Between Longing and Belonging

The Role of Memories and Narratives in Shaping Everyday City Spaces

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4CITIES
MASTER IN URBAN STUDIES

For Aisha Shatila

بسم الله

Preface

Behind this thesis are precious memories I carry with me from my master's journey. The object of this study, a street in Copenhagen, corresponds to one of the stops that I lodged in for 4 months during my third semester. When I first arrived at the street on the 25th of August 2020 around noon, I was surprised to grasp the street as compared to what I had imagined. I thought the pictures did not give it justice because, in reality, it is much more dynamic than its beautiful, but static, buildings one finds in a quick online search. I still recall the sense of wonder and marvel that arrived at me when the taxi stopped at the corner of the street saying, "we arrived". The space was so intriguing that it made me drop my previous case study and indulge in understanding the place that my dear Danish friend, Krista Stentoft, helped me find. This study provided me with the means to engage with my neighbors in a foreign land and know who I share the space with, even if it was for a short period. As the Arabic proverb "Almakan bi Almakeen" roughly translates, knowing a place is knowing those who inhabit it. This left me with many stories to tell and reflect on; some related to daily life activities that are centered around my temporary place of residence and others related to personal life matters induced by stories that residents shared with me open-handedly. In the end, comers and goers contribute to creating the street narrative which also leaves a mark in their paths.

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Abstract

The street is a medium for everyday life practices and a cornerstone for identity formation. Modern urban practices that cater to changing lifestyles threaten the unique qualities of a space. Developing community models typically focused on large-scale city spaces while neglecting the significance of socio-spatial processes and intangible heritage in smaller residential areas. To cover this gap, this thesis studies the interface between the *perceived image* and the *lived aspect* of valued street elements that distinguish *places* from *spaces*. The significance of any street is best understood from the perspective of its inhabitants. Hence, to understand how perceptions shape uses, this study explores narratives and memories of dwellers in a residential street (Eckersbergsgade) within a working-class heritage neighborhood (Kartoffelrækkerne [The Potato Rows]) in the heart of Copenhagen. These entries were retrieved through qualitative semi-structured interviews and observed phenomena at the level of this street. The findings reveal a multitude of individual and collective narratives on the street and the elements associated with it. In addition, they depict the street as a site of theatrical human interactions. Through repetition and recollection, the essential character of the street is continuously shaped and contested.

Keywords

public realm – encounters – place connection – space and place – soul of place – perceptions – street narratives – collective memory – identity – belonging – propinquity – boundaries

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1. Introduction

Figure 1.1: KR Aerial Image
Source: Droneklik, courtesy of Max Mestour

Street meanings, forms, and functions are constantly changing through different eras and social circumstances. In addition to political, economic, and environmental factors, the design of a street has been notably dictated by how people *perceive* and *use* it. These phenomena highlight the semantic charge of urban spaces and their dynamic significance over time (Barthes, 1986). Modern practices introduced a functionalistic perspective that significantly dismissed meanings and philosophies embedded in public city spaces. It has also been evident how philosophy and urban studies grew apart as separate fields of study (Meagher, 2007). Around the late 20th century, contemporary urban thinkers protested the technical models of modern urbanism which reduced the value of street life (Hebbert, 2005). Prominent figures such as Jane Jacobs (1961), Richard Sennett (1977), Henri Lefebvre (1991), Spiro Kostof (1992), and Jan Gehl (2011) advocated for bringing back street vitality to the forefront in planning projects and urban discussions.

The increasing interest in mapping cultural intangibles is due to a "place-based turn" in cultural studies, arts, architecture, urban studies, and sociology (Longley & Duxbury, 2016). In urban studies, the place-based turn emerged as some urban geographers grew dissatisfied with prevalent technical approaches that measure urban spaces empirically. Intangible and subjective aspects of culture should be studied qualitatively and should draw from ethnographic or artistic traditions (Duxbury et al., 2015). Perception of spaces was explored in fields of philosophy, spatial sociology, and human geography. Prominent Chinese-American urban geographer Yi-Fu Tuan founded the Humanistic School of Geography. His seminal works on *Topophilia* (1974) and *Space and Place* (1979) are the most significant in showing the experiential aspect of spaces, their perceived qualities, and the developing connections between people and places.

Compared to social constructivists, phenomenologists studied the co-creation between users and their surroundings. For instance, in *The Poetics of Space*, Bachelard (1994) shows how the phenomenology of the soul adds the imaginary dimension into the perceived image, which also shapes our understanding of spaces. In that sense, beyond collectivities, individuals are capable of determining the valued aspects of a space. That is particularly visible in French philosopher Michel De Certeau's work in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984). Humans are not fully determined by their surroundings; they are actively engaged in shaping them based on their needs and motives. In *Experiencing Architecture,* Rasmussen (1964) shows how architectural spaces are transformed into performative stages through human practices. This study centers around the 'Performative School' of thought in the public realm that focuses on the vitality of urban spaces. Hence, *The Sociology of Space: a Use-Centered View* (Gans, 2002), *Reflections on the Public Realm* (Sennett, 2012), and *Life Between Buildings* (Gehl, 2011) are the most pertinent to unpack notions of neighboring, cohesion, boundaries, collectivities, and social solidarities.

The question of collectivities and social groups invites the investigation of narratives and memories passed on across generations. Building on the theory of Collective Memory (Halbwachs,

1992, originally published 1950), German Egyptologist Jan Assmann (1995) developed the communicative framework of memory that characterizes the formative and reflexive aspects of transmitted oral history. Although anchored in cultural artifacts, cultural memory is practiced and renewed in everyday life practices and exchanges. Memories and narratives are both powerful tools in shaping street uses and policies (Sandercock, 2003). This thesis primarily focuses on the street uses based on its inhabitants' perceptions and narratives. While social and political memory overlap, they remain objects of different academic disciplines (A. Assmann, 2006). Therefore, as far as this thesis is concerned, narratives are seen as effective means to bridge the lived experiences to cultural understandings in ordinary city spaces.

Problem Statement

Urban planners and architects have long dealt with the subject of reconstruction and renovation. Literature has focused on heritage and infrastructure in post-war cities and dilapidated contexts. Nowadays, we are witnessing a significant surge in renovation projects that respond to changing needs, lifestyles, and preferences at small scales. The pace at which these changes are happening threatens urban heritage and endangers the sustenance of specificities that distinguish urban places. In an age of increasingly standardized designs, urban development projects risk the erasure of meanings associated with a space. In addition, the ever-changing realities of urban spaces reflect the modern way of living coupled with a change in the social structure whereby societies are becoming more individualized and fragmented. If not tended to sensitively, urban renovation practices could have severe consequences and, possibly, result in what Marc Augé (1995) calls *Non-Places* in the *Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*. The condition of place homogenization reduces the significance of unique place meanings and weakens the connection between humans and places. Further implications affect the social structure as well as the type of relationships shared between community members.

This research studies the narratives and memories of residents on *Eckersbergsgade* (EG) street in the residential heritage neighborhood of Copenhagen called *Kartoffelrækkerne* (KR). This case study sets a concrete example of how people mediate between the imagined aspects of urban forms and the lived aspects of intimate spheres. Despite being a listed heritage site for having preserved its character for 150 years, the social fabric and narratives are dynamic entities that continuously shape it. Furthermore, the ubiquitous renovation and reconstruction projects generated many discussions and stances between its residents. Thus, to understand the role of narratives and memories in shaping everyday city spaces, the following questions are posed:

In what ways does the **character of a street** interweave with its **current practices**? How does this interface influence its socio-spatial experiences?

Thesis Roadmap

In the next chapter I address concepts related to the physical, cultural, and social character of streets to explore different layers that come into play in their formation. In the third chapter, I explain the methodological approach and rationale used for data collection and analysis. In the fourth chapter, I present the selected street at the contextual and immediate scales. In the fifth chapter, I present observations and narratives from the street. In the sixth chapter, I discuss these findings in relation to the concepts addressed in the literature review. Finally, I will conclude with general reflections, limitations, and further research suggestions.

2. Literature Review

The first section of this review presents the gradual divorce of forms and meanings while transitioning from pre-modern to modern streets and the consequent search for signification. **The second section** describes the bond between humans and their surroundings considering cultural understandings, perceptions, and the unique character of a space. **The third section** unpacks concepts in urban and spatial sociology to investigate how people use spaces based on their needs and a performative approach through which they come to grasp their surroundings. **The final section** analyzes the role of individual and group experiences in shaping the street and iterates the power of language and narratives in communicating street experiences that open a horizon for change.

The Street: A Meaning Redefined

From Meanings to Modernity

Streets are dynamic entities whose *forms*, *functions*, and *meanings* are far from stable and embedded (Kostof, 1992). These three attributes have been changing since ancient times while reflecting a change in the social, economic, environmental, and political conditions. *Forms* have to do with the physical design and geometry of the street, *functions* dictate what type of uses can occur on the street, and *meanings* are related to the symbolic value, or significance, associated with the street as perceived through different spatial contexts and temporal frames. The street of this study is a particular example of a street that has substantially changed in function, meaning, and to a lesser extent, in form.

City streets are core elements in urban projects for they constitute the majority of publicly shared spaces. Consequently, they have been directly influenced by emerging planning principles of every period. In ancient times, philosophy and urban studies, as two fields of study, were not divorced in practice. This generated a cohesion between 'what' is constructed [function], 'why' [meaning] it is constructed, and finally, 'how' it is constructed [form]. The philosophical dimension was a very prominent factor in determining the purpose, and thereby the design, of a street. However, philosophy and urban studies have significantly diverged as theorists got more interested in reverting to other domains than philosophy to explain the meanings behind what is happening on the streets (Meagher, 2007). In a transition towards modernity, reactionary perspectives seemed to drop the first two questions in favor of focusing on the final question, that of the result. The new approach centered on the 'how' of construction to propose a different, and especially, impressive, way of building. This new approach is suggestive of an improved way of living which should be embraced to prevent the failures of ancient ones.

During the mid-19th century, Georges-Eugène Haussmann created a renovation plan for Paris along the lines of modernity. He designed vast boulevards that replaced narrow city streets and he was criticized for destroying the built fabric of ancient Paris. Although his work proposed solutions for functional problems such as the sewage system and water aqueducts, it was met with massive opposition from people who felt alienated from their city. Another famously reported architect of modernity, Le Corbusier, dropped several significations to create a merely functional city. He proposed a new form of dwelling that was repeatedly described as a machine-like structure in his book *Towards a New Architecture*. In his proposed redevelopment plan for central Paris, 'Plan Voisin' (1925), the planning approach was aligned with visions of modern determination in which the functional dimension ruled out all other shapers of space. Le Corbusier abolished the street and suggested vertical mobility although human interactions always happened on a horizontal surface. He considered that "the street is impure" and, accordingly, eliminated the value in the ground level by focusing on aesthetics and views offered from above (Corbusier, 2013). Humanistic geographer Edward Relph explains that in an attempt to maximize efficiency and

functionality, modernity spawned an 'emerging uniformity' which resulted in the production of spaces characterized by similarity (Relph, 1997). This movement disregarded local specificities to the benefit of prevalent universal practices. The houses on EG were constructed in a similar manner that prioritizes function over form and efficiency over sophisticated spatial configurations.

Meaning-making and Signification

Functionalistic planning principles generated many controversies in the meanings of urban spaces and created a gap between the purposes of spaces and their changing significance over time. Philosopher and urban semiotician Roland Barthes explained this situation as "a permanent conflict between the functional necessities of modern life and the semantic charge given to the city by its history" (Barthes, 1986, p.167). The modern functional way of realizing material spaces dismissed the cultural and historical dimensions which give spaces their unique identities. This phenomenon brought up concerns for meaning-making in regard to modern architectural practices. Through a humanistic approach, Barthes (1986) raised this concern in his essay *Semiology and the Urban* where he described the city as a collection of signs and people as readers who enact this text and make it a reality. Signification is a form of cultivation related to aspects of culture. The Eiffel tower, for example, is an abstract structure that acts as a "signifier" to meanings that are "signified" by people, since forms and meanings constitute a relational identity (Saussure, 2011).

Along the same line of thought, Danish architect and urban planner Steen-Eiler Rasmussen advocated for more organic architecture as compared to rigid forms of modern spaces and buildings. Rasmussen (1964) wrote a book on *Experiencing Architecture* in which he highlights the potential in abstract and organic forms, and he shows appreciation for the fluidity of life. His work was not approached through an anti-modern stance or an organic-romantic paradigm, but rather, he showed interest in bringing back an experiential approach to the built environment in everyday life. Throughout his book, he focuses on experiencing architectural spaces by way of presence and being, otherwise, they remain technical with no real-life quality. To elaborate on that, he shows the role of architectural elements such as materials, colors, textures, and surfaces in triggering sensations and creating unique spatial experiences for users.

The experiential value of streets could be emphasized through the act of walking. Walking in city streets received important attention in urban studies, especially with modernity which fundamentally influenced the fabric of cities. The type of walking could reflect the form of interaction with our surroundings, leaving us in states of admiration, exploration, or even passive observation. This was addressed in practicing 'flânerie' (Baudelaire, 1863), whereby detached drifters marveled at spectacular arcades in the modern streets of 19th century Paris.

Perhaps one of the most famous strollers is the Danish philosopher from the Golden Age, Søren Kierkegaard (1813-1855), who is known for his frequent strolls in the streets of Copenhagen, the city he admired. Walking the streets of Copenhagen today, one could still trace his imprints through statues, memorials, and essentially, spaces that inspired his writings and sparked his interest in urban spaces. The act of walking is not limited to an interaction between people and places; it also involves an interaction with other people. This involvement with strangers in the course of walking has been poetically produced in artistic works such as that of Edgard Allan Poe's (1840) *The Man of the Crowd* and Sophie Calle's (1983) *Suite Vénitienne*. Both works touched on the experiential aspect of walking the streets while anonymously chasing a subject. Kierkegaard, too, habitually conversed with random strangers that crossed his path to muse his thoughts and reflections.

Figure 2.1: Kierkegaard Statue
Source: Wikimedia commons

Place and Placelessness

Moving towards late modernity, what Marc Augé refers to as *supermodernity*, a bigger threat poses itself in destroying the experience of the street. This would be the result of a solid detachment from the specific qualities of spaces in the molding of standardized *Non-places* (Augé, 1995). Non-places are not historical, relational, or related to a distinctive identity, rather, they are based on solitude and similarity. Examples of such spaces are airports, high-speed roads, railways, supermarkets. Augé, however, clarifies that a non-place still has strong elements of place and hence the two are inseparable. Therefore, studying non-places, alongside theories of place, can help urban planners better understand the significance of place elements. In *Global Ground Zero*, Olwig (2006) explains how the void created by the leveling of the World Trade Center "gave the vanished structure a world of meaning through the empty hole of its structural antithesis, a place marked by nothingness" (p. 172). Olwig uses Plato's description of the Chora as "a feminine receptacle that gives birth to the world" to explain that an open square isn't nothing, it is a medium that facilitates regeneration. While the street of EG is far from being a non-place, it surely is battling with certain elements of place. These elements distinguish it from other city streets while simultaneously molding it into a receptive space characterized by modern values.

Relph addressed the concept of placelessness in his book *Place and Placelessness*, where he defined place in "distinctiveness from" and placelessness in "sameness with" (Relph, 1976). The former is associated with exclusion for it rejects that which does not adhere to elements that make it unique, and the latter is related to cosmopolitanism for it invites shared human values.

From a postmodern approach, critical political geographer Edward Soja (1999) coveys that elements of places and non-places merge in a *Thirdspace* as he states his main argument:

> *Everything* comes together in Thirdspace: subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history (p. 56).

Soja's *Thirdspace* is not a reactionary perspective to degrade modernism. It is an invitation for reinterpreting spatial understandings to make sense of contemporary spaces which are increasingly diverse, spatially, and socially (Soja, 1999). This analogy could be useful to describe a street like EG where current spatial and social qualities seem to depict a pastiche of different styles that emphasize temporality while constructing new social space.

The Street: A Sense of Place

Cultural Connections

The type of connections that exist between people and places have been extensively explored through different fields of study. In urban studies, notable work goes back to the Chicago School of sociology in which urban sociologists compared social interactions with space to natural ecologies. Pioneers of this field developed the concept of human ecology to unravel sociospatial processes. One of the points conveyed in their studies is that the human ecology only differs from plant and animal ecologies by adding the cultural component. Human society, for them, is controlled by a symbiotic social order, or culture. The etymology of the word Ecology – from Greek *Oikos*, meaning household, and English *logy*, meaning study – describes the field of ecology as the study of the household. Hence, human ecology could be seen as the human, or cultural, way of studying the household. The fact that 'the cultural' is a very fuzzy concept invites scholars to continue to explore the types of cultural connections formed between people and places.

The culture-related discussions include debates on the culture of sustainability (changing behavior and ways of thinking), globalization and local cultures, heritage conservation, the sense of place, indigenous knowledge and traditional practices, community cultural development, or civic engagement, arts, and education, among others (Duxbury et al., 2007). Urban knowledge is a prerequisite in the formation of these cultural connections (Hayden, 1997). Urban historian and architect Dolores Hayden explains that this knowledge comes from understanding a context, its material artifacts, and the narratives passed on through generations. These elements cultivate cultural connections and evoke heritage preservation to foster a sense of belonging that strengthens bonds between people and places (Hayden, 1997).

In *The Street in the Making of Popular Geographic Knowledge*, David Crouch (1998) emphasizes the street as a site of identity formation based on shared cultural practices and rituals.

The street is a place for engagement rather than a space to be navigated individually, which the flaneur figure entails (Crouch, 1998). The symbolic value of a street comprises both, memory and everyday practices, since "the street triggers recall of a contingent knowledge of values, actions, relationships and anticipations; the street is an image of solidarity, loss, and shared practices, too" (Crouch, 1998, p. 171). This collective approach involves 'collaborative remembering' which brings individuals to participate in collective life and cooperate on recalling events from the past (Weldon, 2000). This process involves ritualizing events and practices as a way to exercise the memory, and valued meanings, of a group. While streets could facilitate encounters, they also "make escape possible and are a step to somewhere else, and someone else" (Crouch, 1998, p. 158).

Space and Place

The emerging Humanistic School of Geography focused on personal relationships between people and places through an unprecedented use of ethnographical and phenomenological methodologies in geography. Tuan (1974) defined *Topophilia* as "the affective bond between people and place or setting" (p. 4). The key themes discussed in his book are perception, attitude, value, and worldview, which are all rooted in cultural identity. The love for certain aspects of a shared place is a form of a shared identity that differs from one context to another, and sometimes, from a person to another. In his further work, he came to distinguish between *Space and Place* whereby the human dimension transforms spatiality by attaching meanings to it (Tuan, 1979). In other words, *places* are inhabited *spaces*. As Olwig remarks, the "place was thus a positive that was defined in counter distinction to the negativity of functionalist space. Place was the antithesis of location in space, which was the focus of the quantitative geographers" (Olwig, 2006, p. 173). Our experience with a place give us safety and security that make us attached to it, since "if residential users obtain control over the bounded space, it becomes their place" (Gans, 2002, p. 329). Contrarily, space is connected to freedom and movement since people are detached from its symbolic value (Tuan, 1979).

De Certeau (1984) addressed the concept of place-making in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. While looking at the panoramic view of Manhattan from the 110th floor of the World Trade Center, he found an ungraspable map-like representation compared to the smaller scale activities happening at the ground level whereby pedestrians stroll through the streets and go about their daily lives, for "*it's hard to be down when you're up*" (p. 92). According to De Certeau (1984), "*space is practiced place*" (p. 117). He uses the terms *space* and *place* in conjunction with Merleau-Ponty's "anthropological space" and "geometrical space," respectively. That means our existence in space (anthropological) is based on our practices in a specific location or coordinate on the map (geometrical). The anthropological space is a way to explain the spatiality of existence, where we exist in relation to a milieu and where "'space is existential' and 'existence is spatial'" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 117).

