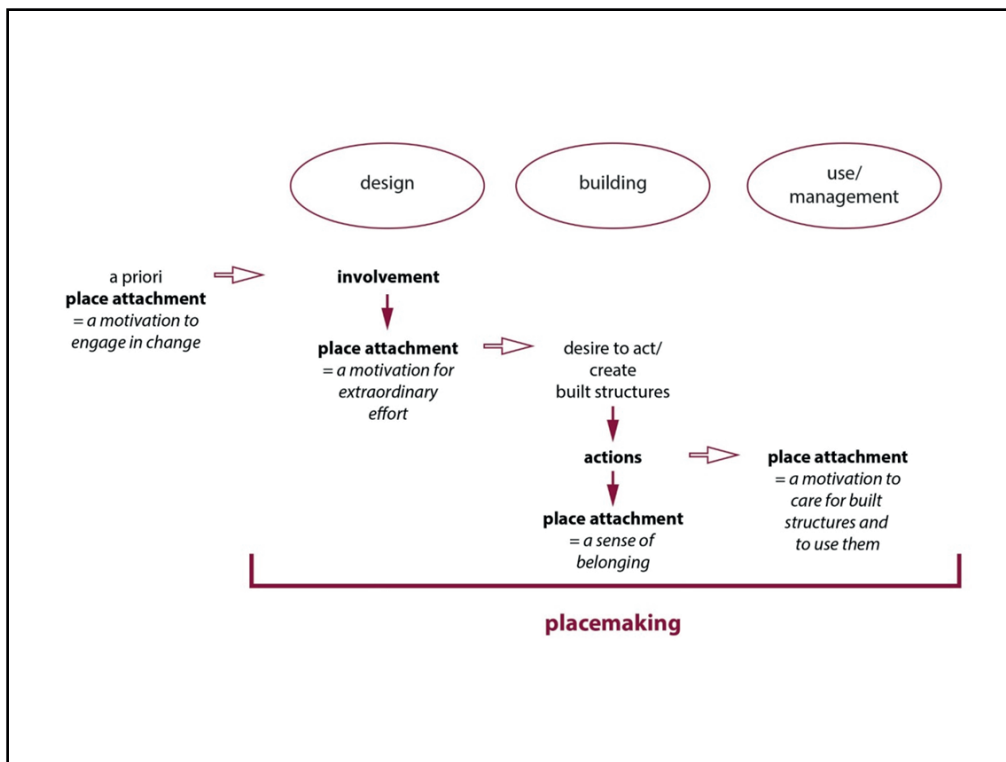
The case study in San Francisco also showed that place attachment can be either a reason for users to get actively involved in a placemaking process, a result of their engagement in that process, and/or resulting from their use of the place. An individual can enter the placemaking process in any of the phases described by Carmona and still experience emotional bonds and place insideness. Placemaking hence creates places that generate, and places that are generated by, place attachment. (Carmonas unknowing place-shaping phases – management and use – have been combined into one in the diagram above.)

