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From Urban Design to Local Heritage

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Abstract

The research centres around urban design, in particular street furniture, as an utilitarian and functional object and its effect on citizens as a symbol and identity-giving object within the urban realm. This thesis takes into account the increasing recognition of place identity as a tool of distinction against the background of globalisation and the subsequent intensified competition between cities. Two case studies, one in Vienna, one in London, help to elucidate the role of street furniture as cultural heritage.

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They paved paradise
And put up a parking lot
Joni Mitchell
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Contents

1 Introduction 5
  1.1 Rationale, Aims and Objectives ............................... 5
  1.2 Hypothesis, Research Question and Objectives ................ 7
  1.3 Specific Objectives ........................................ 7
  1.4 Structure ............................................... 7

2 Literature Review 9
  2.1 Cities in Competition ...................................... 9
  2.2 Place Identity and Cultural Branding ......................... 12
  2.3 Urban Design ............................................. 17
  2.4 Designing for the Public ................................... 20
  2.5 The Social Dimension of Urban Design ......................... 22
  2.6 Place Identity and Urban Design in Practice .................. 25
  2.7 Street Furniture .......................................... 28

3 Methodology 32
  3.1 Introduction .............................................. 32
  3.2 Research Philosophy ....................................... 32
  3.3 Research Strategy .......................................... 34
  3.4 Method .................................................. 35
  3.5 Challenges and benefits of doing a questionnaire ............ 36
  3.6 Questionnaire Design ...................................... 38
  3.7 Questionnaire Layout ...................................... 38
  3.8 Summary of Methodology ................................... 39

4 Case Studies 40
  4.1 MuseumsQuartier Vienna - Enzis .............................. 41
    4.1.1 Context ............................................. 41
    4.1.2 Enzis ................................................. 43
    4.1.3 History .............................................. 44
    4.1.4 A Story of Success .................................... 45
    4.1.5 Rearrangement ....................................... 46
    4.1.6 Colour Scheme ....................................... 47
    4.1.7 City Marketing of Vienna ................................ 48
CONTENTS

4.1.8 Commodification .......................... 49
4.1.9 Controversy .............................. 50
4.1.10 Conclusion .............................. 50
4.2 Red Telephone Boxes London ......................... 52
  4.2.1 History of the Phone Booth or 'K' for Kiosk ........ 55
  4.2.2 Design ................................ 57
  4.2.3 Heritage ................................ 59
  4.2.4 The Phone Booth today ..................... 60
  4.2.5 The famous K6 in Popular Culture ............. 62
  4.2.6 Commodification and Marketing .................. 64

5 Results and Analysis ............................... 66
  5.1 The Research ............................... 66
  5.2 Who were the respondents? ....................... 67
  5.3 Awareness and Opinion on selected Street Furniture ....... 69
  5.4 Attitude towards functionality and symbolism .......... 70
  5.5 Place Association .......................... 73
  5.6 Motivation to visit the MuseumsQuartier ............. 74
  5.7 Consumer Interest .......................... 76
  5.8 Quality of Place ............................ 77
  5.9 Attitudes towards heritage ...................... 79
  5.10 Opinion groups ............................ 80

6 Conclusion and Recommendation ....................... 82

7 Appendix ......................................... 87
  7.1 Bibliography ................................ 87
  7.2 Questionnaires ............................. 94
  7.3 Interview Gilbert Berthold, 10.August 2012 ........... 97
Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Rationale, Aims and Objectives

Urban design can have a tremendous effect on urban society. Urban design, an interdisciplinary field integrating architecture, urban planning, technology and art, builds the base of many contemporary developments in the urban realm. Furthermore urban design is embedded in the complex environment of globalisation. The potential the use of art as urban development holds has been recognised by urban regimes throughout the world, which brings to the fore issues of marketing and branding as well as questions of identity and cultural heritage. Whereat questions of cultural and place identity become particularly important in heterogeneous post-modern societies that experience alienation.

The focus of this research is to explore the role of street furniture as an integral and important topic in the recent urban discourse. I will examine the relationship between urban design, it’s social dimension, cultural branding and place identity by focusing on street furniture in particular.

It will start out with a comprehensive literature review, discussing questions of globalisation and its effect on cities and urban identities in post-modern, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural European urban societies. Furthermore, it will determine what is understood as urban design, its concerns, potentials and limitations. The research centres around street furniture as a utilitarian and functional object and the effect it has on citizens as symbol and identity-giving object within the urban realm, taking into account the increasing recognition of place identity as a tool of distinction against the background of globalisation and the subsequent intensified competition between cities.

As urban design and the things that go in conjunction with it have seen different historical development in Europe it is important to compare, contrast and acquire insights from different angles to gain significant results, which will
be achieved through the case studies. The two case studies in Austria and the UK were selected, as both cases are particularly illustrative for the shift from mono-function towards cultural heritage and multi-purpose use. Furthermore they make clear how distinctive urban design can help to promote a place. Nevertheless the two cases are very different, regarding their history, time, place and function and a true comparison is not feasible. The thesis therefore examines the contribution of street furniture to the formation of urban identity and their meaning and use throughout time in both cases.

Firstly, the thesis will discuss the “Enzis” in the Museumsquarter (MQ) in Vienna. Enzis are a freestanding, moveable and flexible sitting opportunity. Since they were introduced in 2002 they have played an important role in creating identity and establishing the MQ as a major landmark in Vienna’s public life. The City of Vienna has also used the Enzis as a branding and marketing tool in order to promote Vienna. We see a shift from a practical urban object - something to sit on - towards an object that gives identity to a specific place.

For the second case study, I will explore the case of the red telephone booths in England, which are officially recognised as national heritage by the English National Heritage Fund. While an integral part of the urban landscape, as technological advances have individualised communications, they have become to a certain degree purposeless objects within urban space. Through this case study, this thesis will argue that a shift of the purpose of street furniture does not necessarily render said street furniture useless. Rather, the purpose and use of street furniture often extends past the original purpose for which it was created. It is a case that proves a progression from function to symbol.

As stated this thesis looks into the development of street furniture and the change in meaning over time. Based on this development the two case studies were chosen. On the one hand the phone kiosks, which are in place since 75 years, have long history and are regarded as cultural heritage. On the other hand the Enzis, which are in place since ten years only. Nevertheless a development is already recognisable. In chapter four a historical overview of both cases and their context of development is outlined.

Regarding the methodological dimension of my research a literature review forms the primary research methodology adopted in this work. In addition, research is conducted on site, through visits and first hand experience. By conducting a survey on the two case studies, this research contributes to the existing discourse on public design and in particular street furniture.

It is certain that the discussion surrounding place identity and urban design will not fall silent anytime soon, especially not in a society that changes at such a fast pace, and with public space becoming an increasingly important topic in the urban discourse. This thesis builds a bridge between past and future, opinion and practice.
1.2 Hypothesis, Research Question and Objectives

My hypothesis is that successful urban design eventually undergoes, independent from its location, a particular development. The two case studies point to a shift from something utile and functional to something symbolic that holds certain values; a progression that can be observed in both cases. If a specific design has been successfully accepted in a city, it may remain part of the public realm even if technological advances have rendered it purposeless. It then can take on new functions beyond its originally intended role, connected to its symbolic dimension as marketing or branding tools or as something completely new unrelated to its prior job.

In order to address this shift and gain insights into the concept of successful urban street furniture my master thesis addresses the following research questions:

This project aims to examine the impact of distinctive urban features, such as street furniture design, on the city. More specifically, the purpose of this master thesis is to gauge if, how and to what extent urban design serves in creating a tool of distinction, cultural heritage, place identity and improved quality of life. In addition, this thesis compares and contrasts the two cases studies in Austria and the UK.

1.3 Specific Objectives

The specific aims and objectives I want to achieve in this thesis are:

- Identify relevant issues in urban design and street furniture, such as urban competition or urban identity
- Identify the most relevant literature and provide a framework for further discussion
- Give a comprehensive outline of the applied methodology
- Outline an overview of the two case studies
- Compare and contrast the case studies in question
- Analyse and evaluate if urban design provides a feasible framework to create urban identity and subsequently a branding tool for cities

1.4 Structure

This thesis starts with a comprehensive literature review, discussing the most relevant literature and building a frame for further discussion. Chapter 2.1 and
2.2 discuss the broader context of urban development in contemporary cities with regards to global competition and place identity. Chapter 2.3 and 2.4 explain what is understood as urban design and outline the specifics of designing for the public. Chapter 2.5 addresses the social dimension of urban design. Chapter 2.6 puts urban design in relation to urban identity. The next chapter defines the research philosophy and research strategy applied in this thesis. Chapter four outlines the case studies, the case of the Enzis in Vienna and the red telephone boxes, also known as “K6” in England. Chapter five illustrates the analysis of the conducted survey as well as my findings and results. The final chapter elucidates my conclusions and further recommendations.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

The literature review builds the theoretical base of this research. It outlines the context in which cities and subsequently street furniture develops today. It moves from a more general perspective of cities and urban development with regards to the challenges they face in terms of globalisation and place identity to the more specific case of urban design and street furniture within this context. The first section sets the broader framework in which cities develop today and centres along globalisation and increasing competitiveness of cities. This competitive environment is linked to the focus on arts and entertainment as a sector of economic growth and a tool of city marketing. Furthermore it comments on the construction of new urban developments or cultural flagship as a way to create identity.

2.1 Cities in Competition

Since Manuel Castells first coined the term, it is said that globalised societies increasingly live in a space of flows (Castells, 1996). With the declining importance of the nation state, particularly in Europe, it is claimed that individual cities have gained a more prominent role in the world (Gospodini, 2004) and, though mankind’s mobility has increased in recent years, our cities remain stationary with their built environments, their local heritage and their images. They face increasing competition to attract inhabitants, visitors and businesses. City managers are feeling the

Figure 2.1: Castells & Space of flows
Source: johnwmorehead.blogspot.co.at
pressure to put themselves “on the map”. This pressure is transformed into action through the creation of USPs, through for example cultural flagships, festivals or outstanding urban design.

It can be said our globalising world is in constant competition to consume more, to create more choices and have more fun. Cities are no exception in this regard, as they are in competition against other cities in a saturated market. In Europe alone, several hundred cities stand in close competition. The competitive environment of cities includes competition to attract and build businesses, jobs, residents, cultural institutions and tourists. (Feldmann, 2006)

![Figure 2.2: City ranking, Source: www.espatial.com](image-url)

Rudolf Schilling states that soft factors like culture, education and art become more and more important against the background of competition between cities as expounded above. He claims that culture and art serve several groups: city dwellers, prospective city dwellers, tourists and visitors. Furthermore, he shows that in Western Europe, the cultural sector, with an annual growth rate of 5%, has outpaced every other economic sector. (Schilling, 2006) The same argument is made by Zukins (1995) who states that culture takes on a bigger and more significant role in how cities are built and experienced. The role of culture changed and becomes more and more the base of economic growth. This commodification of culture is what Zukin termed “symbolic economy.”
According to Feldmann (2006), there are several global and local development trends in place. We see a political change in Europe. In Castells’ space of flows, distances and administrative borders become less and less important. The transportation, information and communication sectors are developing quickly, creating the need for new hubs and headquarters. This location independence offers new possibilities, to meet the needs of increasingly mobile organisations and individuals, for various branches and gives room to clusters. (Castells, 1996) On a more local level one can identify a change in values and attitudes towards the creation of place identity. Other factors, such as the displacement of populations and industries from city centres to suburban areas are local development trends influencing the competitiveness of cities. Hence, soft factors but also quality of life in general play an increasingly important role in city competitiveness. (Feldmann, 2006) It can be concluded that, in order to improve the attractiveness of their cities, city managers are orienting their urban development policies more towards culture, leisure and entertainment.

In classical product marketing there are several manners to promote your product in a saturated market: to distinguish your product from others, to offer more of it, to offer variations, and so forth. Most famous in classic product marketing is Philip Kotler, the so-called “Father of Marketing”, who defined marketing as,

“... a set of human activities directed at facilitating and consuming exchanges.” (Kotler, 2001: 11)

But how does city marketing operate against the background of global competition? According to Feldmann (2006), cities can market themselves by forming a temporary monopoly in a certain sector and that each city has the potential to form such a monopoly. A monopoly means that a business can offer a USP. For a city, this kind of monopoly can refer to historic buildings but may also be an image or representation formed in people’s minds. E.g.: Paris is commonly referred to the “City of Love”, Milan is the “Fashion City” and so on. It is also possible that a city creates a monopoly on design through the successful urban design of public places. (Feldmann, 2006)
This process of developing a monopoly in order to stand out and compete against other cities on the market becomes a process to establish a certain image or identity, which can be achieved through flagship projects or outstanding urban design. This identity-building process has to be rethought constantly, following new impulses and involving various different reference groups in the city.

To conclude, Feldmann (2006) points out that, in order to create a monopoly, a city needs to present itself as unique. This uniqueness becomes the core of a brand identity. The identity needs to be constantly redeveloped according to new, future-oriented and innovative trends.

### 2.2 Place Identity and Cultural Branding

This part of the literature review explores the specific character of place identity and the role it can play in cultural branding or city marketing. It sheds light on the use of art, entertainment or design in this context, the development of cultural tourism and the positive and negative impacts cultural branding can have on cities.

The idea of identity runs deeply through the debates and discourses of city branding. It has been claimed that cities experience a "crisis of identity," caused by mass migration, which transforms cities into culturally heterogeneous places, as well as supra-national entities like the European Union, which allow national identities to fade (Gospodini, 2004). In this context, Manuel Castells (1996) identifies a trend in city management to concentrate strongly on their existing local heritage while at the same time rethinking this heritage in order to create or maintain a specific place identity. This in turn can make them a powerful competitor against other cities. It can be said that this loss of a sense of place, as argued above leads to a stronger individualisation and disembedding, which eventually evokes a call for urban identity in and through urban planning.

The Guggenheim museum in Bilbao, designed by Frank Ghery, is a case in point example of how to draw worldwide attention, shape an image, create identity and become a major tourist destination. This cultural icon
was built at a cost of over 70 million Euros and saw 1.3 million visitors in its first year, placing the museum second in number of visitors in Spain after the Prado in Madrid (Evans, 2003). This phenomenon, by many scholars referred to as the 'Bilbao Effect', has become a model for every city longing to become more attractive. (Moore, Rowland eds. 2006) It can be observed that cities, to meet the challenges of economic and cultural globalisation, create various kinds of flagship projects. These large-scale urban projects, often cultural in nature, use innovative design trends in order to create a brand aimed at marketing the city. (Gospodini, 2004)

Thus it can be stated that the built environment is seen as a place identity creator in European cities. Nonetheless, built heritage is not a magic solution to create place identity. Gospodini (2004) argues that built heritage is widely considered as a contested entity. In European cities, built heritage can be a product of the manipulation of identity and meaning, representing a symbolic, often nationally-identified reality not adequate to building an accurate identity in a place that is in fact multi-cultural and post-modern. (Gospodini, 2004)

Gospodini states that built heritage functions as a place-maker in two ways in modern European societies. On the one hand built heritage refers to national identity and creates a common reality for various social groups. On the other hand, it constitutes the urban landscape and with that promotes economic growth through attracting business and tourism. He argues further that the way that built heritage functioned in terms of place identity in modern European societies, innovative design of urban space functions for post-modern European societies in two ways; firstly by contradicting existing urban patterns and secondly, by changing the structure of urban spaces. (Gospodini, 2004).

Creating place identity through the use of city marketing is also addressed by Evans (2001, 2003) who claims that the use of culture, art and entertainment as a tool or instrument to create identity is a universal phenomenon for cities in competition.

"Hard branding the city through cultural flagships and festivals has created a form of Karaoke architecture where it is not important how well you can sing, but that you do it with verve and gusto."