De Certeau's distinction between *space* and *place* differs from that of Tuan. While Tuan shows how a space becomes a place through people's reaction to their surrounding environment, De Certeau contends that ordinary practices transform place meanings through renewed spatial experience every time it is used. People transform these places based on *tactics* as an indirect response to *strategies* and planned or non-planned place elements. People are influenced, but never fully determined by rules and products that already exist in a culture. Quotidian activities are based on a set of patterns that fulfill people's needs, motives, and desires. Everyday practices - such as talking, reading, moving about, and dwelling - are tactical in nature and are characterized by continuity and permanence (De Certeau, 1984).

A Sense, Soul, or Spirit of Place

The *sense of a place* is one of the most *visible* things on EG. It is a central dimension in depicting the character of a street and giving it its unique identity. It is understood as that which distinguishes a place from another, though this could be misleading if taken for external, visible, factors. It could, for example, allude to the hauntings that permeate the space and evoke lingering traces in voided spaces (Huyssen, 2003). This approach is also one taken by Italian architect Aldo Rossi (1931-1997) who looked for urban memory in the voids between buildings, seen as "the space pattern that constitutes the enduring skeleton of a town" (Rossi as quoted by Hebbert, 2005, p. 587). The whole of space is a composition, or a blend, of voids and masses (Kostof, 1992).

The concept has been referred to using different terms such as "the personality of a space" (Hayden, 1997) or the *Genius Loci*, defined as "the pervading spirit of a place" (Merriam-Webster, 2021: Genius Loci). These descriptions are very general and make the concept useful in fields of arts and architecture, inspiring the physical through the sensual. Rossi, who largely contributed to Italian architecture in different periods, showed a special concern for the context in which a building was to be constructed. For him, the soul of the city plays a role in the city's history and the formation of its distinctive and definitive character (Rossi, 1984). In other words, the soul of the city is not restricted to its past, it is also a link towards a city's future development.

The spirit of a place extends beyond its physical elements and encompasses symbolic features (Khirfan, 2010). According to Tuan (1974), it is biological and cultural; partly sensed and partly created. Nevertheless, heritage studies have mostly focused on preserving the built environment, neglecting intangibles, as a fundamental determinant of how these spaces were used (Khirfan, 2010; Uricchio, 2012; Bartolini, 2014; Bilsel, 2017). As a result, historic cities today confront the challenge of preserving their soul or spatial spirit (Khirfan, 2010). People commonly refer to places they love with a hint of longing for a bygone past. The period they refer to is not necessarily something they have personally experienced, it could be a past that they formulated in their imaginaries signifying their knowledge of the history of this space. Relph (1997) articulates, a sense of place is:

a web having no fixed location in the brain. But one thing about it is clear: it overlaps extensively with the part of the memory reserved for nostalgia and golden ages because almost everything written about sense of place extols what is old or traditional and decries whatever is new (p. 213).

Despite being nostalgic, the memory lane being "an imaginary path through the nostalgically remembered past" (Merriam-Webster, 2021: Memory Lane), holds a constructive connotation and develop a sense of belonging for people in search of a bigger whole to be part of. Though, it is fair to consider the unhealthy connections too, as Hayden (1997) remarks that "people make attachments to places that are critical to their well-being or distress" (p. 16). Moreover, Relph warns that this quaint concept of a valued place has negative side effects. He calls this effect a "poisoned sense of place" (Relph, 1997) in which the distinction of this place makes it inclusive of a certain group of people and exclusive of others.

The Street: A Stage for Human Interactions

Performative Spaces

The type of interaction between humans varies depending on the surroundings. We act differently when surrounded by people we know than when surrounded by people we don't know or are introducing ourselves to someone new (Goffman, 1956). In *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, sociologist and social psychologist Erving Goffman (1956) studied how people appear and act in public spaces and introduced the concept of 'theatrical performance' (Goffman, 1956). His main idea is that the act of staging the self in performance involves an audience that will be influenced or impressed by the scene and ourselves as actors or performers. He contends that the way people present themselves in public defines how they would like to be treated. Upon their first encounter, individuals usually give a tough first impression to clarify boundaries which usually weaken with time as they get more comfortable. Although Goffman explores streets characterized by higher chances of encounters with strangers, such as streets with commercial activities, it is interesting to study this dynamic of performativity in EG to understand the type of bonds shared between people. In other words, the way neighbors interact with each other reveals how much they retain of their personal lives in a setting characterized by high proximity and daily exposure. Moreover, according to architectural historian Spiro Kostof, the only legitimacy of a street is actually when it is a public space, not only one for economic activities but also one that enables social interactions (Kostof & Castillo, 1992).

The concept of boundaries in urban sociology was inspired by ecological boundaries that delimit territories and define interactions between living organisms. This metaphor was used in urban studies to describe human relationships and limitations in the performative school of the public realm. Sennett (2020) uses the cell membrane as an example to explain how membranes, separating two spatial entities, are "porous and resistant" (p. 45). Boundaries allow for exchange

and ensure to hold on to each group's necessities. In ecology studies, borders between two ecological zones are typically an interface that allows for rich exchanges (Mollison, 1988). If we translate this to human borders, we can understand boundaries in terms of social groups and exchanges between them. Interactions bring out rich outcomes and experiences as both merge their different knowledge and understandings. This has been addressed by Suzanne Hall in her study on a commercial street in London where shops of different ethnic groups created a rich and lively urban space as a result of diverse human interactions (Hall & Hall, 2012). The example of EG presents a more homogeneous group, in terms of ethnicity, sharing the street. However, the interest here is investigating a diversity that influences sociospatial practices on the street, such as age groups, inheritors, newcomers, etc. The scope of studying urban social diversity is being extended beyond the traditional ethnic and class divisions to include urban complexities in individual and group behavior as well as lifestyles and attitudes (Korcelli-Olejniczak, 2017).

Along the lines of De Certeau's *tactics*, American sociologist Herbert J. Gans expands on a "use-centered approach" to study the sociology of space. This approach focuses on how people use the space as a way to create user-friendly architectural spaces and planning projects. For him, space is a causal variable and not a causal power (Gans, 2002). In other words, social factors are more influential than spatial elements in determining the functions of space. He maintains "that individuals and collectivities shape natural and social space by how they use these" (Gans, 2002, p. 330). A city is where people are very close yet socially distant (Wirth, 1938). The example of EG challenges this long-held definition of city centers due to its housing structure which incorporates transitory zones between public and private spaces. Gehl (2011) contends that it is this type of space, semipublic, that allows for interaction and a livelihood between buildings. People are attracted to spaces with people and human activities. A front garden exposed to the street with public life, such as those on EG, provides a point for passive interactions and higher chances of encounters for all age groups. A cultural perspective affirms it too, as Gehl (2011) points out, "in Scandinavia an old proverb tells it all, 'people come where people are'" (p. 25). Despite varying contextual preferences of exposure, in all cultures "people have mechanisms for maintaining personal privacy even when space is at a minimum" (Gans, 2002, p. 332).

Gans argues that neighboring skills tend to influence relationships more than residential adjacency. Neighboring skills are based on personal choices and preferences despite the physical closeness, for example, "neighbors with children of the same age may establish social relations; incompatible neighbors usually learn how to ignore each other if only to avoid conflict" (Gans, 2002, p. 333). Propinquity and neighboring encourage contact and conflict and can become a nuisance when it causes intrusions on familial privacies. EG offers a prolific medium for exploring various relationships that exist between people dwelling wall-to-wall. Gans concludes that these conflicts are minimized due to the housing market and land values which, to a certain extent, encourage a homogeneity among neighbors. In addition, "studying which users decide what uses are most valuable, as well as who or what determines convenience, will tell us a lot about a

location" (Gans, 2002, p. 331). This phenomenon generates attitudes of "difference and indifference" (Sennett, 2020, p. 51). According to Sennett, people in everyday life are intrigued by differences and find interest in people who do not look like them since diversity creates rich interactions. At the same time, when they are surrounded by "like-minded" people, they could experience indifference as they tend to become oblivious of external realities beyond their group.

The design of space can either enhance or hamper connections between the separated spatial entities. These notions are touched upon in Danish architect Jan Gehl's (2011) *Life Between Buildings* that "comprises the entire spectrum of activities, which combine to make communal spaces in cities and residential areas meaningful and attractive" (p. 14). He affirms that "if life between buildings is given favorable conditions through sensible planning… dramatic architectural effects can be spared" (p. 22). Human activities are either attracted or repelled by the condition of the physical environment that has the potential to create meaningful encounters. Gehl highlights the power of people in recreating spaces through their usage, which relates to De Certeau's *tactics*. In his book, he maintains that spaces are not static, for "no moment is like the previous or the following when people circulate among people. The number of new situations and new stimuli is limitless" (Gehl, 2011, p. 21).

Knowledge through a Bodily Approach

Children, as well as adults, are ordinary users of space who interact with architectural spaces and transform the architects' theatrical production into a performative stage (Rasmussen, 1964). In the first chapters of his book, Rasmussen (1964) expresses how children, as amateurs, spontaneously interact with inanimate structures through play and tactile relationships. If they simply follow a ball rolling down a staircase, they get to experience the composition of space in its horizontal and vertical planes through their unconscious bodily movements. Young children do not visually differentiate between animate and inanimate objects and therefore tend to interact with both in a form of exploratory learning (Tuan, 1974). Touching surfaces and feeling materials gives a lot of information to humans and teaches children the reality of objects. Hence, the movement of their bodies in space contributes to the formation of a shared knowledge that gives a meaning that transforms the materiality of their surroundings (Crouch, 1998). Moreover, children grow mentally and intellectually through mimetic learning (Rasmussen, 1964). Children's imagination allows them to interact with objects and spaces around them as though they were alive and they could communicate to them on a personal level, through everyday life experiences where "the child is initiated into the secret life of ordinary objects" (Benjamin, 2006, p.xiv). According to Tuan (1974), aimless playing allows children to develop their body coordination and learn about the structuring of space. However, this too could be influenced by culture, as he writes:

> in the human child's growth (three or four years), his playing begins to be governed by themes. It occurs in the context of stories he tells himself. These are transfigured versions of his experiences in a world ruled by adults, of tales told by them, and bits of conversation

overheard. His activities and explorations, then, are increasingly directed by cultural values (p. 12).

The notion of play is present in children's everyday life. Instead of playing in designated areas, they tend to play in random areas with higher chances of activity and stimulations such as streets and sidewalks (Gehl, 2011). It has been argued that designing spaces for children to play is a new way to take them away from the street (Manderscheid, 2013). On the other hand, the *openness* of a street makes it readily available for improvised activities (Sennett, 2020). The bodily approach is not limited to how children experience and appropriate spaces but also how they remember them as adults. Children come to know places through engaging all their senses and experiencing the physical properties of objects (Rasmussen, 1964). As they grow up, "children show an interest in landmarks at three or earlier … illustrating the human ability to perceive and remember the landscape" (Hayden, 1997, p. 16). In conclusion, the embodiment of spaces highlights the fact that "human memory and identity are rooted in bodily experiences of being and moving in material space" (Fried, 1963, as cited by Hebbert, 2005).

Socio-spatial Dynamics and Versatility

One of the most challenging aspects of architecture is creating adaptable spaces that cater to unpredicted improvisations (Rasmussen, 1964). The quest of contemporary architectural projects has increasingly become centered around the adaptive reuse of derelict sites or renovation projects. Similarly, street life is changing as a result of a changing society with increased patterns of consumption (Gehl, 1989). In increasingly dynamic social structures, architecture should be adaptable to account for social and cultural changes (Sennett, 2020). That requires creating more *open systems*, permeable boundaries, and interactive edges. In part, globalization processes play a role in shifting our focus from the relationship between the meanings of streets and their forms (Meagher, 2007). These processes favor modern lifestyles that reduce the street to its commercial purposes. In addition, Gehl (1989) points out that the changing social structure implies a change in lifestyle and the resulting practices manifested on the street. In western culture, this has been mostly reflected by individualistic lifestyles (Sennett, 1977). Although EG remains fully residential until today, changing lifestyles still directly manifest themselves on the street.

While human scale architecture stages spaces for richer exchanges and experiences between humans (Gehl, 2011) and regards users as performers, modern theatricality, such as starchitecture, detaches people from the workings of the built environment, and consequently, transforms them from *users* into *viewers* (Sennett, 2020). As previously mentioned, modernity principles predetermined the type of activity that fit into a specific space and left no room for spontaneous uses. The highly functional design, or a 'closed system' also challenged the adaptive capacity of a space in response to changing needs. On the other hand, an 'open system' is not formless, it could be planned (Sennett, 2020). While human-scale architecture engages users as performers (Gehl, 2011), modern theatricality, such as starchitecture, detaches people and

transforms them from *users* into *viewers* (Sennett, 2020). Modernity left no room for spontaneous uses. Highly functional designs, or a *closed system,* challenged the adaptive capacity of spaces. On the other hand, an *open system* is not formless it could be planned (Sennett, 2020).

The Street: A Co-created Narrative

From Childhood into Society

Memory is evoked in terms of both; mental images and bodily experiences of a childhood home (Bachelard, 1994). Childhood has gained great attention in urban studies for revealing a sensual aspect in perceiving surrounding spaces and for expressing context-specific melancholia. The recollection of Walter Benjamin's memories in *Berlin Childhood around 1900* is a classic piece that stresses the spatiality of memory linked to a childhood home and other spaces. Throughout Benjamin's childhood, ordinary spaces such as the market hall and his grandparents' home housed imagination and interactions with nonsensual objects (Benjamin, 2006). Visiting the market hall was not limited to a shopping activity; it was an experience arousing his imagination through surrounding objects, forms, colors, and arrangements. His grandparents' home provided a homely feeling of safety all while depicting a provincial space that reflects the cosmopolitan dimension of a big world in which he could be lost with objects and interiors of a bourgeoisie home. These experiences highlight the dialectics of the homely and unhomely feelings, the inside and the outside, the canny and the uncanny (Benjamin, 2006).

Benjamin's childhood memoirs could be compared to Danish author and poet Tove Ditlevsen's (2018) autobiographical account of her upbringing in Copenhagen, *Barndommens Gade* [The Street of Childhood]. Ditlevsen was known to have psychological problems that stemmed from a tough childhood living with poverty and anguish in the working-class neighborhood of Vesterbro. From different, and indeed opposing poles of social status, both works depict childhood memories as most pertinent in response to homesickness. Ditlevsen regards "the childhood figures as an important socializing element" (Petersen, 1992, p. 248). Although Ditlevsen uses poetry to express her pain and anxiety, her childhood is somehow empowering as she writes longingly: "my childhood falls silently to the bottom of my memory, that library of the soul from which I will draw knowledge and experience for the rest of my life" (Ditlevsen, 2018).

Renowned Danish poet and author Hans Christian Andersen paints a similar image in a short story from Golden Age illustrations, *Den Lille Pige* [The Little Matchgirl]. A little girl goes to sell matchsticks and is afraid of going back home without having sold any. At the end of the day, she tries to find shelter and ends up sitting in a cold alleyway. As the night gets darker and colder, she starts lighting up the matchsticks, one after the other, to stay warm. In every flame, she sees a homely vision such as a chimney setting, a family feast, a Christmas tree (Andersen, 2013, originally published 1845). Every image sweeps her imagination and enlightens her poignant reality with cozy images of home. Both Ditlevsen's autobiography and Andersen's fairytale depict

the sweetness of a childhood home despite tough circumstances. Children's imagination takes them to charming places inspired by their actual surroundings but have nothing to do with their stark reality.

The childhood house is the first cosmos for humans which influences their knowledge of other spaces (Bachelard, 1994). In streets that are accessible for childhood activities, such as EG, the shelter of imagination is extended beyond the house and poured onto the street creating another form of collective experience including the family, the neighbors, and larger social circles. As children grow older, they are surrounded by different social groups, and they embark on collective activities encompassing people they start forming memories with and affirming their identity. In that sense, the memory becomes a social and collective construction (Halbwachs, 1992, originally published 1925). Every individual belongs to a multiple set of groups (such as family, school, neighborhood, etc.) and therefore has numerous collective self-images and memories (J. Assmann, 1995).

The spatiality of memory has been a long-standing concept in mnemonic devices. The scientific framework that spatializes memory into devices reduces the "art of memory" (De Certeau, 1984). The art of memory had significantly developed from ancient times up until the enlightenment. Italian philosopher, rhetorician, and historian Giambattista Vico and Austrian physician Sigmund Freud were the first to transition the art of memory from the rhetorical tradition in the Renaissance period to a technique of soul-searching in the romantic tradition of psychology (Hutton, 1987). In his theory of *the emergence of human consciousness*, Vico traces back the imaginative processes that led to the formation of images from original sources. For him, memory is created from generating images that give meaning to an observed phenomenon. Nevertheless, he contends that "as civilization advances, memory comes to be identified with mimesis, i.e., mimicking or repeating the creative act to discover its original meaning" (Hutton, 1987, p. 379).

In the shift towards a cultural framework, Halbwachs emphasized that we cannot mix between memory and history since "different groups generate different accounts of the past" (Wertsch, 2008, p. 120). The concept, "historical memory", is in itself contradictory since it combines a fact and a representation, or an image, of it. Hence, he distinguished between written history and oral history. Collective memory is closer to oral history which is renewed with time through oral communication. It is distinguished by two characteristics: continuity and diversity. It does not preserve from the past except what is capable of surviving with the group that carries it. As for written history, it is located outside groups because it is concerned with differences and contradictions (Halbwachs, 1992).

Language: a tool for Communicating Practices

As meanings are lost upon translating texts, there is a certain level of ambiguity when the intangible heritage of urban spaces passes through generations. The frameworks in which

grandparents and their descendants operate vary widely and create a rupture in the transmission of experiences or events in their entirety (Halbwachs, 1992). The importance of language received substantial attention in signifying urban spaces. As Barthes (1986) notes, "the city is a discourse and this discourse is truly a language" (p. 168). EG is an interesting space to explore different discourses on reading the same space as seen through the lens of different generations. The "art of speaking" is also "an art of thinking and of operating" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 79).

Building on Halbwachs' theory, Jan Assmann and his wife Aleida Assmann developed the concepts of "communicative memory" and "cultural memory" to differentiate between the lived memory (Halbwachs' *oral history*) and the distant memory (Halbwachs' *written history*), respectively. Communicative memory is that which we remember based on proximity from everyday activities. It is characterized by a high degree of disorganization and stems from communicated metaphors, thoughts, and experiences. Cultural memory is distant from our everyday life and is only accessible through forms of "objectivized culture" such as texts, images, rites, monuments, cities, and even landscapes (J. Assmann, 1995). While Halbwachs stressed that collective memory is responsible for identity formation, Assmann highlighted the importance of both forms in creating a society's elf-image. That is because cultural tools are cultivated and renewed through communicative forms. The cultivation of "objectivized culture" is differentiated and could happen through text or meaning. In that sense, language is a form of "communicative memory" that transmits the valued meanings of previous generations while opening a horizon for identity reformulation. It should be noted that in establishing group identity, individuals tend to use "identificatory determination", in both positive and negative senses, to define what they are and what they are not, what they do and what they do not do (J. Assmann, 1995). Hence, sites of memory can hold communal identities together or divide them (Halbwachs, 1992).

A street is a spatial tool that aids people in materializing the shape of their journeys. It could be used as an "orientational metaphor" (Lakoff & Johnson, 2008). American linguists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson show that we live by a set of conceptual metaphors that not only dictate our language, but also our way of thinking, acting, and moving. Hebbert (2005) maintains that "the very process of remembering grows out of spatial metaphors of connection and topography" (p. 581). However, it is important to note that a sense of temporality might be lost in spatial metaphors (Crang & Travlou, 2001). In addition, metaphors are largely dependent on cultural experiences and symbolic values, just like the same gesture has different meanings for different tribes (Lakoff & Johnson, 2008). Nevertheless, the way humans perceive their worlds could better be understood through literature than social sciences (Tuan, 1974). That is because in writing, "the unique voice escapes the matrix of sociological explanation" (Tuan, 1974, p. 49) and highlights their singularity. Language is a way to explain how people perceive and use spaces since communicating one's perception of their surroundings is a sign of existence where "expression creates being" (Bachelard, 1994, p. xxiii).