Fallstudien i San Francisco visade även att platsanknytning kan uppstå under olika stadier av platsskapandet; man kan välja att engagera sig för att man redan innan har känslor för en plats, eller så uppstår det känslor genom att man aktivt engagerar sig i utformningen, eller när man använder platsen. Man kan komma in i placemaking-processen i vilken som helst av Carmonas platsskapandefaser och ändå uppleva känslomässiga band och platsinnanförskap. Placemaking skapar alltså platser som genererar, och platser som genereras av, platsanknytning. (I diagrammet ovan har Carmonas icke-medvetna platsskapandefaser (använda och förvalta) slagits ihop.)
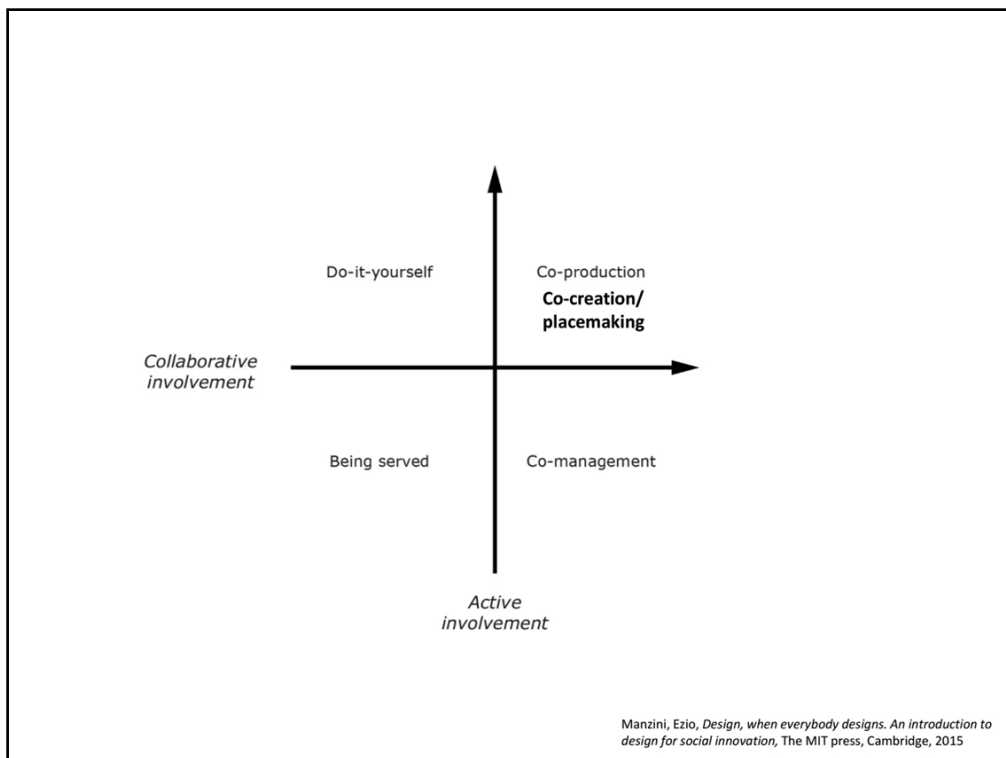
Fassadenrepublik
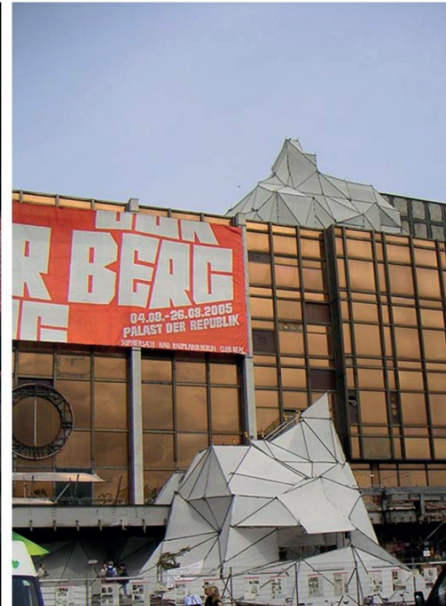
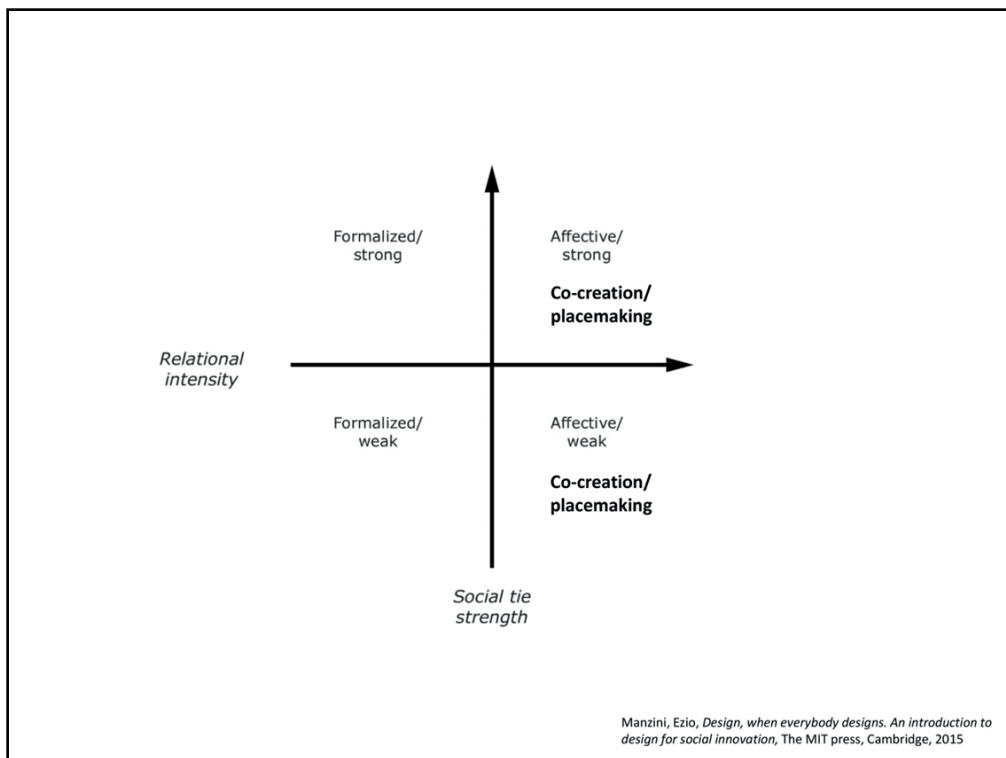Der Berg

