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ABSTRACT

Public places such as urban parks form important arenas of social life and represent a vital source for citizens' wellbeing. Their design and features stand in immediate dialogue with the individual's environmental embodiment and the social character of the urban geography. There is a due need to create (physical) places that address the heterogeneity of societal needs and desires and foster inclusion in the city. The practice of planning thereby adopts a central role as its decisions and actions have a direct impact on the urban dweller. However, the discipline lacks the theoretic knowledge and competency to decode and translate the multidimensional complexity of urban reality. It thus calls for a move towards the careful representation of the lived space, which is produced by the tactics of people. In this context, the field of planning theory initiated significant shifts in the past towards a more democratic planning practice. In particular, the *theory of communicative planning* has been reinforcing values of intersubjective communication and collectivity and of an interconnected conception of space.

The recent *theory of scenes*, established by Daniel Silver and Terry Clark (2016), presents a promising contribution to the communicative turn. It argues that the human subject and experienced quality of places must be put at the core of analysis and contends that reality is layered, intersubjective and never universal. Hence, this theory offers a path of inquiry for a more holistic, communication-oriented approach to urban space, which I investigate in this master thesis. Through a heterogeneous set of methods including autoethnographic walks and essays, shared walks and talks with four international students and semi-structured interviews with strangers in Ørstedsparken and Østre Anlæg (Copenhagen), I capture an image of the two parks that is produced by multiple voices, individual biographies and different socio-cultural backgrounds. This base of qualitative data allows me to apply and test the theory of scenes.

Keywords: *Communicative urban planning, theory of scenes, human perception, lived space, urban parks*

ABSTRACT (IN GERMAN)

Öffentliche Orte wie Stadtparks sind wichtige Schauplätze des sozialen Lebens und formen eine essenzielle Quelle des Wohlbefindens für Bürger. Ihre Qualität steht im unmittelbaren Dialog mit dem Körperempfinden des Individuums und der sozialen Dynamik des Stadtgefüges. Es besteht daher die Notwendigkeit, (physische) Orte zu schaffen, die der Heterogenität in den gesellschaftlichen Bedürfnissen und Wünschen gerecht werden und soziale Inklusion in der Stadt fördern. Der Stadtplanungspraxis kommt dabei eine zentrale Rolle zu, da sich ihre Entscheidungen und Maßnahmen unmittelbar auf die Stadtbewohner auswirken. Allerdings mangelt es der Disziplin an theoretischem Wissen und Kompetenz, um die multidimensionale Komplexität der städtischen Realität zu entschlüsseln und in Aktion zu übersetzen. Es bedarf daher dem stärkeren Fokus auf eine Darstellung des gelebten Raums, welcher sich durch die taktilen Handlungen der Menschen auszeichnet. In diesem Zusammenhang hat das Feld der Planungstheorie in der Vergangenheit bedeutende Fortschritte hin zu einer demokratischeren Praxis initiiert. Insbesondere die *Theorie der Kommunikativen Stadtplanung* hat Werte der intersubjektiven Kommunikation und der Kollektivität sowie ein holistischeres Verständnis des urbanen Raums gestärkt.

Die *Theorie der Szenen*, die von Daniel Silver und Terry Clark (2016) entwickelt wurde, stellt ein vielversprechendes Konzept in der Wende hin zur Kommunikativen Planung dar. Es plädiert dafür, das menschliche Subjekt und die erlebte Qualität von Orten in den Mittelpunkt der Analyse zu stellen und die Debatte über Realität als ein vielschichtiges, intersubjektives und niemals universelles Phänomen zu öffnen. Die Theorie der Szenen bietet daher einen analytischen Weg für eine ganzheitlichere, kommunikationsorientierte Betrachtung des städtischen Raums. Dies untersuche ich mit dieser Masterarbeit. Basierend auf einem heterogenen Mix aus Methoden, welcher autoethnografische Spaziergänge und Essays, Spaziergänge und Gespräche mit vier internationalen Studenten und halbstrukturierte Interviews mit fremden Besuchern in Ørstedsparken und Østre Anlæg (Kopenhagen) umfasst, erhalte ich eine perzeptive Aufnahme der Parks, die auf diversen Stimmen, individuellen Biografien und unterschiedlichen soziokulturellen Hintergründen basiert. Diese Grundlage qualitativer Daten ermöglicht es mir, die Theorie der Szenen anzuwenden und zu testen.

Schlagwörter: *Kommunikative Stadtplanung, Theorie der Szenen, menschliche Wahrnehmung, gelebter Raum, Stadtparks*

MASTER THESIS

THE URBAN PARK - A SCENIC (RE-)VIEW:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF VISITORS' PERCEPTION OF
ØRSTEDSPARKEN AND ØSTRE ANLÆG (COPENHAGEN)
BASED ON THE THEORY OF SCENES

KAMPSCHULTE, LISA

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SUPERVISOR:

Joshua Grigsby, MSc (University Of Vienna)

SECOND READER:

Prof. Fernando Molini (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)

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INTRODUCTION

Urban planning is a critical discipline for addressing urban as well as global issues and fostering democratic values. Placed in the intersection between politics, economics, society and culture as well as ecology, its decisions and actions have an immediate impact on the citizens' quality and experience of life. However, the profession has been criticized repeatedly for being inconsistent with real-world constraints and for failing to shift its focus towards a more human-oriented, inclusive practice. As the urban theorist Patsy Healey (1992) argued, the machinery of technocratic, scientifically rational planning as well as the forces of capital have restricted the flourishing of democratic planning.

However, in the past 70 years, the multi-disciplinary efforts of urban planning theory have contributed to expanding the conception of planning to a *political* activity and to a more socially oriented conceptualization of space. This evolution poses an argument against the common notion among planners that theories are of little use for their work. On the contrary, it generates and translates interdisciplinary knowledge into the language of practitioners and allows for a reconsideration of the values that are reproduced through their actions. Therefore, it calls for a further and deeper integration of planning theory to transform the profession into "a medium of *innovation* and *action*" (Friedmann, 2003, p. 8) and counteract "the power of capitalist forces to dominate the public's life opportunities" (Healey, 1992, p. 234).

In particular, the *theory of communicative planning*, as popularized by John Friedmann (1973), has paved the way for a more social, multi-vocal planning approach based on the notion of multi-stakeholder collaboration and on a collective process of consensus finding. This is crucial for tackling the dualism between the field's theoretic expertise and the heterogeneity of the empirical world. By introducing and testing the *theory of scenes*, established by Daniel Silver and Terry Clark (2016), through a comparative analysis of visitors' perception of two urban parks in Copenhagen, I aspire to assess its possible contributions to the practice of communicative planning. I propose that the framework allows bringing planners and ordinary citizens into a dialogue and enables a multidimensional conceptualization of lived space. By drawing the focus on intersubjective, tactile knowledge about space, the theory of scenes

suggests promoting the representation of real-world complexity. To test these claims, this master thesis addresses the following question:

How does the theory of scenes contribute to the practice of communicative urban planning?

In doing so, I follow Friedmann's (2008) call for the potentials arising from integrating planning theory into the planning practice and acknowledge that "extensive work ... lies ahead of us" (p. 249).

Embodiment is integral to human perception and to reaching deeper levels of understanding social space. Therefore, my methodology comprises four autoethnographic walks as well as four walks with different international students in each of the two parks, Ørstedsparken and Østre Anlæg (Copenhagen). The exploratory, psychogeographic concept of the drift, also *dérive*, thereby forms a guiding principle. Autoethnographic essays and semi-structured interviews with the participants serve as catalyzers for conscious reflection processes and as mediators between the inner and outer landscapes of experience. This combined methodological approach allows to embrace the non-static dynamics of urban public space and is foundational to the application of the theory of scenes in this master thesis. As the perception is influenced by the person's socio-cultural background and degree of familiarity with the locality, the third stage of fieldwork involves semi-structured interviews with random, mostly local park visitors.

TAKE 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

SEEING FROM BELOW

THE HUMAN BODY AND PERCEPTION

“If we opened people up, we’d find landscapes.”

(Varda, 2008)

The concept of the *body schema* by the French philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2006/1962) theorizes the intersection between body and world, which conjoins in the human perception. As it’s formed and expressed only through movement and doesn’t exist apart from both connected entities, David Morris (2004) introduced the notion of “the moving schema of perception” (p. 36) to specify the concept and employs it synonymously to *orientation*. Accordingly, such phenomenological approach to the human body and its spatiality constructs space as a plastic, malleable environment. It becomes a “perceived space as we experience it before objectifying it” (p. VII), a space of lived experience that is loaded with meanings. Setha Low (2009) illustrates, “Places ... are not in the landscape, but simultaneously in the land, people’s minds, customs, and bodily practices” (p. 29). Low understands that the body, while located physically in a specific geographical place, incorporates “metaphors, ideology, and language, as well as behaviors, habits, skills, and spatial orientations derived from global discourses and far away places” (p. 22). Her notion of “embodied space” (p. 10) is then “the location where human experience and consciousness takes on material and spatial form” (p. 26) and the site where the global becomes incorporated in daily life, perceivable and graspable e.g. as *tactics*, which were theorized by the French sociologist and philosopher Michel de Certeau (2013/1980).

Tim Ingold (2011) explains that the earth, one large *lifeworld*, must be understood as an assemblage that comes into being and is constantly in the making through the cohabitation of humans, non-human beings and non-living entities. He explicitly opposes the notion of the self-contained individual and fixity of the environment (see also Gibson, 1983). Ingold (2006) argues for a more nuanced engagement with the material and immaterial world and

introduces the perspective of “dwelling” (2011, p. 5) to strengthen the idea of an embodied form of human-environment connection. The author sees “the human being not as a composite entity made up of separable but complementary parts, ... but rather as a singular locus of creative growth within a continually unfolding field of relationships” (p. 5). Further, the architecture professor and theorist Ritu Bhatt (2013) calls for a reconceptualization of the human body as a subject “experienced from within rather than from without” (p. 3) and that forms the base from which experience needs to be explored. Like Ingold, Bhatt tackles the reduction of the body to its biological qualities and to an empty container that exists detached from consciousness and intention (see also Griffero, 2019; Hall et al., 1968).

BEING IN THE WORLD AND INTERSUBJECTIVITY

Returning to Morris (2004) and the notion of *lived space*, he argues that it’s only through the *human depth*, i.e. the dimension of seeing or feeling oneself related to the external environment, that perception is animated. In his review of Morris’ book, Avery Goldman (2007) describes this depth as “a sensed meaning that is not predetermined as it follows from the way that these changeable elements work together” (p. 125). Thus, perception is a non-static and essentially multisensorial and embodied form of being in the world. Accordingly, the body’s posture, position and habits as well as the gaze’s position and direction shape one’s perceptual involvement in the world and thereby the experience of space (Morris, 2004).

In this regard, the philosopher and phenomenologist Edmund Husserl (1984) advanced the view that reality is what each individual subjectively experiences as opposed to being a phenomenon, which is observed in objective, scientific terms. On a poetic note, Merleau-Ponty (2012/1942) writes, “Just as we do not see the eyes of a familiar face, but simply its look and its expression, so we perceive hardly any object” (p. 281). According to Husserl (1984), the *lifeworld* comes into being only as it’s lived and experienced and it’s always relative to the perceiving subject’s “socially conditioned schemata of expression and interpretation” (Schutz, 1970, p. 119). Such schemata are predetermined or “unquestionably given” and “provided by socialization and other culturally formative instances” (Madsen & Plunz, 2002, p. 13). In this context, Morris (2004) mentioned the “pre-objective” (p. 118) or pre-reflective commitments,

which he calls the “unconcern” (p. 169) of orientation. As David Seamon (2013b) summarizes, grasping perceptual impressions intellectually renders difficult as “its presence and significance typically lie beneath conscious cerebral awareness” (p. 2). Thereby, these cognitive processes are never self-contained but intersubjective with *the other* constituting an integral element of the personal experience (Goldman, 2007).

TACTICS AND LIVED SPACE

“The childhood experience that determines spatial practices later develops its effects, proliferates, floods private and public spaces, undoes their readable surfaces, and creates within the planned city a ‘metaphorical’ or mobile city ...”
(De Certeau, 2013/1980, p. 110)

De Certeau (2013/1980) critiques the “bird’s-eye view” (p. 111) of the urban planner, who looks at the city from above and lacks a local, holistic understanding of the social dynamics. Therefore, he draws attention to the city as experienced from below. In his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, he addresses the lack of power and ownership of the ordinary people and explains that spatial appropriation therefore occurs in the form of *tactics*. These are walking, adjusting or circumventing space, memorizing it, changing its meaning, ceasing occasions and the clever use of time.

Focusing on the act of walking, space offers many possibilities for movement while it also presents limitations to the body and self-expression. The walker capitalizes on possibilities, acts them out and animates urban space. By overcoming and transforming elements, new possibilities and spatial realms are constructed. Space thus reflects both a product as well as a means of production and embodies as well as facilitates action. In contrast to *strategies*, these social practices are “foreign to the ‘geometrical’ or ‘geographical’ space of visual, panoptic, or theoretical constructions” (De Certeau, 2013/1980, p. 93) and lack “rational transparency” (p. 95). The multitudinous acts of the everyday reflect the persistent manipulation of formal discipline and secretly produce the characteristic conditions of life in the city. De Certeau

therefore talks about “lived space” (p. 96), one of inherent complexity and which can’t be reduced to or represented by graphic lines and fields on a city map.

The boundaries in this non-fixed conception of space can be physical as well as socially constructed, marked by discourse and signs. Examples for physical obstacles are fences to private property and national borders, creating an interior and exterior realm of different functions, norms and rules. Further, Doreen Massey (2007/1994) talks about “some very problematical senses of place, from reactionary nationalisms, to competitive localisms, to introverted obsessions with 'heritage'” (p. 151) that reproduce separative notions of an *inside* and an *outside*, i.e. of *us* and *them*. To summarize, urban landscapes are value-charged, expressive agents that comprise spatial as well as metaphysical elements, which shape the lived experience of urban dwellers.

Setha Low (2009) distinguishes between the social *production* and *construction* of space, which present two terms that are frequently used synonymously. Yet, according to Low (1996), the former has at its heart the physical construction of the material setting and “is useful in defining the historical emergence and political and economic formation of urban space” (p. 861). The social construction then reflects “the phenomenological and symbolic experience of space” (p. 861), built by social processes and taking place in the material setting. In reference to the French Marxist theorist Henri Lefebvre (2013/1974), I have employed and will continue to use the term *social production* for the tactile formation of space and thereby refer to the notion of the *mobile city*. However, both urban processes are relevant in the analysis of space to uncover hierarchies of power and the interplay between tactics and strategies.

THE MATERIAL FRAME OF HUMAN EXPERIENCE

Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2012/1962) argued that the spatial, environmental qualities stand in immediate dialogue with the human subject. They resonate in the lived body and mediate cues of particular ambience and meaning. He writes, “the senses intercommunicate by opening on to the structure of the thing” (p. 229). In other words, the physical environment is an integrative dimension in the human experience and experiential depth of the human being.

Given that the body feels and reacts to the material dimension of space, critics like the Finnish architect Juhani Pallasmaa contest the well-known visual bias in architecture and urban design. Further, in the interview with Klaske Havik and Gus Tielens (2013), Pallasmaa refers to the tendency of over-functionalizing, regulating and defining public space, which would be counterintuitive to the non-static, interconnected dynamics of life. He argues, “Architecture should not specify emotion, but should invite emotion” (p. 43) and similarly, it shouldn’t specify but welcome action. This section aims at emphasizing the importance for urban planning to consider in which way spatial characteristics of the city influence the lived experience.

Seamon (2013b) argues, “the physical-spatial environment plays an integral role in sustaining active streets and an urban sense of place” (p. 206). The author employs the concept of *space syntax* from the architectural theorist Bill Hillier (2015/1996). Hillier assessed the correlation between spatial settings and people’s movement, highlighting that the arrangement of pathways impacts environmental embodiment and the lived character of geographies by either drawing bodies together or keeping them separated. Adding, David Seamon (2013a) introduces the notion of the *place ballet*, a “large-scale environmental dynamic” (p. 206), that is understood as “an important place of interpersonal and communal exchange, meaning, and attachment” (p. 206). In contrast, the modernist urban design principles would act against this possibility of fostering “communal togetherness ... and fields of care” (p. 209).