Evans (2003:1)

Branding, formerly used to market products and promote conspicuous consumption, is now used by cities to market places and the collective consumption of identity. In this context, consumption requires the consumer, or tourist, to visit the place in order to gain first hand experience. It is claimed that tourism is the cultural component of globalisation. (Evans, 2001) The importance of cultural tourism in its various forms - including heritage, arts or festivals - as a driving force of urban cultural development should therefore not be underestimated.
Evans describes the historical development of cultural tourism. Earlier versions of cultural gatherings and collective cultural consumption are fairs, pleasure gardens or the circus. These forms of cultural tourism were supplanted by exhibitions and world fairs, which paved the way for new industrial products to merge with art and entertainment, creating new leisure spaces and cultural icons, such as the Eiffel Tower in Paris or the Atomium in Brussels. This historical development, its most recent examples represented by major flagship projects, reflects the process of cultural commodification. Nowadays, cities turn towards their cultural heritage in order to boost economic growth. (Evans, 2003)

However, cultural regeneration often affects not only the local host area but can have an impact on a national scale, consequently boosting the national economy. (Yeoman et al., 2003)

Evans (2003) and Yeoman (et al., 2003) argue that major cultural regeneration programs often understate the socio-cultural impacts on the local level, as the accompanying branding campaigns operate mainly on the national or in-
INTERNATIONAL LEVELS. YEOMAN SUGGESTS THAT, ON THE LOCAL LEVEL, CULTURAL EVENTS CAN SERVE TO FOSTER LOCAL IDENTITIES AS COMMUNITIES CELEBRATE TOGETHER, CREATING NEW CONNECTIONS. MOREOVER, CULTURAL PROJECTS INSPIRE INDIVIDUALS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ARTS AND CREATE A FEELING OF CONSTANT RENEWAL IN A COMMUNITY. (YEOMAN ET AL. 2003). THEREFORE IT CAN BE ARGUED THAT CITY BRANDING IS NOT MERELY A TOOL OF DISTINCTION AND DIFFERENTIATION BUT A LINK BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE COLLECTIVE CULTURE OF COMMUNITY, SERVING TO ESTABLISH A SENSE OF SOCIO-CULTURAL BELONGING FOR THE RESIDENTS. (EVANS, 2003)

NOTWITHSTANDING THESE POSITIVE BENEFITS, THE HOST AREA’S IDENTITY MAY ALSO BE NEGATIVELY IMPACTED. THE LOCAL COMMUNITY MAY VIEW EXCEPTIONAL VOLUMES OF TOURISTS AS THREATENING TOWARDS THEIR PRIVACY AS WELL AS A DESTRUCTIVE OF THEIR CULTURE. THEREFORE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN VISITORS AND RESIDENTS NEED TO BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED DURING THE PLANNING PROCESS OF ANY CULTURAL EVENT IN ORDER TO MINIMISE THIS KIND OF TENSION. (YEOMAN ET AL., 2003) THIS IS ALSO TRUE FOR URBAN DESIGN THAT ATTRAITS A HIGH NUMBER OF VISITORS.

THE SAME ARGUMENT IS MADE BY EVANS, WHO STATES THAT ART- AND ENTERTAINMENT-LED URBAN REGENERATIONS ARE NOT NECESSARILY MARKED FOR SUCCESS. CREATING THE ASSOCIATION OF A CITY WITH ONE CULTURAL ICON CAN BE A DIFFICULT TASK, CONSIDERING THE THREAT OF BRAND DECAY, A PHENOMENON THAT CAN BE OBSERVED IN THE CASE OF THE ARCHITECT CHARLES RENNIE MACKINTOSH IN GLASGOW. MACKINTOSH WAS BORN 1868 IN GLASGOW AND BECAME A FAMOUS FIGURE IN DESIGN AND ARCHITECTURE. GLASGOW, WHILE HOLDING THE TITLE OF EUROPEAN CITY OF CULTURE IN 1990 AND

![Figure 2.6: Trevi Fountain, Source: stefanthaler.aminus3.com](stefanthaler.aminus3.com)
hosting the Year of Architecture and Design in 1999, was celebrating Mackintosh as its cultural symbol. One single image or brand can very quickly lose its impact. A similar development can be observed for Gaudi in Barcelona or the Guggenheim in Bilbao. Hence, a more pluralistic way of branding, involving museums, logos, and furniture by various artists in order to better reflect the depth and richness of a city’s culture, is desirable. (Evans, 2003)

Urban competition as described above imposes new priorities for city managers. According to Sepe (2009), increasing competition between cities to become more attractive and the subsequent “festivalisation” and revitalization of city centres or industrial sites leads to the standardisation of cities, which in turn can lead to a loss of place identity. One way to handle the challenges of globalisation and creating place identity is the “PlaceMaker method”, developed by Sepe (2009) as part of a project with the Planning Department of the University of Naples Federico II and the Institute for Service Industry Research of the Italian National Research Council. This context clearly shows the importance placed on creating place identity on both local and national levels. The method consists of eight phases, concerned with place identity, livability and safety. The different phases deal first with analysis, surveys, questionnaires and cartography of the area in question and subsequently with the re-design of the area in order to create place identity and a new brand.

There are many authors, like Primas (2008), Speaks (2002 cited in: Thiersten, A., Förster, A. (eds.), 2008) or Evans (2003) who call these concepts of identity marketing into question. It can be said that most cities have provided an image or brand for a long time. Most cities with a long history still draw from their long-established image while at the same time claiming the need to create a new identity. Moreover, Primas, has criticised the impossibility of creating an identity able to encompass the heterogeneity of contemporary cities. Therefore city brands only produce an imprecise idea that struggles to represent the various

Figure 2.7: Ad for Creative Mackintosh Festival 2012, Source: glasgowsleadingattractions.com
layers, which make up a city. (Primas, 2008) Speaks goes even further by claiming that globalisation replaces sameness with differences, adding that questions of identity become irrelevant when talking about heterogeneous, post-modern cities. Instead of implementing top-down branding strategies, cities should seek to promote identity on a local level, incorporating the constant evolution of urban potential. (Speaks, 2002 cited in: Thiersten, A., Förster, A. (eds.), 2008) An increasing interest in cultural branding causes major shifts in the internal organisational structures of museums or other cultural institutions, as a focus on city marketing can lead to artistic programming of low quality. (Evans, 2003)

Discussion regarding urban identity are closely related to questions of urban public space. De Solà-Morales (2010) suggests that the urban whole is not usually considered in discussions on public space. More often we speak of a specific, limited area within the city. Hence, a comprehensive view on the urban space is undermined by pinpointing specific public spaces. He argues that urban public space is rather a network of various public spaces, streets and squares, not a single site, which is used as a showroom to experiment with benches and lamp-posts. (Solà-Morales, 2010)

To sum up, city branding, based on the marriage of culture and commerce, can be widely observed throughout North American and European cities. This is a trend that is particularly evident in cities that heavily rely on their cultural heritage, and on the tourism sector. However, what seems to be the issue at stake is that hard branding uses practices of commercial branding developed for a single product and therefore may be problematic when applied the same way for complex entities such as cities. Furthermore, what is being branded is often not the city but a single entity, failing to represent the urban whole.

2.3 Urban Design

This chapter is dedicated to explain what is understood as urban design in order to distinguish it from similar disciplines such as architecture and urban planning. The chapter is important in order to understand how urban design has developed and what its potentials and limitations are.

*Design is understood here as a phenomenon that can be comprehended in sensory terms, that has the capacity to emotionally move the observer.
Design is still a young discipline. Since the industrial evolution, design has developed in various ways and is by now fully incorporated in everyday life. Taking many forms, design is immanent and in many ways defining living spaces. Furthermore, design creates a new ways of interaction with our environment and reacts flexibly, being in a constant state of flux. (Bencséky, 2008)

The term "urban design" was first coined in the United States (US) in the 1950s and was at its root mostly connected to the beautification and design of major civic buildings. (Carmona et al. 2003) Urban design now is an interdisciplinary field combining architecture, engineering, art, technology, urban planning and landscape architecture. The philosophy behind design is not only to create something aesthetic but to offer a creative solution and to add functionality and value for the users. (Bencséky, 2008) This argument is made by the UK’s Social Science Research Council, which states that

"urban design draws on the design tradition of architecture and landscape design and the environmental management and social science tradition of contemporary planning" (in Carmona et al., 2003:3)

Carmona et al. (2003) define urban design as "making better places for people" and therefore is mainly concerned with the quality of the public realm, including both the physical and the socio-cultural dimensions. Further it is argued that the term "urban design" is rather ambiguous, consisting of two words with broad meanings. The former is used with a wider and inclusive meaning,
not only referring to the city and city-like environments, but also to towns and other settlements. The latter is, as argued by Bencseky above, understood in this context as being concerned with problem solving and the needs and demands of various actors rather than purely an aesthetic craft. Moughtin et al. (1995) state that urban design is the 'art of city building,' claiming that urban design is concerned with several theoretical and philosophical concepts in aesthetics. First and foremost, they argue, urban design creates visual unity and establishes a coherent image out of various elements within the public realm. Secondly, urban design uses proportion to establish such a visual order. Thirdly, urban design is concerned with scale, using human scale as benchmark. In addition, it makes use of the theory of harmony as practiced in architectural theory. Urban design uses balance, symmetry and rhythm, basic characteristics of nature. Finally urban design tries to establish contrast and avoid monotony (Moughtin et al., 1995). A similar classification, for architecture in general, is established by Steen Eiler Rasmussen in his book on Experiencing Architecture (1959).

It is argued by Carmona (et al. 2003) that there are two traditions in urban design, the visual-artistic tradition and the social usage tradition. The visual-artistic tradition is product-oriented and highly influenced by Camillo Sittes’ book entitled "City Planning According to Aesthetic Principles," dating from 1889. This convention was the dominant modernist paradigm in urban design up until the 1960s, representations of which may be found in Sir Raymond Unwin’s book "Town Planning In Practice" (1909) or the works of Le Corbusier. Conversely, the social usage tradition focus on how people utilise space, rather than the beautification of it. Authors belonging to this tradition include, Kevin Lynch (1960), Jane Jacobs (1961), Jan Gehl (1971), (2000), (2010) and William H. Whyte (1980). Many of them argue against the tradition of visual-artistic urban design as practiced in modernity. It is claimed that contemporary urban landscapes have a need to focus on the socio-functional aspects of urban design. (Carmona et al. 2003)

Kevin Lynch describes urban design as the creation of a certain urban form aimed at economic, social, aesthetic or other human purposes. He distinguishes also between two overall forms: project-based design, primarily concerned with
aesthetics and city design, a more participatory, inclusive and interdisciplinary way of dealing with the physical built environment. (Banerjee, Southworth eds. 1990)

2.4 Designing for the Public

Following the argumentation of the visual-artistic and the social usage tradition I want to briefly comment on the problematic of designing for public spaces in the following chapter. The question if the designer is the only expert or if the final users should be used as a source of knowledge is raised.

It is claimed that user needs are not sufficiently researched and addressed in public design. (Siu, 2003) Moreover it is stated (Erlhoff, Heidkamp, Utikal, 2008) (Siu, 2003) that public design is fully done at the designer desk. However, observation of how and when public design is used often leaves much to be desired. Furthermore many designers do neither include nor consider the emotional attachment of people to objects, which plays a big role in the success or failure of public design. (Erlhoff, Heidkamp, Utikal, 2008)

“We all have the same limbs, in number, form, and size; if on this last point there are differences, an average dimension is easy to find. Standard functions, standard needs, standard objects, standard dimensions.” (Le Corbusier, quoted in Siu, 2003:64)

The modernist approach as used by Le Corbusier, where the designer is the only expert has been called into question in the last years. Gehl in the early 1970s for instance argues that when developing new places one should consider three aspects: life, spaces and buildings, in said order. He stresses that better public spaces are not created solely by physical attributes such as form, design and material or colour. Several questions regarding the potential qualities and problems of a space and consequently the future users and activities should be considered when upgrading an existing or designing a new urban space, (Gehl, 1971)
Whyte also argues, that the design process should be bottom-up and start with a fundamental understanding of how people use spaces. Whyte believed that through observation the maximum of information is gained, which practically is the base of his entire work. (Whyte, 1980) The same is argued by Erlhoff, Heidkamp, Utikal (2008) where observation forms the basic principle to comprehend people’s needs, as a true statement can only be made when urban design is put in use.

More and more designers do not see themselves as the absolute expert but agree to consider the diversity of users. Several authors (Erlhoff, Heidkamp, Utikal, 2008) (Siu, 2003) follow this notion to focus more on the users. Diversity and individuality of users is also addressed by Kevin Lynch, who states that users experience a piece of architecture in their own individual way. The individual user experience will be discussed in more detail in the case study chapter.

Michel De Certeau’s (1984) approach in the “Practice of Everyday Life” also focuses on the dichotomy between the producer or planner and the user or citizen.

This battle between urban planners and urbanists was also seen in the early 1960s in New York: Jane Jacobs urbanist and activist against Robert Moses city planner with bureaucratic power. (Flint, 2009)

![Figure 2.12: Jane Jacobs vs. Robert Moses Source: 2.macleans.ca](2.macleans.ca)

It can be concluded that the character and success of public spaces is highly influenced by the planning process. Nevertheless much power lies with the users of public space, who produce or redefine function and meaning through usage. Sometimes even the original function or meaning is changed and assigned anew. (Siu, 2003)
Siu (2003) recommends that urban planners and street furniture designers must implement market research and careful observation in order to find out what users want and need as well as consider cultural and individual needs that need to be satisfied. Siu (2003) suggest two ways to overcome this problem firstly by allowing “gaps” that the user can fill in or through the implementation of participatory design processes.

Regarding the hypothesis of this thesis, which is concerned with the shift from function to symbol in street furniture, the designer is regarded as the one who makes the object functional, however it’s the audience or users who makes it symbolic. The research of this thesis regards both, the designer and audience as equal in the process of creating successful urban furniture.

The decision making process of designing urban space entails various theories and argumentations on the concept of the production of space and how power relation within urban public space are established and put in practice. Furthermore questions are raised regarding the empowering of citizens through for example participatory processes. However due to the limitations of this thesis this is not included.

2.5 The Social Dimension of Urban Design

What became clear in the previous chapter is that urban design is a difficult topic as it involves many stakeholders. As argued urban design is a top-down process and merely focused on the designer. However it is an integral part of urban public life. This next chapter elaborates on the importance of urban design because of its social dimension which is of particular interest in in globalised cities.

In the highly acclaimed book “Life Between Buildings’ Jan Gehl argues that the design of public spaces and subsequent vitalisation of street life is a major factor in increasing quality of life for city-dwellers. Public space has throughout history been a space for social interaction, community-building, commerce and transportation. The city is a social space, a place to meet and to host important
CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

events in the lives of the citizens. Therefore sensible planning creates favourable conditions for people and offers a valuable possibility to meet acquaintances in a relaxed way. (Gehl, 1971)

A city that pays careful attention to supporting and encouraging public life, can successfully establish public space as a modern meeting place. Gehl argues that new meeting places have become increasingly important in modern society, where people live with mostly indirect or low intensity contact. (Gehl, 1971)

The same argument is made by Castells (1996) who argues that individualisation is attached to the rise of global networks. Stuart Hall also argues for a crisis of identity and a shift in post modernity to an unstable or fragmented individual related to globalisation. It needs to be emphasized here that with globalisation a movement away from the classic idea of society can be observed. This individualisation might on the one hand cause a more of styles, places and identities, disembedded from history and tradition. According to Hall identities appear “free-floating”. On the other hand it can be argued that this “cultural homogenization” evokes a strong interest for public space and calls for the creation of place identity. (Hall, 1992)

Especially in the last 30 years interest in public design and the meanings attached to it has grown. In this period many cities throughout Europe implemented pedestrian or other recreational areas. Worpole argues that urban design impacts daily routine and can enforce a greener, more sustainable environment. In contemporary urban design, more and more attention is paid to the human scale. Potential is given to alternative designs enforcing pedestrian and cycle paths. (Worpole cited in Moore, Rowland eds. 2006) This new interest in walking and green transportation in the city is reflected in a new urban design scheme more responsive to pedestrian flows, lighting schemes, visibility and security. (Worpole cited in Moore, Rowland eds. 2006) In this context Gehl criticises in particular American cities as being much more focused on car traffic than on human scale. In these cases, cities become parking lots rather than lively urban places in which to foster growth in community. The lack of human scale is evident in many cities throughout the US, such as Los Angeles or New York, resulting in a reduced social atmosphere in public space. Observations of people were made paying money to spend a day in Disney Land on a fabricated old-fashioned street, with shops and benches, in other words a street at human scale. (Whyte,1980) A need for a better quality
of life through more carefully designed public spaces becomes apparent. Furthermore it can be argued that street furniture can be a means of creating the perception of human scale, in greater-than-human-scale urban environments.