Case 2: Berlin - Volkspalast

The second case study was in Berlin on two so called in-between use projects (Zwischennutzung) in Palast der Republik, the former government building of GDR. In 2004–2005 the building hosted a series of temporary, public events intended to explore new, alternative futures for the building and related place in collaboration with the Berliners. This in order to show alternatives to the planned rebuilding of the castle that stood on the site before World War II. The two projects covered by the case study – Fassadenrepublik and Der Berg – were curated by professional architects and designers, with the aim of creating various scenarios for the future. This case study mainly focused on the concept co-creation for investigating the character of involvement at play in placemaking, and different professional roles and attitudes related to that.

Den andra fallstudien gjorde jag i Berlin på två så kallade mellananvändningsprojekt (Zwischennutzung) i DDRs tidigare regeringsbyggnad Palast der Republik. Under 2004 – 2005 genomfördes en serie av tillfälliga projekt i byggnaden för att testa olika möjliga framtida användningar av platsen som alternativ till den beslutade återuppbyggnaden av slottet som stod där fram till andra världskriget. De två projekt som jag studerade – Fassadenrepublik and Der Berg – initierades och kurerades av professionella arkitekter och designers, med syfte att tillsammans med berlinborna skapa olika scenarier för platsens framtid. Huvudfokus i denna fallstudie var begreppet samskapande (co-creation) och deltagandets karaktär i placemaking, samt olika professionella roller och attityder kopplade till det.

Manzini, Ezio, *Design, when everybody designs. An introduction to design for social innovation*, The MIT press, Cambridge, 2015

The idea about co-creation transforms the user into a co-creator by active involvement on site in the creation process. Collaboration with others is central, as described by designer Ezio Manzini (2015). According to Manzini, co-creation is different from do-it-yourself, which implies doing everything alone without the involvement of others/professionals. As previously described, co-creation is not merely about the distribution of decision making power, but as much about duration, intensity, and the possibility for social learning during a creation process. Therefore, co-creation and placemaking are posited in the top right corner of Manzini's participant involvement map (it has a high level of active as well as collaborative involvement), as seen in the image above.

Tanken om samskapande (co-creation) förvandlar brukare till medskapare genom att de deltar aktivt på plats i skapandeprocessen. Även samspelet med andra är viktigt, vilket beskrivs bl.a. av designern Ezio Manzini (2015). Han menar att samskapande är något annat än do-it-yourself där man gör allt själv utan andras/professionellas hjälp. Som tidigare beskrivet så handlar co-creation inte enbart om maktfördelning, utan varaktighet, intensitet och möjlighet till socialt lärande under en skapandeprocess är exempel på andra parametrar som påverkar upplevelsen av delaktighet. Därför hamnar samskapande och placemaking i den översta högra rutan i Manzinis diagram över delaktighetstyper (det kräver både aktivt och kollaborativt deltagande), vilket bilden ovan visar.