Links between the objective, physical landscape and the social realm were already explored by the psychogeographers of the *Situationist Internationals*. The group was active between 1957 and 1972 in Europe and was co-founded by Guy Debord. He established the term *psychogeography* in 1955 in the quest for a new field and practice of urban inquiry. Debord (2006/1955) provides a first explanatory definition as being the study of “the precise laws and specific effects of the geographical environment ... on the emotions and behavior of individuals” (p. 8). In their critique of post-World War II planning and the transformation of the social sphere into a consumable spectacle, the Situationists employed experimental practices such as the *dérive* to reconstruct the city as a place of passion, creativity and ambience (Internationale Situationniste, 1958). *Dérive* is French for the *drift* or *drifting* and involves wandering the streets and being pulled or repulsed by urban atmospheric microclimates, also

called *unites d'ambience*. Besides psychogeography and the tactile construction of situations, *unitary urbanism* presented one of the principal concepts of the group. It was less a new doctrine of urbanism and architecture but rather a critique of it, combining both practice and theory (Chardonnet, 2003). In line with Pallasmaa, it challenged the fixation of cities and people in place and advocated for a continuous urban transformation, i.e. not adhering to the notion of rational functionalism but responding to the diverse, changing needs of people. Unitary urbanism also implied that play is seen as a free and creative activity and that the urban realm forms a terrain for participatory play in which the *dérive* represents one possible game. With the book *The Image of the City* as a result of five years of fieldwork in Los Angeles, Boston and Jersey City, the urban theorist Kevin Lynch (2005/1960) made important contributions to the field of environmental psychology and the study of environmental behavior. He argued for an urban environment that is “shaped in many ways so as to satisfy the varying demands of the individuals who inhabit it” (p. 38). Exploring the mental maps of various people, Lynch extracted five key elements, which would shape the image of the city: *Paths, edges, districts, nodes* and *landmarks*. His theory was facing increasing criticism, because assessing the city’s quality based on concise forms without considering the attached social and cultural meanings renders reductive thinking. However, by integrating individuals’ perceptual impressions, Lynch introduced to conceptualize the city as perceptual space.

With his *Street Life Project*, which started in 1970 in New York, the sociologist and urbanist William Whyte (2010/1980) dedicated himself to the study of city areas like streets, parks, plazas, playgrounds and neighborhood blocks. As stated on the website of *Project for Public Spaces* (2010b), “He believed that we have a moral responsibility to create physical places that facilitate civic engagement and community interaction”. Creating awareness for the relevance of interconnecting the urban infrastructural system, Whyte (2010/1980) illustrated, “The [plaza’s] relationship to the street is integral ... A good plaza starts on the street corner” (p. 54). Further, he highlighted the importance of sitable features in drawing people into public spaces and that if the physical dimensions allow for it, people will also inhabit spatial elements like steps and ledges. However, such shouldn’t be designed to “punctuate architectural photographs” (Whyte & Underhill, 2009/1988, p. 116).

LOOKING FROM ABOVE

STRATEGIES AND THE ABSTRACT CITY

With his notion of *strategies*, Michel de Certeau (2013/1980) delivers a helpful concept to speak about the common approach of generic, top-down planning, which is subject to closer assessment in this section. He writes, “I call a ‘strategy’ the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power can be isolated from an ‘environment’” (p. 19). Further, “Political, economic, and scientific rationality has been constructed on this strategic model” (p. 19), which disregards all philosophical and human aspects of life. De Certeau criticizes the blindness of authorities that treat deviations from an imposed standard as abnormal and disturbance. Unable or unwilling to deal with the complexity and multiplicity of urban reality, it leads to the rationalization of (life in) the city, whereby social space is transformed into a quantified field. The urbanistic discourse and planning practice become colored by a “proper meaning” (p. 100), which presents an abstract idea or myth about the city. With *myth*, De Certeau refers to “a story jerry-built out of elements taken from common sayings” (p. 102). Such objectifying, ideologizing narratives reproduce geographies of power, hierarchy, domination and inequality.

With *‘The city’ as perverse metaphor*, Peter Marcuse (2005) provides a solid example of the formative power of language in the capitalist system. London is commonly depicted as a globalized, financially strong and successful city. While referring merely to its financial sector, the metaphorical usage of *London* homogenizes all existing differences in the urban environment and suggests the economic well-being and internationality of *all* citizens. The city is turned into an “actor” (p. 248), “component of globalization” (p. 249) and “a unified aggregate of groups” (p. 251) (see also De Certeau, 2013/1980, p. 94). Such narratives constitute justifications for policy decisions that work against those societal groups that don’t benefit from their implications, e.g. from privatization, the increased construction of offices, global competitiveness and gentrification. City officials that apply what is good for one part of the city to the whole urban realm fail to acknowledge the heterogeneity and conflicts within the city.

It appears that looking onto the city from above makes the urban text, its structure, plot and characters, more graspable and understandable. The bird's-eye view seems to produce a coherent, total view of the urban fabric by lifting the planner out of the immediate chaos and crowds down below (Barthes, 1997). Yet, this distance doesn't create stronger clarity or transparency but "a 'theoretical' (that is, visual) simulacrum" (De Certeau, 2013/1980, p. 93) in which the actual space is forgotten and instead conquered by the notion of progress, i.e. by *time*.

NEOLIBERALISM: SPACING FINANCIAL CAPITAL

"In its most extreme form, reductionism entails the reduction of time to space, the reduction of use value to exchange value, the reduction of objects to signs ..."

(Lefebvre, 2013/1974, p. 296)

The end of World War II posed great challenges to the planners, i.e. unprecedented demographic growth, rapid urbanization and war-destroyed terrain. As John Friedmann (2008) quotes in his article *The Uses of Planning Theory*, the lack of professional expertise led to a situation of "planning without facts" (p. 250). The planners had to produce certainties that didn't rest on solid grounds, wherefore decision making was taking place on unknown territory. For example, the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM) believed unconditionally in the potential of functionalist, rational planning to improve the chaotic urban conditions and build healthy cities and societies. However, their deterministic regime, as is known today and has been critiqued since the 1970s, produced urban landscapes of alienation (Weiss et al., 2015).

The proliferation of neoliberal ideology gained momentum in the late 1970s, initiating an "era of historical transition whose profound effects would be felt around the globe" (Friedmann, 2008, p. 252). In *The Production of Space*, Henri Lefebvre (2013/1974) makes a distinction between *dominated* space and *appropriated* space. The former represents "a master's project" (p. 165), an abstract space that is "the space of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism" (p. 57) as well as of the experts like the planner, architect and urbanist. Consistent with De

Certeau, such space, as opposed to the lived space, is created by the strategies of dominant social groups and instrumentalized according to the logic of financial capital. Lefebvre argues that capitalism has compartmentalized, specialized and strategically re-concatenated space across different scales to tap into its advantageous capacities like the provision of natural resources and political incentives for capital accumulation. The configured interconnectedness of fragmented geographies therefore follows the *abstract* logic of commodity production, trade and consumption, which dominates the *concrete* space at the expense of social life, human experience and especially of less powerful, marginalized groups. These processes of radical financialization and the resulting uneven developments worldwide are inherently linked to globalization, economic-political deregulation, the expansion of entrepreneurial freedom and extensive privatization (Fuchs, 2019). The Marxist scholar David Harvey (2007) summarizes that neoliberalism has infiltrated "thought and political-economic practices to the point where it has become incorporated into the commonsense way we interpret, live in, and understand the world" (p. 23).

Inevitably, the realm of urban planning has similarly become permeated with neoliberalist and entrepreneurial thought, which consolidated in a system of *urban governance* that approaches the city like a profit- and growth-oriented corporation. This shift away from the *urban government* was triggered by the transfer of responsibilities to lower-order governments, which used to be carried out and funded by the national regimes. In the administrative pursuit for new investments and raising tax revenues to ensure the threatened fiscal viability of states and cities, new stakeholders entered or took over the stage of decision making. New partnerships between public institutions and powerful private actors emerged. The outsourcing and privatization of basic services, city branding efforts, postmodern architecture projects and landscapes of consumption are only a few strategic implications of an urban regime in constant inter-urban competition (Friedmann, 2008; Harvey, 1989b).

As Nathalie Casemajor and Will Straw (2017) illuminate, "visual perception became entangled in new logics of capitalism, mass culture, and sensory stimulations" (p. 7). And in *The Society of the Spectacle*, Guy Debord (1994/1967) analyzed that society had become obsessed with appearance and representation over reality, experience and truth. The second half of the 20th century stands symbolic of the shift from *being* to *having* and *appearing* and from *needs* to

wants. He illustrates that the spectacle “is a worldview that has actually been materialised” (p. 7), directing and unifying societies’ gaze and imagination, people remaining blind to the capitalist oppression and to the system’s power to shape their idea of reality.

URBAN PLANNING: PLANNING WITHOUT THEORY

“Whoever attempts to solve the riddle of space in the abstract will construct the outline of emptiness and call it space.”
(Van Eyck, 1962)

The profession of urban planning is a value-charged, multi-disciplinary activity that is faced with a diverse set of problems for which it should have and provide solutions. It’s a task that is critical in fostering social cohesion, tackling economic polarization, ensuring livable urban space and addressing ecological concerns. The field is closely linked to policy making and should stand in dialogue with institutions and organizations beyond the city scale (Schreiber, 2021). In the following, I will highlight the practical as well as theoretic obstacles of the discipline.

The practice of planning has been criticized repeatedly for overlooking or simplifying the complex, social dynamics in cities (De Certeau, 2013/1980; Friedmann, 2003, 2008; Harvey, 2007; Healey, 1992; Lefebvre, 2013/1974; Lutzoni, 2016; Pallasmaa, 2012; Sennett, 1996). Laura Lutzoni (2016) from the Department of Architecture, Design and Planning at the Università degli Studi di Sassari addresses the persisting tension between theoretic knowledge and the empirical world:

The current methods of reading, interpreting and designing the city refer to the traditional formal instruments of the discipline, picking out a series of parameters and standards not always able to decode urban complexity and describe reality that is detailed and changing, that builds up, falls apart and reassembles itself rapidly.
(Lutzoni, 2016, p. 1)

However, John Friedmann (2008) shines a light on the difficulty in prioritizing among these parameters to create e.g. a city plan. The urban condition is indeed complex and constantly

changing, influenced by uncontrollable economic, political, social and demographic trends, which make reliable, long-term predictions difficult. Friedmann concludes that the strategic selection of variables would necessarily follow the principles and methods taught in academia. Given that the professional education of planners takes place predominantly within their disciplinary silo, not borrowing from other fields, it caused the field of planning to be increasingly inward-oriented. In other words, the existing cognitive division between academic departments reinforced the cognitive limitation of the urban planner. Friedmann (2008) argues, “Prospective land use and circulation plans, then, are mostly demand-driven wish images projected onto two-dimensional maps, images that reflect the hidden biases of their [the city planners’] social class and professional training” (p. 252). Other limitations relate to the more philosophical, unanswered questions of *how much* and *what kind* of knowledge does *good* planning need as well as to the data funded and accessible. In addition, urban planners used to have little to say in decision- and policy-making processes and beyond the respective local context. Friedmann (2008) describes, “as planners, we don’t have a well thought-out philosophical position beyond the usual platitudes of ‘participation’” (p. 248). Their professional role has largely been of a facilitative and mediative nature in the past, i.e. to assist in reaching consensus among stakeholders, which obviously ignores that the field is embedded in politics and an important lever for global change.

If planning practice is now, as I would argue, both societal and political, and if we live, as we are obliged to, in an increasingly interconnected world, we have to think more and more deeply about the values that should inform our practices, *including how to move from values to action*. (Friedmann, 2008, p. 249)

Addressing the need for fostering democratic and sustainable values in urban planning and adapting the practice to real-world constraints, Friedmann (2008) draws attention to the underused potential of planning theory. A core task of it is to drive new research, discourse and knowledge on the contemporary world to inform the practice of urban planning. Thereby, the theorists regularly investigate and inquire outside of their professional silo and return to “translate their discoveries into the language of planning where they will either take root or be unceremoniously forgotten” (p. 254). However, given the difficulty and inconsistencies in defining the constituents of planning theory as well as the lack of integration in academic

education, the urban planner isn't well-prepared to apply, evaluate or even revise these theories. According to Bish Sanyal's (2002) study, the majority of practitioners didn't see any advantages in employing theories for planning. In *Why Do Planning Theory?*, Friedmann (2003) writes, "They learned 'by doing', not from theories" (p. 7). Yet, behind every planning decision would exist ideas and ideologies that determine actions such as in the rationalist planning paradigm of the CIAM or the architect group *Team X*, also *Team 10*. It emerged in 1953 from the CIAM as a critique of its dogmatic adherence to the modernist tradition. Team X was dedicated to reanimate conceptually and practically neglected elements of the urban like "social requirements, spontaneousness, self-organisation and the opening up of design to many future spatial possibilities" (Lutzoni, 2016, p. 3; see also Van Eyck, 1962).

To conclude, planning theory presents a relevant source of knowledge and an underestimated discipline in the practice of urban planning to transform it into "a medium of *innovation* and *action*" (Friedmann, 2003, p. 8) as opposed to being a medium of *control*. The following section outlines important evolutionary steps and achievements in the profession of urban theory and planning.

PLANNING THEORY: TOWARDS COMMUNICATIVE PLANNING

The 1990s and beginning of the 21st century have been the moment of "harvest of decades of social change and experimentation" (Friedmann, 2008, p. 253). In particular, the 1980s and early 1990s introduced alternative conceptualizations and values to the debates on planning and saw civil society becoming increasingly vocal and politically engaged. Postmodernist thought came to challenge the foundations of modernity and certain strands of debate left "space for a collective activity in planning" (Healey, 1992, p. 235). According to Beth Moore Milroy (1991), postmodernist planning discourse challenged modernism by being "*destructive*", "*antifoundationalist*", "*nondualistic*" and "*encouraging of plurality and difference*" (p. 187). However, scholars like David Harvey (1989a, 2007) also outlined that some postmodern tendencies have been and continue to be inherently undemocratic.

One of the important figures in the turn towards a more democratic planning practice is the British urban planner and theorist Patsy Healey (1992). She promoted a *communicative* and *collaborative planning* approach, which reinforced “the communicative dimensions of collectively debating and deciding on matters of collective concern” (p. 233). It builds on academic efforts from the 1970s when John Friedmann (1973) coined the term *mutual learning* to highlight planners’ efforts in bringing specialized, theoretic knowledge and experiential insights from ordinary people, the *client groups*, together through personal communication. Such would later inspire not only Healey but also theorists like John Forester. Drawing from Jürgen Habermas’ (2007/1986) *Theory of Communicative Action*, Healey (1992) argues that *communicative rationality* offers a path to redirect the focus from an individualized, isolated conception of space to an understanding of togetherness and differences and of a *right* and *wrong* based on “intersubjective communication” (p. 237). It would oppose the idea of pure logic, science and fundamental ideals to determine values and action. Accordingly, a *right* or *good* decision is one that is debated and agreed on collectively. The theoretic approach seeks to establish a knowledge base that is formed by the members of a communicatively linked societal group and who are integral to this lifeworld. Further, it allows and invites “to include varying systems of morality and culturally specific traditions of expressive aesthetic experience” (p. 238).

One of the leading planning theorists in addressing the “differentiated, culturally plural network of contemporary urban life” and promoting “a principle of group representation in democratic publics and for group-differentiated policies” was Iris Marion Young (Young & Allen, 2011/1990). Her book *Justice and the Politics of Difference* has been a crucial contribution in the move towards an inclusive framework of participation that implies the recognition of a heterogeneous public. In a similar effort, Doreen Massey (2007/1994) conceptualizes space as constructed through social relations and interactions between people of heterogeneous identities and decouples the unique character of a place from being constituted through a long-standing, fixed historical trajectory. Drawing attention to its multiplicity and simultaneity, this *progressive sense of place* is long overdue as it allows to see the power dynamics and conflicts of space as connected to spheres beyond the local frame. It thereby suggests that these links to the *outside* form an integral part of what constitutes the

inside and tackles the mentioned separative conceptions of space. Further, Laura Lutzoni (2016) advocates for new ways of framing the city such as according to “hybridity, simultaneousness and coexistence” (p. 2).

In relation to communicative planning, there has been legitimate skepticism that the theory would lead to just another form of determinist, exclusionary consensus making. Committed to a progressive, more radical planning paradigm, John Forester (1980, 1981) therefore draws from Habermas’ criteria for dynamic reflexivity in reasoning processes. By so doing, he established guiding standards for planners to evaluate and question themselves. This is relevant as the planning process is fundamentally constituted through structured moments of communication, which are influential in determining the degree and quality of community organization and citizen participation and action. Friedmann (2008) assesses that Forester “has taken deliberative democracy’s moral vision furthest by working it into the language and practice of community planning” (p. 250).