William H. Whyte, in his publication and film: “Social Life in Small Urban Spaces” (1980), describes why some public spaces are popular and work for people and why others do not. Whyte’s main argument is that social life in public space is essential for the quality and verve of urban life. Therefore, designing and creating high quality public spaces is fundamental for community-building and creating a common spirit among citizens.

![Figure 2.15: Social Life of Small Urban Spaces, Source: Whyte (1980)](image)

Generally, it can be said that a good and successful urban space is made up of very simple elements. These simple elements are a place to sit, accessible water for recreation, trees for shelter and protection, light or artworks, which can draw a crowd of interested people, make them curious, and offer a possibility to engage with each other. Other factors that make places successful are centrality and to variety: to sit, to eat as well as various things to look at. Whereat the number one activity Whyte observes is people looking at other people.

Whyte reflects further on the social meaning of urban design by comparing it to film and photography. Often, the theory and practice of urban design rely on still photography, which as a medium fails to illustrate all dimensions of urban design in public space. The use of urban space, or of urban design, e.g. street furniture, can only be fully understood when considering time, as the use of a space changes constantly during a day, week or season. Observations of different utilizations are crucial to understanding urban design and its function in public space with regards to long-term use, growth and sustainability. (Lafarge ed., 2000) This argument is also picked up by Jacobs (1961), who discusses the ebb and flow of public spaces in great detail. Jacobs argues that considering the use of space at different times throughout the day is important for its success or lack thereof. These observation might seem to be very simple, however these are the considerations and elements that greatly add value to public space. (Whyte,
In summation, urban design can play a major role in the social life of cities, which is of increasing significance concerning the crisis of identity as argued previously. Careful observations help to grasp how and by whom urban spaces are used and offer the best basis for redesigning public space or implementing street furniture. Furthermore versatility and the daily rhythm of space are important details when discussing the use and quality of an urban space. It can be concluded that when urban space is well-designed, it helps to foster community and creates a better quality of city life which becomes especially important in post-modern urban societies.

2.6 Place Identity and Urban Design in Practice

This next chapter illustrates how urban design can function as a place identity creator. Furthermore it discusses the two notions of urban design, as a commodified tool in city marketing and branding and it’s meaning to users and local residents.

“After all, the economy might be globalised but the experience of citizens is fundamentally national and local.” Josep Ramoneda

As argued before, globalisation is taking place on an increasingly large scale. Cities all over the world are becoming more homogenous and through the spread of global chains, streets resemble each other more and more. This development is also referred to as a change from places to non-places. Michel de Certeau first coined the term non-places, though the term was popularised by Marc Augé (Hutchinson, ed. 2009). According to Augé, we are living in a world where an increasing amount of our lifetime is spent in non-places.

Figure 2.16: example of non-place: Shanghai Hongqiao Railway Station waiting hall Source: wikimedia.org
According to Augé, non-places are anonymous spaces such as air, rail and motorway routes, train stations and airports, hotel rooms, leisure parks, and shopping centres or supermarkets. For Augé, a place is something that can be defined as “relational, historical and concerned with identity” as opposed to a non-place, which lacks these defining characteristics. (Augé, 1995) It is claimed that this homogenisation of non-places can be counteracted through a more distinctive design of public spaces on a local level (Moore, Rowland eds. 2006; Bencseky, 2008). As argued, urban design and the improvement of public space can have a tremendous effect on the quality of life and the urban community and offers a great opportunity to create or increase awareness of a location, making it a place in the sense of Augé.

As a non-verbal and universally understood medium, urban design works on both small and large scales and can contribute enormously to forming an identity or a brand. (Bencseky, 2008) Street networks and public transportation systems offer a suitable medium to communicate identity, Bencsekey argues. In the form of their design double-decker busses, for example, are a specific characteristic of the City of London; their unique design is what makes them so distinguishable. In the same way, yellow taxis an indispensable part of the urban landscape in New York. Such an identifiably object can in turn easily be used as a branding or marketing tool.

![Image](callparade.com.br)

Figure 2.17: Call Parade: phone booth design, Source: callparade.com.br

Yet an important distinction needs be made, between urban design as a commodified tool in branding and city marketing and the meaning of urban design or street furniture as symbols for local residents.
Dietmar Steiner, jury member of the European Prize for Urban Public Space and Director of Architektur Zentrum Wien explains that it is a difficult and problematic task to evaluate the quality of urban design and its effect of urban public space. He argues that a statement on the quality of urban design and subsequently urban space can only be made after a certain time has elapsed. The quality of spaces depends on their long-term use and functionality, which changes over time and as a result of social and political developments. Hence, an accurate assessment of a design’s and a space’s quality can only be given after long observation and analysis. Following the examples by Whyte (1980), Steiner offers some examples of the beautification of public space through improved use of light, benches that can be used in creative ways, fountains encouraging recreational use, or other interactive elements. (Steiner, 2010) What is less difficult to measure is the physical quality, in particular the sense of touch, which also gives a good understanding of the limits of the space in question. (Moneo, 2010) The personal experience of public space is often connected to its characteristics. Walking on hard or soft ground or on slippery or corrugated floor does make a major difference in personal experiences of space. Furthermore, in a physical environment, the existence of benches, trees or walls lets us experience the true identity and character of a place. (Moneo, 2010)

![In favour of public space, Source: publicspace.org](image)

What is judged however for the European prize for urban design is not so much the process of beautification of a space but rather the acknowledgment of certain elements contributing to the place’s identity. (Dietmar Steiner, 2010) It becomes clear that it is the user who makes a place. He brings urban design to life through use and by attaching meaning to it.
Nevertheless it is evident that urban design does not offer a simple solution to the problem of place identity. As argued previously, urban design is not simply a matter of physical creation but a complex process involving society on several levels. Neglected, abandoned and unattractive environments are breeding grounds for vandalism and anti-social behaviour. (Worpole cited in Moore, Rowland eds. 2006) Hence, urban design might not necessarily create better public spaces. (Moore, Rowland eds. 2006)

2.7 Street Furniture

This chapter explains what is understood as street furniture as a sub-category of urban design and examines the specific qualities of successful street furniture. It comments on the symbolic and functional dimension of street furniture. Furthermore it functions as a general introduction to the case studies.

Urban Design, as exemplified, is a broad field dealing with elements and areas within the urban public space, such as façades, corners, skylines, landmarks, colours and everything from rooftop to city floor. Outstanding examples of urban design can be found throughout Europe such as 'Paris-Plages,' temporary season beaches created on the banks of the Seine in Paris, the National Opera House in Oslo or the harbour bath in Copenhagen. Street furniture as a sub-category of urban design is of great importance for the city dweller and the quality of urban life.

According to the Cambridge Dictionary street furniture is defined as

"equipment such as lights, road signs and telephone boxes that is positioned at the side of a road for use by the public". (Cambridge Dictionary, 2012)

Moughtin et al., (1995) gives a broader definition whereas street furniture refers to various kinds of decoration, such as telephone boxes, benches and seats, lampposts, signs or even trees, of the urban environment, including roads, squares and other kinds of public spaces. Creus (cited in Frankl, Sanches, 2010) states, following a more practical approach, that urban elements make the city more accessible and easier to get around.
As early as 1911, Stanley Davenport Adshead notes that

“we must bear in mind that all objects in the street – utilitarian or otherwise – are things to be seen – parts of an organic whole, each having their respective part and place. Olympus, Athens and Rome were each crowded with such objects, arranged for the most part in picturesque association.” (Adshead cited in Moughtin et al., 1995: 3)

Street furniture falls under Lynch’s definition of city landmarks being immediately identifiable objects, which serve as reference points in the urban landscape. Often associated only with buildings, landmarks can also refer to non-buildings used as decorative elements within public space. Furthermore, Lynch distinguishes between various types of landmarks, those that stand out because of their visibility from various locations and those objects which serve as landmarks because they are a reference point for citizens in their everyday life, namely doorknobs, lamp posts, benches or other urban details. (Lynch cited in Moughtin et al., 1995)

Figure 2.20: Harbour Bath Copenhagen, Source: Copenhagen X

The use of landmarks within the city space offers a tool for urban designers to consider how to build identity. (Moughtin et al., 1995) A landmark can either refer to one singular piece of street furniture, like a monument, sculpture or a specific piece of art in public space. However, it can also refer to a series of recurring objects such as streetlights or benches. Such elements have a primarily utilitarian function, though this functionality is subject of discussion. It is argued (Moughtin et al., 1995) that fountains, clock towers or monuments do have a function as well, even if merely a symbolic one. The same is true for utilitarian
street furniture, which can rather be seen as iconic or street art. If well designed, street furniture can establish the genius loci of a place. This term, according to Norberg-Schulz (1980), refers to the ghost or mythological representation of a space. However, it can also be seen as the specific geographical, social, historical or aesthetic character of a site.

Another approach that needs to be mentioned here is “Urban Acupuncture” a concept developed by the Finnish architect Marco Casagrande. The concept sees the dawn of a new model of urban development. The theory combines the Chinese medical theory of acupuncture with urban design, where the city is viewed as an organism. The theory focuses on small, bottom-up interventions on a local level directed to the residents. It is seen as an alternative to large, top-down, multi-billion Euro flagship projects. These small, pin-point projects can help to increase neighbourhood quality and revitalise an area. (Casagrande, 2010) Urban design and more specific street furniture can function like such urban acupuncture projects. Street furniture offers to be a small or “soft” project with maximum effect on the city and its residents by creating place identity.

Figure 2.21: Gaudi lamps by Peter Erik Forsberg, Metro Sign Paris, Source: wikimedia.org

There are various examples illustrating the particular role of street furniture in creating place identity. Some cases of street furniture became symbolic and iconic for a certain city. Examples are the entrances to the Paris Metro, with their distinctive art nouveau style designed by Hector Guimard. They immediately identify with Paris and seem to be better recognisable when compared
to other Metro signs all over the world. (Moughtin et al., 1995) Another exam-
ple would be Gaudi’s lampposts in the City of Barcelona. In 1878 Gaudi was
commissioned by the mayor of Barcelona to design lampposts. The lampposts
at Placa Reial are still in place today and remain a symbol for the city. Street
furniture is a vital part of the discussion on place identity. Lynch claims that
cities offering a strong visual image of the public realm make it easier to under-
stand a place and navigate through it, which is achieved through establishing
a coherent design, e.g. street furniture, throughout the city. (Moughtin et al.,
1995)

To sum up, street furniture is a sub category of urban design. Benches, lamp-
posts, signs, post boxes or other types of street furniture give a certain look and
character to a place, they function as a landmark, have a strong social dimension
and can assist in establishing a sense of place and identity.
Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the research philosophy and methods used to collect the data and information for this research. It justifies and explains the chosen methods as the appropriate and most suitable ones, according to the aims and objectives of this research. The overall aim of the research is to give an answer to the hypothesis if street furniture undergoes a development from function to symbol and improves the quality of a space by creating a distinctive character and therefore establishes urban identity.

At first it is important to make the distinction between method and methodology. The term method refers to the tools of data collection, primary and secondary, such as literature reviews, questionnaires or interviews. The technique used in this research will be cleared and discussed in the research strategy chapter. The term methodology refers to a more philosophical meaning that underlies the research. (Blaxter, et al., 2006) The specific research philosophy will be explained in more depth in the next chapter.

3.2 Research Philosophy

The philosophical approach used in this research project is referred to as phenomenological and inductive. Regarding the aim of this thesis, which is to identify the role of street furniture in creating place identity, an inductive approach was considered to be the most appropriate one.

The inductive approach is data driven and starts out with the gathering of information to a relevant area. In inductive reasoning, the researcher performs observations and collects data. Secondly this data is analysed and from the basis of the analysis derives a theory and develops a conclusion. In this particular research this is gained through a questionnaire and on the basis of this em-
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

empirical data the conclusion is drawn. Furthermore the research uses “Historical Research”, which refers to the collection of data, facts and other information material in order to understand the past or a historical development. This approach is used to illustrate the two case studies. (Saunders, et al., 2007)

Phenomenology is embedded in the tradition of twentieth-century sociological theory and it has its origin in the thinking of the philosopher Husserl. It is a view on the empiric data without preconceptions or prior knowledge. It can be said that phenomenology is a person’s or group’s subjective understanding of the world and how this effects their environment. (Saunders, et al., 2007)

Figure 3.1: Observations London South Bank, Photo by Author

Phenomenology regards each phenomenon as unique. (Langdritle, 2007) As illustrated in the critical literature review the relationship between urban design and its perception and meaning to urban dwellers is a complex and unique one.
Moughtin (1992) argues that humankind is central to the study of urban design, as culture is never static and new values and meaning are given continuously, to urban design and street furniture. Facing this complexity and uniqueness a phenomenological approach is the most adequate for this research to provide an understanding of this particular phenomenon.

### 3.3 Research Strategy

The research conducted in this thesis is referred to as applied urban research.

“Applied urban research focuses on the processes and outcomes of urbanization with the goal of acquiring a sharper understanding for policy making purposes and providing a better quality of life for those of us living in urban centres” (Andranovich and Riposa, 1993: 6)

This research also categorises as comparative research, which means that a study is repeated two or more times. The idea behind a comparison is to show the degree to which facts fit different models. (Saunders, et al., 2007) Although urban areas differ significantly in terms of demography, history, political or social developments and economic wise, cities throughout the world share similar characteristics. Cross-city research can be a difficult task to undertake since often no adequate data is at hand, or the data available differs from city to city, which makes it difficult to compare. Therefore special attention needs to be paid to the reliability and comparability of data. (Andranovich and Riposa, 1993)
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This research also employs case study methods. Case study methods are referred to as in-depth studies of cases, which can include various methods, such as interviews or field research. When talking about case studies it is also important to consider that the scope of the study is relative to the case. In other words such a study is microscopic. In order to put it in perspective a comparison between cases is recommended. (Hamel et al., 1991)

The specific research strategy applied in this research is the gathering of both primary and secondary data. Secondary data is gathered through the critical literature review and the comprehensive portrayal of the two case studies. The phone kiosks and the Enzis, both have a history and therefore the conditions that determined their development need to be told. Intensive desk research builds the base for telling their story. Secondary is essential to understand and interpret the two cases and subsequently the primary data, which is obtained through a survey. Surveys are a way to gather information on people’s thoughts, opinions or behaviours.

“A survey is a system for collecting information to describe, compare, or explain knowledge, attitudes, and behaviour.” (Fink, 1995:1)

There are two contrasting examples of survey research, questionnaires and interviews, whereas interviews tend more to qualitative outcomes and questionnaires to quantitative. (Blaxter, et al., 2006)

3.4 Method

This particular research will be executed with a small-scale questionnaire administered in London and Vienna. The analysis shows the differences and peculiarities between the case of the Enzis and the phone kiosks in London and Vienna. In order to make a feasible comparison possible it is important to work with the same parameters and questions. Designing a second questionnaire would gain different data and would lead to challenging and complex or even impossible comparison. Therefore, in order to have a valid comparison, the survey needs to be carried out within the same conditions.