Formalized/
strong

Affective/
strong

**Co-creation/
placemaking**

Relational
intensity

Formalized/
weak

Affective/
weak

**Co-creation/
placemaking**

Social tie
strength

Manzini, Ezio, *Design, when everybody designs. An introduction to
design for social innovation*, The MIT press, Cambridge, 2015

This second map based on Manzini's (2015) theories – the map of interaction quality – illustrates how co-creation is based on voluntariness and passion for the topic/place, rather than on formal agreements such as working contracts. (This is shown on the horizontal axis labeled relational intensity.) The vertical axis shows that the strength of the social ties between the participants can vary during co-creation. Just like in the case of place insideness, it is not necessarily the strongest social ties that create the best public space. Strong social ties within a group of creators and/or users might exclude other user groups and discourage new members to attempt to join.

Detta diagram (även det baserat på Manzinis (2015) teorier) illustrerar att samskapande bygger på frivillighet och intresse för ämnet/platsen, snarare än på formella avtal. (Detta visas på den horisontella axeln som benämns relational intensity.) Det visar även att de sociala banden mellan deltagarna kan vara olika starka under samskapandet (den vertikala axeln). Precis som med platsinnanförskap så är det inte säkert att de starkaste banden är att föredra när det gäller offentliga platser. Starka social band inom en grupp kan verka exkluderande mot andra, eftersom det då blir svårare att ta sig in i gruppen som ny.
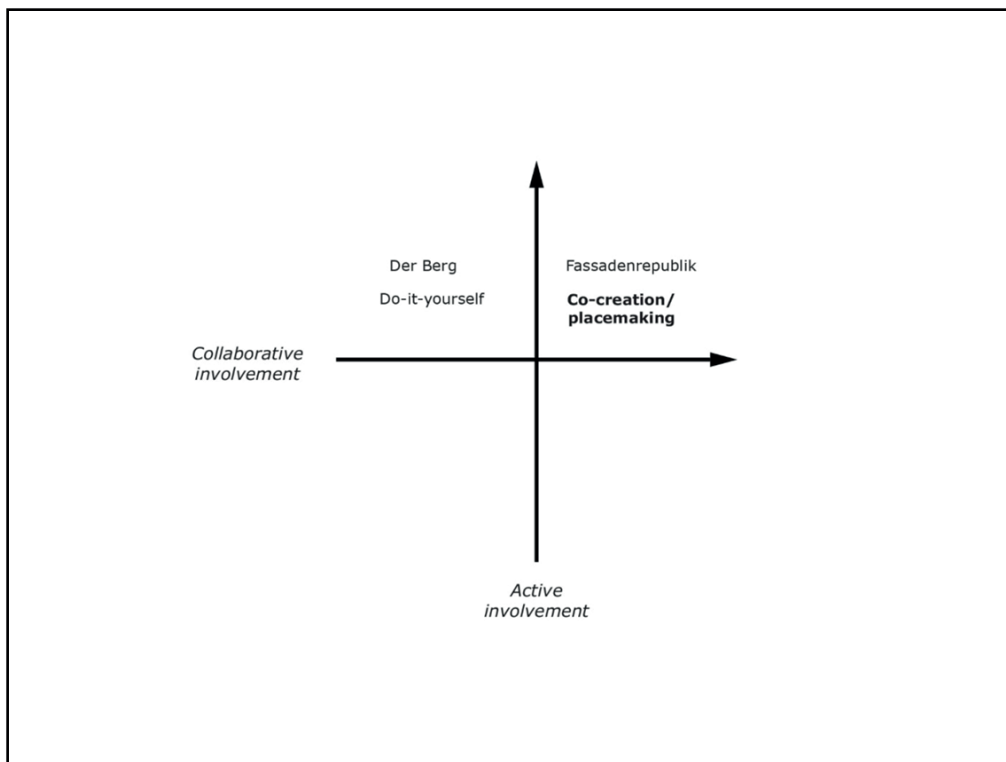
The case in Berlin clearly showed that co-creation is about all participants recognizing and feeling part of the result, and the view on the professional architect/urban planner as a lone "master mind" is therefore no longer relevant. This is why one of the studied projects - Der Berg, the larger one - rather had the character of do-it-yourself than co-creation according to many interviewees. The participants worked mostly alone (or in pairs), each in their own corner of the building rather than as a group. Also, the initiators had a clear and "ready" image of the main structure from the beginning. The studied projects showed that placemaking requires both a change of attitude and new professional skills and roles for architects and urban planners – for example as curator, initiator, motivator, teacher, and prototype builder.