Stories, primarily communicated through an "art of speaking", are metaphors that organize places through displacements (De Certeau, 1984). We tend to communicate our daily experiences in the city through narratives. However, "it is less the thing that is described, but the process of telling that is central to narration" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 79). A narrative is a subjective description that helps us in creating a sense of self in everyday life (Goldie, 2003). As a result, an array of distinct narratives unfolds from a single shared fact, which is similar to the scenario of EG's developed meanings. Stories are "spatial trajectories" that allow us to organize spaces in our everyday practices (De Certeau, 1984). They are *tactical* since they include adventures, surprises, threats, fears, expectations, and encounters that make the narrator drift into an experiential journey beyond the traversed geometrical space. In that sense, stories create certain flexibility in our thinking processes and generated accounts of reality. In *The Fall of the Public Man*, Sennett (1977) introduces "theatrical language" which privileges what is heard over what is seen. Speech becomes a performative element that animates a mundane space in the process of communicating it (Sennett, 2017).

Narratives "serve as cultural tools for members of a collective as they recount the past" (Wertsch, 2008, p. 120). Wertsch assigns "schematic narrative templates" for the narratives that depict a pattern as opposing to "specific narrative templates" that relate to a historical event. In psychology, the *Schema Theory* describes a pattern of thought or behavior that organizes categories of information and relationships among them. At EG, memorial narratives are essential building blocks in the process of identity formation (Bartolini, 2014), they are simultaneously renewed based on everyday practices, and still, every "narrative remains half someone else's" (Wertsch, 2008, p. 133).

Perception and Imagination

As a human species, we have limited capacities to perceive all the sensible biological factors in the environment through our senses (Mollison, 1988). Our visible spectrum is restricted to certain wavelengths and does not encompass all radiations that reach earth, our hearing capacity receives a certain range of decibels and not all vibrations. In short, humans have a certain similarity as a biological species in terms of perceiving the surrounding environment (Tuan, 1974). Nevertheless, variations in perceptions still exist at the level of the group and the individual. Tuan links perception to cultural forces whereby "no two persons see the same reality. No two social groups make precisely the same evaluation of the environment" (Tuan, 1974, p. 5). Perception is not only a reaction to external stimuli but also a decisive activity in which certain events are registered and others are hidden in their shadows. The process varies among individuals, for "individuality can transcend cultural forces that make for consensus" (Tuan, 1974, p. 45).

French philosopher Gaston Bachelard explains individual variations by exploring the phenomenology of the soul which is in pursuit of revery and inspiration (Bachelard, 1994). For him, the sensory perception of space and human reasoning are complementary in the production

of spatial information. In other words, we perceive spaces based on sensing the physical environment as well as generating images of the reality in our mind and soul. Through phenomenology, he explores how intimate spaces provide immense horizons for imagination that transform ordinary spaces into personalized dwellings. Every human interaction with a familiar, or homely, space is considered a meaningful interpretation of one's surroundings. This perceived image is not caused by the outer environment, it is rather the result of one's own mind and soul that have the power to transform spaces into larger spheres of reflection.

In The Poetics of Space, Bachelard (1994) shows how a form of co-creation exists between the person that is receiving the image and the actual spatial scenery. Poetry can engage readers without providing them with all the historical or causal factors that shaped the communicated situation. Yet, it allows the reader to deeply understand the meanings and embrace the feelings of the poet as though they were their own lived experiences. Similarly, the poetic image of a space is formed by several elements that are reformulated through the viewer's eyes, reasoning, and contemplation: a work of body, mind, and soul. The way we perceive spaces is the result of combined objective and subjective processes that we use to comprehend our surroundings in their totality. Bachelard uses a phenomenological approach to describe spaces as lively entities that are not solely echoed from the past but rather based on dynamic originality and action (Bachelard, 1994). The soul of a space is not a perceived object of the past, it is a subject of the user. Meditative exercises of the soul, such as reflection and daydreaming, are capable of bringing back a memory that becomes a deeper reality than our actual physical surroundings. Our memory is not only about the things we remember, but also our capacity to transform them into an immense feeling that expands our internal cosmos. From that, we can explain talents, ambitions, and aspirations that drive people towards an idea they cannot yet materialize. Humans are driven by their mind and soul which have deeper ways of understanding, and connecting to, their surroundings and reality than discursive knowledge allows.

3. Methodology

Following the humanistic approach taken to set the theoretical framework of this study, this chapter explains the methodology that would help answer the posed research question.
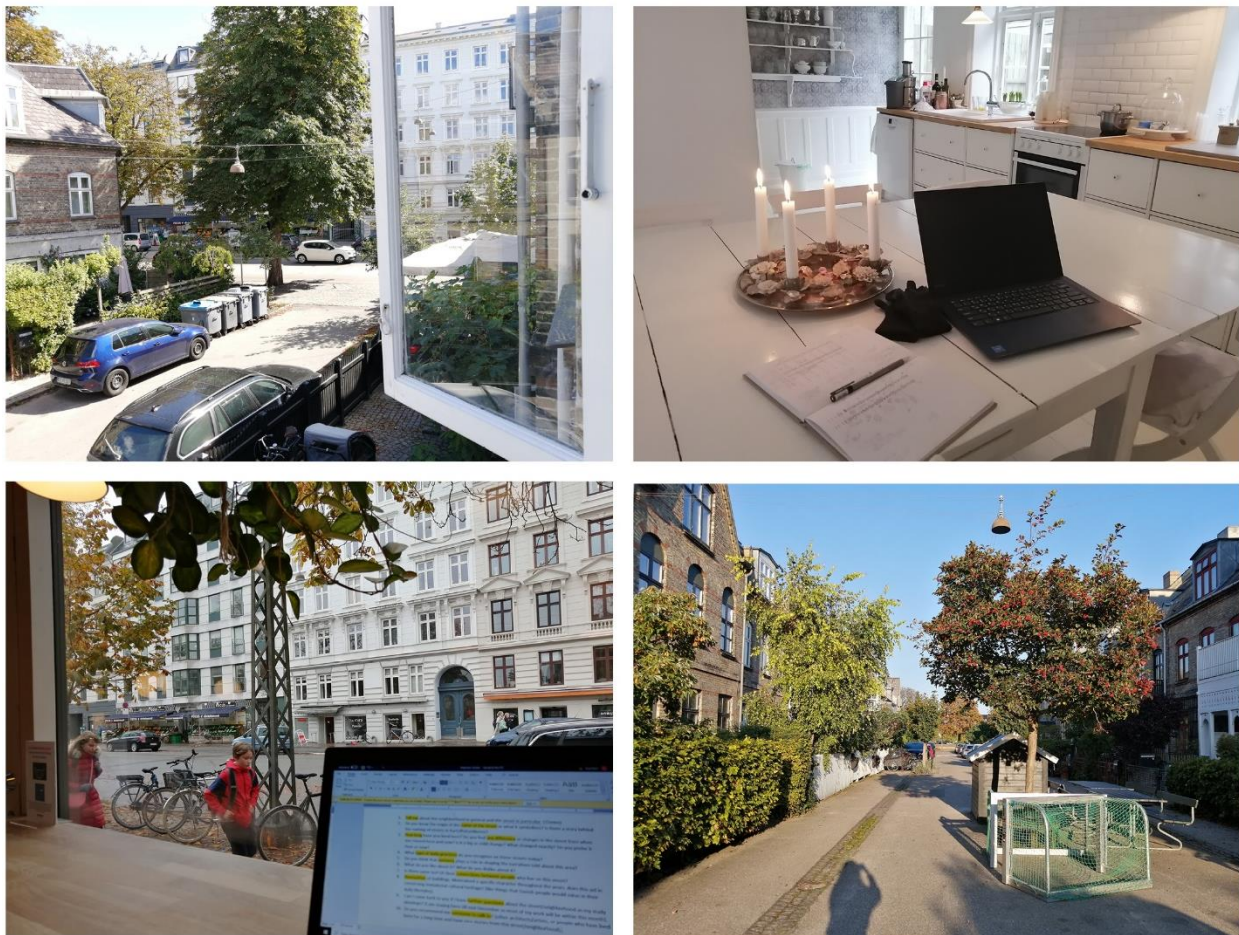

Figure 3.1: Working at the Street Level
Source: taken by author

Methodological Approach

Dwelling at EG was the very inspiration of conducting this study. Initially, I wanted to understand the history of the street and its dramatic narrative shift. Upon reading about it, the literature revealed a wealth of intriguing narratives and perspectives. Accordingly, I decided to shift my focus to current residents' points of view and start working from the street level. Engaging with residents gave insights on how they live their everyday life and further reflections on power relationships (Ward, 2014). Compared to city streets, EG felt like it belonged to its inhabitants. However, the human condition is not static and should not be concluded as such (Saldaña, 2011). Therefore, this study aims to understand the current stories that residents relate to and share to unravel the elements that give EG its attained character.

Data Collection

The primary method for data collection is a semi-structured interview guide prepared in two versions, one for adults and one for children. Both interviews (Appendix A and B) are composed of 12 open-ended questions that guide interviewees into expressing the stories, memories, and relationships they developed in, or associate with, EG. Secondary data collection methods are daily observations, documentation of witnessed events and everyday practices, as well as passive engagement with residents. That was possible due to living with one of the house owners and another tenant for four months (August 25 until December 25, 2020). That allowed for continuous exchange on different aspects of the street and provided resources to understand different perspectives of its history and narratives.

As a first step, residents were contacted through a snowball approach initiated by my landlord's referral to one of the long-term residents. The process naturally repeated itself as each interviewee suggested another. This method was no longer helpful when suggested names represented people in certain circles of friendships and social groups. For example, some interviewees recommended people from their age group or the same professional background. Some members were aware of that issue and proposed residents with different traits to help diversify the sample. In any way, approaching other interviewees demanded random knocking on doors. Although it was easier to start an interview based on a referral, residents were generally open and they possessed a good command of English which was very helpful for the later stages of this study.

Most interviews were carried out face to face inside residents' houses or in their front gardens. The latter was a protective measure taken for the ongoing COVID 19 pandemic, which for the same reason, some residents preferred to take the interview online over Zoom. The final sample is composed of 28 individuals, some of which are street committee members. Factors like age groups, genders, professional backgrounds, and the number of years lived on this street were relevant to consider because they influenced answers. For example, memories of newcomers and

older residents represented short and long-term memory. Architects shed light on spatial factors, parents found value in things concerning family life, etc. These factors exposed social groups and friendship circles at EG. The sample included 20 adults (ages between 39 and 80 years) and eight teens and children (ages between 10 and 22 years). In terms, it included 17 females and 11 males. It was harder to approach and communicate with younger children who couldn't speak English. In one case, all interview was translated by the participant's mother. In another case, a father assisted his son in certain expressions. In both, facial expressions and body language were closely observed since these too reveal information about perceptions (Ward, 2014). With a total of 775 minutes, the average of an interview was 28 minutes long.

Analysis Methods

All interviews were recorded with consent and transcribed[1] verbatim using online transcription software, Otter, then imported into NVivo 12 Plus for qualitative coding and thematic analysis. This method enabled identifying recurring themes and overlaps. Findings are reported using a "blended quoting" method to position residents as key informants in narrating EG. The discussion relies mostly on coding density per interview which allowed for identifying relationships and hierarchies between different notions and themes. Other data, such as neighborhood reports and municipal surveys, were translated from Danish to English using Google Translate and DeepL. Finally, NVivo, Adobe Illustrator, and Miro Board were used for mapping figures.

Ethical Considerations

The most challenging part of this thesis regards the "ethical quagmires" about decisions on how to handle, analyze, and draw conclusions from residents' narratives with utmost care and sensitivity (Ellis, 2009). This conundrum comes from the fact that while protecting participants' privacies and particularities, there is a duty to remain honest to readers (Ellis, 2009). In small communities, conducting research raises the issue of "internal confidentiality" where informants could be identified despite anonymization (Tolich, 2004). This has caused trouble in many ethnographic types of research, such as the famous example of *Fisher Folks* by Ellis (1986), which created conflicts between the fishing community members (Kaiser, 2009). As a result, Ellis developed the 'relational ethics' dimension that addresses ethical considerations through a caring

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[1] All transcripts are available but not attached to protect respondent confidentiality.

lens and considers the consequences beyond the interview approach and consent (Ellis, 2007). This approach is used in this study to avoid perpetuating hearsay, gossip, and tensions.

First and foremost, this research would not have been possible without the participants' good intent and generous contributions. However, as soon as I started talking to them, I understood that the story of the street included individual and confidential experiences such as harmonious and conflicting relationships among neighbors or personal life events. Hence, this thesis does not share all retrieved stories. However, they did inform the analysis of findings and aided in drawing relationships. A constant revision of my deductions was a necessary reflexive process. From an epistemological approach, narratives are tools used to make sense out of daily life experiences and should be addressed in *appropriate* and *correct* ways (Adams, 2008). Hence, my final interpretations are not a depiction of the full truth. Communicated stories often change between neighbors and between the narrator's past, present, and future. Instead, they are analytical tools that make sense of participants' perceptions and practices.

That said, this thesis uses the ethics of "permanent vigilance" that emerges from particular situations and experiences instead of a set of rules and ethics that transfer from a case study to another (Zylinska, 2005). Qualitative researchers must use renewed ethics that judge appropriate approaches to the context, based on "the contingencies involved in specific, historically situated encounters" (Zylinska, 2005, p. 59). Although most interviewees did not mind putting their names, I decided to drop in-text citations, both real and anonymized, on extracted quotations since pseudonyms enable identification upon connecting all references. Quotes are limited to neutral or common views and not controversial issues, divisive opinions, or personal-life stories that might cause harm or expose privacies as the "convention of confidentiality" suggests (Baez, 2002).

To be sure, these issues do not constitute the dominant narrative of EG but are an inevitable reality of any shared space where individual opinions transcend and contest collective narratives. Shared memories create certain ethics within "thick relationships" shared with close people such as family, friends, neighbors, and people from the same tribe or nation (Margalit, 2021). EG has a majority of "thick relationships" constantly renewed through communal practices.

4. Case Study: Eckersbergsgade, Kartoffelrækkerne

Figure 4.1: Hand Drawing of KR rooftops
Source: courtesy of Filip Andreas Juhl

"Place is security, space is freedom: we are attached to the one and long for the other" – Tuan

Kartoffelrækkerne; The Potato Rows
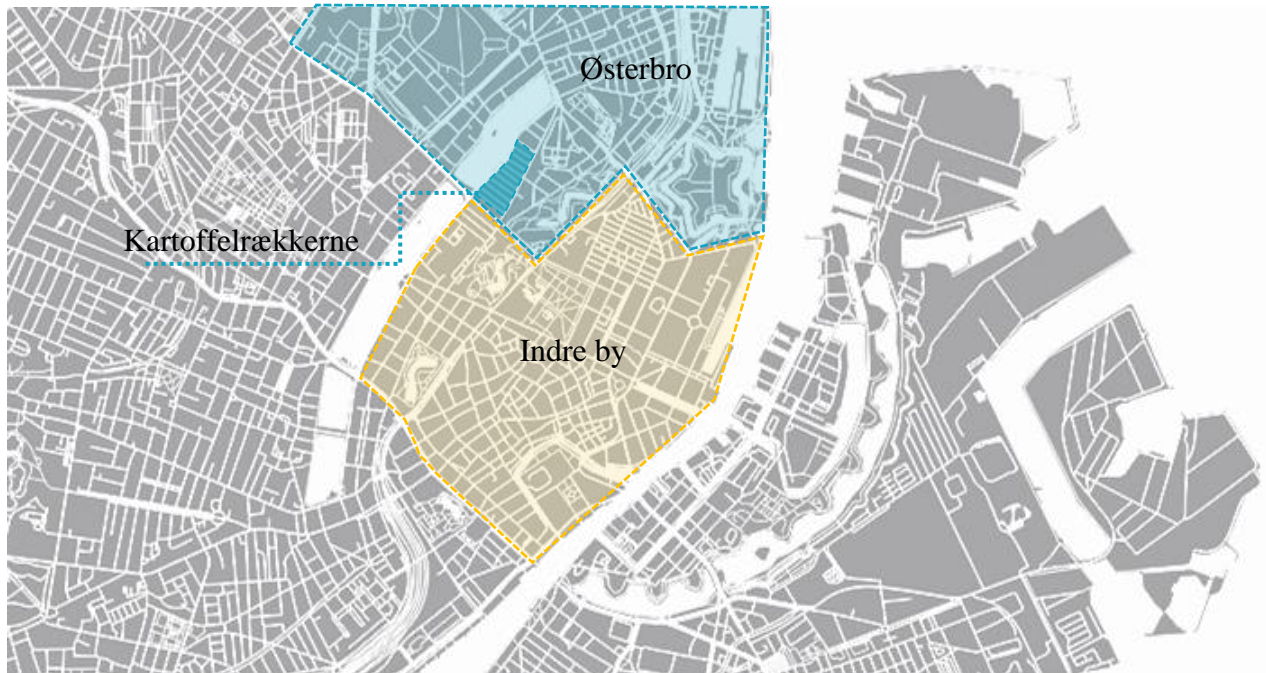
Figure 4.2: Location Map
Source: commons plan, edited on Adobe Illustrator

The *Kartoffelrækkerne* lies in the Østerbro district at the northwestern zone of the Danish Capital. The neighborhood was designed by the architect Frederik Christian Bøttger after the English model and is composed of 10 streets and 11 parallel housing rows constituting 480 housing units. Its name has been commonly attributed to two stories. One of them restates its former function as a field for cultivating potatoes to feed the growing Danish population. The other is based on the layout of its houses in the form of parallel rows. This housing scheme, also known as *terraced houses*, originated in Europe during the 16th century and was a traditional rural form of building prevalent in villages and small market towns.

Built between 1873 and 1889, KR was developed during a time when arts had gained an elevated status after European Romanticism. This came after a period in which Copenhagen suffered from great fires (1728 and 1795), bombardments (1801 and 1807), and a resulting national bankruptcy. These events catalyzed a shift in building characteristics and a new period of arts and creativity culminating during the *Dansk Guldalder* [Danish Golden Age] between 1800 and 1850. Streets and rows of houses were meant to become chamfered on the edges to allow better access for fire engines and authorities had urged people to build brick houses instead of half-timbered structures that were prone to flames (Stensgaard, 2005). Most of the streets at KR were named after Danish Golden Age painters who were still popular in Copenhagen after the mid-19th century. Others are named after a sculpturer - Wiedeweltsgade, an art historian – Høyensgade, and an artist - JA Schwartz Gade (Zinglersen, 1979). A similar example is that of

Svanemøllekvarteret[2], or the music town, whose streets are named after Danish and Nordic composers from the same period. Artists, sculptors, musicians, and intellectuals of that era had gained significant importance and constituted part of the city's cultural heritage discernible beyond archives and museums. Their names got inscribed into the city's streets and consequently into people's daily conversations to familiarize them with significant contributors to their national heritage. This nomenclature also reflected an expression of social indignation and the idea of man as a spiritual being (Københavns Kommune, 2014).

The political and social conditions played a major role in restructuring the city and its housing policies. The modern industrialization of the 1840s resulted in urban growth that created unseen concentrations of poor housing and led to the expansion of the built fabric beyond the city ramparts. The Cholera Epidemic outbreak in 1853 was one of the major factors that steered demands in constructing a healthy and affordable housing scheme for workers in Copenhagen. In 1865, workers at the Burmeister and Wain shipyard founded a workers' housing association, the *Arbejdernes Byggeforening* (AB), to provide housing with better sanitary conditions. AB bought the land next to the lakes in Østerbro from the Reeh family, which owned and organized plantations in the fields that were on the city ramparts (Rix & Linell, 2020) and followed the Danish Medical Association's Brumleby model initiated by medical doctors Emil Hornemann and F.F Ulrik.