Forester’s and other scholars’ efforts to (re-)theorize the social realm of cities and to ground moral principles for planning are crucial in preventing “the power of capitalist forces to dominate the public’s life opportunities” (Healey, 1992, p. 234). Further, these socially engaged planning theorists have been essential to expanding the conception of urban planning and changing its face throughout history. Analyzing the development of the past 70 years, Friedmann (2008) argues that the profession has come closer to being a “whole-society process” and can increasingly be regarded as a “political art, with planners needing to be acutely aware of power and the difference that power makes” (p. 254). These shifts have turned practicing planners partially into “political actors” (p. 254), who aren’t only responsible for offering advice to politicians.

Patsy Healey (1992) concludes that communicative planning can “search for ways of opening windows on what it means to see things differently” (p. 240). The *theory of scenes* presents a possible contribution to communicative planning practice in that it opens paths of inquiry and of explanation for human behavior and allows for a multi-dimensional understanding of meanings that are embedded in the material frames and human experience of urban life. In this thesis, I’m putting forth the proposition that the theory of scenes provides a tool for

engaging the complexity of lived space and thereby promotes the advocated values of the communicative planning approach.

The following chapter explains in detail what a scene is, how the theory is structured and which benefits arguably arise from its application. The applicability is then tested in the analysis of my empirical data from Copenhagen.

TAKE 2: THE THEORY OF SCENES

WHAT (IS A) SCENE?

What (is a) *scene*? Etymologically, the term originates in the 16th century, in Latin as *scaena* or *scena*, delineating the stage of a theater, and in Greek as *skēnē*, describing a wooden stage for the actor (Oxford University Press, 2021). However, the word's meaning expanded throughout history, meandering "in loose fashion across semantic and conceptual fields" (Casemajor & Straw, 2017, p. 9). The online lexical database of Princeton University (2021) lists several contemporary interpretations such as "the place where some action occurs" like a protest in the streets, "an incident (real or imaginary)", "the visual percept of a region" in the sense of scenery or "the context and environment in which something is set" like a professional scene.

According to English language theory, the term follows two larger trajectories of usage as described by Casemajor and Straw (2017) in *The Visuality of Scenes: "Scene as Theatre of Sociability"* (p. 9) and "Scene as Social Formation" (p. 10). In the former conceptualization, daily, social practices enter and occupy the publicly visible realms of urban space. Accordingly, intimate moments between a couple, an attention-drawing utterance of frustration or a street musician transform into observable spectacles of the city's effervescence. Along the second trajectory, the scene concept illuminates the organizational dimension of social life. It departs from the emphasis on visibility and collective vision and instead looks at "the ways in which a heterogeneous set of elements (people, sites, objects, styles, etc.) coheres around particular cultural 'objects' (styles, practices, genres, etc.)" (p. 10). Drawing from Daniel Silver and Terry Clark's (2016) elaborations in their book *Scenescapes: How Qualities of Place Shape Social Life*, scenes such as the jazz scene, skater scene or nightlife scene are formed through a collective interest in the particular activity.

However, Silver and Clark (2016) apply an analytical lens that departs from these two contexts and is more abstract. The authors specifically ask, "what style of life, spirit, meaning, mood, is expressed in all of this [the particular scene]?", "How could others share in that spirit, experience and embrace its meaning sympathetically, or reject it?" (p. 8). And, "What, in other

words, is in the character of *this particular place* that links to *broader and more universal themes?*” (p. 8).

SCENESCAPES AND AMENITIES

The recent theoretic framework emerged from the everyday yet profound observation that “[d]ifferent places feel different” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 8). Imagine a highly air-conditioned, artificially lighted shopping mall in Singapore’s Central Area in contrast to the open-air market in Augusta, Sicily. In the former, a technologically advanced, polished architectural design, a rather distant form of sociability and a guided, steady flow of consumers will possibly provoke a scene of anonymity, conformity and glamour. While for the farmer’s market, the scene’s quality is shaped by the comparably smaller, denser scale, the temporary nature of the setup, casual encounters between vendors and recurring shoppers and the weather conditions. Presumably, these elements accumulate in an impression of neighborliness and informality.

Scenes are “full of value-charged objects about which we render *judgements*” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 11) and that afford personal responses. Each embodies a multidimensional complexity, which is rarely disentangled into its constituents or seen as the sum of these smaller parts. In other words, the “various elements of the situation, that is, come to us in some kind of totality, where each part fits, like each stroke of a painting” (p. 11). Thereby, perceiving and participating in a scene often happens automatically. Rendering rather difficult to detect what it explicitly consists of, the authors introduce the notion of *amenities* to facilitate a more detailed analysis of different scenes in a city. The term draws from the field of economics and is of a rather slippery nature. “It is related to ‘consumption,’ typically referring to pleasurable but unquantifiable aspects of goods and services related to their use or enjoyment” (p. 32). Accordingly, parks themselves as well as ecosystem services like fresh air are amenities. From the analytical perspective of *production*, amenities generate and express cultural and symbolic value. Thus, people like residents of a particular neighborhood become amenities in that they influence the ambience and image of a place, drawing in or repelling other people.

In summary, amenities describe manifested needs and preferences such as for comfort, health, economic profit or for exercising power. Eventually, they "become platforms for living practices" (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 13), facilitating the activities and experiences that shape a scene. Examples of amenities are specialty coffee cafés and interior design stores. Non-commercial amenities, i.e. not explicitly for profit, may include the availability of inclusive public space, safe and sufficient biking lanes as well as equally distributed urban green areas. As preferences change over time and vary according to socio-cultural, political circumstances, they produce different types of amenities and scenescapes. Silver and Clark highlight that the term's definition and application is rather dynamic than deterministic.

ASSESSING SCENES

INTRODUCING THE FRAMEWORK

To summarize, scenes are omnipresent, complex phenomena that structure the urban environments and everyday experience of citizens. They express socio-cultural conditions and direct people's behavior, emotions and decisions. Silver and Clark (2016) have worked on a framework that incorporates a broad pallet of meanings and aesthetics that are expressed through space while being "clear and specific enough to be able to measure these meanings with a level of precision" (p. 29). This allows for a comparison with other places and with other qualities of places. The theory draws attention to the multiplicity and flexible nature of local meanings, rather than investigating values and ways of life in a *universalist* or *particularist* fashion. Further, the authors claim that it brings sensitivity to and allows for theorizing the depth and breadth of human experience and integrates a continuum of cultural qualities and "styles of life" (p. 31). The framework addresses questions of *what* and *where* is the scene (*descriptive*) as well as of *why* and with which implications does the phenomenon occur (*explanatory*). The former type constitutes the analytical focus in this thesis.

The qualitative character of a locality is produced by a multitude of elements, objects and subjects. To analyze and distinguish scenes thus means to not only detect the influential

amenities and practices but to also look at their specific combinations in the respective scenscape. Thereby, neither one “single abstract quality defines any particular scene” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 33). In other words, “We have to rise to more abstract *dimensions of meaning* to answer the question, what type of scene is this?” (p. 33). Addressing the inherent problem of filtering and establishing a solid set of dimensions that may combine in a scene, Silver and Clark draw from fictional as well as non-fictional sources such as poetry, religion, journalism, ethnographies, case studies and academic theories. In doing so, recurring key themes and previously observed aesthetic features of scenes were assessed and isolated. As the authors explain, “we want to take concepts familiar in social and cultural theory (like glamour and charisma), root them in the ground, in the amenities that dot our streets and strips” (p. 34). The result is 15 dimensions that are classified according to three larger cultural categories. The framework is unlikely exhaustive and can be extended, yet it provides a solid starter kit for scene analysis.

3 CULTURAL CATEGORIES

I argued that scenes represent expressive realms like subjects with the agency to act and move. Thereby, each scene provides information and guidance on how to present oneself, i.e. how to appear and to perform. This dimension of *theatricality* addresses the notion of seeing and being seen. Scenes also suggest what is understood to be real. *Authenticity* is then the source of perceived true being. A third category of meaning, which can be promoted or repulsed by a scene, is *legitimacy*. According to Silver and Clark (2016), it concerns “the basis of moral judgement, the authority on which a verdict of right or wrong is grounded” (p. 39).

Georg Simmel, Erving Goffman and Max Weber are some of the scholars and thinkers that have addressed these three pillars in academia before. While the lines between the categories are neither sharp nor exclusive, differences clearly arise and clash such as between ideas on *being real* and *being right* (Silver & Clark, 2016). Take for example an urban park in which an enthusiastic cyclist is racing through, even though the rules forbid it. Adding, what is considered human-scale and socio-ecologically sustainable can clash with the formal principles of green space planning, prioritizing the city’s representativity and rent increases.

Theatricality, authenticity and legitimacy can be further distinguished into 15 specific dimensions. To illustrate the logic of classification, take the periodic table of chemical elements and its metals. They occur in strong, solid form as well as with a rather brittle feel and poor conductivity. Accordingly, the metal character follows a continuum in which none is more or less of a metal. To be clear, “Just as a person can be more or less amiable or hostile, a scene may be more or less self-expressive” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 40). And just as it’s only possible to grasp a real impression of a human being by experiencing its various, co-existing qualities, “we get a clearer picture of what a specific scene is like if we know whether it joins self-expression more with transgression than with glamour” (p. 40).

15 DIMENSIONS OF MEANING

THEORETICAL APPROACH

Each of the 15 dimensions can relate to a multitude of academic fields and urban phenomena. Take for example *Tradition*. The term might relate to a person’s mindset and lifestyle, to social conventions and cultural practices, to political ideologies and agendas as well as to education and urban design. Against this background, I’m presenting in this section aspects that are inspired by Silver and Clark’s (2016) research and relevant to my analysis of the case studies. The authors suggest understanding each of the dimensions as “ways of seeing the world that can be embodied in multiple scenes” (p. 40).

THEATRICALITY

GLAMOUR (VS. ORDINARINESS)

Judith Brown (2009) describes the experience of glamour as “one gazes at a world of possibility that is foreclosed, inaccessible, yet endlessly alluring” (p. 171). In reference to Currid and Williams (2010), Silver and Clark (2016) contrast glamour to the “unglamorous dirt and grime of backwoods camps, greasy spoon diners, or soot-spewing factories” (p. 40). Its attractiveness and fascination are a result of emphasizing some details in a scene while obscuring others. The focus is directed to the external, to the surface. The produced immersive “presence of dazzling,

shimmering, mysterious but seductive personae” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 40) is thus an inherently filtered and misleading image. Virginia Postrel (2013) writes in *A Power to Persuade* that glamour is a powerful, seductive cultural force that influences and shapes people’s desires and decisions such as on what to buy or how to vote.

NEIGHBORLINESS (VS. DISTANCE)

As an ideal neighbor, one connects with, welcomes and cares for the members of the community, which means that neighborliness grows from displaying an open and intimate attitude towards fellow human beings. “Neighborly scenes highlight closeness, personal networks, and the intimacy of face-to-face relations”, a scene where “everybody knows your name” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 40). Following Peter Mann (1954) in *The Concept of Neighborliness*, neighborliness describes the closer interaction of a small number of people within the same geographically delineated area. Neighborliness stands in opposition to the emotional shield adopted by the urban dweller as a defense tactic, i.e. the *blasé attitude* or *blasé outlook* (Simmel, 2006/1903), providing protection from the assaults of the city’s overstimulation.

TRANSGRESSION (VS. CONFORMITY)

Transgression can relate both to the literal overcoming of spatial boundaries as well as to a more abstract meaning of breaking or violating norms and laws. It thematizes the challenging and disruption of conventional forms of appearance and behavior. Transgression becomes a matter of theatricality when breaking against the routinization of daily life and “the rigidified confines of the self” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 41) is performed and displayed. However, Casemajor and Straw (2017) add that visually invisible or seemingly hidden, alternative concepts and practices clearly mesh with the social fabric of urban life. An example would be the “gay scenes that moral reprobation long ago pushed underground” (p. 9). As Cory Alexander Castagno (2015) writes in his thesis on *Transgressive Urban Design*, “society tends to exclude and marginalize what it finds disagreeable in order to reproduce itself ... [and] these societal pressures shape the taboos that police our experience” (p. 35). Whether a scene appears transgressive thus depends on the established idea and perception of what is

mainstream. Silver and Clark (2016) express, “The key is to have recognized the theater of social life and to be ready to violate its scripts” (p. 41).

FORMALITY (VS. INFORMALITY)

While informality might be experienced at a family dinner, neighborhood fair or in a local bar, formal spaces emerge “where strict canons of ‘good form’ reign” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 41) and “established patterns of social etiquette” (p. 41) are adhered to. The authors talk about “highly ritualized, often ceremonial standards of dress, speech, and appearance” (p. 41). Scenes of formal character might be produced or reinforced through rigid (urban) design. Similarly, informality occurs at multiple scales, to different degrees and in diverse forms. The two frequent conceptualizations in academia present urban informality as “a problematic unregulated and unplanned reality” to be tackled through regulations or as “a celebration of the tenacity of otherwise marginalised groups” (Banks et al., 2020, p. 223) that persist in a condition of exclusion.

EXHIBITIONISM (VS. RESERVE)

“Exhibitionism makes private aspects of the self highly visible publicly” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 41), whereby the goal is to be looked at, desired and aroused. As has been argued by philosophers, sociologists and urban scholars such as Jean Baudrillard (1994/1983), Richard Sennett (1996) and Guy Debord (1994/1967), modernity has produced city landscapes of commodification, consumerism and the spectacle. Roland Barthes (1997) provides a prominent example: The Eiffel Tower in Paris. Getting oneself up, the bird’s-eye view allows reading the Parisian landscape as “a nicely connected space” (p. 10) and “to imagine a history” (p. 11). However, this aerial, panoramic vision always remains an act of gazing and consuming, rather than grasping the urban space that is laid out before one’s eye.

AUTHENTICITY

LOCALITY (VS. GLOBALITY)

A scene of local character is “untainted by alien customs” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 42). The amenities and presence of people point towards a rootedness in the local sphere, telling and reflecting rather little about worlds beyond its borders. Silver and Clark continue that it

describes “a particular place with its own organic customs and practices” (p. 265). The present institutions and enterprises stand in contrast “to the more universalistic ideals of more globally oriented organizations” (p. 42). A local emphasis such as a national fixation can provoke a sense of exclusion and alienation for those who don’t identify with or find themselves represented in the scene.

ETHNICITY (VS. NON-ETHNICITY)

Ethnicity constitutes another category that influences the production and specificities of scenic realms. It’s about the degree to which a scene affirms and allows for the flourishing of individuals’ ethnic identities and for a sense of ethnic rootedness. It informs the process of selecting and filtering what matches or doesn’t fit into the established scene. The presence of ethnic shops in a neighborhood, culture-specific customs and festivities, heritage and monuments as well as styles of appearance and conviviality give information about the socio-cultural composition of the place (Silver & Clark, 2016). Scenes are highly dynamic and ever-changing and processes of gentrification depict how political-economic objectives remake urban landscapes and disrupt communities.

STATE (VS. ANTISTATE)

State authenticity suggests that “being a citizen, a member of a nation and participant in civic life” (University of Chicago, 2021) constitutes a solid source of identity. Powerful images are created upon the idea of the nation state. In the concept of scenes, an amenity can thus be analyzed according to the extent to which it reproduces national values, norms and history. In contrast, seeing through the lens of Massey’s (2007/1994) *progressive sense of place* disrupts the idea of boundaries and *the other* or the separative notion of *inside* and *outside*.

CORPORATENESS (VS. INDEPENDENCE)

Corporateness dominates a scene when a commercial brand possesses the power to define the common idea of reality. Most of the allure and identification with a brand is based on an image and a story built around its products that promises success, admiration and power. The advertisement- and retail-saturated urban landscapes are a constant reminder of the many opportunities available *just in time* (Silver & Clark, 2016). The corporate character of a scene

might be very visible and expressed through the amenities or rather hidden as ideologies such as in processes of urban governance that shape the spatial and social realms.

RATIONALITY (VS. IRRATIONALITY)

Authenticity through rationality implies the primacy of reason in deciding what is understood as being real. “The true self lies in the mind” (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 44). An example is the 20th-century modernist, functional planning paradigm that gave birth to grand, non-human-scale projects such as Le Corbusier’s *Unité d’Habitation* in Marseille. The critique towards rational planning to be ignoring the political context of planning, the planner’s irrationality, or *humanness*, and the concerns of affected communities gave rise to forms like communicative planning (Benveniste, 1989; Suchman, 2007). Irrational urban design then embodies and reinforces values of intuition, instinctiveness, spontaneity, subjectivity and an emphasis on human as well as ecological sensitivity.