Fallet i Berlin visade tydligt att samskapande (co-creation) handlar om att alla deltagare ska känna igen sig i resultatet, och synen på den professionella arkitekten/stadsplaneraren som ensamt "master mind" har då spelat ut sin roll. Därför hade det ena projektet i studien - Der Berg, det större av dem båda - snarare karaktären av do-it-yourself än co-creation enligt många av dem jag intervjuat. Deltagarna arbetade mestadels enskilt, i var sitt hörn av byggnaden, snarare än som en grupp, och initiativtagarna hade från början en tydlig och "färdig" bild av hur huvudstrukturen skulle se ut. Fallstudien visade att placemaking kräver både en förändrad attityd och nya professionella färdigheter och roller för arkitekter och planerare; curator, initiativtagare, motivatör, lärare och prototypbyggare är några exempel.

Action research: Malmö – Possible Futures Herrgården

In addition to the case studies and in order to gain access to real-time and insiders' data from an entire placemaking process from the very first phase of ideation, an action research project was set up in Herrgården in Malmö. In case studies, the researcher is an external observer, while during action research, he/she is a participant among many others. Case studies aim to give a rich picture of a complex situation, whereas actions research intends to produce practical knowledge useful in the participants' everyday life. In a large, underused flowerbed in the outermost corner of a semi-public yard (close to a public park) I initiated a public building session in May 2012 together with the property manager at the time. The idea was to assist the participants – anyone showing up on site on that day was welcome (and encouraged) to join – in building a public place where they would like to spend time. The functions were entirely based on the wishes of the participants. Mainly people from the area joined the process, and the majority of the participants were children or young adults. The result was a playground with four objects (a bench and three pieces of playing equipment) that were created and inaugurated during the course of an afternoon. This study mainly focused on the concept involvement, and in which ways being actively involved on site influenced the built result.

Jag genomförde även aktionsforskning i Malmö för att kunna närstudera en hel placemaking-process innifrån och i realtid. I fallstudier är forskaren en utomstående observatör, medan han/hon är en deltagare bland många andra i aktionsforskning. Fallstudier syftar till att ge en bild av en komplex

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situation, medan aktionsforskningen syftar till att producera praktisk vardagskunskap åt deltagarna. I en stor rabatt i utkanten av en bostadsgård i Herrgården höll jag tillsammans med den dåvarande förvaltaren en öppen platsbyggardag i maj 2012. Gården har en offentlig snarare än en privat karaktär, och den ligger intill en stadsdelspark. Tanken var att assistera deltagarna – vem som helst som dök upp på platsen den dagen var välkommen (och uppmuntrades) att delta - med att bygga en offentlig plats som de ville tillbringa tid på. Deltagarnas önskemål fick helt styra funktionerna på platsen. Det var främst personer från närområdet deltog, varav majoriteten var barn och unga. Resultatet blev en lekplats bestående av fyra objekt (en bänk och tre lekredskap) som skapades och invigdes inom loppet av en eftermiddag. Huvudfokus i denna studie låg på olika typer av deltagande (involvement), och på hur aktivt deltagande på plats påverkar det byggda resultatet.

The participating children invented a new game – footgolf. They designed and built a goal, and inaugurated the course at the end of the day.

De deltagande barnen uppfann sporten fotgolf. De designade och var med och byggde ett mål, samt invigde banan i slutet av dagen.

In addition to the footgolf course, a bench, a minigolf course, and a stage were co-created during the public building session in Herrgården.

Utöver fotgolfbanan samskapades en bänk, en minigolfbana och en scen under den öppna platsbyggardagen i Herrgården.