Initially, KR houses were built to provide hygienic and affordable housing for workers at the Burmeister and Wain shipyard (Rækkernes Historie, 2017) following the English principle of self-help; a process of sharing common challenges and experiences based on giving help, accepting help, and helping oneself. Accordingly, the houses were designed for two to three families per unit, and the construction was financed by workers who paid a weekly contribution to AB. The houses got distributed by lottery among the AB members and winners had the right to own the houses. The footprint of the houses was kept small to comply with rules of the building code for tax exemption (Københavns Kommune, 2014). Houses were built in two stories and an attic, and, at a later point, basements were dug out individually at different times. Light and air were the guiding principles in construction and each house was designed with a front and back garden to ensure appropriate distancing and a provision of open areas for families. These characteristics attracted other groups of people, such as artisans, craftsmen, and civil servants who migrated from

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[2] Terraced houses with 393 buildings in Østerbro built by the Worker's Building Society (Arbejdernes Byggeforening).

the villages into the city. The rising demand increased prices and made it harder for the target group to afford to live there (Københavns Kommune, 2014).

Figure 4.3: 1880 Flier promoting a workers' cooperative building project (KR)
Source: *Dwelling* by Orum-Nielsen, J., & Pease, M. (1996)

At the beginning of the 1970s, a century after KR started to develop, the former mayor of Copenhagen decided that the houses needed to be demolished due to their degrading condition and the lack of proper heating, sanitation, and structural stability. This decision was met with high resistance by activists and residents who were able to save the neighborhood. After assessment and reconsideration, the houses were approved as single-family dwellings and declared worthy of preservation (Københavns Kommune, 2014). After the AB was dissolved in 1972, the Homeowners' Association of Øster Farimagsgade (HØF), Hallinsgade, J.A. Schwartzgade, and Voldmestergade were formed. Every house owner in KR needed to be a member of the association that corresponded to their street. By the end of the 1980s, the city of Copenhagen issued the "Lokalplan 115" (Appendix D) legislation that aims to protect all the streets of KR. Its purpose is to maintain the area as a residential neighborhood and to ensure the preservation of the existing buildings with special cultural, historical, and architectural qualities (Københavns Kommune, 1988).

In the present, KR has a distinctive social character dominated by elderly couples and young families with children. Physically, it displays all elements praised by architects and urban planners who advocate for human-centered urban designs that generate a positive impact on the livelihood of inhabitants. The neighborhood has been a direct inspiration for locally and internationally renowned Danish architects such as Jan Gehl who regarded the quality of life between its buildings and Bjarke Ingels who designed the 8-House development in Ørestad after it. The houses on these streets have been subject to minimal or more elaborate renovation projects but have preserved the general character. In *Copenhagen: People and Places*, Pernille Stensgaard

(2005) describes the physical appearance where "the house must not be either run down or embarrassingly neat and tidy, but it has to maintain a delicate balance. Worn in the charming Italian way. Patina, not decay. Well-tended not newly rich" (p. 295). These characteristics, and its central location, make it among the most sought after living spaces in Copenhagen, and consequently, the area with the highest land prices per square meter in the city. This isn't strange in the district of Østerbro which "has a long tradition of peace and quiet and lots of money – three things that often go together" (p. 281). In *Østerbro, for og nu – og aldrig* [Østerbro then and now – and never], Hans Helge Madsen (1993) concludes that "Østerbro was born with a silver spoon in its mouth" (Stensgaard, 2005, p. 287). It is known to be the destination for intellectuals and rich people who used to go outside the ramparts to spend their summer. The district still reflects its origins and histories "and no one needs to go right up into the apartments to discover where on the social scale the particular area is placed. It can be seen in the street" (p. 282).

As a terraced housing scenario, houses share walls and infrastructure. Common electricity supply cables are routed through attics; the main sewage line runs throughout the street and branches into front gardens (1 branch shared between 2 houses); stormwater collection drains are shared with one or two neighboring houses. Some infrastructure is maintained by the municipality, and some are maintained jointly (HØF, 2019). Having been constructed over 16 years, streets slightly differ, giving each street its own character while remaining within the same overall structure. Hence, the neighborhood with uniform houses has a clear identity with variations in individual streets (Københavns Kommune, 2014).
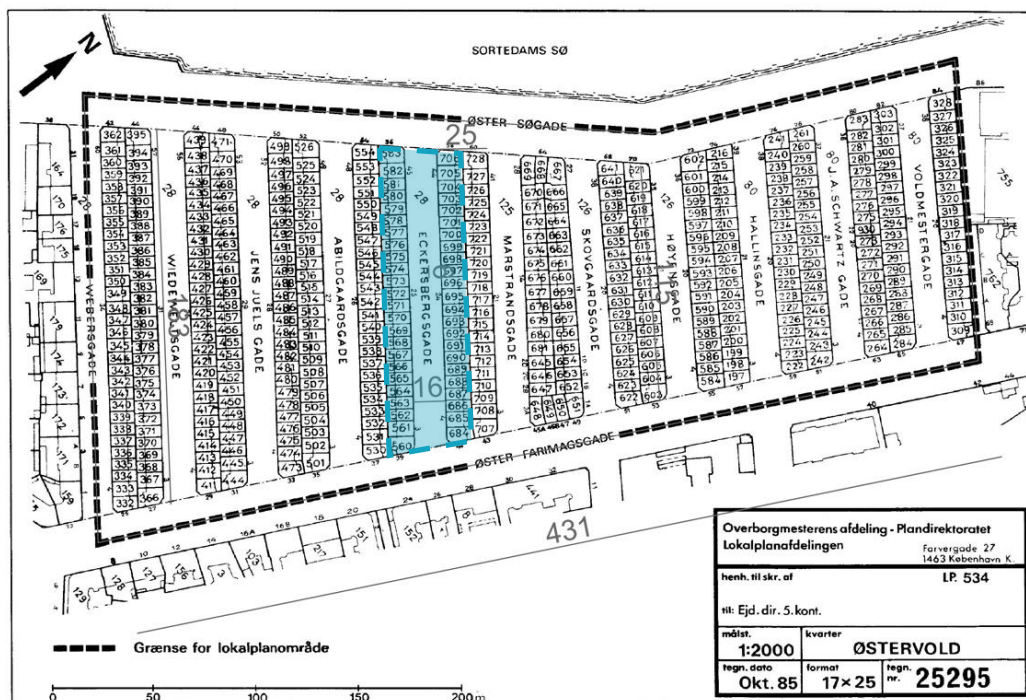
Figure 4.4: Plan view of Kartoffelrækkerne
Source: Kobenhavns Kommune

Eckersbergsgade; Eckersberg's Street

Eckersbergsgade is one of the streets at KR and the selected one for data collection in this study. The street is named after the Father of Danish Painting, Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg (1783-1853), who laid the foundation for the Golden Age Period. His paintings mostly include portraits, landscapes, historical drawings, antiques, and a depiction of the local life. He developed an interest in urban life during his journey to Paris whereby he started using the city's architecture as a reference to create a sense of depth and space on the picture plane (Hedin, 2015). His attention to the ordinary is visible in a number of paintings where he combines daily life observations with classical principles of composition. This paved the path for other Golden Age painters to start portraying ordinary everyday life. The end of his journey was marked by the Cholera Epidemic (1853) which was the main inspiration behind the foundation of the AB association.

Figure 4.5: Eckersbergs' painting of his daughters
Source: taken by author at interviewee's house

During his lifetime, Eckersberg was a professor at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen (1818-1853) where he taught classes about perspectives and wrote a dissertation on the *Linear Perspective Used in the Art of Painting* [Linearperspektiven, anvedt paa Malerkunsten] (1841). His interest in the perspective was formed on the basis of an interest in the geometry of optics, for "to study the geometry of optics was to study the way we perceive the world – and in a wider perspective, to study the system structuring how we perceive the world" (Hedin, 2015, p. 154).

Figure 4.6: EG Perspective
Source: taken by author
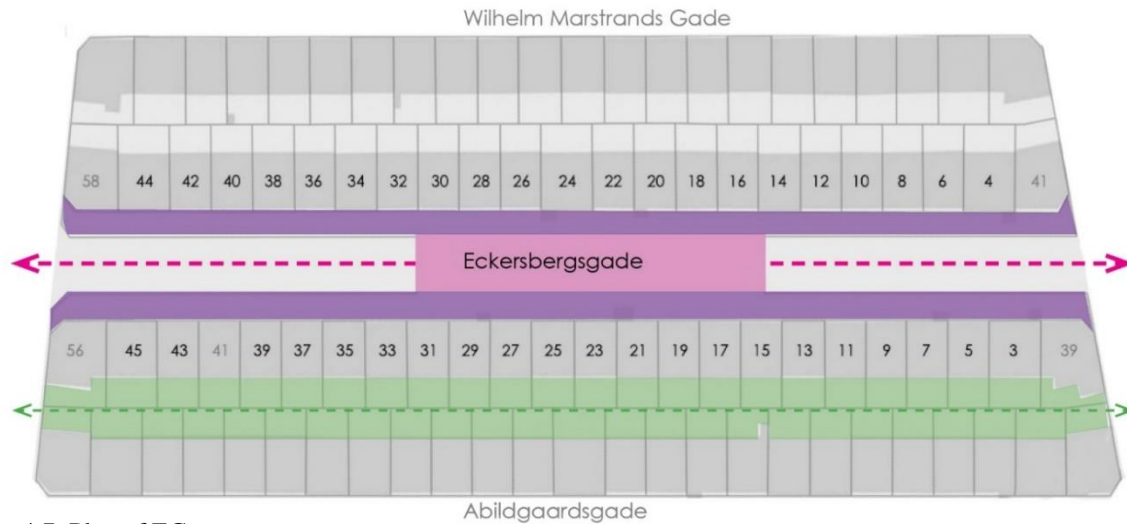
Figure 4.7: Plan of EG
Source: collective commons maps

Most houses on EG were built at the middle phase of the KR development, between 1882 and 1883 (Boligsiden, 2021). A total of 43 houses are labeled from 3 to 45, with even-numbered houses aligned on the eastern side of the street and odd-numbered ones on the western side. Each house has a private back garden and a front garden which is owned by the HØF but made available for homeowners to use (HØF, 2019). The houses are commonly distinguished based on the exposure of their front garden to afternoon sunlight. Hence, the even houses are those on the *sunny side* and the odd houses on the *shaded side*. The mirror-inverted layout of house rows exposes the front gardens to the public street life and hides the back gardens which share edges with the back gardens of the houses on the parallel street. Furthermore, when the houses were first built, the rear gardens included a privy to indicate a private utility space (Stensgaard, 2005). This allocation emphasizes the differentiation between the public and more intimate spheres. As shown in the figures below, the fences around the rear gardens are higher than those in the front gardens and are coupled with high-growing shrubs or trailing plants on either side to block visual access.

Figure 4.8: Back Gardens
Source: taken and edited by author

Figure 4.9: Front Gardens
Source: taken and edited by author

The architecture of the houses reflects historicism, the style of the time, in the way it draws inspiration from classical antiquity. The houses are built with vernacular gable-style fronts using yellow bricks and red stone stripes, both arching above Romanesque window frames. This style is "reminiscent of Christian Hansen's "byzantine" style which he had brought from his time in Greece" (Københavns Kommune, 2014). In an article describing *Architectural 'Purity' in early 19th century Denmark*, Stevenson (1985) highlights an admiration for minimalism between artists of that period. He adds to that an emphasis on how people engage with them for "if an appreciation for simplicity in architecture was common to painters and architects around 1800, another link was a "theatrical" approach to the paintings and peopling of buildings" (Stevenson, 1985, p.23). That is particularly visible on this street which contains a number of outdoor furniture such as tables and benches, bicycle racks, a playhouse, a sandbox, and other play structures signifying the uses of the street. More recently, the middle part of the street (highlighted in magenta) was transformed into a playground with speedbumps delineating its edges. These elements significantly minimized traffic and prioritized pedestrians and children.

The late coming of the preservation law meant that some houses had already undergone changes and certain guidelines do not apply to them. Although no volumes can be added to the existing one without special permission, many houses had already added volumes before the law came into effect. EG has many annexed exteriors to its houses such as newly installed French balconies and what is commonly referred to, in Danish, *bislag*. These are small extensions in front of the entrance door that sometimes include a little terrace on top which could be accessed from the first floor of the house.

Figure 4.10: *Bislag* [Annexed Exteriors]
Source: taken by author

The law is mainly concerned with the outward appearance and the vibe that is created on the street. Accordingly, the façades, roofs, doors, and windows have very strict restrictions on change. Only minor changes are allowed on the street side and are listed in "Lokalplan 115". For example, if the façade color needed to be repainted, the colors should comply with the Copenhagen Color Scheme that offers different colors that maintain the city's atmospheric ambiance. Moving indoors, the interior design of space enjoys contradistinctive freedom.
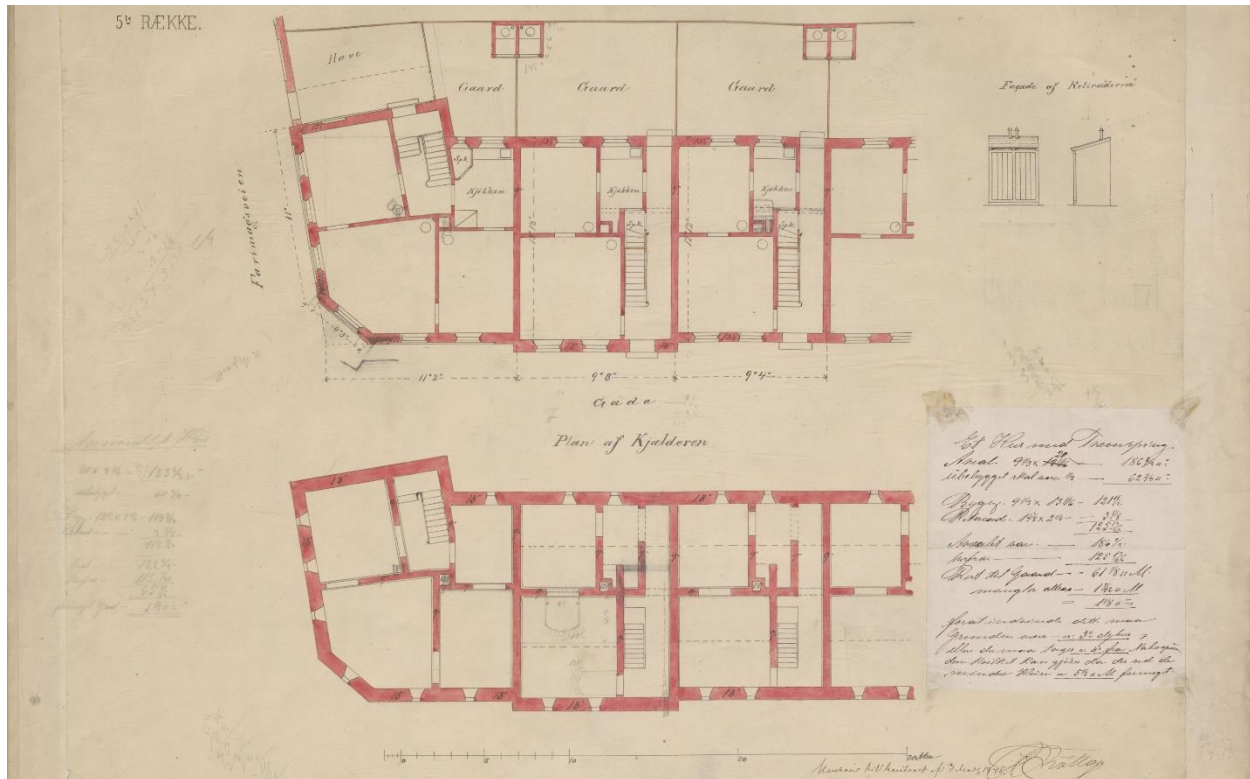
Figure 4.11: Old Houses Layout
Source: Danish Art Library, kunstbib.dk

Traditionally, each floor had three rooms and a kitchen with a tiled stove and a water outlet. The two floors share a chimney and an internal staircase connecting the ground floor to the attic with a dormer window. The Dannebrog windows consist of a frame dividing the glass panels following the Danish flag cross. Typically, the flooring was finished with wooden planks and the ceilings plastered with stucco. In most houses today, the spatial configuration and interior designs have been refurbished.

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[1] Copenhagen Color Scheme, as defined by one of the residents: "original Copenhagen colors and… varies from dark red to blue, green, some kind of curry colored yellow."
[2] *Bolig Magasinet* features the interior design of a house from another street at the KR furnished with high-end Italian materials (Boligsiden, 2021). A similar phenomenon is observed on EG. https://boligmagasinet.dk/boliger/huse/besog-et-dejligt-raekkehus-i-kartoffelraekkerne

5. Findings: Narratives of the Street

Individual impressions and collective narratives were both retrieved through residents' description of EG, what they associate it with, and how they distinguish it from other streets at KR. **The first** section describes the people who live there today. **The second** section presents the types of relationships they share. **The third** section illustrates how the street is used today. **The fourth** section represents residents' perceived image through particular narratives and memories, changes they experienced, and general opinions. **The final** section reveals notions that create the essential character of this street.

Figure 5.1: Eckersbergsgade Middle Section
Source: taken by author

Introducing Eckersbergsgaders

The vast majority of EG homeowners are from Danish origins, originally coming from Copenhagen or migrating from the suburbs and other areas of Denmark. Nevertheless, EG's social tissue consists of residents from different ethnic backgrounds who share those houses like migrant domestic workers, au pairs, and short or long-term tenants renting a whole flat or a room. One of the residents remarked, "many rich families in Denmark have au pairs. Mostly they are women from the Philippines." The houses are considered the most expensive per square meter in the city, and hence, attracting upper and upper-middle classes.
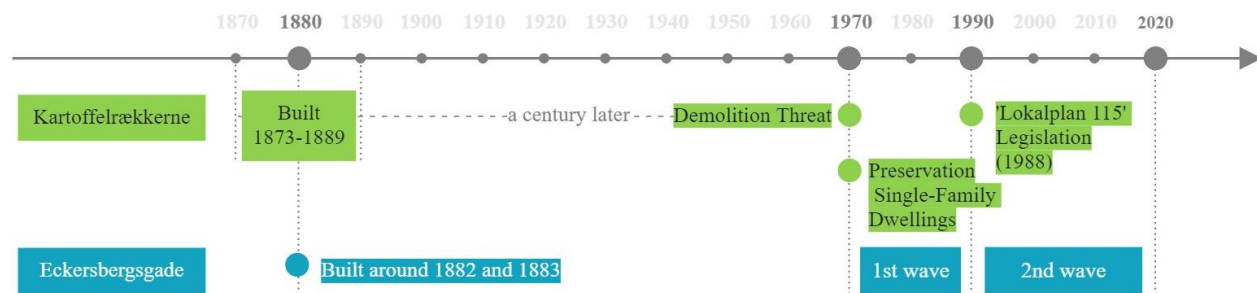
Figure 5.2: Timeline of Significant Events at KR and EG
Source: produced on Miro Board

After the houses were rescued and declared as single-family dwellings in 1970, two major waves of newcomers have been remarked. The 1st wave includes young families who moved in between 1970 and 1990, those who stayed constitute the elderly group today (above 60 years). The 2nd wave between 1990 and 2020, includes young families who had inherited or bought the houses from their parents (of the 1st wave), retiring elderly couples, and new young working families. This division of arrivals might not seem the most accurate, and should not be mistaken for generalizations, it is rather the way people at EG commonly refer to one another or label themselves, as one of the older residents expressed, "this area has been gentrified… this is a second wave, we were the first wave." This quote hints at two dimensions that created social diversity, age groups and social statuses. Another resident summed up the social composition of EG saying:

> it's the elderly, it's young, it's families with children, it's people who lived here for 30 years or just moved in, it's very diverse you have the artists, the cloth designers, doctors, lawyers, people who are very social focused or driven, you have people who actually want to be themselves and not participate in anything.