LEGITIMACY

TRADITION (VS. NOVELTY)

Tradition is a concept that is linked to temporality. Following Max Weber et al.’s (1978) conceptualization, the traditional authority of individuals and institutions is based on the reign of age-old rules and traditions including religious laws (see also Johansen, 2017). Silver and Clark (2016) write, “The present moment is felt as organically connected to a historical narrative whereby the wisdom of the ages continues to speak” (pp. 45-46). Here, the past defines what are valid beliefs and intentions in the contemporary world. Thereby, traditional ideology can present an obstacle in adapting to the present urban condition, but it also serves as a source of personal identification and a sense of belonging. Amenities such as historical monuments reproduce traditional values. How history is understood “is fundamental to the way we plan for the future” (Robert Adam Architects, 2009).

CHARISMA (VS. ROUTINE)

Charismatic authority is assigned to an exceptional individual, a great figure or a potential leader and the person’s lived values, norms, practices and accomplishments. Silver and Clark (2016) explain, “Charisma connects us to magnetically compelling heroes, enjoining us to

follow them, regardless of established rules and historic conventions" (p. 46). John Potts (2009), the author of the book *A History of Charisma*, ascribes to it a mysterious and elusive quality. Just like people, cities or neighborhoods and urban life can have charisma (Wariboko, 2014).

UTILITARIANISM (VS. UNPRODUCTIVITY)

This dimension looks at values of productivity, efficiency and rent increase, and is detached from the traditional or hero's legitimacy. The scene is characterized through the predominance of a calculating rational, forward-looking approach and strategy, with instant gratification being delayed. The future lends authority to the present. However, "utility calculations can be rejected as well, in celebrating art for art's sake, playful useless, or purposeful inefficiency, as in ... taking the scenic route" (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 47).

EGALITARIANISM (VS. PARTICULARISM)

According to the online dictionary of Merriam-Webster (2021), egalitarianism is "1: a belief in human equality especially with respect to social, political, and economic affairs [and] 2: a social philosophy advocating the removal of inequalities among people". Then, legitimacy arises from and is expressed in a scene through universal, reciprocal respect and equal treatment towards all persons and peoples. The execution of hierarchical, exclusionary orders that strengthen the position and sense of superiority of certain individuals and groups forms its contrast.

SELF-EXPRESSION (VS. SCRIPTEDNESS)

Here, legitimacy is defined through the "actualization of an individual personality" (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 47), i.e. through the person's unique attitudes, behavior and style as opposed to adhering to a scripted, foreseeable path or upholding collectivist values. The philosopher Ralph Waldo Emerson (1964) writes, "Insist on yourself; never imitate" (p. 151). As the notion of tactics suggests, there is verbal self-expression, e.g. of thoughts, feelings, opinions and free imagination, and there are bodily acts of self-expression. A scene's character can invite self-expression, reflected in improvisation and creativity, and similarly restrict one's freedom of expression, commanding a more uniform and predetermined engagement with space and social life.

Throughout this thesis, the applied dimensions will be *highlighted accordingly*.

WHY THINKING IN SCENES?

Casemajor and Straw (2017) describe particular shifts that took place in the field of urban culture in regard to the concept of scenes. Once representing “any loosely organized aggregate of cultural activities” (p. 4), a more formal approach towards scenes was introduced over the past years such as in research on popular music (Shank, 1994; Straw, 1991) and the critique towards contemporary art criticism (Lijster et al., 2015). Other advocates and contributors are Woo et al. (2015), who advanced the notion of “Scene Thinking” (p. 285) to support the social inquiry of everyday collectivity and relationality. As Casemajor and Straw (2017) argue, this turn brought forth “a host of aesthetic, social, and political questions that can only benefit the analysis of cultural forms” (p. 4).

Various advantages, arising from the framework, were mentioned above. To summarize, these are that it highlights the importance as well as the force of space and its amenities in organizing everyday social life. It offers a path to make the place-inherent complexity graspable while not look at the constitutive parts in isolation or based on a single concept. Scene thinking allows to put the human subject and experienced quality of a place at the core of the analysis and opens the debate towards reality as being an intersubjective, layered and never homogenous or universal urban experience. Further, it’s a flexible concept that presents space as animated and lived as opposed to being fixed and generalizable. The analytic tool doesn’t claim to be exhaustive but open to adaptations in dialogue with the dynamics of urban life. This is crucial for challenging the totalizing, top-down paradigm of urban planning.

Furthermore, classifying and analyzing a phenomenon as a scene marks the beginning for investigation not an ending point. Silver and Clark (2015) underline, “our theory of scenes aims to hold open a fluid space for ... the many dimensions of meaning that resonate through the material practices of everyday life” (p. 444). In a similar vein, Woo et al. (2015) suggest that scenes should be understood as a “sensitizing concept” (p. 291), i.e. a way of seeing the empirical world and as an analytic tool that allows to represent it. This conceptual

characteristic reminds of the urban theorist Patsy Healey (1992), arguing that communicative planning practice can “search for ways of opening windows on what it means to see things differently” (p. 240). The theory of scenes frames the analysis of my empirical data on the visitors’ perception of the two urban parks in Copenhagen in the attempt to test its usability for the practice of communicative planning.

‘SCENING’ THE URBAN PARK

Silver and Clark (2016) aspire to introduce a more sensitive vision with which the world should be looked at. The authors propose to “invest every interaction with a sense of discovery” (p. 48). Therefore, let’s think the urban park like a director at a film set with actors and objects, non-human subjects and the force of natural elements.

The record button is pressed. [*Camera #1 on*] A story unfolds. The place – its entrances, pathways, lawns, playgrounds, benches and hidden corners – comes alive. The tree canopies move in seemingly synchronic rhythms. The sun traces the shadows and the shadows the sun. The camera moves closer to the lake in the center of the park. The soundscape of waddling ducks, gliding birds and mesmerized children becomes audible. A young woman on a bench moves into focus. The spectator will wonder, *Who is she? What is she writing into her turquoise notebook? What is on her mind?* [*Camera #1 off. Camera #2 zooms into her writings*] A soft voice starts to recite:

A canvas of greens and browns, of blues and golds.

Nature unfolds and presents what it holds.

Into the ground subsiding, from the soil arising, new life with all its power.

I observe your rhythms, capture the cycles, let your movement be my guidance.

Cold air enters my hollow, the beams of the sun is what I swallow.

(The author)

[*Camera #2 off*] The screen turns black. The young woman exhales.

TAKE 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

METHODOLOGICAL ELEMENTS

The lines stem from a poem that I wrote on a bench in Ørstedsparken on the 8th of November 2020. As the French surrealist poet Paul Éluard's (1996) wrote, "Il y a un autre monde mais il est dans celui-ci" [There is another world but it is in this one] (p. 81). That day and many other days, I set out in search of this *other world*, knowing that my perceptual reality and experience of space aren't a given fact but conditioned, habitual and malleable. This piece of poetry witnesses the unfolding of another reality, mirrored in a couple of aligned words on the empty pages of my notebook. As Georges Perec (2008/1974) expresses, "This is how space begins, with words only, signs traced on the blank page" (p. 13). On this 8th of November, I experienced a form of personal appropriation of the park as I filled this material frame, both the urban green space and the notebook, with meaning.

This urban experience entails the core elements and principles of my methodological design, which I will briefly outline in the following. The research is placed in two centrally located urban parks of Copenhagen, one of which is Ørstedsparken. Integral to this recorded moment of perceptual discovery is embodiment. With the intention of reaching deeper levels of spatial understanding, I'm carrying out four autoethnographic walks in each park according to the concept of the *dérive*. Writing about these explorations presents the catalyzer for in-depth reflection and the mediator between inner, somatic and outer landscape, making this personal experience cognitively available for the reader, e.g. the urban planner.

Yet, the play and shifts of seeing are based on *my* subjectivity. Acknowledging the regular co-presence of visitors in parks and their individual perceptual reality, I schedule four shared walks with four international students in each park. The way of accessing their experience is then through semi-structured interviews while moving through space. All participants are asked to take route choices intuitively and are given my camera to produce visual records. To collect impressions from diverse perspectives and demographic groups, I venture out to interview strangers in the parks.

COMPARING PUBLIC SPACES

This comparative analysis connects two centrally located parks of Copenhagen: Ørstedsparken and Østre Anlæg. Both are situated in the Inner City and 0.5 km and 1.5 km away from my student accommodation. In choosing the category of the urban park, I deal with a hybrid between the city and a more natural environment. It provides different services to society as compared to the urban concrete landscape and offers the opportunity for a less pulsating experience of space, time and the body (Lyon, 2018; Wunderlich, 2013). Ørstedsparken and Østre Anlæg are vital public spaces, year-round, and exhibit a particular part of the country's history in being located on the old fortification ring. Despite only 1.5 km apart from each other and being built in the same decade by the same Danish landscape architect, each park shows a distinct style, layout, features, use patterns and atmospheres (Møller, 2010).

The goal of this research isn't to evaluate and rank the park designs but to explore human perception and meaning-making processes in connection to the physical environment (Robinson, 2016). While the two studied cases could be deemed similar and thus not relevant to the critical, global urban planning discourse, they are two sites in which to test the theory of scenes. Further, Margarethe Kusenbach (2003) describes in *Street Phenomenology* that perceptual space is a socially formed phenomenon and reaches farther than its geographical boundaries. Yet, it's also due to the *COVID-19 pandemic* that I opted for the locations presented. The Spanish capital had closed parks between March and May 2020 in light of the pandemic (O'Mahony, 2020). Consequently, I didn't want to rely on outstanding fieldwork in the 4th city of the *4CITIES Master program*. Further, *Storm Filomena*, hitting Spain and Portugal at the beginning of 2021 and shutting down most parks in Madrid, eventually discouraged me from planning to include an example from the Spanish capital.

PARKS IN DANISH WINTER

The ethnography for this thesis takes place between the 2nd and 21st of January of 2021. Weather conditions and circadian rhythms affect the body, spatial engagement, level of

comfort and thereby the human perception. While the records are representative of the ethnographic moments, conducting research in summer might produce different results. In other words, natural phenomena like wind, rain and sun create a distinct sense of place and can be considered as one layer or an amenity to the scene (Whyte, 2010/1980). Nevertheless, based on the students' feedback on their bodily sensations, the cold was a limiting factor for the duration of the visits.

FROM ACADEMIC TIMIDITY TO EXPLORATORY RESEARCH

From the beginning, my approach to the thesis has been qualitative, exploratory and guided by a creative and curious mind. I was driven by the sense that below the surfaces of the ground and within the wandering people there lies a depth of emotions, stories and knowledge. I was convinced that this reservoir of conscious as well as subconscious empirical data would provide important information for urban planning.

Looking for literature-based validation and substantiation for my practical approach, I came across various points of critique towards a narrow design of research. For example, Alan Latham (2003) argues in *Research, Performance, and Doing Human Geography* for "a more experimental and more flexible attitude towards both the production and interpretation of research evidence" (p. 1993) and not to overlook the curiosity and complexity of seemingly small and everyday events. In a similar vein, Nigel Thrift (2002) criticizes the methodological timidity in the field of human geography and illuminates three often ignored realities: 1.) the affective aspects of life and 2.) "the frames that surround and locate us" (p. 2020). With the latter, he refers to social conditioning, unconscious or intuitive knowing and subconscious determination as visible e.g. in our movement and corporeal communication. Continuing, 3.) the depth of the present moment, which is in its core uncertain and unpredictable. An analysis of visitors' perception of urban green space, which inherently draws from the immediacy of everyday life experience, then calls for a less dogmatic and prescriptive research approach. In other words, the methods need to allow for a natural unfolding of the fieldwork moment,

providing space and time for spontaneity, improvisation and empathy. Those are also core principles in the practice of communicative planning.

Further, the application of a less rigid and more intuitive ethnographic practice also aims at contributing to the move beyond the “methodological conservatism” (Latham, 2003, p. 1996) and fixed politics of representation within human geography. This corresponds with the objectives of the theory of scenes and addresses the traditional top-down planning approach, where the urban planner remains an outside expert (Jacobs, 1992/1961).

EMBODIED EXPLORING: WALKING AND THE DÉRIVE

In the first part of my literature review, I emphasize the inextricable interconnectedness between the human being and the world and argue for an embodied form of analysis. I oppose the widely reproduced dualistic notion of Cartesian tradition and acknowledge “the body as a physical and biological entity, as lived experience, and as a center of agency” (Low, 2009, p. 26). This is integral to furthering a less reductionist urban planning practice. Kusenbach (2003) argues that the living body constitutes the primary place of environmental experience. In this context, Ritu Bhatt (2013) expressed that the body is the “grounds from which one needs to explore experience” (p. 3) (see also Schutz et al., 1980).

Considering the intensifying time-space compression, *walking* is an act of reconnecting with the physical landscape and regaining a sense of time passing. It becomes an act of resistance to the contemporary, progress-dominated developments across geographies (Self, 2013; Self & Steadman, 2016). In comparing walking to speaking, Michel de Certeau (2013/1980) frames the former “as a space of enunciation” (p. 98). Another conceptual approach is presented by Nicola Dempsey and Julian Dobson (2020), who write that walking “is a journey through landscape, but it is also a journey through mindscape: the attitudes, logics and policy decisions that shape material place and social life” (p. 6). In other words, walking represents an analytical practice of inquiry that is realized from “down below” (De Certeau, 2013/1980, p. 93).

In contrast to the intentional, purpose-oriented walk, the *dérive* represents the act of losing oneself in the city to discover, think and make space and history in new, transgressive ways.

It's therefore essential to the field of psychogeography and the Situationists' critique against urban enchantment (Internationale Situationniste, 1958; Lyons, 2017). Further, Guy Debord (1955) described in the *Introduction to a Critique of Urban Geography* that their theory can be regarded as eluding disciplinary formalization. Psychogeography therefore offers with the *dérive* a valuable methodological concept to collect data that facilitates the assessment of the theory of scenes.

DOING AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

To oppose the singular, hegemonic rational of urban planning, I start with investigating my personal experiences and perception of the two parks and thereby follow the motivation of communicative planning that every voice counts. Autoethnography provides me a crucial foundation for the subsequent fieldwork, as it makes me an active, emphatic participant rather than remaining a detached, academic observer. Further, it openly communicates the subjectivity and inevitable influence of the researcher on the analysis instead of claiming neutrality or objectivity. The research doesn't exist in a vacuum. It's based on the researcher (C. Ellis et al., 2010).

Each of the in total eight walks lasted from 35 minutes to 1h 20 minutes. These periods partially include time spent on interviewing strangers. The moments of fieldwork reflect a variety of daytimes (i.e. before noon, afternoon and evening), different days in the week (i.e. weekdays and weekend) and different weather and circadian conditions (i.e. sunny, cloudy, rainy, snow-covered and dark). As explained in the literature review, heightened awareness is rarely the *modus operandi* of everyday experiencing. Steen Eiler Rasmussen (2005/1957) pointed out, "We are seldom aware of how much we can hear. We receive a total impression of the thing we are looking at and give no thought to the various senses that have contributed to that impression" (p. 224). Hence, there is a need to translate the pre-reflective events into conscious thought and language. The act of writing autoethnographic essays after each walk became the catalyzer for mirroring as well as accessing the *unconcern* towards the immediate

effect of the surrounding environment. This technique already showed its potency in the act of writing the poem.

SHARED WALKS AND TALKS WITH STUDENTS

Debord (1958) explained, “the most fruitful numerical arrangement consists of several small groups of two or three people who have reached the same awakening of consciousness”, and thereby substantiates my approach of walking the park with fellow students. In the selection of the four students, I take into consideration their different cultural backgrounds (i.e. Pondicherry, India; Vermont, USA; Yangon, Myanmar and Cape Town, South Africa) and upbringings (i.e. “in the woods”, the metropolis’ center and in the medium-sized city’s suburbs). I also scanned for voices, who are associated with the field of urban studies, possessing an attentive curiosity and concern for cities and their multidimensional fabrics. Three of the four participants follow the 4CITIES program. The fourth is a PhD candidate in the field of space studies and is also a new arrival in Copenhagen. This context positions them as migrants, more precisely as *mobile students* and *in-betweeners*, neither permanent residents nor tourists (King & Lulle, 2016; Richards & Wilson, 2004). Further, all four participants were rather unfamiliar with the two parks. The walks lasted from 35 minutes to 1h and 20 minutes. In the attempt to pose a counterargument against the hegemony of abstraction in urban planning, the interview questions drew attention to the whole set of human senses including the internal senses (interoception) such as spatial orientation, body position and comfort. Due to the word limit and scope of the thesis, the fourth interview won’t be considered in the result section. However, the three other records provide ample empirical insights to investigate the proposition of this academic work.