The questionnaire is administered to visitors of the research areas, which are South Bank in London and the MuseumsQuartier in Vienna. The answers should gain insights how users, at various levels long and short time residents as well as passers-by or tourists, perceive the site. It furthermore considers gender and age groups. The questions aim to identify to which extend urban design at the specific site creates place-identity. The survey in Vienna was available in English and German in order to maximize the number of respondents.
Surveys need to set a sample group, portion or subgroup that is representative of the overall population. Furthermore a sample size needs to be chosen. Depending on the sample size and the number of units taking part the survey will be more or less representative. (Fink, 1995) Therefore surveys are rather a snapshot in time and do not necessarily give enough information to give an accurate picture of the underlying processes. (Blaxter et al., 2006) The sample size chosen for this research was 50 -100 respondents per city. However combining the gathering of primary data through the questionnaire and secondary data through the critical literature review, a comprehensive research is achieved.

The survey is concurrent in both cases, London and Vienna, as the group of participants is randomly assembled both times.

### 3.5 Challenges and benefits of doing a questionnaire

Most certainly there are advantages and disadvantages when carrying out a questionnaire (based on Fink (1995), Blaxter et al. (2006), Andranovich and Riposa, (1993), Saunders et al. (2007) Hamel et al. (1991)).

An important advantage and the reason why a survey was chosen is that questionnaires are relatively easy to administer, efficient and expeditious. Most people are familiar with this type of questionnaire and can therefore participate easily. The type of survey in this respective research is referred to as self-administered questionnaire, which will be handed out to the participants at side. The respondents complete self-administered questionnaires without help from the interviewer. (Saunders et al., 2007)

One limitation that needs to be outlined here are ambiguous terms used in the questionnaire. Ambiguous terms are terms where no standard definition exists. (Fink, 1995) Ambiguous terms in this respective case are: object , place, city, quality, symbol etc. However ambiguous terms are unavoidable but it is important to consider them as a source of possible misinterpretation or misunderstanding. (Fink, 1995) Such ambiguous terms are however useable and
measurable if two or more people agree on the terms used to describe and conduct the questionnaire. A small test sample was organized and the outcomes were successful so the research was sound to be carried out.

Surveys offer the possibility to be repeated in the future, which allows to comparison between different cases or times. Furthermore surveys can provide a lot of data in a relative short amount of time, depending on the number of respondents. (Blaxter et al., 2006)

As explained above many people are familiar with this kind of technique and therefore are likely to participate. However as the survey is administered directly to the participants they can not chose their own time and setting to answer the questions as it would be the case in online or E-mail surveys. This might lead to fewer participants or less thought through answers regarding the open questions. Further limitations are implied by the usage of closed end questions, which leads to less comprehensive answers and restraints regarding individualised and in-depth answers.

Moreover it is important to dedicate enough time and preparation to make the overall nature and purpose as well as each single question clear and easy to understand for the participants. (Blaxter et al., 2006)

All these advantages and disadvantages were taken into account, and a range of guidelines, regarding the survey design, were followed in order to make this research a success.
3.6 Questionnaire Design

“Surveys are only as good as the questions asked.” (Andranovich and Riposa, 1993: 82)

The design of each question is determined by the data that needs to be collected. (Fink, 1995) This particular research provides qualitative and quantitative data, which is achieved by using open and closed questions. Both types of questions have their advantages and disadvantages. (Fink, 1995) Open questions or open-ended questions allow respondents to express their opinion in their own way and words. In questionnaires this type of question is used where detailed answers are required. With open questions three types of data variables are gained: opinion, behavior and attribute data variables. Opinion referring to how someone feels about a topic whilst attribute and behavior refer to who the respondents are and what they do. (Saunders, et al. 2007) Close questions on the contrary offer a limited freedom of answer by categorizing.

The distinction between qualitative and quantitative is important as it determines the way data is analysed (Blaxter et al, 2006). Quantitative data is more simply to analyse compared to qualitative data analysis, which involves drawing out underlying themes and issues. Most researches include qualitative as well as quantitative types of data among their research although one dominates (Blaxter et al, 2006). In this research the open-ended questions are analyzed by using a narrative section based on the content of the answers.

Another important detail of the questionnaire design is language. In order to maximize the number of respondents the survey will be available in English and in German. Saunders (et al. 2007) states that for international researchers it is extremely important that all questions, no matter in which language they are translated, have the same meaning to the respondents. For this reason Usunier’s translation techniques for questionnaires (cited in Saunders, et al. 2007) were used. Lexical, idiomatic, experiential meaning as well as grammar and syntax were considered.

3.7 Questionnaire Layout

A good layout is important to make the questionnaire a success. This is especially true in the case of self-administered questionnaires. An attractive layout will increase the number of respondents and encourages the respondents to give comprehensive replies. An overall guideline is to keep the visual appearance as well as the wording relatively simple. (Saunders et al., 2007) Regarding the length, Saunders et al. (2007) recommend to keep it short whilst still meeting the research objectives.

In order to acquaint participants with the purpose and the aim of the questionnaire and to avoid misunderstandings the questionnaire starts with an ex-
planatory introduction.

The final survey is included in the appendix of this thesis.

3.8 Summary of Methodology

The methodology and methods explained in this chapter help to answer the objective of this master thesis, which is to identify and describe the role of street furniture in cities. There are two methods used. Secondary data and information is gathered from different angles. Primary data is collected through the questionnaire. Together they build the basis for the analysis.

With a clear structure of the methodology outlined I want to resume to the overall aims and objectives of this research. Before discussing the two case studies in depth a summary of these aims and objectives and how they are achieved is provided:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Outline the hypothesis and research question</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify relevant issues and debates around urban design, street furniture and questions of urban identity</td>
<td>Assessing academic literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify the most relevant literature and provide a framework and give an overview of successful street furniture</td>
<td>Literature review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outline an overview of the research</td>
<td>Methodology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discuss and contrast the two case studies</td>
<td>Case Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify the role of Street furniture and its affects and meaning to different users of urban space</td>
<td>Achieved through communication with users of public space in London and Vienna – Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compare and Contrast Austrian and UK results</td>
<td>Assessing and analyse all collected data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analyse and evaluate if street furniture plays a role in creating place identity and provide an appropriate tool in enhancing urban public space</td>
<td>Summary and Conclusion of analyses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 4

Case Studies

As explained earlier the hypothesis of this thesis is a progression of successful street furniture. There are two specific qualities one can identify in all examples of successful or iconic street furniture, firstly functionality and secondly symbolism. A symbol is referred to an object or sign that represents something else or an idea of something. (Cambridge Dictionary, 2012) In this thesis I argue that street furniture undergoes a development from function to symbol. Benches or telephone boxes, in this case, therefore do not only stand for itself and the function they hold but for a certain city or area within a city. Following this argumentation, the next chapter takes a close look at two examples of street furniture to shed light on the relationship between function and symbol of street furniture and the role and meaning they have for authorities and local residents. The two examples are the Enzis in Vienna and the red telephone kiosks in London. This two examples were chosen because of their different stages of progression. The historical overview in the next chapters will illustrate their development.
4.1 MuseumsQuartier Vienna - Enzis

4.1.1 Context

In the 1990’s the city of Vienna was confronted with political transformations in central Europe as well as larger European and global transformations. The city was forced to re-examine its profile in this spatial restructuring process in order to remain a central player. The need for redefinition became more immediate with the EU enlargement in 2004, in which Prague, Budapest, Bratislava and other cities in close proximity established themselves as competitors. In this increasingly competitive environment, Vienna had to open up to an active marketing strategy, to promote itself as a city with social cohesion, great quality of life and an increasing urban lifestyle. Vienna’s international image is dominated as an old fashioned, city of music and a place of high culture. Furthermore, Vienna has always played an important role in the international urban hierarchy because of its long history, its cultural heritage and geographical position. To sustain its role Vienna created a new cutting-edge project. With the flagship of the MuseumsQuartier the city established itself as a more vibrant city and cultural centre with a diversified marketing plan aimed to attract a new and younger audience. (De Frantz, 2005)

The MuseumsQuartier (MQ) itself carries much history as well. The former court stables were built between the years 1719 and 1723 according to the plans of the court architect Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. After the First World War and with the end of the monarchy, the horse stables lost their former purpose and some buildings were sold while many remained unused. (Boeckl, 2001) Since the 1920s the court stables were used for fair grounds, later more intensely by the so-called Messepalast. (De Frantz, 2005) The idea to establish a museums or cultural complex goes back as far as 1977, where the political discourse on what to do with the contested entity started. (De Frantz, 2005) The next ten years saw several discussions on how to use the space; ideas from shopping
malls to hotels and so forth were thought through. The decision that followed, accompanied by political struggle, was to create some sort of cultural centre. A competition was initiated, which was won by the Austrian architectural duo Ortner and Ortner and in 1990 the federal ministry agreed on the MuseumsQuartier project. (MQ, 2012) The project, however, did not start to be built after the agreement but saw a wave of further discussions on the preservation of the cities heritage versus new and contemporary urban developments.

Several citizen initiatives were formed, including art historians and ecologists, to defend the inner city heritage, against the so-called “gigantomaniac monster”, a “tumor”, or “cancerous implant”. (De Frantz, 2005: 56) Even though Ortner and Ortner paid special attention to Vienna’s existing heritage and “designed the MuseumsQuartier with the intention of unifying the existing historic buildings with contemporary architecture.” (MQ, 2012)

A 7-year long lasting controversy on the preservation of the UNESCO world heritage of the inner city of Vienna and urban zoning began, involving all political parties and several Austrian newspapers. (De Frantz, 2005) However, in 2001 the project was finally inaugurated, even in a lighter version than initially planned. The concept of a Reading Tower, a multimedia skyscraper, which would have made the MQ visible from far away was abandoned and the other buildings were not allowed to be higher or had to be consistent with the existing structure. (Boeckl, 2001). The new site now fills the gaps between the older preserved buildings and does visually not affect Vienna’s historic cityscape. (De Frantz, 2005)

The MuseumsQuartier as Vienna’s new cultural district builds on to the existing structure with its connection to two big museums, the Kunsthistorische Museum Wien and the Naturhistorische Museum Wien. (Boeckl, 2001) With the project finally completed, and in public hands, with twenty-five percent belonging to the City of Vienna and seventy-five percent to the Republic of Austria, the MQ, became not only a cultural centre but part of the cities identity creating it anew as a vibrant city of the next millennium. Marketed as one of the biggest cultural complexes in the world, it is clearly a cultural flagship as defined by Freywhich, it is “characterised by a great prominence of tourists, a large number of visitors, exceptional architecture and a large role of commercialisation including a substantial impact on the local economy”. (cited in De Frantz, 2004) The MuseumsQuartier can also be defined as one illustrative example of “symbolic economy” according to Zukin (1995).

It is claimed, that the construction of the MQ, started a discussion concerning the role of the city as well as its historical, cultural and spatial context. The outcome does not only combine old and new architecture but also symbolises and represents a more divers urban vision for the City of Vienna. (De Frantz, 2005) This more pluralistic project was achieved by not only upgrading a certain area and building another “Bilbao-effect” cultural flagship project but instead
making it part of a bigger urban development vision and to increase Vienna’s competitiveness, against the background of urban competition, by offering new tourist attractions.

However, after its opening the MQ has been a major success, with about 2 million visitors in the first year (BMUKK; 2002). Walter Zschokke (2005) argues that the success is partly grounded in the location of the MQ. It is in close proximity of the historic city centre; the Mariahilfer Strasse, one of the biggest shopping streets in Vienna, and moreover, next to the MQ is a public transport hub. The MQ has a clear spatial definition between outside and inside, which makes it easy for the user to define the MQ. There is no traffic and it’s position allows many hours of direct daylight. Yet it success might also have to do with the so-called Enzis.

![MuseumsQuartier](image)

**Figure 4.2: MuseumsQuartier, Source: Zschokke, 2005**

### 4.1.2 Enzis

In the winter of 2002, the so-called Enzis were introduced to the, at the time, still new cultural complex of the MQ. Since they were first established the Enzis have been a major success and became an integral part of the Viennese urban landscape.

The original seating accommodation is made of ninety-eight percent of a material used in thermal insulation. It does not absorb temperature. They don’t get
hot in summer and do not draw heat from the person sitting on it in winter. The coating is a special type of polyurethane – available in different colours. An Enzi is three meters long, with a two meter seating area, one meter and twenty-five centimetres wide and about one meter high. Each Enzi weights about seventy kilograms and when put into water floats with a draft of only two centimetres. It can be carried and put in position easily by only two people. (PPAG, 2009)

Even the name Enzi, referring to the marketing and communication manager of the MQ Daniela Enzi, reflects a hip and modern urbanistic way of life, unlike most other urban furniture called, for example, “Modell Altstadt” or “Modell Tirol“. (PPAG, 2004)

Today, there are several versions of the Enzis available whereas the latest one, in place since 2009 in the MQ, is referred to as Enzo. The Enzo differs from the original in being not fully filled but coming with open parts. The Enzo is regarded as an optimized and updated version. However this thesis makes no particular distinction between the first and second version of the bench. The design is regarded as one, despite its two looks.

4.1.3 History

Wolfgang Waldner, director of the MuseumsQuartier from 1999 to 2011 commissioned Anna Popelka and Georg Poduschka (PPAG) a Vienna based architecture office, to create something for the inner courtyard of the MQ.

For the winter season 2002 the architects came up with Punch stands, typical for Vienna, made of large white blocks, giving an opportunity for rearrangement and multi-purpose use such as urban furniture. When they were first introduced their reception was rather negative. It was claimed that the architects “put up some incredibly abominable punch stands” in the MQ that look rather horrible. (Wurmdobler, 2004)
Nobody could foresee that the bulky, cumbersome pieces of furniture would change the whole perception of the different courtyards of the MQ and the way this public space is utilised. Nevertheless and despite the protesting neighbours the Enzis transformed the MQ by attracting masses of people to the complex, rather than just a few visitors to the museums and restaurants. The atmosphere within the whole complex suddenly changed.

Figure 4.5: Enzi-Igloos, Source: PPAG

4.1.4 A Story of Success

“In any case, the formal quality and the aesthetic urban effect were strong and surprisingly positive” (PPAG, 2004)

The success of the Enzis is partly grounded in the their aesthetics but more so it’s the effect they create. They invite people to sit down and relax, and offer the possibility to simply hang out and linger without any particular purpose. Anna Popelka argues that a major problem of city space is that often basic needs are not met. Basic things like eating and drinking are taken care of, but sitting, lying down, socialising, relaxing, just hanging out; there are not many places that serve these particular needs. (PPAG, 2004)

The popularity of the Enzis suggest a need for more sitting opportunities or even more, not only sitting opportunities but distinctive urban design to attract people and create vibrant city spaces. Jan Gehl dedicates a great deal of his work to sitting, and the importance of sitting possibilities in the public realm, concentrating on urban furniture. He argues that good sitting opportunities offer a prime possibility for successful public spaces. Activities such as talking, eating, napping, reading, or just watching other people are dependent on these opportunities. However, only when there are seating arrangements will people stop and sit down. This argument is backed by Whyte (1980) who states

“people tend to sit where there is place to sit”

providing a powerful argument for a more well-thought-out consideration of seating possibilities in public urban spaces. As argued by Whyte, people are drawn to places where actions occur, where people sit and where public life happens. (Whyte, 1980) A study on benches in Copenhagen illustrates this trend of popularity among seating opportunities close to areas that offer a lot of
social activity. Gehl further argues that the opportunity to see, hear and engage with other citizens is the most important attraction in the city centre (Gehl, 1971). Therefore citizens prefer seating opportunities to be orientated towards human activity.

“Almost without exception café chairs throughout the world are orientated towards the most active area nearby.” (Gehl, 1971:29)

In this sense, the placement of benches or other opportunities to rest are crucial to functional public places.