The action research in Malmö made it clear that active user involvement enables citizen groups who are normally not part of urban development and design to engage more easily. For example, age and language skills become less decisive compared to regular participatory planning processes. The involvement created long-term emotional engagement, lasting beyond the removal of the co-created objects. When the property owner unexpectedly changed, there was no one to continue the process, and making some of the objects permanent – as was originally intended – never took place. During interviews on site one year after the building session, however, when the flowerbed was again an empty space, the place was described as being full of life. For the participants and users the question was not if, but when, there would be a new playground. The action research clearly showed the importance of place management in order for placemaking to be successful, i.e. it is decisive that the placemaking can continue through all four of Carmona's place-shaping phases.

Aktionsforskningen i Malmö visade tydligt att aktivt deltagande ger fler invånargrupper möjlighet att engagera sig i platsskapandet. Ålder och språkkunskaper får t.ex. mindre betydelse för att kunna vara delaktig. Deltagandet skapade bestående platsrelationer som fanns kvar även efter att de samskapade objekten togs bort. När fastighetsägaren plötsligt byttes ut, fanns det ingen som kunde hålla liv i processen, och den planerade permanenteringen uteblev därför. Under intervjuer med eltagare och användareett år efter bygget beskrevs dock den åter igen tomma rabatten som full av liv, och man såg

framför sig att den skulle fyllas med aktiviteter på nytt. Aktionsforskningen i Malmö visade alltså även på vikten av platsförvaltning för att placemaking ska lyckas, dvs. det är avgörande att platsskapandet kan pågå under alla Carmonas fyra plastskaparfaser.
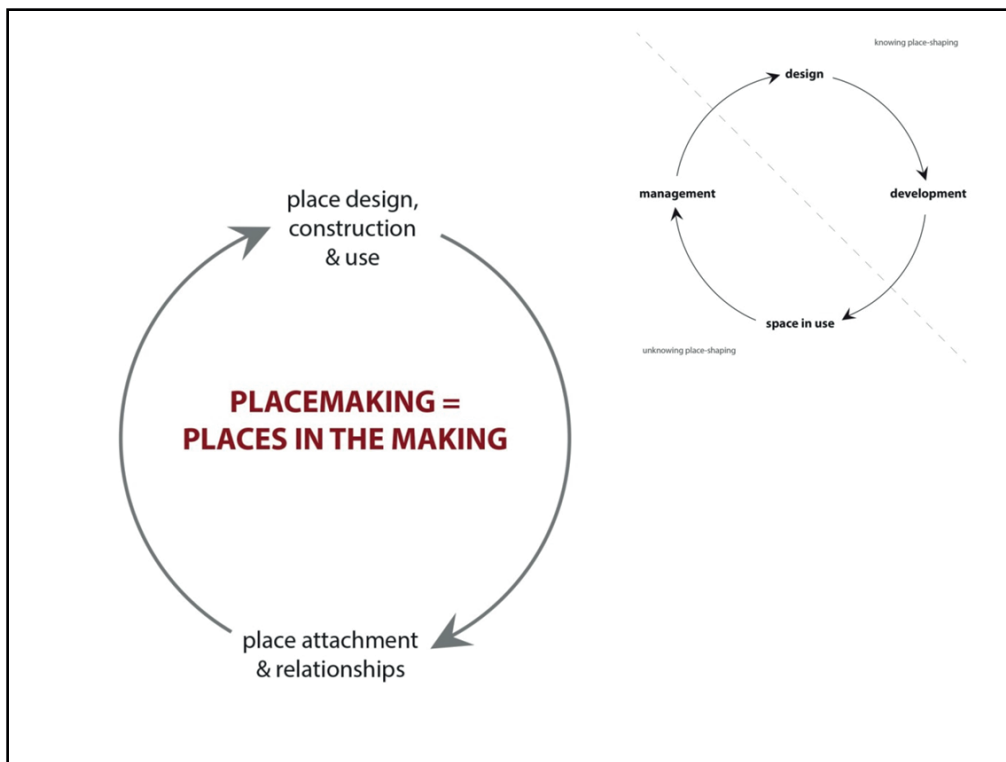
Putting place attachment and co-creation on the conscious, professional agenda of architects and urban planners is the main message from this research. Furthermore, clarifying the possible effects of placemaking on individual well-being as well as on the physical qualities of a place is central in this work. In order to work with placemaking, professional actors (including municipalities) have to become clear about in which of Carmona's phases they are willing to let others contribute, and then find the appropriate working methods for this to happen. How can, for example, existing place relations be kept and nurtured in an area about to be developed and transformed?