The act of narration is inherently spatial and fundamental to being human and being in the world (Bieger, 2016). For example, the urban sociologist and theorist Susan Fainstein (2006) highlighted, “By continuing to converse about justice, we can make it central to the activity of planning. The very act of naming has power” (p. 26). This means, narrative is a tool both to investigate as well as to rethink space and therefore integral to communicative planning. Here,

I want to introduce Kusenbach's (2003) phenomenological method of *going-along*. It renders a more formal, organized way of hanging out with people, combining ethnographic observation and interviews *in situ*. It supports exploring "the constitutive role and the transcendent meaning of the physical environment, or place" (p. 458) and the structures of lived experience, as the go-alongs "unveil the complex layering and filtering of *perception*" (p. 456). The method requires a setting that is less characterized by density and intensity and draws from a careful focus on the subject's experience and activities, thus putting the ethnographer in an active, communicating position. Despite the semi-structured question guide, my interviews extended into various directions and included chats on everyday life as one would have during a casual walk in the city. These apparent voids of dense, academic input are integral pauses from the focused, more artificial moments of inquiry. In other words, I allowed the "subtle, peripheral layers of meaning" (p. 470) to surface.

Finally, I applied photography as well as Strava tracking, both throughout my autoethnography and in the shared walks. Taking pictures in urban space is a non-verbal form of an inner as well as an externally visible reflection of a lived experience. As Kevin Lynch (1980) spoke, photographs are an example of "devices which can penetrate into the connections between people and their environment" (p. 22). The process of photographing nuances the walks, informs the researcher in an explicit way about the participant's perceptive highlights and produces further input for empirical comparison. The Strava app allows tracking human movement such as cycling, running and walking, using GPS technology and presenting it as lines in a 2D city map (Strava, 2021).

INTERVIEWING LOCAL PARK VISITORS

Kusenbach (2003) writes, "Any outsider's view of a setting that lacks a local vantage point necessarily remains superficial, revealing more about the observer's own standpoint than anything else" (p. 460). While citizens, familiar with the urban setting, see differently compared to the sensitivity of people, who are faced with an architectural structure, neighborhood atmosphere or park scene for the first time (Perec, 2008/1974). In the quest for

capturing the urban heterogeneity and multiplicity, a diverse set of voices must be considered. In other words, it asks for the perspective of strangers and locals.

The majority of the 17 interviewed people, eight in Ørstedsparken and nine in Østre Anlæg, aren't necessarily native-born Copenhageners but at least locals and rather accustomed to the parks. The interviews in Ørstedsparken lasted between 12 minutes and 50 minutes and in Østre Anlæg between eight minutes and 33 minutes. The differing lengths are a result of not wanting time to be a limiting factor in the collection of impressions. I thereby take into account what Kusenbach (2003) frames as "limits of narrativity" (p. 462). These might occur due to the visitor's refusal of sharing insights, a lack of awareness for spatial dynamics and/or internalized, subconscious knowing as outlined above. In each park, I chose my interview partners according to perceived age, aspiring to include various groups (i.e. children or teenagers, students, adults, couples and elderly people). For reasons of privacy protection, I created pseudonyms for each person.

To conclude, the goal was to combine a heterogeneous set of methods that would support the exploration of the participants' perception of the two urban parks. The empirical information would then provide a solid data base for testing the theory of scenes and further, for the assessment of its contributions to the communicative turn in urban planning practice.

TAKE 4: CASE STUDIES

INTRODUCTION: THE URBAN PARK

In their systemic review *Benefits of Urban Parks*, Cecil Konijnendijk et al. (2013) understand urban parks as “delineated open space areas, mostly dominated by vegetation and water, and generally reserved for public use” (p. 2). The authors consider the varying sizes of urban parks, stating that they are “mostly larger” (p. 2) but can also include smaller pocket parks. Lucy Taylor et al. (2020) define urban parks as “public patches of recreational land in cities that incorporate nature, including at least some vegetation” (pp. 1-2). With *nature*, the authors relate to the broader spectrum of “non-human features and processes, including vegetation, animals, water, air, geological processes, and landscapes” (p. 2). As Amita Sinha (2014) highlights, they are social spaces of random, *informal* interaction but also of programmed, *formal* public events. Further, urban parks “accommodate passive forms of leisure in contemplating nature, people-watching, gazing at a spectacle, and active recreational pursuits that energize the body” (p. 116). These descriptive elements constitute the conceptual understanding that is applied to the typology of the urban park in this thesis.

Urban parks are embedded in the intersection of “[c]ulture; recreation; community development; heritage; economic development; health and wellness; natural environment; education; and transportation” (D. Ellis & Schwartz, 2016, p. 1). The notion of *recreation* is a widely reproduced and diversely interpreted claim in public policies and park management (Iberdrola, 2021). According to the collaborative initiative between the *Canadian Parks and Recreation Association* and the *Interprovincial Sport and Recreation Council* (2015), “Recreation is the experience that results from freely chosen participation in physical, social, intellectual, creative and spiritual pursuits that enhance individual and community wellbeing” (p. 4). The statement frames the park as a place for *self-expression* and addresses a less production- or consumption-oriented form of spending time. It’s sometimes even perceived as an antidote to the city (Sinha, 2014). On the other hand, the listed aspects also expose the *utilitarian* side of urban parks, boosting land rent increase and capital accumulation as

associated with the processes of *environmental* or *green gentrification* (Curran & Hamilton, 2018; Rigolon & Nemeth, 2020).

Going back in history, the ideals behind the creation of public urban parks were inherently *utilitarian*. In the context of parks in the United States, Galen Cranz determined in 1982 four predominant types and designs that developed between 1850 and 1990. Each category “evolved to address what were considered to be pressing urban social problems at that time” (Cranz & Boland, 2004, p. 102). The motives included “[p]ublic health, social reform, cultural assimilation, urban revitalization, and community participation” and gave rise to the “pleasure ground [e.g. Central Park], reform park, recreation facility, and open space system” (Sinha, 2014, p. 113). According to Cranz and Boland (2004), a fifth model, the *sustainable park*, and according to Williams (2011), a sixth model, the *spectacle park* (e.g. Chicago’s Millennium Park), are evolving. The latter conceptualizes “today’s highly programmed and entertaining [public park] environments” (p. 49) that showcase a superficial interaction with natural elements and a permanent artificial stimulation that limits free, imaginative exploration. Another associated attribute is “complex public-private funding arrangements” (p. 50).

David Ellis and Ryan Schwartz (2016) argue, parks “must be designed and animated to positively form the public’s sense of place” (p. 1). However, this would often be overlooked in urban planning. It therefore calls for planners to address the philosophical aspects of “behavior of residents, impressions left upon visitors, overall levels of happiness, and leisure” (p. 2). Following this claim, there is a need for a multi-stakeholder, communicative approach in the planning of urban parks.

A BELT OF PUBLIC GARDENS FOR COPENHAGEN

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

The two studied parks were established on the 17th-century-old fortification ring of moats and ramparts, which was decided to be transformed into a half-circled, urban green belt in the 19th century. It was a time of rapid population growth and the need for Copenhagen to expand

beyond its old historic walls. The expensive planning and conversion of the demarcation area, covering approx. 200ha, took place between 1850 and 1900 (Møller, 2010). The urban park represented an important measure to establish and maintain an open city and the city had been in a unique position to preserve such valuable plots of land (Zerlang, 2021).

The massive project of establishing sufficient open, natural space was motivated by the Cholera pandemic, specifically the outbreak in 1853, and the persisting *Miasmatic Theory*. The scientific belief at the time was that diseases develop through bad air, i.e. carbon dioxide, nitrogen and methane, typically produced through the decomposition of organic matter and exacerbated through spatial overcrowding. Parks were understood to mitigate the risk of infections. In addition, the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century marked a moment in history in which public access to green areas would counteract the “disorderly, chaotic and immoral” (Møller, 2010, p. 113) circumstances in the cities. Accordingly, urban parks became a means to restore order and civility, establish a new identity and provide space for physical education for the middle and lower class (see also Costa et al., 2016; Cranz & Boland, 2004). According to the American landscape architect Frederic Law Olmstead, who is probably most famous for his work of New York’s Central Park, urban parks should foster sociability and communicativeness and offer a place for all societal classes (Blodgett, 1976). Eventually, it became a symbol of the modern city (Bang, 2010/1887). In Copenhagen, the interplay between scientific, social, ethical as well as aesthetic and recreational factors posed the decisive arguments to give up such attractive and expensive area in a time of land scarcity and limitations to the city’s further expansion.

Several engineers, city planners and scientists together with the City of Copenhagen drew up redevelopment plans for the former fortification ring in the name of the public good. The Ministry of War owned 62.5% of the total land and held the jurisdiction over the zone. It created a committee that would stipulated, “The creation of a healthy city is a prime purpose” (Møller, 2010, p. 116). According to this guiding principle, the Committee set up a plan in 1865 for its partial conservation, followed by the reassurance of the Municipality that “it would probably add to the amenity value of the rest of the demarcation area” (p. 118). It was the Danish architect, professor and member of the City Council, Ferdinand Meldahl, who presented an extensive plan in 1866, considering wide boulevards, the preservation of parts

of the moats and ramparts and public parks based on the Miasmatic Theory. The land was relinquished to the City and a law was signed by the State and City that specified the integration of at least 12 ha of park space for sanitation purposes. In the following plan of 1972, this scale was significantly exceeded, envisioning a 3 km boulevard parallel to the old city limits inspired by the Parisian style and along which Ørstedsparken (6.5 ha; current size), the new Botanical Garden (10 ha) and Østre Anlæg (12.2 ha; current size) would be constructed.



*Figure 1: In focus, the Inner City and former fortification ring of Copenhagen.
(Source: Google Maps, 2021/own elaborations)*

This development happened shortly before the formation of modern Copenhagen, which took place between the 1890s and 1970s on 500,000 m² of the former military zone between the historic core and the city's suburbs (Bøgelund-Hansen et al., 2001).

CASE 1: ØRSTEDSPARKEN

Ørstedsparken is located next to the big transportation hub Nørreport in a popular, mixed-use city area. It received its name to honor the Danish physicist Hans C. Ørsted and his discovery of electromagnetism, which makes him a representative figure of modernity. And to honor his brother, the politician and jurist Anders S. Ørsted, who is also commemorated with a bronze statue that watches over the park (Københavnegrøn, 2021a) (Figure 3). The Danish landscape architect Henrik August Flindt was instructed with the design. The construction works lasted four years and finished in 1879. It became a park to promenade and provided the first public playground of Copenhagen. According to a report by the Danish author Henrik Pontoppidan, it was largely visited by nannies and children (Zerlang, 2021).



Figure 2: Ørstedsparken map, not to scale.
(Source: own design)

The historic topography has remained visible to this day, e.g. in the central 1.8 ha lake, which used to be part of the moat, and in the height differences and small hills, which served as



Figure 3: Monument of the brother Anders Ørsted with the park-embedding buildings in the background.
(Source: courtesy of Student #4)

bastions. For the most part, it's lined by a wrought-iron fence that integrates gates at each side and corner. Today, the short end facing the public, multipurpose square Israels Plads is unfenced. Mainly residential buildings of four to six floors border the long sides of the park along Nørre Farimagsgade (North-West) and Nørre Voldgade

(South-East). Throughout the planning process in the 1850s, the engineering professor Julius Wilkens proposed to place the gardens below the level of the streets not to obstruct the circulation in the urban surrounding (Møller, 2010).

In this park, it's obvious that Flindt was inspired by the English garden style, applying an "interplay between cultural geometry and natural asymmetry" (Zerlang, 2021, p. 7). The emergence of the English garden in the 18th century was a critique against the in Europe dominating principles of formality and symmetry of the French garden. The design of Ørstedsparken reflects the new yet idealized approach to nature with its winding paths and organic forms. There are many big, freestanding trees and the grand view axes remained to the present day. The gardenesque aesthetics is a result of the introduction of exotic, non-native plant species such as from The Netherlands and China, and of the invention of the lawnmower, which made the even, gentle carpets of green possible. Martin Zerlang continues, "The scale, however, never allows for any experience of the sublime" (p. 7).

There are various statues and monuments, many of which were donated by the Albertina Foundation, founded by brewer and businessman Carl Jacobsen in 1879. The collection includes mostly casts of Roman and Greek statues. A prominent iron bridge reaches across the lake (Figure 4). It was originally constructed to close a gap



*Figure 4: Vista from the Southern end.
In the vanishing point, the iron bridge.
(Source: own photo)*

in the ramparts before it was put up in the park (Københavnegrøn, 2021a). It's said that little has changed in the original layout. However, some amenities were added including a café from 1991, another playground, a table tennis table, barbecue facilities and public toilets. A recurring information in public media is that the park has served for more than 100 years as a

meeting point for homosexual people during the evening and at night. It's therefore labeled as Copenhagen's "gay park" (Borking, 2008; Stensgaard & Schaldemose, 2018). The park is still owned by the Municipality and accessible 24/7.

CASE 2: ØSTRE ANLÆG

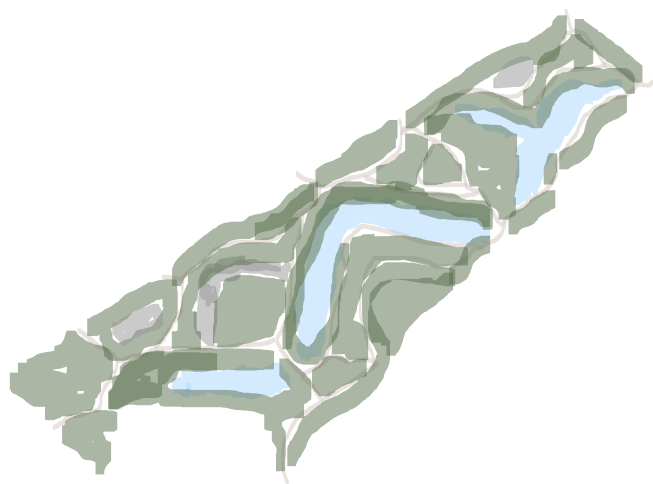


Figure 5: Østre Anlæg map, not to scale.
(Source: own design)

The last, most North-Eastern urban public green area of the historic parkland belt is Østre Anlæg (English: Eastern Facility/Park). It stretches from The National Art Museum (SMK), in the South to the transportation hub Østerport in the North. Østre Anlæg opened as a public park in 1870 and was designed by the same architect, Henrik August Flindt, in response to the initiative of Mehl Dahl. As the previous

park, it's owned by the Municipality and open round the clock (Københavnegrøn, 2021b).

Double the size of Ørstedsparken, it differs in the composition and density of the flora as well as in the layout and route network. Trails are longer, the original ramparts higher, the canopy denser and the over-ground roots of the birches form visible elements of the landscape. Four lake bodies zick-zack along its rectangular shape, which



Figure 6: Lake and rampart view in Østre Anlæg.
(Source: own photo)

continue to tell the story of the former fortification and moat system (Figure 6). The SMK was established in 1896 and in 1911 another green space gave way for The Hirschsprung Collection. The park hosts several artifacts including the Monument of Denmark, statues of a Danish composer and a Danish poet as well as since 2010 the monument of the Ukrainian writer and political figure Taras Shevchenko. Besides public toilets, there are four dedicated

barbecue spots, a large, asphalted play area, a smaller playground, two sport courts and a rose garden (Københavns Kommune, 2021b, 2021a).



*Figure 7: The Southern entrance of the Anlæg.
On the right, the more 'formal' side, lies the SMK.
(Source: own photo)*

While Ørstedsparken is described as rather polished, this park provokes a sense of “free and wild beauty” and “is so different from the other parks” (Zerlang, 2021, p. 8). Zerlang continues and recounts the experience of the Danish writer Johannes Jørgensen in Østre Anlæg, which Jørgensen saw as his shelter and escape from city life. The forceful impression of this natural environment also inspired Paul Gauguin (1885), who lived in Copenhagen between 1884 and 1885, to paint his *Ostre Anlaeg Park, Copenhagen*.

TAKE 5: RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

APPROACH

I highlighted that Silver and Clark's (2016) theory doesn't provide a rigid, clear-cut approach for the empirical analysis of scenes. The authors outlined that a more quantity-driven approach based on national business censuses and *Yellow Pages* or the application of a numeric *performance score* would move the assessment "closer to the ethnographer's ideals of thick description and local knowledge" (2015, p. 434). Performance scoring would have meant to present the established dimensions throughout my fieldwork and ask for an in-situ evaluation on a scale from one to five. However, also other approaches are encouraged and have been applied including videos and photography, interviews and observations (Anderson, 2010; Clark & Silver, 2013). Accordingly, I familiarized myself with the meanings based on desktop research and analyzed what people explicitly or implicitly expressed, which I then clustered according to the 15 dimensions. It therefore constitutes an experimental approach of applying the framework to the collected, qualitative data.