In addition, Anna Popelka even argues that the Enzis filled an emotional and spatial urban vacuum in Vienna. The Enzis bring colour, rhythm, playfulness, variety and fun into the urban public space. They come in human scale and seem to fit every kind of person, elderly, adults, teenagers, kids, students, locals and tourists. One Enzi offers enough room to give the possibility to sit or lie down either alone or in a group. Besides colours, material, the feel of the surface on the skin another feature of the Enzi highly contributed to its success; it promotes social interaction and communication.

4.1.5 Rearrangement

Whyte (1980) argues how important it is to humans to be able to personalise the space they occupy. His observation on free standing chairs, shows how people tend to rearrange them, even if just by a couple of centimetres in order to identify with the space. It gives a certain playfullnes to an area and can help to create identity.

This is also summed up by Anna Popelka, the Enzi with its abstract form offers the possibility to explore how to sit or lie on it. Unlike ordinary benches, its abstract form awakes the users curiosity, gives them the chance to discover and makes them creative. (PPAG, 2009)

“The kid that slides down one side of an Enzi has just discovered the slide for itself.” (PPAG, 2009:20)

As stated previously, one Enzi weights about seventy kilograms and can be easily moved. However the Enzis in the MQ are not supposed to be carried around and positioned anew, because it is wearing out the cover and material as people just slide them over the floor. There are always two Enzis tied together, which
make up 140 kilograms and therefore cannot be moved around as easily anymore. The newer version of the Enzis the Enzos weight even 130 kilograms and are consequently less likely to be moved around unauthorised. Contrary to what Popelka states the tied together Enzis and heavy Enzos do not allow the user to live out its creativity and experience the furniture anew.

Every year the Enzis and Enzos are presented in various formations, like circles or rows. It is the architectural duo itself that decides on the way they are put together. Nevertheless, as argued by Whyte and Gehl, it would be desirable to give the users the chance to change and rearrange in a way they feel comfortable.

An example of such free movable chairs can be found in Copenhagen in Prags Boulevard. As a community enhancement project the whole street was upgraded. Closing it to car traffic opened Prags Boulevard up to become a green, recreation area. The new scheme includes remarkable urban design, such as colourful streetlamps but most notable special chairs. The chairs are free standing and can be moved around freely to be re-arranged the way the users need it. This flexibility in the use of space established Prags Boulevard as a successful urban space in Copenhagen. (Greisen, 2011)

4.1.6 Colour Scheme

Every year the Enzis have a different colour scheme. The first generation was white because they were used as Igloos. The following summer the Enzis presented themselves in swimming pool blue, followed by light pink, pistachio green,
Freud-couch-red, almost-Austria-violet, lemon-ice-yellow and so forth. As argued previously there is a shift towards a more participatory design process. A light example of such user participation can be found in the case of the Enzis, where the audience could vote the colour of the Enzi. For several years such a public vote was held at the MQs website, where the users could decide between two different colours. In the year 2008 141,000 votes were cast (PPAG, 2009). In the years without public voting, the colours were chosen in discussion between PPAG and the directory of the MQ Vienna. In 2009 the Enzos replaced the Enzis and the colour voting had an end because the Enzos come in twenty-five different colours and are now beautifying the MQ in various colours at the same time.

4.1.7 City Marketing of Vienna

In 2005 PPAG received the “State Prize for Design” for the Enzis. Their success and high recognition value through unique design was soon recognised by the Vienna Tourist Board as a branding opportunity. The architects themselves state, the Enzis became a city trademark, they were shown in the broadcast of the New Years Day concert, along with the Stephansdom and Lipizzaner horses, other major landmarks and cultural representatives of the city of Vienna (PPAG, 2009).

The Vienna Tourist Board declared its interest a couple of years ago. It uses the Enzis actively as advertisement for the City of Vienna, exhibits them at different tourism fairs all over the world and tries to establish them as a city marketing tool. A special arrangement for the Haydn year 2009 was planned. The Enzis were about to conquer the entire inner city, swimming in fountains and standing at the Stephansplatz, however this project was abandoned. Many other projects were realised and the Enzis can be found in many different cities, not only in Vienna. This shows a clear shift towards commodification of the Enzis, through marketing.

In the year 2010, the Vienna Tourist Board exported eight Enzis to Spain in order to promote the City of Vienna with its particular way of style, the “Wiener Gemütlichkeit”. For three weeks the Enzis conquered the museums triangle in Madrid and the square in front of the MACBA or Museum of Contemporary Art in Barcelona. They were branded with the Vienna marketing slogan, “Viena. Ahora O Nunca” “Vienna now or never”, and were accompanied by hostesses offering Viennese sweets.
CHAPTER 4. CASE STUDIES

and flyers with information about the city. (Tourism Review, 2010)

In 2011 the as stated in the Tourism Review, iconic street furniture Enzi were sent on tour as an unusual advertising format. The Enzis visited several cities and gave “guest performances”. At a big culture festival in The Hague, at a music festival in Munich, again the museums triangle in Madrid and as part of a reading campaign in six different cities in Austria, Innsbruck, Bregenz, Slazburg, Klagenfur, Linz and Graz. (Tourism Review, 2011) The various social media campaigns around the Enzi tour can still be found online in respective languages. Even a computer game was developed where one had to stack Enzis in a Tetris manner and the fastest could win a trip to Vienna and an Enzi. The game was called “WIENzi – the cult game about the cult furniture” (Enzis on tour, 2011) (Wienzi, 2011)

4.1.8 Commodification

For a couple of years now Enzis have been available for private purchase. A special indoor series was developed, which can be nested and comes in a softer material. The various versions of the Enzis can be bought online via Enzi.at. Furthermore, merchandise including coffee mugs, key chains, T-shirts and even Enzi Chocolate is offered. According to Anna Lafite and Gilbert Berthold, team members of PPAG, the Enzi merchandise is mainly an idea of the MQ and they just provide the necessary data types and information to produce miniature Enzis. It is a side effect of the strong relationship that developed between PPAG and the MQ. PPAG has since the introduction of the Enzis designed several projects for the MQ, such as a DJ Booth, funky bike stands and toilets.

Several times Enzis were auctioned off, traditionally at the beginning of the summer season when the newly coloured Enzis are presented. The money was used to buy school benches in Africa. (PPAG, 2004)

As stated the Enzis can be bought online and the Vienna is not the only city presenting the special piece colourful street furniture. In 2012 twenty-two Enzis were given to the National Theatre London from the Mayor of London (Greater London Authority). They were arranged along South Bank to enhance the public area, specially during the Olympic Games. Nevertheless the Enzis remain a design that stands for Vienna as PPAG titled their press release for London “92 Austrian Athletes and 22 Edged Viennese Supporters in London for the Games!” (PPAG, 2012)
4.1.9 Controversy

In 2009, the MQ and the Enzis became part of a bigger discussion in the Viennese cityspace. With the success of the Enzis and the creation of a new and very successful public space, the MQ saw itself filled with crowds of young people occupying the MQ courtyards. Residents, living within the complex of the MQ started to complain about the increasing noise levels and masses of trash. The director of the MQ reacted with house rules and private security firm, which made sure people remained quiet, checked for alcohol and if necessary, forced visitors to leave, if they would not follow the house rules. (Falter, 2009)

This created a wave of indignation of the Enzi and MQ users. Within a week 20,000 people joined the facebook group “Freiheit im MQ” and a demonstration was held, for free public space without consumer stress. The issue was dealt with in the exhibition “Platz da” at the Architektur Zentrum Wien, as part of a major exhibition on public space its definition and the power relations within it. (Platz da, 2010)

The directory of the MQ reacted with more relaxed rules and an appeal to the users and residents to use moral courage. (Falter, 2009) This incident entails further discussions on the privatisation of public space. However due to limitations regarding lenght and scope of the thesis this topic is not addressed.

4.1.10 Conclusion

The MuseumsQuartier as explained, has become an important project for the City of Vienna and a major meeting place for its residents. It can be said that there was a need in Vienna for a new, contemporary urban public space. As Anne Popelka is quoted previously the Enzis filled an emotional and urban gap.

By going through several books on street furniture and street furniture design (van Uffelen, 2010) (Erlhoff, Heidkamp, Utikal, 2008) one has to say that the Enzis remain unique within the overflow of various kinds of street furniture used in public spaces all around the world. For example in the City of Vienna, where with the revitalisation of the Gürtel and area dominated by car traffic, new benches the so-called “Swinger” were introduce. Made of wood and steel, it follows the recommendations of the MA18, where rounded edges and

Figure 4.10: Swinger, Source: www.tw-arch.at
ergonomic shape should invite the passers-by to sit down and relax. According to van Uffelen (2010) its mix of sturdiness and esthetics makes it ideal street furniture. However one has to say that its design is nothing outstanding or new, easily to look over compared to the Enzis.

Figure 4.11: Wirl, Source: zaha-hadid.com; Regency benches: julianmayor.com

Often art can also function as street furniture, whereas sometimes these kind of merges, might be rather intimidating as they function as seat and sculpture. Examples are Wirl by Zaha Hadid or the so-called Regency Benches by Julian Mayor. The Enzis, appear to work the other way round, being a bulky piece of street furniture that might also work as a piece of art. (van Uffelen, 2010)

The material used for most outdoor furniture is either concrete, steel or wood. The foam block that the Enzis are made of is rather uncommon. Most street furniture tries to integrate and not take up a prominent place in the city and rather disappears. The Enzis take a much different approach, their colouring, is bright and something rather unique in urban furniture design.

However, what becomes clear is that the Enzis are more than just a bench in public space. Through its design it is already quite an eye catcher, but what really makes them unique is its reception by the audience. According to Gilbert Berthold (Interview, 10.August, 2012) part of the PPAG team, the Enzis are
so “strongly associated with urban life because this urban way of life is framed and produced by the Enzis spatial arrangement and extraordinary geometry.”

4.2 Red Telephone Boxes London

“A vibrant city of unexpected contrasts, or a disparate hotchpotch of architectural styles” (Edwards on London, 2008:6)

London has always been one of the most important cities in Europe and the rest of the world; it was and is a vital hub for economy, art, culture and architectural developments. Therefore questions of identity are particularly important. What kind of a city is London in the 21st century and what image does the city want to communicate?

London is a city that consists of many different villages, it offers the possibility to cross from one neighbourhood to another and see two completely different worlds. The communities around Brick Lane, for instance, are either crowded by London hipsters or Bangladeshi communities on the other side of the street, but are just a few minutes away from the CBD. Other areas have social housing blocks situated next to elegant villas. However, London the vibrant city remains in a constant state of flux. Gentrification is happening in several areas such as Brixton a former violence dominated area now being the centre of the hip crowd. (Taschen, 2008)

Figure 4.12: London Skyline, Source: /rwrant.co.za/london-skyline

Some claim that only few other cities are as important when it comes to design and style, in various disciplines such as fashion, art, music or architecture, as London. Which is one of the reasons the city’s face has changed over the last years with spectacular major architectural projects. For example by Lord Norman Foster, who created new landmarks with the City Hall or Swiss
Re building. Furthermore people from all over the world come to live and work in the City of London, which adds to its quality as a global city. Nevertheless, London manages to combine the old British flair and the internationality of a modern city, which is the key to the unique quality of London. (Datz, Kullmann eds., 2006)

Cañizares (2006) argues likewise when she states that London has been one of the most fascinating and important cities in the world throughout the more than 2000 years of its history - and continues to do so. It is as diverse in styles as it is in cultures, with architecture as one of its major disciplines. London offers an eclectic mix of historical landmarks and ground-breaking modern architecture, from major building projects involving several million Pounds to small-scale architecture involving local and international architects. (Cañizares, 2006)

A good example for London’s outstanding architecture is the development of Canary Wharf, which is now dominating the city’s skyline. By sheer physical dominance it represents the strongest change in the city’s topography in recent times and is becoming a landmark like Big Ben, likely to enter the cosmopolitan iconography of the city. (Ackroyd, 2000) Ackroyd also elaborates on the issue of the identity of London. Its ever-changing cityscape, from London to greater London, does not reflect a singular identifiable entity in its urban form. Being a Londoner is thus nothing more than a state of mind rather than an actual statement. It can be said that London holds several worlds within it. The old city and the modern city lie next to each other, whereas the one cannot live without the other.

“This is part of London’s power: Where the past exists, the future may flourish.” (Peter Ackroyd, 2000: 788)

It can be said that all new buildings and constructions, such as the Shard, the Gherkin or the development at Canary Wharf in the last years changed the cityscape enormously. The skyline of London is very different to how it was years ago. Such an enormous change might be threatening to the identity of a city. This identity in general is represented through architecture and its urban form. Many contemporary architects or developers share the idea that such an identity no longer exists or has no meaning in globalized places and therefore heritage does not have to be considered in new projects. (Crowhurst Lennard, S. and Lennard, H., 1995) Contrary it can also be argued that through the increasing fragmentation of London symbols are becoming more important.
Prince Charles made it his personal concern to raise awareness for the city’s past, its individual identity and the community responsibility with specific regards to architecture and urban planning. He pleads for an architecture that respects cultural tradition and identity. The focus on identity and belonging makes clear that these are major subjects of recent urban discourses. For this purpose he established the “Prince’s Foundation – For Building Community”. (Princes-foundation.org)

“. . . through that way, I do believe we have a better chance of first of all not wrecking this small island for the future and for your grandchildren and mine and great grandchildren. We can enhance it and leave it behind in a way that does reflect where we come from but also where we’re going because the two are interlinked. We can’t have a future without the past. There has to be a sense of timelessness, a living tradition that helps to maintain that sense of identity and belonging.” HRH The Prince of Wales, February 2011 (Princes-foundation.org)

In its advisory writing or streetscape manual “streets for all” the English Heritage provides clear policies and good practices for street management and the public space in general. They state:
“Retaining historic features keeps the streets individually and helps create a sense of place” (Streets for all, English Heritage, 2004)

They advise to preserve historic street furniture because it reinforces a local character and builds identity.

It can be said that the discussion on heritage and urban identity is an important one and a concern of several British authorities. The red telephone box is an illustrating example of the development of urban design, the meanings or identity attached to it and the use of cultural heritage.

4.2.1 History of the Phone Booth or ‘K’ for Kiosk

If one passes the streets of London today, and pauses for a moment at Parliament Square, he finds about ten traditional red phone kiosks aligned along the buildings of White Hall. Obviously, they are not placed at the square for their function as public payphone, but as a symbol of London’s heritage and identity. They create a sort of rhythm and add some colour to the space. Every day the square is frequented by tourists. The fact that they take pictures not only of Big Ben and Westminster Abbey, but also alongside and inside the symbolic K6 payphone kiosks demonstrates how significant and meaningful these boxes are today. The following section discusses the history and development of the phone kiosks.

With the beginning of the 1880s public phone kiosks became an important matter in England and the first booths were put in use. As the earliest phone booths were rather dissatisfying and since they were so rare no standardised style was in place. With the increasing use of the phones and a merger of the “The National Telephone Company” and the “Post Office” the need for relatively low cost kiosks arose. Consequently the “Postmaster General” held a competition to design new phone kiosks in 1924. The requirements for entries were that the kiosks had to be constructed in cast iron and a maximum cost of 40 Pounds per unit was set. Several famous architects of that time were invited to participate. The models were then displayed at the National Gallery where the Fine Arts Commission selected the best phone kiosk. The winner was a design by the well-known architect Sir Giles Gilbert Scott referred to as Kiosk No. 2 or short just K2. (Johannessen, 1994)

“Scott’s classically inspired design was neat and effective.” (Johannessen, 1994:6)
Little modifications had to be made and the kiosk was put in production and conquered the streets in 1926. The final design consisted of a neoclassical cast iron cubicle, small glass panels in order to repair damage in minimum time and a top panel featuring a crown at all four sides. Due to the use of cast iron the kiosk weighed more than a ton. (BT Archives, 2012) In any case the most important and distinctive feature was its bright red colour. Due to its production costs of 50 Pounds per unit the kiosk was almost exclusively deployed in London and only in a few special cases found its way to other destinations. (Johannessen, 1994)

“It is regarded as a masterpiece of modern industrial design and has acquired iconic and international status.” (English Heritage, 2011: 8)

In 1935, the K6 phone booth, a bit smaller and overall painted red, was introduced for the jubilee of King George V. Once again Sir Giles Gilbert Scott functioned as designer, which explains its similar look to the K2. Like its precursor the K6 or Jubilee kiosk holds the crown on the top panel, the symbol of
CHAPTER 4. CASE STUDIES

The K6 is one of Gilbert Scott’s most famous works and stands for the most common survivors of replacement and reduction of phone booths throughout the country.