The table below gives a general idea of social dynamics based on participants. Working-class families' information was harder to access and is retrieved from residents' narrations and other sources. That said, the fields listed below only give a closer image to shared collective narratives and are not representative of all. Throughout the study, more exceptions were revealed and be discussed later. For example, there was a single house still shared by more than 6 people.

Residents on Eckersbergsgade	Multi-family Dwellings (1882-1970)	Single-Family Dwellings	
		1st Wave (1970-1990)	2nd Wave (1990-2020)
Number of years on the street	Unavailable Data	>30 years	$\leq$ 30 years
Number of families per house	2-3 Families ($\approx$ 9 ind.)	1 ($\approx$ 5 ind.)	1 ($\approx$ 4 ind.)
Professional Backgrounds	Shipyard workers + Migrant artisans and craftsmen from the village	Lawyers, Doctors, Artists, Academics, Teachers "Office worker, policeman, ship's captain, merchant, postman, engineer, color sergeant, married lady, shoemaker, butcher, unmarried lady, unskilled laborer, bricklayer" (Stensgaard, 2005, p. 296) - "The list of residents in 1886"	Lawyers, Doctors, Artists, Designers, Musicians, Intellectuals, Creative Producers, Architects, Therapists,
Age Groups Today	----	Elderly Couples Young families	Elderly Couples, Inheritors, Young Families
Socio-economic Class	Working-class	Middle-class	Upper-middle and High class

Figure 5.3: Social dynamics and EG arrivals
Source: produced on Word

Proximity to the city center and neighbors created the most convenient factors that attracted newcomers. This proved to be most suitable for young couples who worked in the city and wanted to maintain a work-life balance, a social life, and to provide safe play areas for their children, as a young father expressed:

it is super convenient as both [my wife and I] work inside the city center, we can go to work and back home within five minutes … It leaves more time with your family and friends and neighbors and so on. So yeah, it's a social thing, it's convenient and it is time optimized for a family life.

Its location also seemed catchy for those who fancied "getting the best of two worlds," where they can have their own house and still be surrounded by all the city's amenities. Although the social character of the street is well known, not all those who moved in necessarily wanted to engage in the communal environment which generated different neighbor relations.

Neighboring and Propinquity

The dominant narrative, produced partly by the form of the houses and partly by its residents, reflected the desire for a socially engaged community. However, this did not eliminate the fact that some people did not wish to participate and have simply chosen the practical, or aesthetic, purposes. For instance, some separated their houses with physical elements, as an older resident remarked:

you are not allowed to build large fences, and some people did that anyway, and the Copenhagen city are suing them, they are getting letters and letters that they need to put the fence down, to change it …you need to like the openness.

Propinquity caused several problems and tensions with those who had different visions or expectations from living there. The physical proximity of houses imposed a minimum level of interaction based on daily encounters and visual accessibility. These range from passive recognition and eye contact to waving, greetings, and conversations. In many cases, this has developed into closer ties and relationships, as one of the residents expressed, "it starts on the street, and then it's getting more." In other cases, it created nuisances as one resident stated:

it feels like there's always people around… you know, the back side of the houses… feels very close, in terms of viewing into other people's houses, I guess what I'm trying to say, there's a privacy thing here too.

The semipublic front gardens, balconies, and to a certain extent, semiprivate backyards and interior spaces are visually accessible by passersby or overlooked by upper story windows of adjacent houses. Another resident confirmed, "you see problems now and then. When people divorce, you already know it... I mean, we don't have curtains, so you can see what is going on everywhere." Other narratives described how wall-to-wall neighbors can hear fights and loud conversations due to poor sound insulation in foundational materials. The issue of privacy had to be dealt with on daily basis and provoked internal reflections on one's self-image, as an older resident elaborated:

sometimes, I'm thinking… if I'm cleaning the garden, I think, oh maybe they're looking at me and thinking, whoa, why is she cleaning the garden all the time? or why is she doing that? or she's a little strange… but you must just think: *they can think what they want*".

Privacy matters were partly solved by moral instances, one of them explained: "people in the sunny side use their front gardens a lot more… when people are sitting eating their dinner, we know, we don't go in and disturb." In addition, a younger resident affirmed, "obviously, we don't look in if we see that people are changing clothes. I don't think people tend to look into each other's windows in that way. But yeah, we can always close the blinds if we want to." Unspoken rules have somehow dictated what type of interactions are acceptable or expected of neighbors. One of the older residents recalled first arriving at the neighborhood expressing: "somebody told me a very funny thing that… you usually say hello when you pass, but when you're in the backyard, you don't say hello." As concluded by one of them:

I think there's a secret rule here. You can look at each other but you don't stand looking… and I think you just think natural… you just see it, but you don't see it. You look at them, but you don't see them… because we don't have curtains… I look and then I don't look at the same time… it's just the way you do it…it's strange that they want the private life, but at the same time, you can see what they are doing.

Closer ties between neighbors have commonly developed with those spending relatively similar periods on the street. For example, around 10 elderly residents from the 1st wave share a dining club with regular monthly meetings as one of its members explained, "we eat together… so that's also something that is very old. I think it's more than 20 years, maybe it's 30 years old tradition… some of them are not coming anymore because the spouse died but we're coming together." The street itself served as a medium for bringing different generations together as a grandparent explained, "we old ones… often meet in the street because we take care of our grandchildren, so we are in the playhouse or the street… Sometimes we also get to know the young generation, they have a small group." Other organic relationships developed between people who do not share any common traits or interests such as older people with children of their friends, or parents whose children are friends. Someone satirically expressed:

I know some people where I don't think that they are connecting very much, the adults, but because the boys and girls are playing together, it's like they come visit each other… it's funny to see because I'm pretty sure that they don't have the same ideas about nearly everything.

On the other hand, the street provided a site for aid and social solidarity like providing caring activities for one another or watching over each other's homes when a family is away for vacation, which created a safe atmosphere. Children know that they can seek refuge through neighbors as one of them expressed, "if I was walking alone, and somebody tried to take me… I know that I could run to one of the houses, any of the houses." Adults shared references and resources that helped them better manage technical issues they face. In addition, residents commonly presented

their homes as a source of inspiration to the possibilities that could be implemented in the interiors, which proved to be a valued form of coordination between neighbors.

A Performative Stage
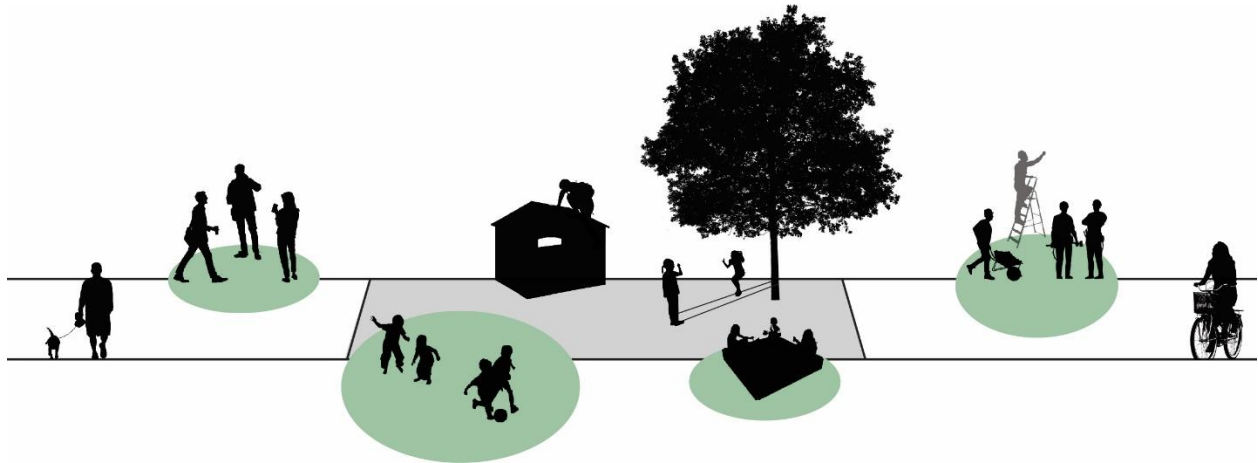
Figure 5.4: Street Activities
Source: produced on Adobe Illustrator

The figure above shows much of the street activities that happen on a typical day at EG. Nevertheless, temporality is reflected in changing activities based on seasons, days of the week, and times of the day. The level of activity is significantly higher during summertime when days are longer and the weather invites more interactions outdoors. Routine practices are sharper during weekdays as children and parents go back and forth to school and work. The street is a place to develop skills such as "trying to learn to bike or something." Running, climbing, jumping, and in some circumstances developing tactics that allow them to maximize playing on the street. For example, someone mentioned children supporting a jumping rope to the tree when the team was missing one member to complete the game. In addition, younger children are trying to imitate older children, as one of the latter pointed out, "a lot of the older kids like to climb on the roof of the Playhouse… and then all the younger kids really want to go up there, but they can't."

The street is also a place to cultivate cultural identity. Several Danish holidays are celebrated on the street such as Fastelavn [Shrovetide] in February as one explained "you have a tradition in Denmark when you have a barrel… and you knock it down." A number of children played a Danish game called *Cheese* where "we had this ball game which we played a lot in a square, where you dribble the ball down to the other side… it has several names, but it's called square ball… or in Danish, you can say cheese." On the 1st Sunday of December, everyone meets to sing Danish festive songs and to officially turn on all the light chains around the houses in anticipation of Christmas. On New Year's Eve, it is also "very festive because children are walking in the street and sending around all these fireworks." In Spring, a specific date is assigned for a collective cleaning up of the street and gardens. In Summer, a big party is held in the street, and

according to one of the children, it is to "celebrate the birthday[1] of when the place here got born or made. Then there is a jumping thing, castle jumping." Normally, there would be a homemade pinata for children to break and collect its candy. In addition, the street served as an outdoor cinema for projecting important sports games, especially when Denmark's team is competing, such as World Cup 2018, as one of the young fathers expressed:

> We set up a big monitor outside in the street… and everyone, or a lot of people, were sitting out there cheering for Denmark… even when it was raining… which is quite often… we still made like a little overhang, a tarp… and we still had everything out… I guess that was a very Danish thing.

Figure 5.5: Christmas Light chains
Source: taken by author

Other occasions include a seasonal flea market for the whole KR, celebrating remarkable birthdays for adults "turning 30 or 40," and a handful of children's birthdays as one resident contemplated "I think we counted maybe 30-40 children in the street, so that is a lot of birthday parties." On some events, street celebrations invite people outside the street, for example:

> Halloween is a very big thing here and I think it feels as if most, all the kids of, Copenhagen, come to the potato rows, because it's nice and safe to walk around here and all the houses have been thoroughly prepared for Halloween.

Street events are planned and organized by a street committee formed by seven members of residents. Their main responsibility is to "make rules and discuss problems in the street," and, of course, to "make feasts." The members meet 4 to 5 times per year in one of the members' houses, which feels "pretty cozy." The committee officially meets with all street residents once per year to touch base, resolve certain issues, and set an agenda, another member portrayed:

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[1] No specific date recognized

We go to the cafe across the street… usually it's a morning meeting on a Sunday or Saturday… we all pay a certain amount in the street, that we have for restorations… this amount of money that people pay are used so that the whole street can have brunch.

Narratives and Perceptions of EG

Perceptions of EG account for as many residents and experiences they have encountered as well as narratives they generate, at the street. Individual impressions and collective narratives were retrieved from residents' descriptions of EG and what they associate it with. While recounting memories, they referred to short-term and long-term, individual and collective, reminiscent and wistful memories.

More recent collective memories described people and events associated with the street. For instance, recurrent narratives related to those who previously lived at EG including particular characters such as "the grumpy old man" who had an overgrown garden, "the frog woman" who scared the children, "the drunken man" who drained himself in the lakes, and "the activist" who saved the neighborhood from demolition. In addition, they celebrated the events and the rituals that they had attended on the street. On the other hand, individual memories were associated with personal life events and phases they have dealt with while living at EG. These included narratives on the situation in which they moved into or out of the street, the milestones that were celebrated on the street (such as graduation, wedding proposals, giving birth), and the endured circumstances on the street (such as divorce, sickness, and death).

Although not all collective memories were experienced first-handedly, they were still transmitted between generations and almost everyone knows their stories and repeats them. Even some lived experiences have been passed on, for example, one interviewee said, "my son has got the same room as I had when I was a child," and now goes to the same area school, too. The same person went on to describe the simple feelings that were strongly valued while recounting childhood on the street, "generally, I just remember the feeling of safety and in the same time freedom to just run around." Several examples of inheritors primarily wished to give the same feelings they grew up with to their children as one of them explained:

they can run from one street to the other to visit their friends so it is very safe and very nice to give that kind of freedom to your children, that they are not always with adults, getting picked up, they can do it by themselves.

Long-term memories, such as those of people who have lived on, or known, the street for long periods, explain that the street's environment has been significantly affected by surrounding changes. Elderly residents from the 1st wave describe how there used to be "many small shops in Farimagsgade, the big street here, and there was a lot of variant shops, there was a butcher and there was a grocer and fishes… now it is mostly restaurants." The street running perpendicular to

all KR streets used to have a mix of old workspaces and industries that have been transformed into artist studios and creative galleries. Another older resident reminisced:

> You would have… the people making shoes, people making furniture, or whatever they did. And some of those have become adapted into… offices or creative spaces of various kinds… it's all around, you can see it even right across… where the little bakery is... it's just that this is such a special area because, you know, until these houses came, this was potato farming in the country. So they've only been farmland, and then these houses for the cholera.

This change was seen as an improvement for some young families where "the whole area had created a better local environment so having the union kitchen, having the Irma coming in, different kind of bakeries, you have the food, takeaway selection is larger now than it was eight years ago."
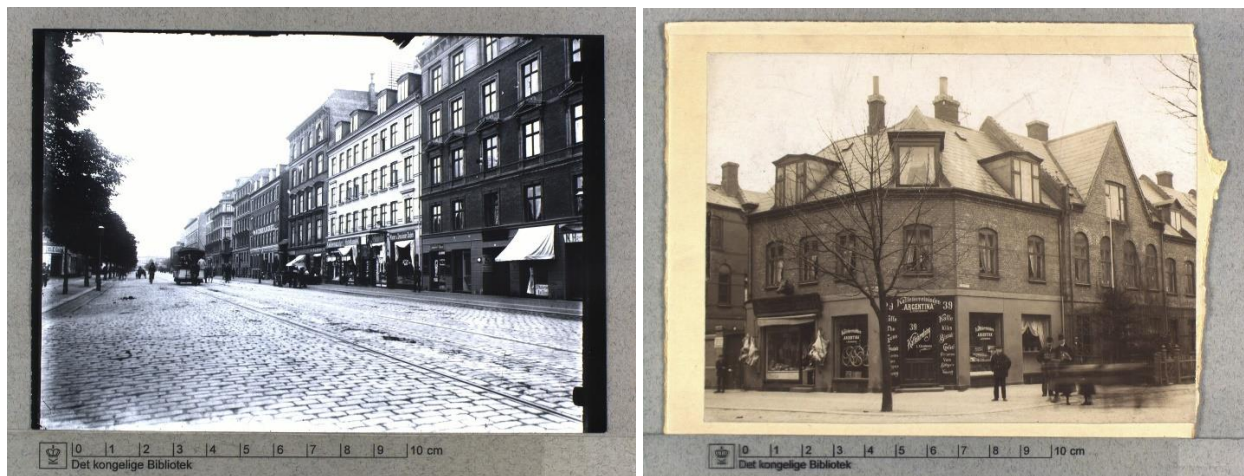
Figure 5.6: Øster Farimagsgade between 1870 and 1912
Source: Royal Danish Library

In addition to the context, older residents described the drastic change in the type of people who are living on EG, as someone expressed, "in the beginning, when we lived here, it was ordinary people, working families… now because the house is very expensive… it's rich people." This change also implied a shift in the demographic structure as an elder summarized the whole phenomenon:

> When we moved in, we were the young ones and there were old people here. Many of them had also lived here for 50 years. And now we are the old ones, and the young ones move in. And that has made a lot of change in the mix of the inhabitants… It is young families with mostly two kids who are moving in.

Younger adults who were raised at EG also recognized abrupt changes. They left in their early adulthood and came back to inherit or buy the houses from their parents, to live with their

newly formed families. One of them compared the street to their childhood while reflecting on the new type of people arriving:

> The area, the streets, Kartoffelrækkerne has changed a lot I think since I was a child. It has become a bit, different kinds of people that live here, it was a lot cheaper when I was growing up, so it was mostly like artists or academics living here.

Referring to professional backgrounds was commonly used to describe a shift in attitude and lifestyle as another resident confirmed, "It's now advocates, people who own a lot of money… before it was more people who were artists." This also meant that not all people valued EG's social character and just desired the benefits of its location, calmness, and house gardens close to their work. In some cases it was also a matter of prestige as one resident said regrettably, "sometimes we have another type of people moving in, you know lawyers and…. people for whom it is very important to say that they live here, but actually they don't want to participate in the social life." The prestige also reflected the reputation of the neighborhood as a young resident whose parents moved in during earlier times expressed inconveniently, "when I tell my friends that my parents live there, they say *wow, okay, they're very wealthy*. And I say *no, my parents are teachers…*"

Figure 5.7: Traditional vs. Modern Façades
Source: taken and edited by author

Although "this street is known for having houses that are in very good condition," more or less all houses have been renovated. However, the approaches, methods, and purposes varied. Older generations took the process gradually in a Do-It-Yourself style, as has been repeatedly depicted. Two different respondents narrated:

> When I moved in here, I bought 50 liters of white paint and 20 liters of gray, and then I painted everything white and the floors gray and then I moved in with my shelves and [furniture], nowadays they don't move in till it's totally changed and modernized.

> I remember… my little brother and me, together with my dad we made nearly the whole house ourselves because my father is a carpenter… we even made the cellar, we took it all out together ourselves… it's another kind… (now) you get a company… we spent 9 months and a lot of energy. We dug 90 tons of soil from the basement.

A younger newcomer confirmed this saying, "we guttered it completely… I could stand in the basement and look all the way to the top where the two ceilings meet… just the frame there," then went on to explain the "unique thing" about this place while criticizing how other newcomers who had the means, effectively did whatever they wished, continuing sarcastically:

> if they want a helicopter platform on the top of their house, they could probably get it… there are examples of people who have tried to take off the top part of the house… which is slanted, to have a straight roof that they can have a terrace on. A thing like that would ruin the old look of the houses…

Several houses underwent structural and aesthetic refurbishments. Those who had their houses changed by previous homeowners, before the law enforcement, had to preserve the updated style of the house since the rules are stricter and "it is also strict in the way that it back dates… it has been approved the way it looks." This created a set of exceptions in terms of design and some ironic instances where illegal annexes today can be neither newly built nor removed, as remarked:

> The extra part that's been built onto my house was built at the beginning of the 80s, whereby the rules at that certain time were much looser before it became listed… So all I could do was renovate it to make sure that it's still working and functional.

Then explained the result of that, "when you walk through the potato rows… everything you see that's out of the ordinary, different, is something that has been made back then." While this path-dependency partly justifies the plentiful differences, in some instances the law is actually challenged, as has been reported:

> Some people [who] have the power to do more stuff than others, get away with stuff that others don't... And it's because of their approach. If you say, *I'm sorry*, you could do almost everything… But if your approach is like, *I do me*, then it's not good.