ØRSTEDSPARKEN

AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

I started my walk through Ørstedsparken on a Saturday, the 2nd of January, at 3 pm. It was 3°C but felt at least like -1°C. It was humid but not rainy. The ducks were rhythmically moving on the lake, birds crossing the open air above, people moving in groups or alone, sometimes following a dog. I spotted a cyclist on his cargo bike and recorded the cars rushing along Nørre Farimagsgade, visible and audible through the bushes that had lost their leaves. The first impression I received from Ørstedsparken was *beautiful, diverting* (German: *kurzweilig*) and *sun illuminated* (Figure 8). I spotted two teenagers sitting and talking while crouched under

the bridge where no eye would easily spot them. They had appropriated and territorialized the place, temporarily. Close to the water on the lower side, a float with benches and quite romantic, *glamorous* charm appeared. Leaving the old moat part behind and approaching the stairs to reach the plateau level, one of the grand statues, H. C. Ørsted, attracted my gaze. Lending



Figure 8: Early evening impression. The weather was kind to the walker. (Source: own photo)

the park its name and being donated by Carlsberg's foundation, it constitutes a *corporate* aspect of this urban green space. This is reinforced by the presence of the café *Flindt & Ørsted*, despite it being not a standardized chain store but a local enterprise. I once bought myself a latte there and enjoyed the afternoon walk, admittedly feeling well-integrated as part of the coffee-holding, park-visiting community. Further, this amenity creates a micro realm of *formal* character, i.e. of particular etiquette, that obviously colors the social dynamic of the park.



Figure 9: From below the surface carried into the scene: rusty bikes. In the background, the float. (Source: own photo)

It was Sunday before noon, one week after my first walk, and I wasn't alone: Mid-30s parents with stroller, frequently joined by another strolling couple, joggers, largely female, girlfriends in their late 20s, either in a double or triple constellation, and dog walkers populated the park. A boisterous soundscape emerged from the fully occupied, gated playground. I perceived the social dynamic as somehow *neighborly* and *local*, seemingly following a routine in coming to the place. Yet, it felt



Figure 10: “I felt to invade someone else’s territory”, the author. (Source: own photo)

anonymous and *distant*, as I wasn’t a part of the community. Further down at the lake bank, a mountain of destroyed, rusty bicycles that had probably been fished out presented itself (Figure 9). I passed and had my debut in entering the float. However, it appeared rather trashed and the wooden furniture was worn out. My imagination got slightly disappointed, but I understood that looking behind the scenes the *ordinary* surfaces. Some 10 minutes later, the hunt for worn-out trails and signs of alternative walking routes drew me to the graffiti-covered, abandoned, wooden hut at the East entrance. The backside was no less sprayed and tagged. It was a place to hide and of sitting at the edge, looking down to the overgrown, neglected steep slope. I felt to invade someone else’s territory (Figure 10). I started to get a different sense and new understanding of the diversity of practices in this park. Turning around and leaving it presented me to him again: H. C. Ørsted in bronze, a symbol for Danish modernity and the *state*, i.e. of national values and history. *Formally* arranged benches punctuated the free view towards the grand statue, which rises on the former bastion. The figure’s *exhibitionistic* location intensified his presence.

With further walks, I started to reach deeper and new layers of experience, especially with the walks in darkness. It was Monday and only 5 pm, but it was dark! I entered the park from Israels Plads and walked through to the Southern end of the lake, where I noticed the smell of cigarettes and weed, suggesting the presence of other human beings. I traced the fumes back to a man on an ensconced bench and to one dwelling 20m away on another bench. Continuing over the bridge, I heard echoes of voices from underneath. I paused and inconspicuously observed the silhouettes that would eventually leave the secrete hideout: Three youngsters with boisterous voices, one wearing a black Corona mask. Many more microcosms of social life

hid or exposed themselves unexpectedly behind corners, bushes, architectural structures and on the paths. The rationaly planned setting and often glamorous impressions of Ørstedsparken were overwritten, i.e. transgressed by alternative, non-scripted forms of producing space. I started to enjoy exploring the unknown in a park that I thought to have known.

The last autoethnographic walk took place on a Wednesday and even later than the previous, intentional dark walk, but the lights illuminated the paths. I entered the park with a question on my mind, *How free does such an arrangement make me feel?* I reflected on my last walks and the dimension of self-expression. With 'such arrangement' I mean the solid, separating iron-wrought fence, dedicated entrance points, the fierce sound of the closing entrance door, the rudiments of historic portals at each corner, the illumination at night, the distributed statues, benches that were positioned to offer a distinct view, form-controlled and orderly cut trees and bushes, yet experiencing the organically shaped pathways, guiding me effortlessly through space, and the constant presence of car noises. Suddenly, the whole park appeared to me like the extension of the streets rather than a refuge from the city in which I was also told how to behave. This image was reinforced when I remembered the signs, distributed at each entrance to tell the visitor not to cycle, to leash the dog, not to row a boat on the lake, not to camp and not to fish, explicitly prescribing correct behavior. The same signs would also stand in Østre Anlæg. I resumed my walk, which would quickly challenge this recently attributed description again: The location where I last spotted someone smoking was again occupied by a man and next to him by a seemingly younger man, who was smoking a joint. Another man entered the narrow path at the memorial of the Danish banker, merchant and politician Lauritz Nicolai Hvidt. Around the plateaued monument of Anders Ørsted, other scenes emerged, created mainly by youngsters: One group shouting and laughing loudly, two boys walking and smoking and a girl on a bench waiting for her male company, who went towards the bushes. The whole atmosphere got colored by the sense of informality and anonymity.



Figure 11: Autoethnographic walks. 02 January: 'conforming' (left). 10 January: 'exploring' (right).
(Source(s): Strava, Inc, <http://www.strava.com>)

The contrasty Strava routes, depicted in Figure 11, reflect how I gradually came to explore and see the environment in which I was embodied.

In continuation, I invited three different ways of seeing. These new eyes, bodies and voices are called Student #1, #2 and #3. The transcripts of all interviews are attached in the appendix.

SHARED WALKS AND TALKS

Student #1 grew up in Pondicherry, a medium-sized city in India, and lived next to a big, green urban park. To her, Ørstedsparken presents itself as “very organic” but with “a degree of *formality*” that she relates back to the statues and to “points where the park is very conscious of its presence in the city”. In contrast, the non-regularized, not straight-lined layout and curving pathways along the lake, where the float and ducks are swimming, contribute to the “*informal* and fun” side of the park. Pointing at the open, unfenced edge facing Israels Plads (Figure 15), she adds that it offers a slightly more “fluid and accessible” feel against the background of the old, rigid fence along the street. The overall feedback remains that there are “so many entrances”, which integrate the park into the urban fabric and allow for connectivity. The aspect of *access* has been discussed by Kevin Lynch (1980) as one of the five performance indicators in *What makes a good city?*. Its physical, social and psychological components influence the exclusivity and justice of public space and in the case of Ørstedsparken, the physical openness might foster a quality of *egalitarian* legitimacy. Further, the water represents “a major element” of the park. Student #1 sees swimming in it as “the natural thing to do, because even in India people do it” and thereby shares a perception of space that draws from her previous, socio-cultural knowledge.

The presence of the yet wet, snow-covered slopes invites Student #1 to imagine sitting down and dwelling for hours (Figure 12). It speaks from the perceived invitation for *self-expression* or self-determination as well as from a creative, imaginative mind that is able to overcome the narrowness of vision and seeming fixity of space. However, she describes, “I wouldn’t spend time writing here [in the park]. ... I feel like, at no



Figure 12: A slope to imagine. (Source: courtesy of Student #1)

time is there a place, is there an alcove. Every part has a main walkway”, which are clearly delineated and which would make it a park to walk. Despite being curvy and less geometrical, the organized and arranged spatial structure would produce a form of *scripted* park experience that predetermines the viewpoints at which to stand and which pathways to walk. This reflection illuminates the original or *traditional* function from the 19th century as a promenade park and imparts the authority of the past to the contemporary embodied experience. Condensed to three words, the park is associated with the prominent “bridge”, “dense” vegetation and its “semi-formal” appearance.

Student #2 comes from a rural place in Vermont, United States, and had already been to Ørstedsparken once in successful search of a public toilet. To describe the park, she uses the expression “grand”, referring to the statues and to the bridge as forceful amenities as did Student #1. The place would even show off these static silhouettes and history. In doing so, she is aware of its *traditional* quality. Further, “it feels more like a park for other people”, not for the neighborhood but *distant* to put it in scene speak. Student #2 imagines coming to the park “with the goal of people watching”, thereby making not only the statues but also the people a spectacle. The park doesn’t invite her to explore its different parts more closely. Instead, it magnetically pulls her into a mechanical, *conformal* walking routine: “[W]e just did



Figure 13: The lower part of Ørstedsparken. Ready for another lap?
(Source: courtesy of Student #4)

a lap and I could do another one and another one and another one”. She reflects intensely on this embodied preference, arguing that it might arise from the alternating height levels, the diversity of textures and the quick passing between spatial components: “You’ve got the plain grass and then these really twisty trees and then these flowers, which even that they’re mostly browns, they are still nice to look at” (Figure 13, Figure 14).

A further explanatory attempt addresses the patches of sunlight, which motivate to keep on moving and returning to the warm spots. Like Student #1, Student #2 adds, “The paths here are much more defined. They feel wider, they feel smoother. I have to think less where I’m going”. Hence, it reveals a *scriptedness* in the wandering of Ørstedsparken, which will also



Figure 14: Flower beds and fauna. (Source: courtesy of Student #2)

show in the elaborations of Student #3. Regarding the layout and legibility of the park, she confirms that the lake isn’t compartmentalized but continuous and fluid and therefore an organizing, geographic element. The visible landmarks around the park provide orientational guidance and comprise of e.g. Israels Plads, the market hall Torvehallerne, The Round Tower and the Realdania building. Kevin Lynch (2005/1960) determined five types of elements that shape the image of the city’s physical form. Thereby, *landmarks* “are frequently used clues of identity and even of structure” (p. 31). To Student #2, the park knits together many different places and walking it helps her to establish a more coherent mental map of the surrounding areas. Besides “curious”, “playful” and “warmer [i.e. more sunlight]” build her trilogy of words of perception.



Figure 15: The opening to Israels Plads (to the left) and 'politely guiding paths'. (Source: courtesy of Student #3)

Student #3 was born and raised in the former capital and today's most populous city of Myanmar, Yangon, in an area with a lack of green space. Having entered the park before, he remembers needing to push the gate to get inside and reflects that it felt "a bit secure, a bit privatized", i.e. *slightly particularist*. While on this second trip, he sees that "it's not totally closed" when approaching the opening that Student #1 exposed (Figure 15). Still, the fence would present a border between the parkscape and outer environment, which recalls Lynch's (2005/1960) analysis on the second spatial element, the *edge*, representing an organizing feature in the city. Seeing the surrounding buildings and the iron bridge as reference points, he analyzes, "I'm not feeling left out ... I don't feel lost. I can just go out any time I want", which hints at a feeling of *self-expressive legitimacy* and a less superimposed experience in space. The park presents itself to Student #3 as rather "intimate", also due to its comparably small size, and he deduces it being well-suited for couples. This urban space offers a "vivid" experience and appears "more posh" than Østre Anlæg, implying a perceived level of *glamour*. There are great similarities to the perception of Student #2 when he elaborates that the movement in Ørstedsparken is guided. However, to him, it "is guiding in a very soft way, or in a very polite way". This feeling of embodied, kinetic flow thereby catalyzes a less alert presence in space, as it doesn't demand great cognitive activity to orient himself. In that sense, Student #3 overlaps with Student #2, who reflected on her rather unconscious walking rhythm. Yet, he doesn't see his body constrained or restricted as there are still possibilities of escape beyond the *formal* routes. In a planning-related comment, he refers to the fixed character of the park environment, seemingly not leaving "much opportunity for further development". This might relate to the power of *traditional legitimacy* and of *rational authenticity*. In contrast to Student #1, he explicitly prefers this park over Østre Anlæg and describes Ørstedsparken with "dimension", "serene" and "comfortable".

INTERVIEWS WITH STRANGERS

In comparison to me and the three students, the strangers I interviewed often shared memories of the park and proved to be more familiar with the place's social dynamics. This isn't the true or a more objective but only a different way of experiencing space. It adds further layers of perception to the analysis, needed to reach a more complete picture of the park's scene. This section opens windows into these personal stories, meanings and realities.

To Kari, a Danish woman, the lake not only demonstrates a central spatial element but more importantly, a higher, metaphysical symbol for being in "contact with the sky" and one that "is calling down the universe". The bench where I approached her faces towards the reflecting water surface and has always been her favorite spot (Figure 16). Yet, her sitting places also vary depending on their sun exposure. She acknowledges the *rational* logic in the arrangement of the seating. About Ørstedsparken she says, "It's more the way the nature is that is interesting", not observing the people. It seems that Kari has made it her own park and clearly embodies a *self-expressive* presence in it. Already in her childhood when she was 12 years old, she would visit the park and remembers swimming in the lake. Kari reaffirms that the surrounding buildings are very "elegant" and form complementing elements of the park experience. So does the traffic impact her impression: "At one time, you feel like in nature and then you can hear the sound from the cars around".



Figure 16: Kari's favorite spot. A protected seating place with a grand view.
(Source: courtesy of Student #1)

While Kari visits the park alone or with her sister and primarily to be in or with “nature”, the middle-aged Copenhagener Peter comes to watch people and meet friends and strangers, also at night. He appreciates that the park is open 24h, since not all the parks of the city are, and it offers him an *informal* hang-out place. Peter points to the diversity of visitors, e.g. “families and people with dogs and old people and couples and a lot of tourists”, and who are coming from everywhere. These observations speak from a *degree of egalitarianism* and an identity of the park that is *less locally defined*. Aware of the multiplicity and simultaneity of the place, he expresses that “we all have our parallel experiences when we go into the park”. Like Kari, his girlfriend Mette draws recharging energies from “the nature, the lake, the animals, the birds” and is deeply connected to the water, as it has been a constant part of her childhood at the nearby Lakes. Peter’s memories speak from many “good electronic parties” in the past. Their three summarizing words are “peace”, “happiness” and “togetherness”, whereby the latter talks from a sense of intimacy and community or better, of *neighborliness*.

Tina is in her 30s and is also from Denmark and lives in Copenhagen. She rarely visits the park apart from having beers with friends in summer and reflects it to be “a bit dirtier than the other places”, which she doesn’t appreciate. In her opinion, the park is associated with a “going-out-kind-of-vibe”, which makes her think less of visiting it for contemplation or enjoying nature, like Student #1. For Tina, it has a similar setup as the Botanical Garden, only that the Garden would be nicer. She says, “It’s a good park, but there are some associations”, whereby she refers to the attached label as “gay park”. In the same context, the 25 years-old, German student Kara thinks, the park “has an aura that’s a bit dark and mystical” [translated from German]. All interviewees apart from Kari expressed to be aware of this label in contrast to the Students, who didn’t know about this legacy and which therefore didn’t influence their evaluation of the space. Kara continues and shares that Ørstedsparken reminds her of something *international* or abroad due to the exotic look. However, she dislikes that in winter the street becomes very visible through the scarce bushes, exposing the *ordinary* behind the “beautiful”. Her three words are: “Enchanted”, “gloomy/dark” and “glacial” [translated from German], whereby the latter relates to the historical topography.

According to Kara, the social composition is “mixed and anonymous”, i.e. “quite heterogeneous and the people are for themselves” [translated from German]. In scene speak,

it has a rather *distant* atmosphere. The aspect of diversity corresponds with Peter and the impression of 15 years-old Copenhageners Magnus, who elaborates, “There are all cultures”, which would imply an authenticity based on the co-presence of *multiple ethnicities*. However, Magnus also clarifies that “we don't know people's history”. His statement is therefore a hint towards a perceived social dynamic that needs further analysis to understand the ethnical and thereby also the egalitarian quality of the space. He and his friend Anton, also 15 years old, visit Ørstedsparken frequently, especially during the pandemic, and describe it as “peaceful”, “beautiful” and “relaxing/nice”. However, Anton also explains that “it can get kind of rough” and that they don't like being in the park in the evening, referring to the drinking youngsters and not wanting to be stigmatized by other visitors: “[U]s as boys, sometimes people look down on us, because maybe we look tough”. Their reflections relate to the *transgressive* or at least *informal* character of Ørstedsparken.