4.2.2 Design

Between the K2 and its famous successor the K6 several other models and designs were produced and put into use. The K3 followed more or less the design of the K2, but was made of concrete, leading to a cheaper and lighter outfit. The colouring was also different; partly because of the material used the K3 came in beige. The material is also the reason why the K3 did not become a success. The concrete was prone to cracks and difficult to clean. It was in use until 1929. The K3 was followed by K4, a much bigger and bulkier kiosk, which was intended to be a replacement for post offices as it included a stamp vending machine. The machines were too noisy, which is part of the reason why they were abandoned shortly after their introduction. Only 50 pieces were produced and British Telecom calls it “a fantastic failure”. (BT Archives, 2012) K5 was made of wood as a temporary kiosk; however, it never made it into mass production. The next one in the row of phone kiosks was the famous K6, as introduced above. The following model, the K7, was made of aluminium - a material that turned out to be inferior in combination with the English weather. Only five were made. K8 was a model introduced in the 1960s mainly following the successful K6 design scheme with bigger glass fronts. (Johannessen, 1994)

With the 1980s the phone box saw a complete new design, the KX100 features stainless steel and a big glass front. Followed by a similar version referred to as KX Plus. Because of these completely different designs British Telecom conducted intensive research on customer’s opinions in 1996. Even though the new design of the KX series was easier to use, improved accessibility for dis-

the General Post Office. It is smaller, about 8’3’’ tall (2.4 metres) and weighs only 762 kg, half as much as its companion the K2 box. Unlike the K2, which was put in use mainly in London, the K6 made itself present throughout the country. It became the first standard kiosk and was provided in every city or town with a post office as part of the Jubilee celebrations. This resulted in a rapid spread of the K6 with more than 8000 units in the first year. Later on kiosks were installed upon request of local authorities against a fee. Until the end of production in 1968 there were about 70,000 K6 telephone kiosks in Great Britain. (BT Archives, 2012) (English Heritage, 2011)
abled users and was more transparent, customers still felt that the new phone boxes were not satisfying enough. Popular opinion asked for a rounder and softer shape and demanded a colour, whereas the bright red as intended by Sir Giles Gilbert Scott seemed to be the most adequate one, of course also because of its reference to the old K6 models. (BT Archive, 2012)

What becomes clear is that there are many dimensions of design that make an object particular, such as size, material, durability, more and more its user-friendliness and accessibility as well as its meaning and symbolism to the public. All these qualities add to the success of public furniture.

![Figure 4.17: “out of order” in Kingston-upon-Thames by David Mac, Source: FileElectronicFestival.com](image-url)
4.2.3 Heritage

Heritage can be defined as a plural and contested entity that transports values and ideas. (de Frantz, 2004, Graham, 2002) According to Graham heritage is “[...] conceptualised as the meanings attached in the present to the past [...]” (Graham, 2002:1). Furthermore Graham argues that heritage is a part of the past that was chosen for contemporary purpose, either cultural or economical. “Clearly, it is an economic resource; one exploited everywhere as a primary component of strategies to promote tourism, economic development and rural and urban regeneration.” (Graham, 2002:1006). However due to the limitations of this thesis, the discussion surrounding questions of cultural heritage are not discussed in depth.

With the privatisation of British Telecom in 1984 and the subsequent introduction of newer phone booths of the KX series, many K2s and K6s got replaced, were sold or auctioned. Some were thrown away and some found their way to bizarre places all over the world. At this time, British Telecom started working with the Department of Environment and English Heritage and identified K2s and K6s in place to be listed as cultural heritage. (BT Archives, 2012)

In the cultural heritage-listing guide of England, telephone kiosks along with letterboxes, form the category “Communication”. They state that the phone boxes are worth of protection because they are “iconic and cherished in the public consciousness”. (English Heritage, 2011) The aim of English Heritage is to either retain them as long as possible or to reintroduce whenever possible.

A problem the City of London faces with the telephone boxes, is that many payphone companies install kiosks in various locations, which leads to streets that appear crowded and clustered. The English Heritage even states that this displacement “[...] is illustrative of a collapse of civic pride, eroding London’s image as a world city[...]” (Streets for all, 2000:26)
A similar argumentation is made by authors, such as Gehl (1971), (2010), Whyte (1980) and Moughtin et al. (1995), who claim that little or no attention is paid to the placement of utilitarian street furniture in cities. Signs, lampposts, and kiosks seem to be scattered all over the place with little consideration of the overall effect. The English Heritage fund pleads for more control and proper regulations through urban development offices over the design and positioning of telephone kiosks in order to present a common design scheme and a coherent townscape. The general recommendation of English Heritage is for local authorities to identify appropriate areas since well-placed kiosks can help to define the character of a space. (Streets for all, 2000)

British Telecom has subsequently changed its policy and instead of replacing old phone boxes, they follow English Heritage’s recommendation to retain and reintroduce K6 kiosks all over England even if they are not listed. By today over 15,000 kiosks, of which 360 are located in London, are listed as heritage sites and the K6 is now a registered design of the British Telecommunications plc. In general, all K2 kiosks are listed and K6s get listed depending on location and proximity to other designated buildings. (English Heritage, 2011)

Figure 4.19: BT Art Boxes, Source: www.bartboxes.com

### 4.2.4 The Phone Booth today

“In 2002 there were 92,000 payphones on our streets, today there are only 51,500 kiosks, including 11,000 red phone boxes across the UK.” (BT Press Release, April 2012)

In 2011 the K6 kiosk celebrated its 75th anniversary, for which reason BT sold 60 original K6 telephone kiosks. The refurbished phone booths were to be purchased with a starting price of 1,950 Pounds. This was the first time BT sold original K6’s to the public since 25 years, when during the introduction of the
KX series thousands of old kiosks were discharged and sold with the introduction of the KX series in the early 1980s.

Katherine Ainley, general manager for BT Payphones states:

“Now you can buy a 20th century design icon that’s famous around the world for your home and garden…” (BT Press Release, April 2012)

To mark the anniversary BT donated six K6 telephone kiosks to the London Design Museum, where they were accepted into the permanent collection as British design classics.

In the past five years payphone use has declined by 80% and more than 60% of all payphones in place lose money. One might say that the payphone has run its course. Nevertheless, BT is obliged by the Universal Service Obligation to provide working phone boxes to everyone. Therefore they have to follow a certain set of rules if they want to remove a phone box. Much debate is caused by this duty and its effectiveness in a country where 92% of all adults own and use a mobile phone regularly. (Ofcom.org.uk, 2012) Nevertheless, it is argued that payphone kiosks are particularly needed in rural areas where network coverage is poor. (Insley, 2012)

Since BT is forced to keep the kiosks in place, but 60% of the kiosks in place lose money, they were looking for a new way of generating the upkeep, since they are part of Britain’s heritage and have a historical and visual appeal. BT came up with many ideas to give the red phone boxes a new purpose, including advertisement to make up for its financial loss, or a combination of Wi-Fi and cash machine services. A loss of functionality and shift towards symbolism can be clearly seen here.

However, their most successful scheme is know as “Adopt a Kiosk”. Since 2008 BT is running this programme in order to give the out-dated, but precious phone boxes a new purpose. Until today more than 1,800 phone boxes had been adopted.

Any authority, community or registered charity can apply for a phone booth. The kiosk then officially changes ownership when bought for 1 Pound. Next, BT - if required - removes any telephone equipment and the phone box is ready for
new usage. (Payphones.bt, 2012)

Several examples were critically acclaimed by the British Press. Phone kiosks are now used as libraries, mini-bars, grocery shops, information centres, or even life saving boxes with defibrillators instead of telephones. (bbc.co.uk, 2009) (Morris, 2009)

4.2.5 The famous K6 in Popular Culture

There are several appearances of the K6 in music or the art world. The rear cover of David Bowie’s album “The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars” from 1972 shows Bowie posing in a typical red telephone box. The kiosk is located in Heddon Street, London and according to fan sites still many fans pilgrimage there to leave messages or take pictures. (5years.com, 2012)

The performance-artist Tom Jones paid a little fortune of 50,000 Pounds to have an original K6 box shipped over to his home in California. (Morrison, 2007)

The phone kiosk is also seen in many movies such as “2001: A Space Odyssey”, “Die Hard” and “Dirty Harry”, “Dr Who” travels in a phone booth through time, even if it is only a similar type of style blue police phone box. The use of the phone kiosks in art and entertainment created a narrative for the contemporary iconography of the phone kiosks.

However the most recent appearance, which saw a critical reception was by the contemporary British artist Banksy in 2006. Banksy, similarly to Andy Warhol in the 60s with Campbell’s soup cans, used an everyday item to exploit its iconic image. He placed a deformed phone booth with a pickaxe in its side and red colour like blood streaming from it at Soho Square in Central London. This action was interpreted by some as a critique on BT’s way of dealing with British Heritage through the constant removal of traditional phone kiosks. (Morrison, 2007) BT on the contrary welcomed it and used Banksy’s guerilla sculpture as an image campaign. According to a BT spokesman “This is a stunning visual comment on BT’s transformation from an old-fashioned
telecommunications company into a modern communications services provider."
(bbc.co.uk, 2006)

Even in the book *London Style* (Taschen, 2008), a collection of pictures of London, the famous phone booth is not missing. Furthermore, there are several photo communities on the web, which trace red phone kiosks all over the world and exchange their encounters and stories over flickr. (Flickr.com, 2012) Another example is the book “Requiem for a Red Box” by John Timpson a photo collection that traces the story of the phone kiosks. (Timpson, 1989)

The phone box is cherished and loved throughout the world. For a full on experience one can even visit the

Figure 4.22: David Bowie

Figure 4.23: Banksy phone kiosk, Source: www.banksyunmasked.co.uk
360cities.net website and get to be virtually standing inside a K2 Telephone box in the City of London. (360cities.net, 2012)

4.2.6 Commodification and Marketing

Walking through London today, one will find various kinds of replicas of the famous phone kiosks in shops all over the city. A full commodification has happened where not just the phone kiosk itself can be bought as original or as a light weight replica, but numerous items showcasing the phone booth from key chain over handbags, bottle openers, shirts to phone cases are available.

The phone kiosk is a magnet for tourist. Clever marketing strategies, such as the “BT ArtBox” project, just at the start of the London Olympics 2012, make use of the icon as a tool to attract visitors and to show off the British heritage icon.

The ArtBox project invited artists and designers from all over the world to re-style a full-size replica of a K6. Famous artists, such as Turner prize winner Keith Tyson or fashion designer Zandra Rhodes are part of the ArtBox project. The newly designed phone kiosks were on display for about a month just before the start of the Olympics. They were featured at various public spaces in London to promote BT’s image and to give tourists the option to experience a whole new look of the traditional British icon. The boxes were then auctioned for the charity “ChildLine”. The project was among several private businesses and newspapers, funded by the major of London and several borough councils throughout the City of London.

Today the phone boxes’ symbolic meaning to the City of London is also exploited as marketing and branding tools. Even though the kiosks were built as something functional and utilitarian, they became much more, a beloved item in public space, a historical and national landmark.

Charty (2012) in his article on “Timeless Branding Lessons from the Red Phone Box” compares the success of the phone box to traditional branding schemes, which attempt to establish emotional connections between objects and audience. The kiosks have become their own brand, symbolic of more than just BT,
a telecommunications company. As exemplified above with the increasing use of mobile phones the phone boxes become more and more obsolete. Nevertheless, its symbolism is stronger than the function it originally was intended for. So even though its original purpose is gone, the design, its form and red colour are more powerful and valuable; therefore they are kept in place, although in fact economic loss is created. Charty claims the telephone boxes are a branding tool with strong identification, bridging geographical and cultural barriers. The phone kiosks are recognised all over the world and their commodification is another proof of the international success. Replicas and originals are sold to bars, restaurant and private collectors all over the world. (Charty, 2012)

For BT one might say that the kiosks became an essential part of their marketing, with initiatives like the ArtBox project as illustrated above or the Adopt a Kiosk programme, which increases their exposure and BT does not have to take care of the removal and disposal of the phone kiosks.

The City of London, with the support of projects such as ArtBox uses the kiosk as part of their city branding and marketing. Furthermore, the kiosks with their presence all through out the country but particularly at important tourist spots in the capital are used as informal city marketing. The examples from popular culture make clear what important role the phone box play within British culture. It can be said the kiosk has secured its place in cultural history.

It becomes clear that the red telephone kiosks have developed such a strong character that its symbolic function goes beyond its actual purpose, they contribute strongly to the London’s identity and are immediately recognised all over the world. It is even argued that when the red telephone boxes were removed, the city would compromise its identity. (Frankl, Sanches, 2010)

Figure 4.25: Examples of commodification, pencil box & bag showcasing K6, Photo by Gisèle Vervoort and author
Chapter 5

Results and Analysis

5.1 The Research

The research was carried out in summer 2012 at the Themes Walk South Bank in London and the MuseumsQuartier in Vienna. It involved a total of 70 respondents in the UK and 83 respondents in Austria. Respondents were chosen at random at the area. Every attempt was made to have a wide range of respondents regarding age and gender. The questionnaire in Vienna was available in German and English in order to increase the number of respondents. The respondents were approached by the researcher personally followed by a little introduction. The questionnaires are included in the Appendix.
5.2 Who were the respondents?

Table 5.1 shows the respondents to the questionnaire with regards to gender:

![Gender London Table](image)

Upon the respondents in London 44% were male and 50% female. In Vienna 52% were male and 47% female. The remainder did not state their gender.

Among these 52% respondents categorised as “Tourists/Visitors”, 8% “short-time residents” and 39% as “long-term residents” in Vienna. In London 26% were “Tourists/Visitors”, 24% “short-term residents” and 46% “long-term residents”. The rest did not give information on their resident status. The higher number of tourists and visitors in Vienna might be explained by the fact that the research was conducted on a weekend compared to London where the questionnaires were handed out on weekdays.

Tables 5.2 and 5.3 show the distribution of age. Table 5.4 and 5.5 present the distribution of nationalities of the respondents in Vienna and London.
CHAPTER 5. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

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Figure 5.2: Age

Figure 5.3: Age

Figure 5.4: Nationalities London
In London respondents came from 18 different countries with the majority, 54%, being British. Among the respondents in Vienna 15 countries were represented, with 39% being Austrian. Regarding ages a broad distribution was achieved.

5.3 Awareness and Opinion on selected Street Furniture

In London, 36% were familiar with the Enzis and 94% with the kiosks. Compare this to Vienna, where 75% recognised the Enzis and 99% the red phone kiosk. With respect to the high number of different nationalities in both cases, the survey results suggest that the phone boxes as well as the Enzis are recognised worldwide. The higher rate of recognition of the phone kiosks may be due to the fact that they have been in place for 75 years. The Enzis have only been in place for ten years which may be a reason why fewer respondents correctly identified them.
5.4 Attitude towards functionality and symbolism

The next questions were concerned with the functional and symbolic character of the Enzis and phone kiosks.

The survey shows that the majority of the respondents regards both examples of street furniture as functional. In both cities more than three quarters of the people considered the phone kiosks as symbolic, whereas the Enzis are for the most part not labelled symbolic. Still the number of people regarding the Enzis as symbolic is significantly higher in Vienna, which correlates with the fact that more people know what an Enzi is and therefore have a better idea about it and what it might stand for. Figure 5.3 shows the respondents’ opinions regarding the functionality and symbolism of selected street furniture.