Renovation projects brought along nuisances, such as wastes and noises, for closely residing neighbors. In most cases, neighbors were tolerant since they were put in similar positions previously and acknowledged the fact that they have done the needed renovations. Still, many conflicts arose with the attitudes taken, as one resident changed their tone to explain:

> There are two different people… *I'm very sorry, we have to do this and this, come and tell me if it's too much*… and there's another way… they don't want to talk with you. It's like, *call my lawyer and you can say it to him, I don't want to hear it…*

Renovations constituted the most controversial topic and dissected people into different opinion groups. In some cases, projects caused a lot of discussions and "divided up the street… who dislikes it and who likes it… [we] tried to be in the middle of it." One of the new owners expressed sarcastically, "I know it's a hot topic… but if we do not develop, it will die… it's not a museum, it is a living area… for families with children. So we need to adapt to modern times." Opinions confirming that view saw that "it is a natural developing thing in 2020… that is quite understandable." On the other hand, those who romanticized the original forms and designs of the houses felt that it was a pity to have them changed. One of the elderly stated certainly:

> When their children become teenagers, perhaps they would like to have a spot on their own and perhaps they play very noisy music, and parents also would like a closed room on their own… now with the corona, many must work at home, I think, they will regret it.
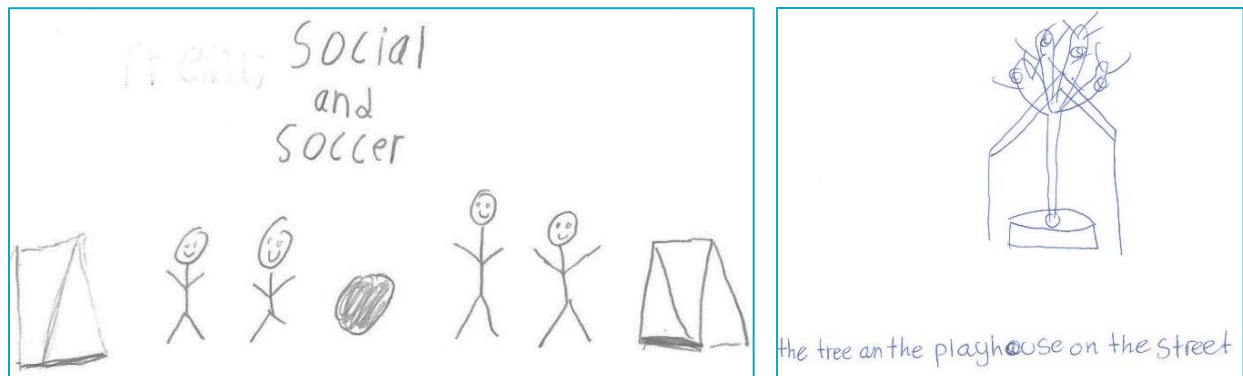
Figure 5.8: Street Impressions
Source: drawings by Jens (left) and Leonora (right)

Children associated the street with play structures and other children. While recounting their memories, they mainly referred to short-term memories they have established with children they played with on the street. Their narratives included moments of freedom (biking around), safety (neighbor knowledge), fear (Halloween), anxiety (ambulance collecting dead man), anticipation (knocking doors and running away), exploration (volcano experiment for schoolwork), and imagination (hearing sounds in a haunted house).

It is not surprising that one of the most echoed narratives was what anyone who goes to EG sees; it is a social street. EG is chiefly characterized by social interactions as expressed, "the definition of a row house, you are closer to your neighbor." The row house scenario increases the chances of exchange between neighbors daily. Propinquity and familiarity paint a village-like image as has been frequently described, "it's fantastic living in the center of Copenhagen and at the same time it is like living in a village." As the village scenario entails, a feeling of safety emerges from *knowing* your neighbors. Moreover, its immediate surrounding open spaces such as the Sortedams lakes, the botanical garden, the Østre Anlæg Park add to this rural feeling and openness in the middle of the city.

The social engagements that arise from this type of dwelling are embodied in routine practices of everyday life. This includes mundane activities such as going out in the morning, dropping off the children at school, coming home after work, running errands, etc. Despite their repetitive nature, they create a dynamic social scene where people share ordinary but constant and spontaneous encounters. On many occasions, not only their point of departure coincides, but also, their end destination, such as the case of going to a community, or area, school as one of the parents explained, "the people you go to school with, live on your street, so it's very local." The ample presence of children on the street is one of the characteristic aspects of that street as a younger resident expressed, "the kids are playing on the streets, so that's characteristic as well." An older resident confirmed that saying, "only maybe 15 years ago, there were maybe 15 children now they're 55 in the street. It is young families with mostly two kids who are moving in."

A resident compared the social aspect of this street with a popular cultural trait saying, "Danes are quite reserved and also because of the long winter and the long dark days, so yeah, we can be reserved and a little bit isolated, so this is a bit atypical in these streets I think." Still, the season has a considerable effect on social exchanges at EG as many residents expressed that "maybe we are more social in the summertime than in the wintertime." This level of social engagement at EG is not the case in all rowhouse communities. For example, in some Danish suburbs such as Brønshøj, houses have "a large fence around and you can live in your house for 10 years without knowing your neighbors." What makes EG different is a collective effort to actively engage since "there's a lot of community work going on." People who arrive are expected to participate in the social life of EG and are conscious about that beforehand since they could "afford a larger house in Hellerup," or could "move to other parts of Østerbro where the houses are bigger," but "they choose this one because they want the neighborhood and the community."

Even streets within KR were distinguished based on levels of sociability. Although the streets look almost identical from the outside, their abstraction diminishes as residents describe the subtleties that differentiate them from one another. One resident expresses, "each street is very different, and each house is very different." A relatively new resident emphasized, "I think when

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you get used to living here, you can start to tell the different type of environment in all of them (streets), I would say." Residents of EG describe the distinguished character of their street by pointing to several physical and nonphysical elements. Several comparisons were raised by residents familiar with other streets at KR. For example, "*Webersgade…* which is the longest street… so many people living there that you don't have the same feeling of being gathered as a street." This was further iterated by another opinion saying:

> In *Jens Jules Gade…* it's a much older population in that street… I feel it's much more together…there's more of a community feel whereas here I think it's younger and people are much busier… generationally, I think there's a difference, which makes a difference to the atmosphere, or what the community is about.

Physical elements highlighted the role of architectural and planning features in the resulting spirit. EG's location in the central part of KR, makes it farther away from surrounding highways, which also reduces vehicular traffic and noises as a resident expressed "it's one of the nice streets because it's in the middle of the rows so it's quiet, you can't hear so much." The lakes on one edge and the pizza window shop and bakery on the other, make EG a perfect shortcut for strollers who pick up snacks and go for a walk around the lakes, it's a good "cut through," thought one resident, for "people coming from Farimagsgade and Øster Søgade."

The length and width of the street were also among praised elements at EG. Its moderate length, as compared to the longest and shortest streets at KR, made it possible to bring people together while at the same time giving them some space, a resident expressed "it's long enough that you can ignore people, but you also know the names." In terms of width:

> If you look at some of the other streets, they are smaller so you got a little bit more space here, that's very important… you can get a little more sun in the street because you know when the houses are more away from each other you get more sun in the spring and fall.

6. Discussion: Making Sense of Narratives

Figure 6.1: KR Aerial Image
Source: Droneklik, courtesy of Max Mestour
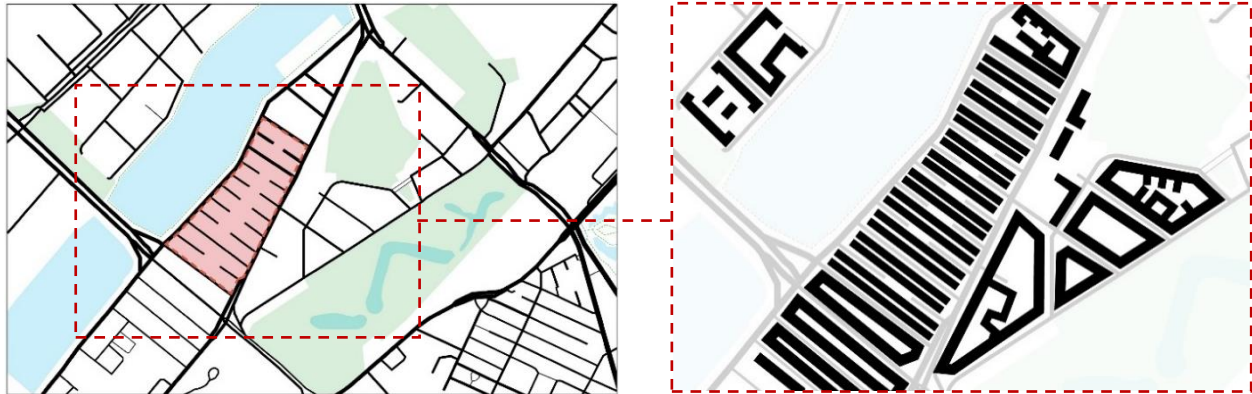
A Street within an Urban Tissue

Figure 6.2: Figure-ground plan of KR fabric
Source: produced on Adobe Illustrator

The plan above illustrates the KR as inspired by Collin Rowe's figure-ground plan device that emphasizes built versus unbuilt spaces (Hebbert, 2005). Experiencing space is not confined to built structures and solid forms, it relates to voids that have been delineated by footprints of built, or positive, spaces (Rasmussen, 1964). Here, the streets of the KR neighborhood (highlighted in red) are the voids, or negative spaces, in which the dense-low building compositions carve out the area. Solids and voids should not be seen as separate entities since they weave spaces to form integrated wholes. The contrasting effects formed as a result of these combinations, create a stimulating and playful experience loaded with surprise elements as users come in and out. Moving from the house to the street is a sensory experience that stimulates the users' perception upon crossing physical boundaries.

While the urban fabric shapes the form of the city, it also symbolizes edges, borders, boundaries, and crossing points (Lynch, 1960). For example, the street network could be understood from the hierarchical system of roads that symbolize vehicular versus pedestrian priorities, connections versus rights of path, entrances and exits, shortcuts, dead ends, etc. In addition, streets connect different sites of practice and thus inform our understanding of, and navigation in, a city (Crouch, 1998). Buildings at EG remain as *signifiers* that still stand, but their *signified* meanings changed as they shifted from housing working-class families to modern middle-class people. Like symbols joined together constitute a text, urban forms have meanings that weave, create, and recreate the city (Barthes, 1986). The forms of streets, such as widths and lengths, could give so much information on the type of accessible spaces, and perhaps, on the levels of activity. However, the environments of these spaces and the type of activities they invite cannot possibly be perceived from a plan view and must be studied from the ground level. As De Certeau (1974) maintains, cartographic representations are institutional elements that cannot represent the mysticism of street activities.

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An Immensely Intimate Space

Understanding the street environment requires dropping the assumption that all social life exists in space (Gans, 2002). The co-creation between the residents and EG proved to stem from multiple frameworks: historical, social, collective, and individual. The commonly echoed descriptions of the street being cozy, quaint, romantic, village-like, and other alterations pointing towards one theme: a homely feeling. Intimate spaces, being our first cosmos, are endowed with feelings and attachment. Borrowing Bachelard's dialectics, the *immensity* of EG lies within the *intimacy* that involves feelings and memories. In that way, EG is "much older than our age and infinitely wiser than our natural gifts" (Kostof, 1992, p. 243). That is because it is not merely perceived with our senses, it is also an accumulation of histories, functions, stories, imaginations, and ultimately, more meanings than those we attribute to it. Residents of EG did not simply inherit an *empty* space. As has been obvious through their recounting of particular events and people, the history of the site, and the narratives of those who lived there before came along.

At the core of all this lies the soul of the place. One of the most loved shared aspects is the coziness of the street and the houses, something that cannot be readily defined as one of the older residents introduced the *Kartoffelrækkesoul*, which is, "the atmosphere in the house… how can I say it? It's hard to describe what the soul is. But you feel it when you come into one of the houses." This term is closely related to the valued Danish concept "hyggelig" which has its origins in Scandinavian history as a form of search for a cozy and safe feeling *inside* as a shelter from the gloomy darkness of *outside*. This notion found resurgence in 19th century Danish literature in the form of search for a community and sense of belonging after late industrial age and wars coupled with a nostalgia for a safe shelter (Pickles, 2016). In modern days, this has taken on more materialistic forms of furniture and design such as the blankets, the candles, and the chimney.

Figure 6.3: Danish Apple Trifle [Æblekage]
Source: taken by author

In an intimate street like EG, the soul of a place is extended beyond the house interiors. As described by residents, the distinctive character of the street is perceived through tangible and intangible elements. Even tangible elements became in a way subconsciously linked to a homely feeling as one of the adults expressed, "when I see the sign [of Emmery's bakery] coming back from work, it makes me feel home… I must say that the bakery and then the tree in the middle is where… I feel home."

While political acts play an essential role in maintaining the image of a place (Sandercock, 2003; Sennett, 2020), the preservation of the houses at KR is mostly credited to the residents who fought against the demolition of the houses, in the 1970s, before the city of Copenhagen showed interest in preserving them. Traditionally, beautiful houses that are worn out always got destroyed, especially around the turn of the 19th century, "when the city [Copenhagen] was affected by growing pains and an urge to become a city, and old things were insignificant and embarrassing" (Stensgaard, 2005, p. 37). In 1996, Copenhagen was selected as the European capital of culture for demonstrating "a long-time process of regeneration strategies based on the role of culture" (OWHC, 2018). The report issued by the Organization of World Heritage Cities on Copenhagen emphasizes the preservation of the cultural image of the city which is, in many ways, linked to industrial heritage. Naturally, the efforts to maintain heritage sites, such as the KR, increased and aligned with cultural-based conservation practices whereby built structures "serve as temporal "hinges" to mediate between the nation-state's past, present, and envisaged future" (Daum & Mauch, 2005, p. 19). This partly explains the issuance of the preservation law (1988) which maintains the form of the working-class dwellings.

The image of these forms has become a base for collectively shared narratives frequently describing the shift from an affordable haven for working-class families to a luxurious enclave for upper middle-class families, and one of the most livable neighborhoods today. The listing of the neighborhood as a heritage site helped in romanticizing the narratives of older generations in the sense that they are still *visible*. The fact that they are very keen on keeping as much as possible from the old configuration of houses seems like preserving the setting in which the narratives they repeat *existed*. In that sense, the buildings act as a spatial anchor that triggers collective, not necessarily experienced, memories (Halbwachs, 1992). Although the law is a form of institutional "formation" strategies, buildings contribute to creating an "objectivized culture," which is a prerequisite for transmission (Assmann, 1995). To make sense out of this space, residents narrativize the street through tactical practices (De Certeau, 1984). Hence, strategies in this case are also appropriated by people who cultivate them through remembrance.

Figure 6.4: EG during the 1800s (left) and 2020s (right)
Source: Royal Danish Library (left), taken by author (right)

Another common narrative depicts the significance of street nomenclature, following the Father of Danish Painting, and its role in sustaining Danish cultural heritage. Street names, too, have a *signifying* function beyond procedural purposes. As Ferguson (1988) puts it, street names serve "beyond the instrumental function of identifying location, street names socialize space and celebrate cultural identity; they perpetuate tradition even as they register change" (p. 386). All interviewed residents, from oldest to youngest, reported the meaning of street names at KR. In the worst case, they knew that the streets are "named after different kind of Danish significant figures or something from history," as a young newcomer expressed. Symbolic elements, such as street names, are capable of transforming spaces into places of memory, *Lieux de Mémoire* (Nora, 1997), that become the memorial heritage of a community. Indeed, "historically, street names served in some way 'as almanacs, registering those personalities and events, mythic or real, which have imprinted themselves on popular consciousness'" (Samuel, 1998 as quoted by Hebbert, 2005, p. 583).

Figure 6.5: Street Labels
Source: taken by author

In both collective narratives, a reminiscence of the past solidifies a shared cultural identity. The houses and street names are an image, a *signifier*, of the city's history whereas the narratives attached to them, the *signified*, are transient and reflective of a need for developing a relational identity between humans and their surroundings (Barthes, 1986). Remembrance is not about accessing these surroundings through a museum or an archive-like repository, it is rather an open arena readily reappropriated (Hayden, 1997). Shared artifacts are a form of urban knowledge that opens room for varying perceptions. Using De Certeau's (1984) analogy of the circle in narration, the center is the origin of all stories in the circumference. In that sense, the rich semantic atmosphere at EG creates a departing point for the "art of speaking" in which narratives revolve around the same subject while varying in degree (De Certeau, 1984).

Uncovering Myths

The poetics of space urge an engagement of the subject with its surroundings (Bachelard, 1994). The tactical nature of speech, like poetry, creates an atmosphere that projects a set of ideas into the listener's imagination. Narratives are powerful interactive tools that listeners engage with at deep levels. For example, with the "working-class" narrative, a set of associated images comes to the fore. One could imagine the history of this street overcrowded with three working-class families sharing a single house and many children on the street, like the ample scenes from other European cities portraying the meager conditions in the streets during the mid-19th century. The image of workers brimming the streets at peak hours as they go to work in the early morning and come back late at night while street traders and messengers flock during the day. A relatively new resident expressed, "they've been seen as just disease-ridden slums, effectively, and then they've come through the ages and turned into this sort of desirable, quite expensive place."

However, the scenario was slightly different at KR which was built after the Brumleby model, that represented its "intellectual and physical origin", and was considered "a unique monument in the history of house building," according to Steen Eiler Rasmussen (Stensgaard, 2005, p. 299). This model aimed to provide healthy housing with spacious streets to maximize ventilation and prevent the spread of diseases. In addition, the industrial age of Copenhagen arrived at a later stage than other European cities. By the time KR was being planned, functional residential schemes had already guided housing developments. Hence, KR was built after the English terraced model and guided by strictly functional principles. Its success could be ascribed to the fact that it provided both; a life on the street as well as opportunities for enjoying open spaces in comparison to crammed working-class neighborhoods of high mortality rates within the ramparts.

The houses were considered petty-bourgeois in the way they were organized and financed based on the principle of ownership and leasing (Rækkernes Historie, 2017). This rendered the cooperative building society accessible to people with moderate incomes (Orum-Nielsen & Pease, 1996). Moreover, the old Victorian terraced forms resembled middle-class villas in Østerbro with their "pseudo-Byzantine style" (Stensgaard, 2005, p. 296). Considered close to the city center at that time, the houses attracted village migrants, artisans, and other civil laborers. The land became a field for speculation and original owners, who constituted the working-class, quickly sold their houses to make some profits given the high demand and catchy market prices (Orum-Nielsen & Pease, 1996). While the authorities at the time did recognize the need for healthy housing models after experiencing the Cholera Epidemic, they did not control housing market prices (Rækkernes Historie, 2017). Hence, the ownership history partially explains the continuously rising prices which, on the other hand, were also dictated by what people sought in that neighborhood that determined its value (Gans, 2002). KR proved to be an attractive space for dwelling and narratives

from its early years portrayed luxurious living and intimate festivities[3] between owning families (Bang, 2005). The general stance of residents depicts the narrative shift as a symptom of gentrification. Nevertheless, Olav Harsløf and Anne Røssel (1986) who spent a couple of years unraveling myths and facts from KR, remarked that this phenomenon was partly a myth as "the original workers didn't protest, for they had never lived there" (as cited by Stensgaard, 2005, p. 296). Although the main purpose was to accommodate workers, it was not workers alone who ended up living there from the first place.

An Underlying Temporal Dimension

This reality holds until today where prices[4] are constantly increasing and the list of anticipating buyers is always full[5]. Most people moving in are buying the houses at new market prices so, from the outside, it could look like a homogenous community of affluent property owners. However, it became clear that this "reputation" does not apply to everyone or not even the majority. Although increasing prices created different entry points into the housing market, the strong sense of attachment to the houses frequently led older homeowners (from 1st wave) to keep their assets, pass them to their descendants[6], or sell them to other family members at lower prices. This reflects the temporal nature of narratives, too. "It's interesting how time can change certain places and… obviously the generations change and the gentrification of the whole," one of the newcomers thought, readily adopting collective narratives while acknowledging temporality.