Figure 17: In both parks, I asked each participant for three words that would describe the park according to the personal perception. This cloud incorporates the accumulated impressions of Ørstedsparken. (Source: own design)

ØSTRE ANLÆG

AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

It was a very sunny day, Sunday, the 3rd of January around noon, and I started off to Østre Anlæg. The wind and freezing cold reminded me of the unavoidable physicality in the human experience. My very first impressions from walking in the Anlæg tell similar stories: Like this time, I had always been impressed by the park's majestic stretch, naturally overgrown parts, its variety and the length of paths, the surfacing tree roots and the conveniently, yet *not too scripted* or too prominently arranged seating. I also noticed that the different heights and slopes along which one would walk made me feel rather small and embraced or dominated by this environment, not me dominating it. Today, the park was crowded: Many families with children, couples (old and young), girlfriends, joggers (mainly alone) and many dogs (not alone). I remember that the number of people on the rather narrow paths made my walk less free. I had the impression that the social dynamic was defined by movement and similarly by various casual encounters and interactions on the ways or while sitting in the sun, especially along the four benches at the entrance. This specific node seemed to be a central resting and meeting point. Was I invading the scene of a *neighborhood* park? I felt like a *distant* outsider to this *local* spectacle. Maybe, I even perceived a *sense of particularism*, which I rarely experienced in the previous park. I continued into the woods, onto an unexpected path (Figure 18). It could have been a hidden part of a private backyard garden or in a forest. My trail led me along the big roots and up the stairs until I reached 'civilization' again. Later, I passed the centrally located, asphalted play area. A louder, more dynamic and *self-expressive* atmosphere presented itself. I described this first ethnographic visit as *raw, meditative and surprising*.



Figure 18: A surprising, less legible area in the North-Eastern part of Østre Anlæg. (Source: own photo)

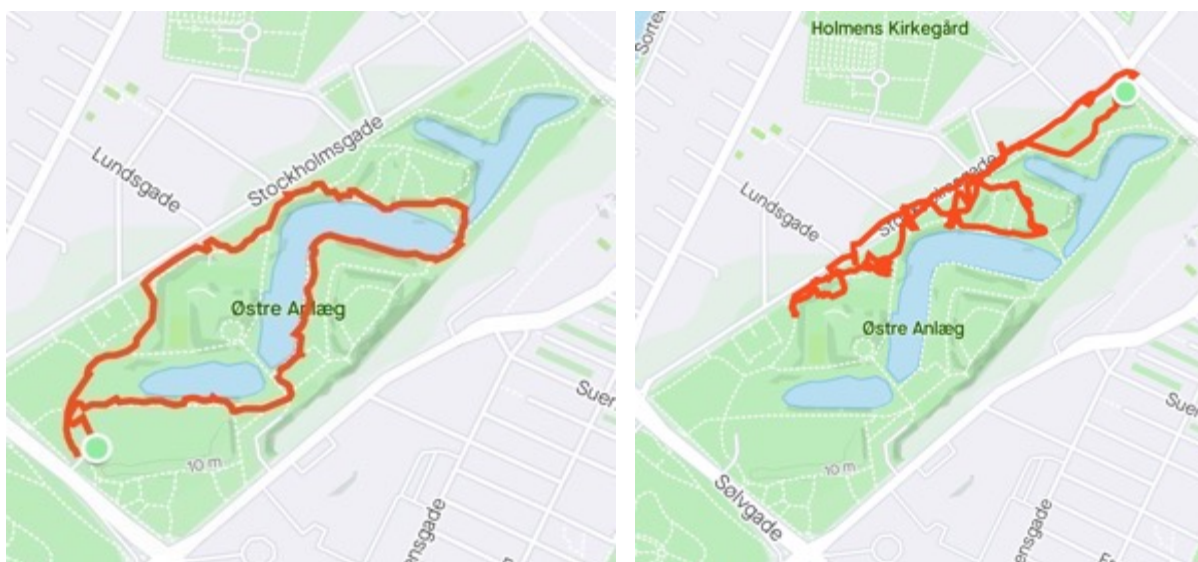


Figure 19: Autoethnographic walks. 03 January: 'just walking' (left). Dark walk, 08 January: staying close to the lights and street (right). (Source(s): Strava, Inc, <http://www.strava.com>)

On a Friday at 4 pm, the arriving darkness inspired me to investigate Østre Anlæg in its dark gown. Once inside, immediately every step transformed into a loud noise. From one of the twisty, hidden paths, covered by trees and lacking any street view, light source or urban reference point, I heard two male voices from behind the densely grown area. The less rigid, curiosity-provoking trails and pockets of Østre Anlæg transformed into perceived threats while the lighted, more clearly delineated ways in Ørstedsparken suggested safety. This also becomes visible in my recorded bodily movement and route choices (Figure 19). However, the low, *informal* fence surrounding the Anlæg, which didn't look too fancy but *ordinary*, prevented this feeling of being engaged and of physical domination. Any sign of life was a relief and a reminder to breathe. I now appreciated the noises of the train as reassurance that there were people pursuing everyday activities. Against my expectations, there was some traffic in the park including the common jogger. While in daytime, people in Ørstedsparken would promenade and rest and in the evening would mostly dwell, the dark scene of Østre Anlæg suggested a more walking-oriented activity. Continuing my visit, I entered the asphalted play area again. No children or parents, I was alone and in the spotlight. The motion detector had activated the only light in this park (Figure 20). I started sweating despite the cold and eventually searched for the fastest way out. I reflected that the social character of the park in darkness appeared to be rooted in a *less transgressive* dynamic.



Figure 20: Autoethnographic, dark walk: In the spotlight, at the playground. (Source: own photo)

The coming Sunday before noon, I was back. It was cold, but I started to adapt. I entered from the South-West side through the “smoking-free” declared, smaller playground, where a woman was working out. I decided to walk along the basketball court and enter the asphalted play area. The place was alive, again, and the atmosphere exuberant, by no means ridiculous, yet wild and organic like the green surrounding. I came to experience that this urban park calls for *self-expression* and *transgression*, especially this seemingly boring concrete space and its empty, undefined layout. A dad was cheerfully maneuvering his kid in a stroller according to chaotic, spontaneous rhythms. Then, I myself gave it a try and climbed an unworn slope. After a couple of slippery steps and a challenged mindset – *Are people watching? What are they thinking? Only children do this! Oh, but it’s fun!* – I reached the plateau and exposed bench. The location is uplifting and freeing. It’s a place for detachment and contemplation, as Student #1 would share. Throughout my visit, I was called to climb the backside of another hill and when carefully sliding down, I entered an overlooked, underestimated area: The basketball court, where I discovered the temporary exhibition “Black and White Drawings” by the Chilean, Copenhagen-based artist Javier Tapia. He played this public court with A3 pictures that were attached to the fence and that reminded of social movements and struggles, i.a. BlackLivesMatter, COVID-19 and multiple events of rights infringement. This installation was supported by the *Statens Kunstfond* (English: Danish Art Foundation) and the *City of Copenhagen*, thus *not independent* but surely an act of *egalitarianism* (idoart.dk, 2021). After

the walk, I asked myself, *Should free, self-determined movement be a guiding principle in urban planning?* and *How much spatial superimposition is necessary for organizing a city?*

A week later, I needed a recharging walk. Multiple intense interviews and the cold had sapped my energy. The Anlæg gave me permission to just walk and forget about my obligations. I wanted to follow *my script*. I realized how still everything was. No leaves, no movement. The water was frozen, with no waves or celestial reflections. I sat on a bench and observed. In five minutes 10 people passed, four of which were joggers. The omnipresent jogging figure became a clear sign for local *routine*. I also saw many youngsters hiding and running through bushes in ecstasy. *They understood how to embody the park*, I thought. In Østre Anlæg, the distinction between areas of 'touch' and 'not to be touched' is less visible. In other words, I didn't feel bad walking on grass and side-tracking. It was this *informal*, non-imposing quality that resonated with me that day.

On my way from Østre Anlæg, I stopped to say goodbye to Ørstedsparken. That day was my last of the eight official walks. Strangely, I felt home and embraced by this city-embedded basin that often presented itself as a miniature landscape to me.

SHARED WALKS AND TALKS



Figure 21: A spot for contemplation. Detached, with a view to the playground. (Source: own photo)

For Student #1, Østre Anlæg represents a place of refuge, silence and peace, which allows for introversion and contemplation (Figure 21). She explains, “It is a place where I just want to be quiet and where I want to be at one with nature, be at peace”. The lack of geometric paths, as compared e.g. to Kongens Have (English: King’s Garden), suits her sense of aesthetics, describing it as “very organic” and providing “many break-out places” to rest. Given the *not exhibitionistic* presence of the park and its *informal* quality, it would intuitively invite Student #1 for the personal appropriation of spots in the park. An interesting statement is provided when she expresses though a greater appreciation and attachment to the geometrically shaped Kongens Have, as it’s closer to the dormitory and more familiar or neighborly, being the park Student #1 visited first when arriving in Copenhagen. The playground and constructed boat next to the lake add a playful component to the experience and her reflections point to the detached character of the park, access-wise and according to the conceptualization of a city: “You don’t perceive something that is street or something that is man-made. It looks like it was there and then people just made a park wherever they could walk across”. To her, the planted parts are more accessible for the visitor in comparison to Ørstedsparken and invite one to “be a part of the green”, as I experienced myself. In addition, the benches are positioned in a more random fashion, attributing the Anlæg a less arranged appearance and *less scripted*

expression. Yet, while acknowledging its *informal* qualities, Student #1 also notices the SMK and classifies the art institution as the *formal* side to the park (Figure 7). The two expressions that summarize her personal impression are “very fluid” and “quite playful”.

Growing up “in the woods” in the United States, Student #2 clarifies that Østre Anlæg is visibly an urban park in which she wouldn’t forget being in a city. For example, the train and traffic noises are audible and buildings well visible. According to her, it looks touched and cared for, yet not deeply intervened. One might specify this as *semi-formal*. The vegetation isn’t too domesticized and comparing it to King’s Garden, “where all the hedges are flat and square”, there is a sense of wildness surfacing.



Figure 22: According to Student #2, Østre Anlæg is not like “in the woods”.
(Source: courtesy of Student #2)

Thereby, the compartmentalization of the water body into four streams interrupts a totalizing, organizing view and limits the park’s legibility. Consistent with the perception of Student #1, Østre Anlæg would offer Student #2 a place for contemplation, thinking and looking within oneself but also for exploration. In a comment, she mentions, “I felt like, walking through the park, we were on an adventure”, a sign for a *transgressive* endeavor beyond passivity and routine. The whole ethnographic walk is shaped by a detailed examination of plants, material textures and animals, which speaks from a form of *self-expression* and from intuitive, collective learning processes that are detached from any superficial or consumptive approach to space. Further, she conceives of the park as one for the neighborhood, i.e. as a *neighborly* setting,

and remembers “the sound of kid’s laughter” from first visiting the park. Curious about urban traces of bygone eras, the legacy of the still clearly visible ramparts is an attention-attracting and fascinating aspect throughout the visit. As opposed to Student #1, Student #2 draws from the place’s history to evaluate that “this [e.g. the zick-zack shape of the lakes] has all been touched by people”. There is thus an awareness concerning the authority of the past, of *tradition*, exerted on today’s embodied experience of the park. In three words, the park is “hidden”, “unexpected” and “wild”.

Student #3 is from the center of a large metropolitan area in Myanmar. Growing up in a dense urban area, he associates visits of green space with intentional trips outside the city. Østre Anlæg is therefore “like a nature reserve” and much more extensive than his previous idea of urban parks. These contrasting conceptions of an urban park emphasize the socio-cultural dimension in perceiving urban space. In a similar vein as Student #1, he recognizes the little geometric shape. Instead, the topography appears “multi-layered” and the design of the footpaths provokes a sense of illegibility, disorientation as well as curiosity (Figure 23). This slightly complex layout also triggers Student #3 to feel more present in Østre Anlæg compared to Ørstedsparken, as it requires active route choices and engagement to locate oneself.



Figure 23: Student #3 tries to capture the “multi-layered”, rather illegible character of Østre Anlæg.
Note: The weather had clearly changed. (Source: courtesy of Student #3)

The vastness and spaciousness let him imagine that there is more room for adding and adapting the place planning-wise, which he imagined in Ørstedsparken to be very limited. As core visitor and target groups of Østre Anlæg, he suggests dog walkers and children. The weather on the day of the fieldwork is, not surprisingly, cold but snow had fallen, which conveys a "cold and distant" and "mysterious" atmosphere to him. Accordingly, the park appears *distantly* but also *transgressively*, as something that presents itself outside his norm and expectations. Talking about the park in darkness, the many trees and not being able to visually grasp the other side would give Student #3 an unsafe feeling and "shady" impression. His three concluding terms are "complex topography", "orientation" and "engaging".

INTERVIEWS WITH STRANGERS

For Maria, a local and mid-30s mum, the park is a multifunctional space, combining child entertainment and recreational sports like jogging, for which the ups and downs in the topography are ideal and which she practices between April and October. Further, it offers her a transit corridor to Nørreport, which Jan, a mid-60s, long-term resident I met on one of my walks, also mentioned. There is a strong *locally defined authenticity* and *routine-based legitimacy* to her description of the park scene: “It’s very convenient for the local people, who live around it, to walk their dogs and after dinner to take a walk”. Ella, a 16 years-old local teenager, explains, “There are a lot of families [in the potato rows] and they also come here”. The fact that all interviewed strangers were Danish and neighbors of Østre Anlæg is therefore a representative ethnographic observation for these statements. However, when asking for the relations among the park visitors and neighborly connections, none of the interviewees knew or would frequently and randomly meet familiar people, which thus points at a scene of a *less intimate form of neighborliness*. Continuing, dogs are a recurring association with the park, which also shone through in my autoethnography and the perception of Student #3. Maria explains this with the “very natural” style of Østre Anlæg. Her three words are “natural”, “you feel free” and “convenient”. Moreover, “it’s a good place for the kids”. Ella, who used to visit the playground and slide down the snow-covered slopes when she was in kindergarten,



Figure 24: The much-praised playground. (Source: courtesy of Student #4)

reaffirms, “this park is really good for kids”. Her three terms for the park include “fun”, “good memories” and “big”. I also interviewed the 9 years-old Alma and Klara, who are visiting the park daily for around 2.5h. Alma shares, “it's a fun playground. It's a really big playground. And I love exploring here”. Klara adds, “We do almost the same thing every day, but we do fun things every day” (Figure 24).

For Maria too, the park offers a sense of exploration and surprise. She remembers that it took her three to four years to properly read the park, pointing at the many paths and “secret ways”, which also Alma would venture. Maria describes, “There is always something new to find, even though I’ve been here very often”. One of her three expressions in the attempt to summarize the environmental experience is “you feel free”, whereby she emphasizes the dimension of *self-expression* that the park offers. To the two 13 years-old boys Emil and Anton, it provides a place to get fresh air and to hang out by themselves while their parents know they are safe. It seems to me that the park assumes a caring function, allowing for personal, bodily self-determination. For Jon, who is a 59 years-old inhabitant, coming to Østre Anlæg helps him to forget his problems. This “little oasis in the city”, as he describes it, is a “place to get away from the noise and to relax”. It has become increasingly important for him since Corona triggered some depressive tendencies. The caring function of the landscape crystalizes when he reflects, “I just know, it's always there when I need it”.



Figure 25: The Monument of Denmark on top of the old ramparts. (Source: courtesy of Student #3)

While Maria, Jon and Maja, the adult company of the Alma and Klara, acknowledge and appreciate the naturalness or wildness of the environment, Ella “would choose King's Garden, because there is more routine. It's very squared and that's easier”. The zick-zack, less legible

layout would limit her enjoyment of the Anlæg. On an imaginative note and coinciding with Student #3's comment on the park's potential for adaptability, Noah suggests, "A bridge over the water would be nice, because we don't want to walk all the way around". Actual spatial elements are the solid artifacts, which depict mostly Danish figures and include the Monument of Denmark (Figure 25). They thereby convey national values, culture and history, reproducing an identity that is influenced by the state. However, Jan and Maria mention in particular the Ukrainian statue. According to Maria, she sees many people from Ukraine wandering to the figure of the national poet Taras Shevchenko, which was gifted by the *Danish-Ukrainian Society* in 2010. It adds an ethnic quality to the locally and nationally defined authenticity of the park in that it allows the foreign citizens to connect with their roots and culture abroad. Both also mention that many visitors and groups from the SMK used to walk through the park, which strengthens its international character.



Figure 26: In both parks, I asked each participant for three words that would describe the park according to the personal perception. This cloud incorporates the accumulated impressions of Østre Anlæg. (Source: own design)

TAKE 6: DISCUSSION

In this section, I'm discussing the results from applying the theory of scenes with the goal of answering my research question "How does the theory of scenes contribute to the practice of communicative urban planning?".

Ørstedsparken and Østre Anlæg are two centrally located, almost neighboring parks in the Danish capital Copenhagen. Both public places were designed by the same architect in the same decade of the 19th century. Yet, they form two distinct realms of scenes, which provoke contrasting experiences and facilitate different social practices. Basically, the results underline, "Different places feel different" (Silver & Clark, 2016, p. 8). To explore the meanings and social practices embedded in the landscapes and analyze them through the theory of scenes required an embodied and communicative ethnographic approach that would allow for exploration, to convey philosophical insights and embrace the non-static dynamics of urban space.