As discussed in the literature review, the term urban design refers to creating an item that combines function and value. (Bencseky, 2008) It can be said that both cases the Enzis and the K6s succeed in doing so and can be regarded as successful street furniture.

In London 90% said that the Enzis are functional but only 27% thought they are something symbolic. The respondents in Vienna stated with 99% that the Enzis are functional and 45% regarded them as symbolic.

In London 90% regarded the phone kiosks functional and 79% as something symbolic. In Vienna 92% stated that the phone kiosks are functional and 78% said they are symbolic.

When asked what the Kiosk stands for the most frequent answers of the respondents in London were: London or icon of London, Great Britain, British tradition, symbol for Great Britain or Britishness. Some stated it stands for tradition, the past, something left from the previous era, old movies, the old times, for the history and enduring quality of Great Britain. Others stated some more
rational thoughts such as: communication, a telephone, an old style telephone kiosks, talking to people. One person stated that it stands for its special design. The more humorous were: Dr. Who and junkies.

The answers in Vienna did not differ much. The most common reply was London followed by England and Great Britain. A symbol for London, a symbol for British Culture, London style, history and identity of England and tradition was the next group of answers. Again some people answered: telephone, communication or calling someone. Interestingly in Vienna more people stated: Dr. Who and only one person said that the phone kiosk stands for the past.

What becomes clear is that the phone box is heavily associated with a locality. Even though this was an open-ended question and the respondents were freely associating, the most frequent answers in both cases were London, Britain and England.

The most frequent answers, in the London sample, for what the Enzis stands were: modern, modernity, art followed by sitting, resting, relaxation or sharing comfort together. Some answered: functionality, playfulness, experimental, unity. Two people said it stands for the MuseumsQuarter Vienna, and one stated it could be a symbol.
Figure 5.8: What does the Enzis stand for? left: London; right: Vienna

In Vienna the most frequent answers were MQ, art and culture, urban lifestyle, youth, city culture, relaxing in the city, a new cooler Vienna. The second most mentioned terms can be recapped as Vienna, Austria, a symbol for MQ, followed by get together, comfort, lying down, encounter, meeting or “reunir les gens”.

It can be concluded that the respondents in London commented more on the functionality of the Enzis whereas in Vienna the respondents commented more on its symbolic dimension.
5.5 Place Association

When specifically asked with which place the Enzis and Phone kiosks are associated, respondents in London stated the following:

In London 51% associated the Phone Kiosks with London. In Vienna the number was even slightly higher with 72%. It is evident that the phone kiosks are highly associated with London and furthermore with England and the British Empire in both cases. In the London sample the Enzis are rarely associated with a specific place, only 14% associated them with the MQ and 9% with Vienna. However it needs to be noted that among the people who associate the Enzis with a place, more respondents put the Enzis in the context of the MuseumsQuartier than associate it with Vienna. In Vienna the number of people associating a place with the Enzis was as expected higher than in the UK. With 76% of the respondents doing so, the Enzis are highly associated with the MQ, or subsequently Vienna and Austria. It must be added here that the higher number of people associating the Enzis with the MQ might also be explained by the fact that the questionnaire was carried out in the MuseumsQuarter and its surroundings.
As explained by Solá-Morales (2010) previously, street furniture does hardly manage to represent the urban whole. In this context it can be argued that successful or iconic street furniture as for example the two case studies can develop such a symbolic character and represent not only a single space but city space in general. The example of the Enzis and red phone kiosks support this claim. Furthermore the high number of people clearly associating the respective piece of street furniture with a city suggest that in both cases place identity is created through urban design. The claim of a progression from function to symbol might also be supported by the high number of respondents who associated the K6 phone kiosk with London, where it has been in place since 1936. The smaller number of people associating the Enzis with Vienna is therefore not surprising since they have only been in place for 10 years. It can be said that higher numbers of recognition develop over time followed by an increasing association with a specific place.

5.6 Motivation to visit the MuseumsQuartier

The Viennese sample had an additional question asking why people chose to visit the MuseumsQuarter. This question was asked to determine if the Enzis are a reason the MuseumsQuartier is visited.

![Motivation MQ Visit](image.png)

Figure 5.11: Motivation
Surprisingly only 36% stated the museums as the reason for their visit, 23%
come for the Cafes and Shops and 72% come to the MQ to hang out. This high
number may reflect the importance of the MuseumsQuarter as an urban public
space in Vienna. The following question was. “If to hang out, why here?” and
was answered most frequently with comments such as: the atmosphere, to re-
lax, people, cool, vibe of the place, mood, nice, different, full of life, comfortable.
Others commented on the various possibilities, nice food, drinks or Wi-Fi and
one person explicitly mentioned to come there for the library of the Architektur
Zentrum. Others stated they come to the MQ because its for free, no traffic,
calm and for the quality of life. Another comment was “benches in the sun”,
nevertheless only one person commented to come for the Enzis.

Thus there is a solid core of people, who visit the MQ not for its museums
or other attractions but because of its quality as an urban meeting place.

When looking into the correlation of age and the motivation to hang out it be-
came apparent that the MQ is a meeting place for young people. Even though three people of the over 60 group stated they come here to hang out whilst 32 respondents under 30 do so. Since mainly young people come to spend time in the MQ without specifically using any of its institutions they are primarily using the public space of the inner court yard and therefore also the Enzis. It can be argued that the amount of young people using the Enzis helped to establish their image as a young urban item.

## 5.7 Consumer Interest

When asked about their interest to acquire a piece of the respective street furniture, 17% of the respondents in the UK would buy an Enzi and 34% would buy a kiosk. Only 13% of the respondents in the Vienna want to buy an Enzi and a slightly higher number 22% expressed their interest in purchasing a phone kiosk.

![Figure 5.13: Consumer Interest](image1)

![Figure 5.14: Consumer Interest](image2)

In general it can be said that the respondents showed a rather modest interest in purchasing the street furniture elements. However, the correlation between reported interest to purchase and the motivation to purchase showed interesting results on the case of the phone boxes. In London 11 respondents would buy it for symbolic reasons and even in Vienna seven respondents stated they had an interest in buying a phone kiosk because of its symbolism.

It might be argued that the symbolic dimension is so strong, that even when detached from its original urban surrounding and placed into a private garden or house it retains its iconic or symbolic character. This is also supported by other re-purposing schemes, like “Adopt a Kiosk” or the ArtBox project. In the
case of the Enzis its symbolism is no motivation for purchase in neither city. The Enzis received more comments on its design and the functional dimension, whereas these were mainly regarded as reasons not to buy one. It needs to be noted that many respondents added that it is too big or bulky and that they have no space for it.

5.8 Quality of Place

In London 83% stated that the Enzis add to the quality of a place and 88% stated that the phone kiosks do. Vienna had similar results with 94% agreeing that the Enzis add to the quality of a place and 72% said the same thing for the phone boxes. The numbers refer to the valid percentage. It is evident that both examples increase the quality of city space. In order to determine why, they were asked to state if they are “Comfortable/ Useful”, “Beautiful/ Attractive”, “promote social interaction” or “Symbolic/ Unique”.

Even though, in the case of London, the Enzis were widely regarded as adding to the quality of place only 23% stated that they are beautiful or attractive. 49% thought that they promote social interaction and 62% said that they are comfortable and useful. When asked in an open-ended question why the Enzis add to the quality of a place it was stated that they are unusual, interesting and create an outdoor livingroom. Regarding the phone kiosks 70% of the respondents stated they are symbolic and only 25% said they are useful.

In Vienna the results were similar only 29% stated that they are beautiful or attractive. 80% said they are comfortable/ useful and only 33% said they are symbolic/ unique. For the phone kiosks 22% said that they are useful, whereas 56% state them to be symbolic.
The survey shows that both types of street furniture enhance the overall quality of the respective cities. It is mainly the functional quality of the Enzis that improves a space. The phone booths on the contrary add to the quality of a place because of their symbolic character. As stated previously Gehl and Gemzøe stress that a better quality of urban spaces enhances the experience of city life. (Gehl, Gemzøe, 2000) Despite the importance and impact of these
factors on urban life, nearly no city has a department concerned with design and use of public spaces or street furniture in particular, stresses Gehl (2010).

5.9 Attitudes towards heritage

In London 13% agreed to recognise the Enzis as National Heritage. Surprisingly in Vienna the number was with 10% slightly less even though more respondents are acquainted with the furniture. This was mainly argued with: the Enzis being too young; identity needs a history, not long enough in place, not yet. The respondents arguing for the Enzis as national heritage stated them as being typical for the area and unique.

63% of all respondents in the UK have used a phone kiosk, whereas in Vienna only 41% have ever made use of a red phone kiosk. Nevertheless in both countries more than 90% of the respondents do not agree to remove the red phone kiosks if everyone had a mobile phone.

Even though this was an open-ended question nearly every respondent expressed why the phone boxes should or should not be kept in place. The large number was unexpected as none of the other open questions was answered as detailed.
Surprisingly the arguments for keeping the phone boxes in place were the same in London and Vienna, see Figure 5.15 and 5.16. The predominant reasons were: it is a symbol, icon, beautiful, cult, functional or still functional, I like it, attractive, its design, unique. A more practical reasoning was: emergencies, and if you lose or forget your phone, battery dies, public phones are needed. Other comments were again arguing for its importance for a specific place: it’s a landmark, symbol for London, London style, part of London, history, British, British heritage, tradition, culture, an element of memory, nostalgia, recognition, reminder of the past, sentimental memory of a collective. Again some more original ones were: a nice splash of colour in the city or Dr. Who.

This strong call for the K6 kiosks and the need for them to remain in the public realm makes clear that they have a strong symbolic meaning to most people. This might be connected to the increasing globalisation and the “crisis of identity” (Hall, 1992 and Gospodini, 2004). The shift of cities to more heterogeneity might increase the need for objects within the urban realm that represent a certain heritage to identify with.

5.10 Opinion groups

Next I looked into different groups, a cross-reference between the questions if the Enzis or phone kiosks are functional and symbolic and gender, age groups
and resident status was made in order to see possible connections. However this comparison did not gain any significant results.

When comparing the different attitudes of male and female towards the Enzis and phone kiosks and their functionality and symbolism, no big differences were observed. The same is true for different ages, the age groups from under 20, 20s, 30s, 40s, 50s and over 60s did not differ much in their opinion if the Enzis or phone booths are symbolic or functional. There was also no significant difference of opinions between tourists, visitors, short-term residents or long-term residents.
Chapter 6

Conclusion and Recommendation

This chapter provides the key findings and recommendations of the research in response to the set objectives.

In this thesis I have addressed the role of street furniture. The research was guided by questions concerning function and symbolism: why is some street furniture successful while some is not? Does it have to do with its function or with its symbolic dimension? Furthermore, I wanted to find out if at some point the symbolic dimension becomes more important than the function. In order to identify if successful urban street furniture undergoes a development from function to symbol the research was based on two case studies of urban street furniture: the Enzis in Vienna and the K6 telephone kiosks in England.

Objectives 1 and 2 were concerned with identifying relevant issues and literature on urban design and street furniture. The literature review provides an overview of the context, the most relevant argumentations and trends. It becomes clear that there are several concepts and approaches that underlie urban design. We live in globalised cities and societies that change at a fast pace, often at the expense of local heritage and historic identity. Street furniture can be an urban design tool for preserving place identity in the midst of such change. The creation of place identity through urban design can also be used as a tool of place branding, a theme that becomes increasingly important as cities stand in close competition against each other (Gospodini, 2004).

As argued in the literature review, cultural projects have an impact on cities on several levels (Evans, 2003) (Yeoman et al., 2003). It can be argued that the same is true for street furniture, which works on national and local levels. As argued previously globalisation makes cities throughout the world become more alike and as Augé claims create non-places. (Augé, 1995) This loss of identitiy
can be overcome through street furniture as it can create a certain character, promote a specific area and foster community, a topic of increasing importance for post-modern societies. Furthermore street furniture has a certain meaning to local residents and can function as a symbolic representation of them. On an international level street furniture is made use of as a tool of place branding promoting an image. A commodification of the symbolic character it holds is taking place.

Street furniture works first and foremost on the local level and if it proves itself successful on this bottom level and is embraced by local users it can develop symbolic value as well. Once street furniture achieves symbolic character it can be used on a different scale such as in international tourism and marketing. This development is a bottom up process, from a neighbourhood to a global level.

Thus it can be said public space and its design become more and more important, especially in times of social marginalisation and global competition. (Erlhoff, Heidkamp, Utikal, 2008)

Objective 3 was to give a comprehensive outline of the applied methodology.

Objective 4 and 5 aimed to outline an overview of the two cases and compare and contrast them. The information was gained through extensive desktop research and by carrying out a questionnaire in both cities. Even thought the two case studies might differ much in history and function interesting results were gained. The following can be concluded:

Gospodini (2004) stated that innovative design contradicts existing urban patterns and changes the structure of urban spaces. Often Vienna is referred to as the city of the 19th century, an image emphasised by the city’s recognition by UNESCO as world heritage site. The Implementation of the MuseumsQuartier started a citywide discussion on the complex problem of heritage protection versus contemporary urban development. Therefore the question of contemporary design of public space is an important one, especially in a city with as much history as Vienna. The question if old, historicizing furniture should be kept in place or if contemporary furniture should be used is a difficult one. In 1995, the City of Vienna expressed its interest in implementing more innovative new design and working with young designers and architects.

“...new urban furniture for Vienna represents a felicitous combination of experience and innovation – a blend that will continue to grace the streets and squares of Vienna from now into the next millennium.” (Dr. Hannes Swoboda, Executive City Councillor for Urban Development, Planning and External Relations of the City of Vienna, 1995)

It needs to be noted that this just might be a marketing statement. The Enzis seem to be changing the urban landscape of Vienna in the way Gospodini ar-
concluded. They are a soft or acupunctural urban design scheme that gives the city a more up-to-date look without physically restructuring it, which would be a difficult undertaking considering the building restrictions in Vienna. Anna Popelka even argues that the Enzis filled an emotional and spatial urban vacuum in Vienna. This statement is supported by the results of the survey, where the respondents stated that the Enzis stand for an urban, young and contemporary Vienna. This thesis further argues that the Enzis became such an important element in the Viennese public space because citizens had an unfulfilled need for a more contemporary image to identify with.

The red telephone kiosks in the UK are also successful pieces of street furniture, but for different reasons. The city of London is, as stated previously, a heterogeneous place with diverse styles and cultures. The red telephone kiosks have become synonymous with London and therefore act as symbols of a common identity for various social groups within the city. They assume the role of place identity creators. Moreover when analysing data it became evident that all respondents, in Vienna and London, argue that the phone boxes should be kept in place even if they lose their function. Hence the need for the preservation of identity is made particularly acute by the postmodern condition of urban spaces.

Objective 6 was set to analyse and evaluate if urban design provides a feasible framework to create urban identity and can subsequently be used as a branding tool for cities.

The analysis showed that the K6 telephone kiosks are strongly linked to the city of London. Therefore they offer the possibility to be used as the city’s trademark or branding tool. Also, as Charty argued previously, the phone booths are already a successful brand. Next to their obvious use as a marketing tool they function as informal marketing for the city of London because their look is closely linked to London, independent of city marketing campaigns. Nevertheless, there might be the threat of brand decay.

The problem of brand decay, as explained previously, can be counteracted with urban design. The City of Vienna uses the Enzis as a new fresh statement and to avoid overusing its association with Mozart, for instance. The phone booths, which might be threatened by brand decay as their functional value decreases, are being redesigned and given new functions as libraries, art galleries or cocktail bars.

Another remark is that the image of the Enzis is not necessarily tied exclusively to the city of Vienna. In order to establish them as city trademark, like the red telephone kiosks of London, a stronger connection and more extensive use is recommended.