Some visible changes on the street include the modern lifestyle and the work-life balance. In the modern way of life, jobs became more repetitive and technical which decreased working hours and increased leisure and well-being time (Gehl, 1989). This, in principle, should add to the "social" character of the street whereby families are more available for hanging out on the street.

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[3] According to Stensgaard (2005), celebrations in street parties also seemed exclusive, "the only remaining worker in the street finally took part one year and became so over-excited that he hung his loudspeaker in the window and put on a record with German popular dance music called 'party music'. That put an end to the tolerance. The new residents asked him to take it off" (p. 295-296).

[4] Prices can be reviewed here:
https://www.boligsiden.dk/salgspris/solgt/raekkehus/1?postnummer=2100&vej=eckersbergsgade

[5] One resident remarked, "many houses in the most favorable places and apartments, don't show up on the market, they are already sold before they are published online."

[6] One of the inheritors expressed: "when you move in and live here, you don't move out."

However, as reported by most older residents, young working families are actually spending most of their time working, which diminishes the social character that the street used to acquire.

Newcomers are "not always sympathetic… they don't think about the community as we did before," an older resident reflected regrettably. The individualistic lifestyle has been attributed to materialistic aspects such as owning big cars, going on frequent holiday travels, but even as simple as buying coffee at Emmery's every day which showed that "they're pretty wealthy, wealthier than the average Danish person, much more," as a younger adult reflected. A resident who previously worked at Emmery's bakery described how the shop has become a place for socialization, saying, "I think that a lot of the people who came there every morning, before sending their kids off to school… came there for the social feeling." This further highlights the division of groups between people who identify with similar lifestyles on the street. Older residents regarded this lifestyle as one that is lacking a spiritual element and consciousness to the bigger order or roles that each resident should be fulfilling on the street to maintain its character.

At a first glance, the street and its houses seem very similar to an image taken in the 1800s in black and white. However, taking a closer look, the houses can be well distinguished through subtleties that represent individual tastes as Orum-Nielsen and Pease (1996) put it:

Changing owners have left their individual marks on each dwelling, so that differences – small and large – in plantings, color schemes, detailing, additions, and alterations all add up to a significantly varied whole. An egalitarian order with room for individuality is the sense conveyed by this place, and it is this duality that most of all explains its uniqueness and its continuing attraction as a place to live (p. 150)

The social structure that is shifting towards a modern lifestyle also influenced the use of streets and other urban spaces (Gehl, 1989). These changes are also reflected in transformational interior designs and divisions of space that cater to the needs of modern families. In Denmark, the average size of households has significantly dropped (Gehl, 1989). The interface between this reality and conserving old spatial configurations generated tensions in the daily life of residents based on opinions in favor or opposition of this type of change.

The idea of renovation was introduced by the French architect and writer, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, who got involved with reconstructing gothic churches and medieval landmarks that were damaged by the French revolution around the mid-19th century to reconstruct the past. On the other hand, English philosopher and prominent social thinker, John Ruskin, opposed the concept of renovation believing it was less authentic and more polishing. Similarly, residents of EG had different stances regarding renovation practices and could be grouped into two categories: rational and romantic. A modern family finds it realistic to adapt the houses to changing lifestyles, tastes, and preferences. On the other hand, some people value vernacular forms and heritage legacies. Both approaches, in terms of practices and narratives, could be seen as ways to develop a sense of identity through attaching and detaching from surrounding physical structures. The separation is

not very rigid since, in daily life, other factors also dictate the approach. For instance, a resident explicitly mentioned that they remain neutral to maintain their social relationships by:

> trying… not making any judgmental decision, not taking sides… as we are quite social and like to talk to people. we also hear a lot of negative talk about other people on the fencing or if they haven't cleaned their front yard or if they have parked too many times in the wrong place or whatever.

Space to Place and Back Again

Human-centered Spaces

The human-centered perspective came as a response to planners who sought to increase cohesion through spatial design elements instead of considering its human aspects (Sennett, 2020). This perspective takes into consideration the human scale, the familiar, and the experiential aspects of spaces. *Being* (existence) and *moving* (usage) in the street are at the center of this discussion. Our movement in space contributes to our formation of shared knowledge (Crouch, 1998). For instance, children playing in the middle part of EG are exploring their surroundings, cultivating their abilities, and engaging with others. Being exposed to other children's actions gives them an understanding of what they are capable of doing with their bodies, which in itself becomes a nurturing experience based on mimetic learning (Rasmussen, 1964). For adults, being in space is more of a conscious experience in which their behavior is dictated by several factors. Being around other people gives a feeling of reassurance in terms of safety and security. Although strangers could provide a sense of solidarity on streets (Jacobs, 1961), the familiarity between people at EG creates an affirmed security level for its residents. That is not restricted to children, even adults commend the comfort they get from knowing that someone will watch over their houses when they are away.

The spontaneity of daily life events unfolds in a set of encounters that could be catered for in the design of urban spaces. As Gehl (2011) points out, "… architects and planners can affect the possibilities for meeting, seeing, and hearing people…" (p. 13) which in turn emphasizes the potential of design in building an experiential aspect while improving the relationship between the two; the user and the space. Very simple interventions aided in creating a *life between the buildings* (Gehl, 2011) at EG. For example, the tree and the speed bump in the middle part of the street acted as obstacles that slowed down traffic, thereby creating a safer play zone. The benches invited people to *stay* in the street and some structures invited children to *play*. These interventions also acted as a medium for bringing different generations together. For example, the sandbox is a space for grandchildren (toddlers) and their grandparents (elderly) who watch after them. The playhouse is used by older children who climb on top of its roof and younger children who go inside it. The transitional spaces between the private and the public zones accounted for increased interaction, both directly and indirectly. One of the residents reflected:

Mostly in Danish towns, you have five-story buildings with a common stair and 2 or 3 flats at every story. This is more intimate… you know Jan Gehl, his "room between the houses", and he has a part he calls the half-private area… this front garden, I consider as a half private because… it's to the south, there's sun there all day. And we have nice neighbors, and we are curious.

Propinquity and Social Boundaries

While most urban spaces are characterized by diversity and relationships that are based on close interaction with strangers (Wirth, 1938), the diversity at EG is of a different nature. People sharing a common cultural background could find more ways to come together or perceive a space which is also partly what makes it feel like a village. The housing market prices, which attract homogeneous target groups, often create cohesive environments and minimizes conflicts arising from differences (Gans, 2002). However, at EG, this same factor invited different groups at different phases, as has been explained before. If we were to measure diversity at EG, then, it would be more relevant to discuss diversity in generations, lifestyles, attitudes, and ideals within the same cultural group. Naturally, these differences brought tensions along with the admired narrative of "shared walls."

The people who arrived at the same point found great potential for teaming up on common interests, and older residents already had their connections and understandings of the valued aspects of this space. It felt as though a subtle feud exists between those two groups based on the two narratives; "we used to live together," and "it is great for a young family life." Both narratives essentially related to communal living, though, were depicted and practiced in different ways. To deconstruct this narrative, older residents acknowledge that newer ones tend to reach out to them to "know their neighbors." Nevertheless, they are still reported as villains who are contributing to the changes in the street.

"A people without an agreed-upon common basis to their actions is neither a community nor a nation. A people with a common ethic is a nation wherever they live" (Mollison, 1988, p. 507). Departing from this principle, it would be feasible to explain things like, *how public is their life in the public realm? How private is their life in the private sphere? What dictates the type of relationships developed in semiprivate and semipublic spaces?* Simply put, people define these boundaries based on a mutual system of ethics. As Gans (2002) remarks, people who live in close proximity develop mechanisms to protect their privacy. At EG, "unspoken rules" are almost pronounced and valued collectively. These shared ethics are very foundational in uniting (or distancing) community members. It seemed to be well known in which occasions interaction is acceptable and when they should give people their distance. To be sure though, these too, differ in theory and practice and are sometimes challenged on individual levels.

EG falls within the bounded KR which, as a whole, represents what Sennett refers to as a *center*. In aims to establish and strengthen a center that brings people together, exchanges between

different groups of people are diminished (Sennett, 2020). This raises the question: *who is invited*? In some instances, locating some activities at the *edge*, such as the flea market at the perpendicular street Øster Farimagsgade, instead of the *center* of the streets (where almost all celebrations happen), is more inviting (Sennett, 2020). But in daily life, all newcomers at EG are indirectly asked to participate in the "social life" of the street. For daily and passive gestures or conversations, this seems to work out with non-Danish residents. However, most of the developed rituals celebrate cultural customs and are even practiced in the Danish language (such as chanting festive Danish songs). This made it a "much-loved ghetto" (Stensgaard, 2005) for a specific group of people. As Sennett (2020) maintains, "the logic of integration is to diminish in value things that don't fit in" (p. 42). Hence, to create social cohesion within a certain cultural group, the focus is placed on events that are valued by this group. As a result, the increasing similarity between people reduced stimulation, for with diversity comes richness. In that sense, processes of inclusion generate processes of exclusion. It is in that context that Pickles (2016) calls for a new kind of "hygge" which shifts focus from a materialistic comfort and extends to human warmth and responsibility.

Patently, that is not only a cultural, but also a class, question, as one of the residents expressed, "I like that what we own is worth now more than when we bought it, but uh it is a shame that we cannot have more diversity into the area". *Borders* could be discussed at two scales here: those between people within KR and those between KR and other neighboring communities. In urban planning, two main goals revolve around bordering communities; minimizing differences through social exchange and keeping people aware of differences through exposure (Sennett, 2020). One of the residents explained that exposure is still a new process in that context justifying:

> because everybody's secure, you have job security, everybody takes care of each other on the street, but also, the government is there. We don't have big problems and I think we're very much aware of this and people are becoming more aware of this in Denmark, but it's not a common thing…

EG; Encounters and Paradoxical Relationships

EG stages social, spatial, and temporal encounters and serves as a medium of confrontation between older residents and newcomers; traditional houses and modern designs; changing needs and lifestyles. It is almost impossible to ignore these confrontations due to the proximity of houses, where every act is highlighted by a contrasting neighboring one. Among the most noticeable contradictions are the rare *village-like* qualities in the *middle of the city*; the houses commonly stand for the *simple pleasures* yet are among the *most expensive* dwellings in Copenhagen; *modern* living in a *heritage* neighborhood; and the list goes on. Residents are not unaware of these contradictions, on numerous occasions, they expressed that the same things they like, are those they dislike such as sociability, vibrancy, and attractiveness of the neighborhood.

To say that EG is only the product of its past histories, reduces its current lived experiences. Individual interactions with space portray the imaginative dimension of spaces that includes objective and subjective processes and transforms the *actuality* of the situation into *potentiality* (Assmann, 1995). Starting with children, the rulers of EG, one could view the street as a site of adventures and a playground of explorations[7]. Through learning, imitating, or simply experiencing, they engage their senses and imagination in their surroundings. Playing takes children outside the reality of the moment in games like playing household, pretend, statues, hide and seek, etc. where children make-believe to imagine themselves in a different role than their actual.

Bachelard (1994) asserts that "nothing prepares a poetic image, especially not culture, in the literary sense, and especially not perception in the psychological sense" (p. xxiv). The systematic approach to explain how we feel about our surroundings does not closely capture the reality of the image we receive, for imagination lies outside scientific frameworks. In addition, Tuan (1974) warns of blaming culture for all the relationships with our environment since even the individual transcends the cultural. Individual interactions with space present themselves through a novelty of reflection (Bachelard, 1994).

This has also been evident through speech, for example, one of the residents explained, "it's more posh now than it was back then. But I don't know, maybe because I was a kid living here back then I didn't see the same stuff when I now as an adult living here." This shows how narratives do not grasp a historical moment in its entirety, they are representational and communicable forms. The thinking process that depicts itself within one quote, stopping one's thoughts from falling into the trap of repeating collective narratives, is challenged on the daily. Interviewees show reluctance in affirming common narratives and interrupt their sequence of thoughts through what could be a "tactical" form of reconstructing an inherited narrative. For example: "all those who have our age… **not all** … we don't have everything renewed,"

> I would say I have a feeling that I can trust [some] more than others, **but no**, not really. **No, it's not like a village**… I said it was a village [earlier], but it's not like we're really close;

> People's incomes have changed. When I was here it was... **No**… I don't dislike that the income has changed but the cars, it's just that… you know, big Land Rovers and stuff like

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[7] A special remark in renovation guidelines specifies: "Make sure that excavations, scaffolding, etc. are securely blocked so that they do not become a playground for curious children" (Kartoffelrækkerne, 2017).

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that just doesn't fit… I dislike that there's no space on the street anymore but other than that, **no**.

In the postmodern condition, spaces seem to be highly contradictory merging elements of both, place and placelessness. Given the contradictions described at EG, it could be best explained as an example of a space that brings together both, *the imagined* and *the lived* experiences. The *Thirdspace* analogy could be useful here to explore the social, spatial, and historical trialectic for it simultaneously brings together two spaces in a given timeframe (Soja, 1996). In Soja's terms, the first space is the "real" physical surroundings, the built environment, which is real and can be seen and the second space is representational, or imaginary, it is that which is perceived by people (Soja, 1996). However, in the case of EG, it would be more comprehensive to reverse this assertion. The first space, which is the preserved buildings, is a form of objectivized culture that triggers collective memory. This memory is a single depiction of reality and does not cover the entire social conditions and meanings that were attached to these forms. So the first space, in that case, is the physical form that invites imagination, and thus, constitutes the *imagined* aspect of EG. On the other hand, the second space, the representational perception, is people's understanding of a space which influences the way they end up using it through *lived* experiences that are performed in everyday practices. In that sense, the perceived space is not that which is "unreal", or that which does not exist, but rather that which is even more powerful because it can be felt, and accordingly, played out in space. EG lies on a pendulum swinging back and forth between the past and the future to create the essence of the present. The hymns that resonate as it swings are the poetics of space perceived in differentiation, depicting the diversity of individuals within the same group.
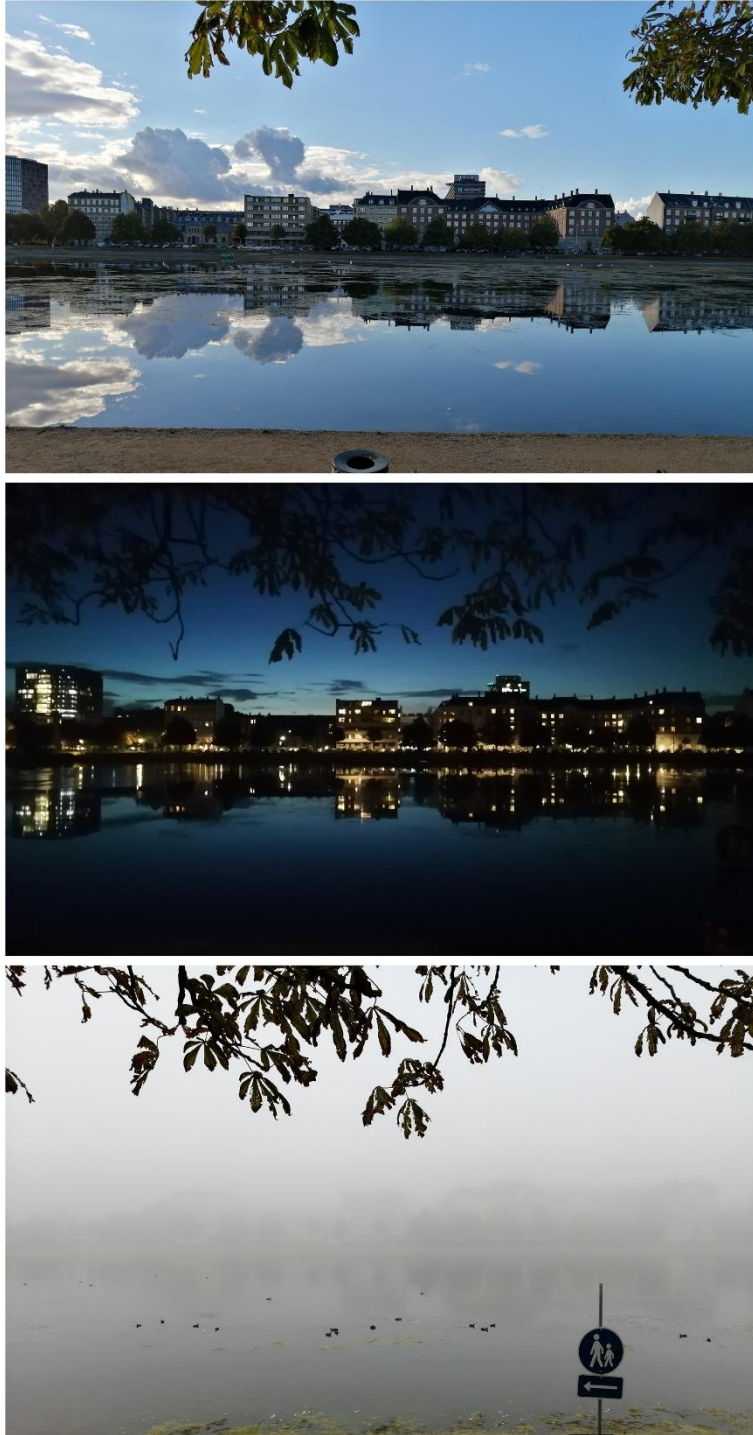
7. Concluding Thoughts

Figure 7.1: Sortedams Sø [Black Pond Lake]
Source: taken by author

A Kierkegaardian Approach: Repetition and Recollection

This thesis was an exercise to deconstruct narratives and understand how their perceived dimension influenced their lived one. Part of this deconstruction is to acknowledge that the results of this study are embedded within constantly changing socio-spatial processes. As stories invite questioning what happens next, imagination lies at the essence of this street formation and continuation. EG's process of creation and recreation is shaped by residents who contribute to sculpting it. Many narratives do not find representation in this outcome; however, the study did investigate several notions that could help to answer the posed research question:

*In what ways does the **character of a street** interweave with its **current practices**? How does this interface influence its socio-spatial experiences?*

The process of how residents *imagine* and *practice* the space could be best summed up through Kierkegaard's framework. Kierkegaard's existentialist writings explore the source of human feelings. He reveals that maximizing life enjoyment happens in two contrasting ways: *repetition* and *recollection*. Briefly put, repetition is existence with passing time in an ever continuous flow, implying the importance of moving forward. Recollection is related to the resurgence of pleasurable feelings that one had experienced, which requires looking back and reflecting. While repetition points towards the future, recollection points towards the past. Gans' concept of "nonconforming use", aligned with De Certeau's "tactics", describes how individuals are innovative in their uses of spaces. However, this too, confirms that individuals tend to get influenced by traditional uses since "the concept of *nonconforming use* implies the existence of a recognized *conforming use*" (Anderson, 1986, p. 1).

Memory is cultivated through practice into what would become a renewed memory in the future. According to Kierkegaard, the joy derived from the anticipatory feeling of repeating a memory is often more pleasurable than the repeated version since it was more spontaneous. In that sense, memories have an imaginary dimension revealing what *could be* in relation to *what is*. Ritualizing events gives more joy in its anticipation than in its actual happening, as one of the older residents expressed lamentably "many years back… it was more spontaneous, now it is planned." Even in daily practices, communal living is raised often by residents who are practicing the "social life" of EG, yet hinting how it used to be different. Nevertheless, recollection of narratives at EG helped create an identity that proved to be efficient in reconciling tensions among neighbors.

The continuous cycle of recollection and repetition entails a willful decision that actively and collectively repeats a narrative while desiring to become it. Starting with activists who saved the neighborhood, the will determines valued aspects. In the same breath, individual wills transcend collectivities, as a participant reflected, "I would describe living in this area as an active choice to either emphasize or change lifestyle... and yeah, it can be difficult… so you have to understand why you want to do it."