Finally, some conclusions about involvement:

- Physical interaction (for example, moving objects around or building new objects) affects place relations on a psychological level a psychological level and can generate place attachment.
- Carmona's entire place-shaping continuum is decisive for how a place is experienced and for the way it is used. Architects and urban planners are part of the process in some phases, but by the way they act they can create possibilities for placemaking and for others to become place insiders during other phases as well.
- Active user involvement during the building phase has the potential to create a varied streetscape with a high degree of detailing. The parklet projects in San

Francisco, where initiative and the choice of location, as well as building and place management is delegated to the users, are examples of this.

- Temporary use can be a catalyst for involvement as it often involves less money and prestige than more permanent urban development projects. This allows more people and other citizen groups than the usual to be actively involved during the place-becoming, which in turn can result in a more varied streetscape.

- Active, hands-on involvement can foster diversity in the built environment, as, for example, age and language skills become less decisive compared to situations when involvement implies abstract discussions about maps and drawings.

- True placemaking happens in the realm of co-creation. A professional actor can have different roles during different projects, being either a place insider or a place outsider, but regardless of which, lead a process that allows for others to become place insiders and co-create the place.

- The professional self-image has to change if placemaking is to succeed. One has to regard places as organisms changing over time rather than as finished products, and get acquainted with the new professional roles that placemaking implies.

Att föra upp begreppen platsanknytning (place attachment) och samskapande (co-creation) på arkitekternas och stadsplanerarnas agenda är denna forsknings huvudbudskap, liksom att förtydliga vilken effekt placemaking kan ha på såväl individens välbefinnande som platsens fysiska kvaliteter. För att kunna arbeta med placemaking bör professionella aktörer (inklusive kommunerna) fråga sig i vilken eller vilka av Carmonas faser man är villiga släppa in andra, och sedan hitta lämpliga metoder för detta. Hur fångar man t.ex. upp de platsrelationer som redan finns i ett område som ska utvecklas, och låter dem materialiseras?

Slutligen några slutsatser kopplade till delaktighet:

- *Fysisk interaktion (t.ex. att flytta objekt eller att bygga något) påverkar relationen till en plats på ett psykologisk plan, och kan resultera i platsanknytning (place attachment).*

- *Hela Carmonas kontinuum är avgörande för hur en plats upplevs och används, och för vilka platsrelationer som kan skapas. Arkitekten/planeraren går in i en viss fas, men kan genom sitt agerande skapa förutsättningar för aktivt platsskapande (dvs. att bli en insider) för andra i andra faser.*

- *Aktivt brukardeltagande under byggfasen har god potential att skapa en varierad gatubild med en hög detaljeringsnivå. I San Francisco låter man t.ex. såväl initiativ och platsval, som genomförande och förvaltning ligga hos brukarna när det gäller parklets.*

- *Tillfällig användning kan vara en katalysator för delaktighet då det ofta är mindre pengar och prestige inblandade än i mer permanenta stadsutvecklingsprojekt. Detta gör att andra aktörer än de gängse kan förverkliga sina idéer, vilket i sin tur kan bidra till en varierad stadsbild.*

- *Aktivt "hands-on" deltagande kan vara en katalysator för mångfald i den byggda miljön, då tex. språkkunskaper och ålder spelar mindre roll än vid abstrakta diskussioner kring plankartor och ritningar.*

- *Sann placemaking sker under samskapande. En professionell aktör kan ha olika roller i olika projekt, och vara antingen place insider eller place outsider, men oavsett vilket leda en kreativ process som ger andra möjlighet att bli place insiders och utveckla platsen under samskapande.*
- *De professionellas självbild behöver ändras om placemaking ska kunna få genomslagskraft på riktigt. Man måste se platsen som en organisk företeelse som förändras över tid snarare än en färdig produkt, och bekanta sig med de nya yrkesroller som placemaking för med sig.*