In conclusion, it becomes clear that with increasing competition the topic of street furniture becomes more important. Hence it can be said that more cities
might adopt the idea of implementing iconic street furniture. It can also be concluded that the trend to use urban design and street furniture as an identity creator and subsequently a tool for city marketing will increase.

Taking into consideration the literature review, the case studies and survey results the following recommendations are suggested:

For city administrations:

The problem London faces is the clustering of street furniture and the lack of control within an overall design scheme. English Heritage therefore advocates for integral planning and more control. The same is argued by Gehl and Gemzøe (2000). Cities should have a department that is concerned with street furniture and urban design because of their vital effect on the overall quality of a city.

This thesis points towards the implementation of such departments and the need for an extensive urban design and street furniture scheme. Collaboration between several city departments and external architects or consultants would likely be required, as would the adoption of a long-term perspective for increasing the quality of public spaces.

It is argued (Castells, 1996) (Feldmann, 2006) that cities compete against each other for investment, citizens and tourists. A more focused research on the creation of a USP on a city level through outstanding urban design would gain interesting results if urban design can help to establish a city in this urban hierarchy.

For researchers:

Due to the limitations implied by the length and scope of this research the differences between the two case studies were only briefly discussed and explored. A more comprehensive overview would have given more and better insights.

Furthermore the two case studies of this thesis might not be representative enough to be used as a basis for the development of a theory of street furniture evolution. It would enhance the research if other examples of successful street furniture or urban design, such as the Metro entrances in Paris by Hector Guimard or Gaudi’s street lamps in Barcelona, would be investigated.

Moreover the researcher suggest to include more readings on the discourse of urban public spaces as well as the production of space as pointed out in chapter 2.4.

Additionally, the research would have been improved if experts and professionals in the field of urban design or city marketing had been interviewed. If a similar
research is undertaken, interviews with key actors are recommended to gain better insights into this complex topic. Furthermore, this researcher recommends expanding the survey to include a greater number of respondents and multiple locations in the case study cities.

**The research implies a set of further questions.**

How can an evaluation framework for successful street furniture be developed that takes into account recognition value, design innovation, usability and flexibility, materiality, durability and sustainability?

How can the experience of combined symbolism and functionality contribute to the quality of public space?
Chapter 7

Appendix

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7.2 Questionnaires

Questionnaire London:

Study on Urban Design

Your assistance is requested to help me assess the role of street furniture. It will take just a few minutes of your time. This questionnaire has been created as part of my master thesis in Urban Studies. In my thesis I explore the role of street furniture as an identity-giving object within the urban realm.

This research has been approved by the University of Vienna. All information will be kept strictly confidential and you will remain completely anonymous throughout. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. The information you give will only be used for this project.

Thank you for taking time to participate in this study.

Emilie Kleinszig

Do you know what this is?  
☐ no ☐ yes

Is this object functional?  
☐ no ☐ yes

Is it something symbolic?  
☐ no ☐ yes

If yes - what does it stand for?  
_______________________________

Do you associate it with a specific place or area?  
☐ Museumsquartier ☐ Vienna
☐ Austria ☐ None of the above

Would you buy an Enzi?  
☐ no ☐ yes

Why:  
Design ☐ Function ☐ Symbol

Do you think this object adds to the quality of this place?  
☐ no ☐ yes:
☐ Comfortable/ useful
☐ Beautiful/ attractive
☐ Promotes social interaction
☐ Something symbolic / unique

Do you think the Enzis should be recognised as national heritage?  
☐ no ☐ yes

Please specify your Gender, Age and Nationality:  

/ / /

Which group do you belong to?  
☐ resident <1 yr ☐ resident >1 yr
☐ tourist/visitor

Any other comments?  
_______________________________

Have you ever used a red Telephone Box?  
☐ no ☐ yes

Do you think the red Telephone Boxes should be removed, if everyone had a mobile?  
☐ no ☐ yes  
If no - why not?  
_______________________________
Questionnaire Vienna English:

Study on Urban Design

Your assistance is requested to help me assess the role of street furniture. It will take just a few minutes of your time. This questionnaire has been created as part of my master thesis in Urban Studies. In my thesis I explore the role of street furniture as an identity-giving object within the urban realm.

This research has been approved by the University of Vienna. All information will be kept strictly confidential and you will remain completely anonymous throughout. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw at any time. The information you give will only be used for this project.

Thank you for taking time to participate in this study.

Emilie Kleinszig

How long have you been living in this country?  
☐ resident more than 1 year  
☐ resident less than 1 year  
☐ tourist/visitor

Why do you come here?  
☐ Museums  ☐ Cafés/ Shops  
☐ To hang out  
☐ If to hang out, why here?  

Do you know what this is?  
☐ no  ☐ yes

Is this object functional?  
☐ no  ☐ yes

Is it something symbolic?  
☐ no  ☐ yes

If yes - what does it stand for?  

Do you associate it with a specific place or area?  
☐ Museumsquartier  ☐ Vienna  
☐ Austria  ☐ None of the above

Would you buy a so-called Enzi?  
☐ no  ☐ yes

Why/ why not?  
☐ Design  ☐ Function  ☐ Symbol

Do you think this object adds to the quality of this place? (multiple answers possible)  
☐ no  ☐ yes:  
☐ Comfortable/ useful  
☐ Beautiful/ attractive  
☐ Promotes social interaction  
☐ Something symbolic / unique

Do you think the Enzis should be recognised as national heritage?  
☐ no  ☐ yes

If yes - why?  

Do you know what this is? -->  
☐ no  ☐ yes

Is this object functional?  
☐ no  ☐ yes

Is it something symbolic?  
☐ no  ☐ yes

If yes - what does it stand for?  

Do you associate it with a specific place or area?  
☐ London  ☐ United Kingdom  
☐ British Empire  ☐ None of the above

Would you buy a red Telephone Box?  
☐ no  ☐ yes

Why / why not?  
☐ Design  ☐ Function  ☐ Symbol

Do you think this object adds to the quality of this place? (multiple answers possible)  
☐ no  ☐ yes:  
☐ Comfortable/ useful  
☐ Beautiful/ attractive  
☐ Promotes social interaction  
☐ Something symbolic / unique

Have you ever used a red Telephone Box?  
☐ no  ☐ yes

Do you think the red Telephone Boxes should be removed, if everyone had a mobile?  
☐ no  ☐ yes

If no - why not?  

Please specify your Gender, Age and Nationality:  


Any other comments?
Umfrage zu Urbanem Design


Vielen Dank für Ihre Teilnahme

Emilie Kleinszig
7.3 Interview Gilbert Berthold, 10. August 2012

I read that you had no real requirements, when you were asked to create something for the inner courtyard of the Museums quarter. Why did you come up with the Enzis/Enzos? Can you explain the process to me? PPAG is committed to research and development of architecture in a rage from furniture design to urban planning. The Enzi is a good example, looked at it as a single piece and in small scale it was designed as a practical piece of furniture, and in the same time, on an urban scale it is designed as a part of a modular system to create and structure urban space.

Besides comfort and functionality, what else was considered for the design? In your recent press release you state that the Enzis/Enzos became a symbol for an urban, metropolitan lifestyle. What does that mean? What are the characteristics of this urban lifestyle? Were they intentionally designed create identity and/ or to become a symbol?

One Enzi is a simple unpretentious geometry, which expresses its “collective intelligence” as a piece of a bigger whole – of a modular system that provides for various and therefore changing irregular special layouts. In the opinion of Camillo Sitte irregularly structure spaces are ideal urban meeting and gathering places – he states that these sauces positively appeal in a special way to human sensation.

Why are they such a success? What’s the secret? Is it just a clever marketing strategy or is it something else? It’s a clever design.

Do you think that their success is partly grounded in the possibility of re-arranging them as a user and in offering unlike most other street furniture a choice? For a detailed answer I would recommend to ask Anna Lafite, or the Designers (Anna Popelka or Georg) themselves. It appears to me as if (probably through the success of the Enzis) a highly regarded relationship developed between PPAG and the MQ: In the past years PPAG designed several projects for the MQ. Among others the office did Shops Toilets, the DJ Booth, a funky Bike Stand, just recently a living sandbox out of willow shoots and a catwalk assemble out of bottle tray for the summer of fashion.

What’s the relationship between you, or the Enzis/Enzos, and Museums quarter like? Is it an on-going dialogue? -

What’s the relationship between you, or the Enzis/Enzos, and the city marketing of Vienna/ the Tourism office like? How closely do you work together? -
Is an expansion of location of the Enzis/Enzos in Vienna planned? Have there been previous plans? Such as the one for the Haydn Year 2009, why did they not happen? Who put them in the University Campus? Without being megalomaniac there is an expansion of into the whole world. They spread in different materials, colours, patterns and scales into living rooms, foyers of concert halls, village square and so forth. Just last week during the Olympics, the Greater London Authority gave 22 Enzis to the National Theatre London. There are even requests for Enzis in a higher quality for a skiing reservoir – god knows if for the sake of furnishing or as sport equipment ;)

Are they a symbol for Vienna or the MQ? Do you want them to be used, by city marketing/tourism as a symbol for Vienna? Do you think they should be recognised as national heritage? Do you think that by now they are something like an icon? They are an ideal Item. Distinctively thy stand for a vibrant cultural public space. The planning of such places and the therefore needed devices should definitely become cultural heritage. And in order to allow for proper financing, one model could be to drain tourism.

Did you envision the Enzis/Enzos to become commodified? Not just that you can buy the Enzi itself, but also many other Enzi item, such as coffee mugs, USB sticks, key chains and so forth. Why do people buy the replicas? What do you think is their motivation and what do they gain from it? Do you, or who else, make profit from selling the replicas? A side effect, that states their appreciation.

Do you think the success of the Enzis/Enzos has further implications on street furniture design? Do you think the approach to street furniture regarding design, material and so forth is altered? What lessons are to be learned? The Enzi is cut our of a solid foam block and sealed to have a stronger skin. After the burn in 2009, PPAG developed a second version that is more flame redundant –the Enzo. One can see the on-going research and optimization.

Is symbolism or icons something one can design for? A symbol, in my understanding, is an easily recognisable form that is loaded with emotions, ideas and sensations. In the case of the Enzi, it is extraordinary geometry without any frills, which is strongly associated with the urban life, framed and produced by its spatial arrangement. The beauty in this example is that it not only sculpturally brands a vibrant urban space but also takes part in producing it.

With the implementation of the MQ a huge discussion on the complex problem of heritage protection vs. contemporary urban development started. Do you think the Enzis/Enzos are a kind of soft way
in changing the cityscape to a more up-to-date look without physically restructuring the city? Might this be a reason why the Viennese inhabitants embrace the Enzis/Enzos the way they do, cause they have the need for a more contemporary look in their city? In my opinion preservation should not be about looks. It is rather about the ideas and functions behind spaces and buildings that should be revisited and updated to meet contemporary demands. If it is possible to achieve a maximum of adequate restructuring with minimal means that is intelligent planning.

Do you think if sitting became obsolete the Enzis/Enzos should still be kept in urban spaces as a symbolic item? Let’s not be sentimental – in that case it would be better to dig out the obsolete red boxes to stand in them again ;}


List of Figures

2.1 Castells & Space of flows Source: johnwmorehead.blogspot.co.at . 9
2.2 City ranking, Source: www.espatial.com . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 10
2.3 Paris Postcard, Source: Shutterstock.com . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 11
2.4 Guggenheim Museum, Photo by Author . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 12
2.5 Atomium, Source: http://atomium.be . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 14
2.6 Trevi Fountain, Source: stefanthaler.aminus3.com . . . . . . . . . 15
2.7 Ad for Creative Mackintosh Festival 2012, Source: glasgowsleadin-
gattractions.com . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 16
2.8 Bench Madrid Rio, Photo by Liz Dickman . . . . . . . . . . . . . 17
2.9 Copenhagen Design Week, Photo by Author . . . . . . . . . . . . 18
2.10 Camillo Sitte, Source: wikimedia.org . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 19
2.11 Cabanon de Le Corbusier, Source: fondationlecorbusier.fr . . . 20
2.12 Jane Jacobs vs. Robert Moses Source: 2.macleans.ca . . . . . . . 21
2.13 Example public participation Vienna, Source: schwedenplatz.wien.gv.at 22
2.14 Cycle Bridge Copenhagen, Photo by Josh Grigsby . . . . . . . . 23
2.16 Example of non-place: Shanghai Hongqiao Railway Station wait-
ing hall Source: wikimedia.org . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 25
2.17 Call Parade: phone booth design, Source: callparade.com.br . . 26
2.18 In favour of public space, Source: publicspace.org . . . . . . . . 27
2.19 Opera House Oslo, Photo by Author . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 28
2.20 Harbour Bath Copenhagen, Source: Copenhagen X . . . . . . . . 29
2.21 Gaudi lamps by Peter Erik Forsberg, Metro Sign Paris, Source:
wikimedia.org . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 30

3.1 Observations London South Bank, Photo by Author . . . . . . . 33
3.2 Observations, MQ Shop, Photo by Author . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 34
3.3 Researcher at work in London, Photo by Author . . . . . . . . . . 36
3.4 Observations in Malta, Photo by Author . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 37

4.1 MuseumsQuartier, Source: Boeckl, 2001 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 41
4.2 MuseumsQuartier, Source: Zschokke, 2005 . . . . . . . . . . . . . 43
4.3 Enzi, Source: PPAG . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 44
4.4 Enzo, Source: PPAG . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 44
4.5 Enzi-Igloos, Source: PPAG ........................................ 45
4.6 Enzis, Source: PPAG ........................................ 46
4.7 Prags Boulevard, Source: Copenhagen X .............. 47
4.8 Wiener Gemütlichkeit, Source: Tourismusbilanz 2010 . 48
4.9 Enzi USB Sticks, Source: MQ ................................. 49
4.10 Swinger, Source: www.tw-arch.at ............................ 50
4.11 Wirl, Source: zaha-hadid.com; Regency benches: julianmayor.com 51
4.12 London Skyline, Source: /rwrant.co.za/london-skyline ...... 52
4.13 London Skyline, Source: www.skyscrapercity.com .......... 54
4.14 Phone Kiosk, Source: English Heritage .................... 55
4.15 K6 in London, Photo by Author ............................. 56
4.16 K2 and K6, Source: Streets for All .......................... 57
4.17 “out of order” in Kingston-upon-Thames by David Mac, Source:
   FileElectronicFestival.com ...................................... 58
4.18 Your Telephone, Source: BT Archive .......................... 59
4.19 BT Art Boxes, Source: www.btartboxes.com ................ 60
4.20 Adopt a Kiosk, Source: www.payphones.bt .................. 61
4.21 Tom Jones & K6, Source: BBC ............................... 62
4.22 David Bowie ...................................................... 63
4.23 Banksy phone kiosk, Source: www.banksyunmasked.co.uk . 63
4.24 ArtBoxes, Source: www.btartboxes.com ...................... 64
4.25 Examples of commodification, pencil box & bag showcasing K6,
   Photo by Gisèle Vervoort and author .......................... 65

5.1 Gender London Vienna .......................................... 67
5.2 Age ................................................................. 68
5.3 Age ................................................................. 68
5.4 Nationalities London ............................................. 68
5.5 Nationalities Vienna .............................................. 69
5.6 Opinion on selected Street Furniture .......................... 70
5.7 What does the phone kiosk stand for? left: London; right: Vienna 71
5.8 What does the Enzis stand for? left: London; right: Vienna .... 72
5.9 Association with Place ............................................ 73
5.10 Associated with Place ............................................ 73
5.11 Motivation ......................................................... 74
5.12 If to hang out, why here? ....................................... 75
5.13 Consumer Interest ............................................... 76
5.14 Consumer Interest ............................................... 76
5.15 Quality of Place .................................................. 77
5.16 Quality of Place .................................................. 78
5.17 Quality of Place .................................................. 78
5.18 Why not to remove the red phone kiosks London .................. 79
5.19 Why not to remove the red phone kiosks Vienna .................. 80