Limitations

This study recognizes the importance of all narratives. Each individual perceives the street differently based on their backgrounds and experiences as well as needs and desires. However, this study only covers the narratives of people who agreed to participate in the study. Thus, results cannot be generalized, they are rather **grounded in the data** retrieved for this study. Although this study was focused on EG to address the smaller scale, it would have been interesting to hear narratives of people on other streets of KR to see if the conclusion that "all people living in the different streets prefer their own street," actually holds. In addition, EG offers a great potential in analyzing interior spaces in relation to the city for the plentiful examples it retains. As Gans (2002) points out, "little is known about how people live in their homes, for example, how parents and children compete for the available space, or what neighbors fight over" (p. 330). This was not possible due to **time limitations** and the **COVID 19** pandemic which restricted access to several houses. The latter was also the reason why other forms of intangible materials such as archived memos, diaries, and poems about EG were not accessible through the Østerbro local library during the time of study. Some diaries on KR were accessible through the Copenhagen City archive; however, these were extended hand-written documents in **Danish language** which couldn't be translated promptly. Finally, the empirical part of this study focused on a specific street with a special character. Hence, many observations are case and context-specific and cannot be followed to studying residential neighborhoods in general.

Further Research

Throughout this study, three questions frequently hummed my mind. These were briefly touched upon but remain far from exhaustive and could be interesting for further research. **Firstly**, *how does the interior division of space influence the time spent at home, or the street, in a context like EG*? This could reveal "internal" factors that determine a connection to "external" spaces in intimate and accessible spaces. **Secondly**, *what type of street narratives and uses arrive with tenants and short-term stayers*? Given some elderly couples do not use the full house and the increasing sub-letting phenomenon, it would be interesting to see how diversity that is not necessarily aligned with the "street vibe" influences the street narrative and uses. Starting with my example, students and short-term residents open room for more diversity within intimate spaces, but also, could result in more individuality as motives of living there differ. **Thirdly**, *how successful are intimate housing models and "social" streets in relation to social distancing and post-pandemic urbanism principles?* This point is very ironic since the street was designed after health principles due to the Cholera epidemic, still, residents highlighted limitations that threatened the character of the street with COVID 19[1]. These questions are useful in investigating *which type of street invites which type of narrative* and furthering the discussion on relationships between people and places.

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[1] Based on data retrieved in December 2020. Restrictions might have relaxed by now.

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Appendices

Figure 8.1: Øster Farimagsgade between 1870 and 1912
Source: Royal Danish Library

Appendix A – Interview Guide (Juniors)

Date and time:
Consent for recording:
Name, age, gender:
Nationality:
Who lives in this house:
How long have you been living here?

1. What comes first to your mind when you think about this street?
2. Tell me a story about this street…
3. How do you distinguish this street from other streets in the potato rows?
4. What do you like most about this street? Is there anything you dislike?
5. How is your impression now as compared to when you first arrived?
6. Anything changed in the street? How do you describe this change? Do you like it or not?
7. How would you describe the type of connection you have with people here? (your age, older)
8. Do you feel safe on this street? What makes you feel safe?
9. Do you have nice memories on this street? Like what?
10. What type of activities do you do here?
11. Who of your friends (who live here) would be interested in an interview like this?
12. Could you draw me your impression of this street, what first comes to your mind?

- Quoted or anonymous?
- End time

Appendix B – Interview Guide (Seniors)[8]

Date and time:
Consent for recording:
Name, age, gender:
Nationality:
Who lives in this house:
How long have you been living here?

1. How would you describe living in this area?
2. What makes this street different than other streets in the potato rows? How do you distinguish it?
3. Do you know the origin of the name of the street?[9] Tell me a story about this street… (your/street's)
4. What do you like about this street and what do you dislike?
5. Do you find any changes from when you moved here and now? Is it a big or slight change? What changed exactly? How do you feel about this change?
6. How do you feel about the renovation of buildings on this street?
7. Have you changed anything in this house?
8. What type of daily practices do you recognize on this street? What is it used for?
9. How do you describe the type of connections between people who live on this street?
10. Do you trust people who live here/can you count on them?
11. What type of memories do you have on this street? Can you tell me about one?
12. Is there a question that I did not ask you, that you would like to talk about?

- Do you recommend me someone to talk to? If there are kids, interview/impression map.
- Can I contact you for further technical questions?
- Quoted or anonymous?
- End time

_____

[8] This is the updated interview guide which was adjusted after conducting 4 pilot interviews.
[9] This part was added after all pilot interviewees mentioned the story on street nomenclature. The intention was to include other stories as well.
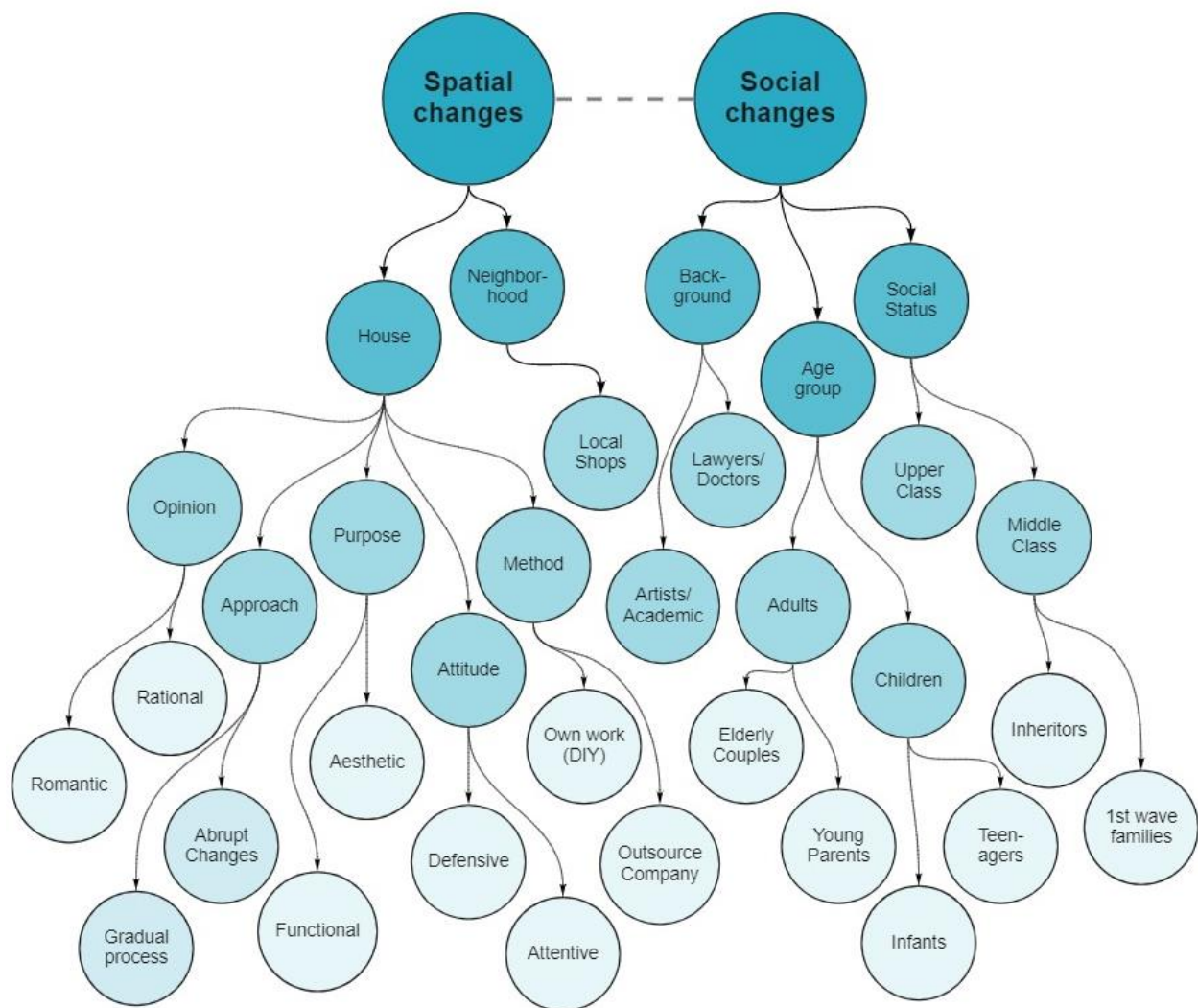
Figure 8.2: Nodes Coded for Sociospatial Changes
Source: produced on Miro Board

[Translated on DeepL]

See the full Local Plan No 115 here:
http://soap.plansystem.dk/jsp/getdoklink.jsp?planid=1072473&plantype=20&status=V

Lokalplan for området begrænset af Øster Farimagsgade, Webersgade, Øster Søgade og sydvestskellene af ejendommene matr.nr.ne 755 og 762 Østervold Kvarter, København. I henhold til lov om kommuneplanlægning (lovbekendtgørelse nr. 391 af 22. juli 1985) fastsættes herved følgende bestemmelser for området.
Local plan for the area bounded by Øster Farimagsgade, Webersgade, Øster Søgade and the southwestern parts of the properties matr.nr.ne 755 and 762 Østervold Neighborhood, Copenhagen. In accordance with the law on municipal planning (Legislative Decree No 391 of 22 July 1985), the following provisions are hereby laid down for the area.

§ 1. Formål

Formålet med lokalplanen er at opretholde området som boligområde samt at sikre bevaring af den eksisterende byggeforeningsbebyggelse, der rummer særlige kulturhistoriske og arkitektoniske kvaliteter. Formålet er desuden at afløse de hidtil gældende men tidsbegrænsede servitutter vedrørende anvendelse og bebyggelse med mere tidssvarende bestemmelser. Det er herunder hensigten, at bestemmelserne vedrørende bebyggelsens ydre fremtræden skal sikre en bevaring af såvel bebyggelsens arkitektoniske helhedsvirkning som bygningsdetaljer på det enkelte byggeforeningshus.

§ 1. Purpose

The purpose of the local plan is to maintain the area as a residential area and to ensure the preservation of the existing housing association buildings, which have special cultural, historical, and architectural qualities. The aim is also to replace the existing but time-limited easements on use and development with more up-to-date provisions. In particular, it is intended that the provisions relating to the external appearance of the building should ensure the preservation of both the overall architectural effect of the building and the details of the individual building.

§ 2. Område

Lokalplanområdet afgrænses som vist på vedhæftede tegning nr. 25.295 og omfatter ejendommene matr.nr.ne 197-2 16, 222-26 1, 264273, 275-303, 309-328, 332-362, 366-395, 41 1-439, 444-471, 473499, 501-526, 530-554, 560441,645481,684-707 og 930 Østervold Kvarter, København, vejarealerne matr.nr.ne 80, 125, 126 og del af 28 ibd. samt alle parceller, der efter I . oktober 1985 udtrykkes fra de nævnte ejendomme.

§ 2. Area

The local plan area is delimited as shown on the attached drawing no. 25.295 and includes the properties matr.nr.ne 197-2 16, 222-26 1, 264273, 275-303, 309-328, 332-362, 366-395, 41 1-439, 444-471, 473499, 501-526, 530-554, 560441,645481,684-707 and 930 Østervold Neighborhood, Copenhagen, the road areas matr. No 80, 125, 126 and part of 28 ibd. as well as all parcels which after I. October 1985 are expressed from the mentioned properties.

§ 3. Anvendelse

Stk. 1
Området fastlægges til boligformåI. Der kan efter magistratens nærmere godkendelse indrettes bebyggelse til mindre kollektive anlæg og institutioner - herunder vuggestuer og børnehaver – der naturligt finder plads i området.
Stk. 2
I bebyggelsens stueetage mod Øster Farimagsgade må der foruden boliger indrettes butiks- og kontorlokaler og lignende, der efter magistratens skøn naturligt kan indpasses i et boligområde. Der må ikke udøves virksomhed, som efter magistratens skøn er til ulempe for de omboende.

§ 3. Application

Paragraph 1
The area is determined for housing purposes. Subject to the approval of the local authority, buildings may be erected for small public amenities and institutions - including crèches and nursery schools - which are naturally located in the area.
Paragraph 2
On the ground floor of the building facing Øster Farimagsgade, shops and offices may be provided in addition to housing and the like which, in the opinion of the local authority, can be naturally integrated into a residential area. No business shall be carried on which, in the opinion of the magistrate, is detrimental to the residents.

§ 4. Vejforhold

Stk. 1
De eksisterende vejlinier opretholdes.
Stk. 2
I Voldmestergade, J. A. Schwartz Gade, Hallinsgade, Høyensgade, Skovgaardsgade, Marstrandsgade, Eckersbergsgade, Abildgaardsgade, Jens Juels Gade og Wiedeweltsgade skal den del af vejarealet, der er anbragt som forhaver opretholdes som have for den bagved liggende ejendom. Forhaverne skal hegnes særskilt med et for kvarteret passende hegn efter magistratens nærmere godkendelse, med mindre anden ordning godkendes af magistraten. På forhavearealerne kan der efter magistratens nærmere godkendelse opføres vindfang og overdækninger over døre.

§ 4. Road conditions

Paragraph 1
The existing road lines shall be maintained.
Paragraph 2
In Voldmestergade, J. A. Schwartz Gade, Hallinsgade, Høyensgade, Skovgaardsgade, Marstrandsgade, Eckersbergsgade, Abildgaardsgade, Jens Juels Gade and Wiedeweltsgade, the part of the road area that is arranged as a front garden shall be maintained as a garden for the property behind it. The front gardens shall be fenced separately with a fence appropriate to the neighborhood, subject to the approval of the magistrate, unless another arrangement is approved by the magistrate. Attics and canopies over doors may be erected in the front yards, subject to the approval of the Magistrate.

§ 5. Bebyggelsens omfang og placering

Stk. 1
Der eksisterende byggeforeningshuse må ikke nedrives, ombygges eller på anden måde ændres uden magistratens særlige tilladelse, jf. dog § 6.
Stk. 2
Retablering af bygningsdele skal efter magistratens nærmere godkendelse ske i samme omfang og med samme placering og udformning som den eksisterende bebyggelse, jf. i øvrigt § 6.

§ 5. Scale and location of buildings

Paragraph 1
Without prejudice to Article § 6, existing building societies may not be demolished, rebuilt or otherwise altered without special permission from the magistrate.
Paragraph 2
The restoration of parts of buildings shall, with the specific approval of the magistrate, be carried out to the same extent and with the same location and design as the existing building, without prejudice to § 6.

§ 6. Bebyggelsens ydre fremtræden

Stk. 1
Ændringer i bebyggelsen for så vidt angår bygningernes materialer, udformning, farve og øvrige fremtræden skal efter magistratens skøn være samstemmende med omgivelserne og områdets karakter. Eksisterende bebyggelse må i nævnte henseende ikke ændres uden magistratens tilladelse, medmindre ændringerne iagttager bestemmelserne i stk. 2 og stk. 3.
Stk. 2
a) Ydermure mod gade og gårdside skal opretholdes som blank murværk med eksisterende forbandt, bånd og gesimser.

b) Eksisterende fagdelinger og muråbninger omkring vinduer og døre skal opretholdes, dog kan mod gårdside udføres direkte udgang fra stueetagen, samt opsættes franske altaner i de øvrige etager, når bredde

af eksisterende murhuller og kviste bevares.

c) Døre og porte skal udføres af træ med fyldinger og inddelinger som oprindeligt.

d) Vinduer i facader skal udføres af træ, som sidehængte udadgående dannebrogsvinduer med planglas.

e) Alt udvendigt træværk skal males.

Stk. 3

a) Tagdækning skal udføres med naturskifer eller andet plant tagmateriale med tilsvarende udseende, dimension og fastgørelsesmetode.

b) Tagvinduer mod gade skal udføres som traditionelle 4- eller 6-stens jernvinduer eller som vinduer af træ med tilsvarende mål. Mod gård må der installeres almindelige ovenlysvinduer.

c) Kviste mod gade skal udføres som de oprindelige 2 fags kviste eller som 3 fags kviste beklædt med zink på tag og flunker, og kviste mod gård skal udføres på tilsvarende måde.

d) Udluftninger og ventilationshætter skal anbringes på gårdsidens tagflade.

e) Skorstene og fælles brandgavle skal opretholdes, brandkamme skal være afdækket med teglsten.

Stk. 4

Ingen form for skiltning og reklamering må finde sted uden magistratens godkendelse.

Stk. 5

Antenneanlægs placering skal godkendes af magistraten.

§ 6. External appearance of the building

Paragraph 1
Changes in the materials, design, color, and other appearance of buildings shall, at the discretion of the local authority, be in keeping with their surroundings and the character of the area. Existing buildings shall not be altered in this respect without the permission of the magistrate unless the alterations comply with the provisions of paragraphs 2 and 3.

Paragraph 2
a) External walls facing the street and courtyard shall be maintained as blank brickwork with existing dressings, bands, and cornices.

(b) Existing bays and openings around windows and doors shall be maintained, except that direct exit from the ground floor to the courtyard side may be provided and French balconies may be provided on other floors where the width of the balcony is less than

of existing wall openings and gables are preserved.

c) Doors and gates shall be made of wood with fillings and divisions as originally.

d) Windows in facades shall be made of wood, as side-hung outward-opening arched windows with plate glass.

e) All exterior woodwork shall be painted.

Paragraph 3

a) Roofing shall be carried out with natural slate or other flat roofing material of equivalent appearance, dimension and fixing method.

(b) Roof windows facing the street shall be traditional 4- or 6-pane iron windows or wooden windows of equivalent dimensions. Ordinary skylight windows may be installed facing the courtyard.

c) The gables facing the street shall be the original 2 storey gables or 3 storey gables with zinc cladding on the roof and flanges, and the gables facing the courtyard shall be constructed in a similar manner.

d) Vents and ventilation caps shall be placed on the roof surface of the courtyard.

e) Chimneys and common firebreaks shall be maintained; firebreaks shall be capped with brick.

Paragraph 4

No signage or advertising shall take place without the approval of the Magistrate.

Paragraph 5

Antenna installations must be approved by the Magistrate.

§ 7. Ubebyggede arealer

Stk. I
Friarealet skal anlægges som opholdsareal.
Stk. 2
Træer skal bevares i videst muligt omfang.

§ 7. Undeveloped land

Paragraph I
The open space shall be laid out as a living area.
Paragraph 2
Trees shall be preserved as far as possible.

§ 8. Eksisterende forhold

Lokalplanens bestemmelser skal ikke være til hinder for bibeholdelse af den nuværende udnyttelse af bebyggelsen,
forudsat at denne udnyttelse ikke strider
mod de i givne byggetilladelser tagne forbehold og i øvrigt er lovlig.

§ 8. Existing conditions

The provisions of the local plan shall not prevent the maintenance of the existing use of the built-up area, provided that such use does not conflict the reservations made in the building permits and is otherwise lawful.

<u>§ 9. Påtaleret</u>

Københavns magistrat har påtaleret for overtrædelse af bestemmelserne i nærværende lokalplan.

<u>§ 9. Right of appeal</u>

The Copenhagen Magistrate has the right to impose penalties for infringement of the provisions of this Local Plan.

<u>§ 10. Dispensationer</u>

Den samlede magistrat kan indrømme sådanne dispensationer fra lokalplanens bestemmelser, som ikke vil være i strid med principperne i planen.

<u>§ 10. Exemptions</u>

The Joint Magistrate may grant such dispensations from the provisions of the local plan.

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Nærværende lokalplan med indhæftede plan nr. 25.295 er vedtaget af Borgerrepræsentationen i mødet den 29. oktober 1987 og endeligt bekendtgjort den 20. november 1987.
Københavns magistrat, overborgmesterens afdeling, den 10. marts 1988
INDFØRT I DAGBOGEN
den 10. marts1988
KØBENHAVNS BYRET
lyst
E. Hougaard

This local plan with attached plan no. 25.295 was adopted by the City Council in its meeting of 29. October 1987 and finally published on 20 November 1987.
Copenhagen City Council, Department of the Mayor, 10 March 1988
INTRODUCED IN THE DIARY
on March 10, 1988
COPENHAGEN COURT
desire
E. Hougaard