The analysis shows how the same urban park represents different realities for different people. Each interviewee engaged in a unique way with the environment and noticed distinct qualities, this more or less strongly, while overlapping with others in certain spatial aspects and felt senses of place. Hence, the park isn't one objective scene but represents many, simultaneously existing intersubjectivities, which can be retraced to the malleable nature of human perception. As Student #1 summarized, "To try and understand the city is not in the grasp of one person. It is several people and their own individualized perception of space, constructing a complete narrative... It takes a lot of lived lives in the everyday to construct reality". She thereby addresses a core principle of communicative urban planning, that is the recognition of multiple voices and of collective debate. The applied dimensions from the framework of Silver and Clark (2016) and the analyzed combinations made the individual experiences of the places graspable and comparable.

Allocating the meanings from the in-situ reflections to the amenities and situations also exposed that the park doesn't comprise one scenic realm but incorporates many value-charged microclimates, each of which triggered feelings of appreciation or repulsion throughout the ethnographic drifts. In this context, the significance for planning to

acknowledge the multisensorial impact of the spatial urban frame on human behavior and experience has been demonstrated before in the literature review. Continuing, the *unites d'ambiance* became visible e.g. in the seemingly opposing, co-existing dimensions of *informality* and *formality*. The detected contrasts thereby also revealed the converging of strategies, e.g. *scripted* forms of behavior, and tactics, e.g. *transgressive* forms of appropriating space. Following my perception, especially Ørstedsparken was characterized by these separate microcosms and *informal* encounters, which necessitates conceptualizing the relatively small park as many parallel, heterogeneous happenings. Looking more closely at the *transgressive* qualities of the two parks and at the scenes that encouraged *self-expression*, it provides vital information on what people want and need and partially provide by themselves in space.

Having illustrated the *consumption* and *production* perspective on scenes in the *framework* section, it doesn't prioritize either of them but understands both processes as interrelated and constitutive of the spatial realms. That is, by wandering the space and consuming its amenities, the visitors become agents and generators of the scene themselves. It corresponds with the idea of Silver and Clark (2016) that people can be amenities too, but it also underlines the quality and formative role of tactics in producing the social space, i.e. the *mobile* layer of space. Acknowledging these, the planner would start embracing deviations from an imposed, totalizing standard instead of treating them as abnormalities or disturbances that need to be regulated. Eventually, this reinforces a reduction of the gap between the planning practice and the empirical world, as analyzed by Laura Lutzoni (2016), among others. Referring back to De Certeau (2013/1980), he argued that the functionalist administration of planning wouldn't allow reading these constitutive elements due to their lack of rational legibility.

The perceptual process is influenced by the person's socio-cultural background and degree of familiarity with the locality. As Student #1 reflected, "the first time I go someplace, I don't understand it as well as I understand it the third or fourth time ... [, because] you begin to notice things, to understand, familiarize yourself and you begin to appropriate it". To provide a contextualizing example, Østre Anlæg appeared rather *neighborly* on the autoethnographic and shared walks while talking to the locals uncovered a less intimate, more *distant* form of neighborhood character. This gradual process of gaining insight is relevant in reaching a quality of representativeness and was the reason for me integrating three stages of empirical data

collection. As stated on the website of *Project for Public Spaces* (2010a), Jane Jacobs proposed that “local expertise is better suited to guiding community development”, what she deduced from seeing that “the prescribed government policies for planning and development are usually inconsistent with the real-life functioning of city neighborhoods”. In other words, to capture local particularities requires a community-oriented and communicative approach that engages the *client groups*, a term that John Friedmann (1973) introduced in the context of *mutual learning*.

One advantage of the theory of scenes is its multi-dimensional and -cultural as well as multi-conceptual approach to space, whereby it allows to respect and promote Doreen Massey’s (2007/1994) *progressive sense of place*. As I’ve outlined in the literature review, the communicative approach to urban planning provides a path to redirect the focus from an individualized, isolated conception of space to an understanding of togetherness and differences and of a *right* and *wrong* based on “intersubjective communication” (Healey, 1992, p. 237). Essentially, the theory of scenes encourages such interconnected construction and representation of space and invites the “varying systems of morality and culturally specific traditions of expressive aesthetic experience” (p. 238). The openness and flexibility of the framework address the need for urban planning to reduce the gap and correspond better with the empirical world.

Each of the 15 meanings misses a sharp definition or disciplinary delineation. This was intended by Silver and Clark (2016). However, it’s both an advantage as well as a disadvantage. As has been mentioned, each dimension represents a continuum of spatial qualities and from my own experience, each allows for a multitude of interpretative orientations, which in practice would presuppose the agency and reason of the planner. Further, it might require a closer description and explanation for the sets of classified meanings, because the same allocated dimension can point at very different qualitative characteristics. For example, Ørstedsparken appeared *informal* due to lively activities in the evening while *informality* in Østre Anlæg was associated with the presence of boisterous children. Yet, I did experience that the broad pallet of meanings and aesthetics frees the analysis. The framework makes one see the environment and seek answers beyond the visual and integrates the mundane, subjective experience of the everyday into a larger, scientific context. The theory of scenes allows to communicate the

metaphysical qualities of life in the city and rejects investigating values and ways of life in a universalist or particularist fashion.

Yet, there is always a certain essence lost when analyzing and reproducing lived experiences, especially when the goal is to make differences comparable. The selection, translation and mediation process in the application of the theory of scenes are necessarily reductionist to a degree. This also relates to the cognitive limitations and the subjectivity of the planning practitioner as I have outlined in the literature review. It's therefore recommendable to depart from the idea of pure objectivity and instead invite complexity, uncertainty and imperfection. For example, Jane Jacobs (1992/1961) promoted the concept of the *messy city*, which would foster urban diversity and innovation processes and provide a space where citizens could realize their identities. The messy city is one of creativity, adaptability and flexibility rather than perfection, imposed standards, static acts and the hegemony of order. In a similar vein, the notion of *clumsy solutions*, promoted by the social anthropologist and cultural theorist Mary Douglas (1986), implies experimentation, accepting mistakes, engaging the collective and inviting uncertainty and unknowingness (Grint, 2008). These theoretic approaches are a reminder not to provide premature explanations (*the Why?*) when the *What?* and *How?* haven't been addressed yet.

In regard to planning urban parks, I want to relate back to David Ellis and Ryan Schwartz (2016), who emphasized that parks "must be designed and animated to positively form the public's sense of place" (p. 1). This principle requires the planner's engagement in the local community and with the diversity of concerned stakeholders. Addressing their perception and evaluation of the respective green space from different perspectives within the context of communicative planning is thereby elementary. My presented research focused on *What* people think, see and do in Ørstedsparken and Østre Anlæg and it became more comprehensible and comparable through applying the theory of scenes. I exposed the value-charged character of the urban park typology that, just as the whole city, is loaded with meanings, politics and interest conflicts. It's therefore a relevant scenescape to be investigated and which I hereby added to the pallet of studied cases. It's now possible to substantiate the empirical data and engage in explanatory approaches, i.e. the *Why*. However, the theory is yet only one tool towards conceptualizing and organizing space holistically and according to the values of

communicative planning. It's a starting point and an addition to a more democratic, inclusive planning practice that engages urban complexity and multiplicity. It's indeed a "sensitizing concept" (Woo et al., 2015, p. 291), from which further investigation under the application of complementary theories and sources of knowledge should be initiated. As Silver and Clark (2015) encourage, "The findings generated by the model can be combined with other perspectives and research methods to advance our understanding of urban life" (p. 444).

TAKE 7: CONCLUSION

Against the background of the persisting tension between theoretic knowledge and the social, empirical reality in the practice of urban planning, there is a need for rethinking the principles that inform practical action. In this regard, the theory of communicative planning has proved to strengthen the crucial values of intersubjective communication and collective consensus making in the organization of urban space and society. Given that a greater focus should be placed on promoting the communicative approach, this thesis addressed the question “How does the theory of scenes contribute to the practice of communicative urban planning?”.

By testing the theory of scenes in two urban parks of Copenhagen, Ørstedsparken and Østre Anlæg, based on the perception of interviewed visitors, I assessed its applicability in the context of communicative planning. To answer my research question, the theory constitutes a human-oriented concept, such as advocated by communicative planning, that encourages to see the intersubjective dialogue between space, people and social practices. It provides a scientific, defined yet dynamic framework to produce information for the planner that fosters a multidimensional investigation of space beyond the geographical and visible urban frame. Thereby, the ability of the theory of scenes to engage urban complexity and conceptualize the qualitative experience of space across scales and cultures renders a core contribution to expand the practice of communicative urban planning.

As Sinha (2014) pointed out, “To embrace history does not mean replicating or extending past conditions uncritically. Instead it means engaging strategically with the past for purposes of the present” (p. 121). Further research should address how the theory and concept of scene thinking can specifically be integrated into urban planning, i.e. into processes of policy and decision making. Institutionalizing a more democratic, empirical way of analyzing, conceptualizing and planning space and social life in the contemporary city would tackle the call of urban theorists like John Friedmann (2008) to translate these values into measurable action. Kevin Lynch (1980) argued, “You can make public policies for improving the sense of place, for increasing its identity, or its structure, for different groups” (p. 22). Integrating scene thinking into the political discourse of planning thus renders an opportunity for supporting the development of such policies and thereby the individuals and local communities. To conclude

with the remark of the *Project for Public Spaces* (2010b) on William Whyte: “He believed that we have a moral responsibility to create physical places that facilitate civic engagement and community interaction”.



Figure 27: I took this photo in 2020 in Berlin, between the Brussels and Vienna semester, when I visited the construction playground where I used to go as a child. It reads, “There have to be quiet places and places to be loud”. (Source: own photo)

IT'S A WRAP!

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APPENDIX

ØRSTEDSPARKEN

SHARED WALKS AND TALKS

STUDENT #1

Date: 6th January 2021, Wednesday

L: How do you feel?

#1: I feel fine. Just my fingers are numb.

L: Numb is not fun. How do you like the park?

#1: I love the park, because, again, like the other park, it is very organic. But there is a degree of formality, because you see statues and you see points where the park is very conscious of its presence in the city, which the other park completely wasn't. It was completely just . . . and then we saw the playground and stuff. But this, you have an area behind here near the water, where it feels very informal and fun, and then the other side looks a bit more . . .

L: What do you mean with the informal and fun part?

#1: Just curving around the water and with the deck and place where the ducks are fed [the float]. Just the accesses you have, because I remember going to Israels Plads and looking from up there and it just curves beautifully like these stairs curve beautifully.

L: Indeed, it is an interesting crossing.

#1: There are so many entrances to the park and there is no fence at this side, while along the road there is a proper fence, but this side feels a bit more fluid and accessible.

L: How would you describe your visual impression?

#1: Visually, I would say, well, it is, I think, it is not regularized, like it is not straight lines. It is very curved and it follows the path of the water and the water is a major element in the park. And then there are slopes. It just feels like you could sit here for hours. You don't necessarily need to sit on the benches. You could sit on the slopes. I can imagine, when it is greener, that people would just line up on the banks. And people would completely want to go into the water. I would say if it weren't that cold, yes, maybe in September, October. Even if they aren't swimming in the water, they would put their legs in. I feel like, this would be the natural thing to do, because even in India people do it. And I feel like here the culture is more about water and using the water when you can. So, I feel like it would be a much more usable element, but we never know.

L: I do remember people sitting on the grass in warmer times close to the water. How would you describe the current social activity and use of the park?

#1: There are the usual elements. People walking their dog, cycles, people on the slopes.

L: Did you feel invited in Østre Anlæg?

#1: Yes, I did feel invited, definitely. But in both cases, I feel like, there are two sides. In that park there was the SMK [Statens Museum for Kunst] and behind it is where the park actually starts. So, there is a very formal side to it and then there is an informal side to it. And similarly, here, with the fence on one, on two sides actually, and then the completely open access on the other side. There are always, I feel like, two sides to it. You see a lot of the nature, you don't see the buildings as much [in Ørstedsparken]. You see much more of the nature.

L: That brings us to the architectural composition of the park.

#1: And the bridge, I feel like, that is a very dominant spatial element.

L: How would you describe this park in three words and Østre Anlæg in three words?

#1: Well, for Ørstedsparken: "Bridge" and then it is a lot more dense green. So, the word would be "dense".

L: Dense in terms of nature?

#1: You have so many trees and there is more going on.

L: What would be the description of the green in Østre Anlæg?

#1: I would say there are lesser trees there. I feel like maybe more shrubbery. Many more trees. It feels thicker. Like, you can't see the other side of the street, even now. I remember there [in Østre Anlæg] we could see the other side of the street. So, here in Ørstedsparken I could imagine it much more dense the growth.

L: And the third word?

#1: I would say "semi-formal". And the other park [Østre Anlæg]. How would we describe it? "Very fluid", the other park, in terms of how one moves about. There are a lot of routes you can take. I would say "quite playful", because there is that area where we have the boat next to the water. And there are many break-out places, so you don't only walk, but you can rest, and viewpoints to get an overview of all that. Because the place where we sat, it was not secluded. I think it's somewhere that you can just sit and observe. There are just very personal spaces in these places and it's very fluid.

L: How comfortable do you feel here in Ørstedsparken? And what does it mean to feel comfortable in urban nature?

#1: Well, I feel very comfortable, in both places, to be honest. It sort of gives you what you want. It could be spending someone, in the company of someone, you can be alone, observing. But it does give you something, you know. A place of very strong activity and all that is going on. That's the sense of comfort it gives me.

L: Imagine you live in the middle of both parks, why would you come here and why visit Østre Anlæg?

#1: Well, I kind of do.

L: By the way, is it your first time in Ørstedsparken?

#1: Yes, first time inside, but I've gone outside and looked on it from both sides. Why do I come here? If I were to choose, I would go to Østre Anlæg. Again, I feel like it is much more fluid. I could find certain places that I would like to stay, where I'd be comfortable. This is more of a walking park. For me, personally, I wouldn't spend time writing here. I feel like, although it looks very dense, I feel like, at no time is there a place, is there an alcove. Every part has a main walkway. And so, it is not a very 'where I can just sit' kind of place.

L: Where lies the main reason for your comfort or discomfort, e.g. the architecture? Like, why would you feel more comfortable in a more hide-away park?

#1: I'd say, I feel more comfortable, because there are places where a person can sit and choose to be with themselves. It is personal space in a public park or rather space that offers you the opportunity to make it your own. You can sit there alone or with your friends. You can read and write quietly if you want to or you could just sit and observe people in the park. You have just one bench [Ørstedsparken]. And you remember how the benches were placed randomly in the other place [Østre Anlæg]? It was not arranged and prominent. To me, it's very organized, it is very arranged, it is like telling you have these viewpoints and so you have to stay here, and you can sit for a little bit. And the pathways are arranged like this, so you walk along the pathways, you can choose to sit. So, it is very clear what is not part of the path and if I were to choose one place it would be that place [the bench on the 'balcony' behind the tree]. There I'm further away from the pathway.

L: We have touched on it already, though, rather implicitly. In which park do you feel freer?

#1: In the other park.

L: And in which way free? Movement-wise, mental space to reflect, headspace?

#1: Exactly. I definitely would not exclude this park [Ørstedsparken]. It is a lovely place where you can go to in Copenhagen, where you can walk, that is in the surrounding. It is not a place where I would sit. It is a place where I would walk.

L: Very, very interesting! What do you think? How do you imagine this park in a very sunny atmosphere, like compared to Østre Anlæg? Considering, view axes and colors.

#1: I would say, the green is there. But I would say, in certain parts it is not as accessible. I would say the other park had more access.

L: Access movement-wise?

#1: Like, people could go to all green areas. Even if there were steep slopes, you could actually go and follow and be a part of the green. Whereas here, the accesses are not as much. It is more guided and pre-determined. Though, this one is very accessible [pointing to the slope at the North-East entrance], I would say as opposed to this.

L: Yes, that is supposed to be this open place where people also hang out and lie down. What you are reflecting shows that there are so many different aspects and topographies or geographies even in this one park.

#1: So, yes, I like the park. Also, I like the fact that there are lamps in Ørstedsparken, which is sort of rare in parks in Copenhagen.

L: Is it?

#1: Well, Kongens Have, where I went very often, didn't have any. The *Assistens Kirkegård* also didn't have any. Fælledparken didn't either.

L: Thank you, Student #1! I really appreciated this time, walk and talk with you!

STUDENT #2

Date: 4th January 2021, Monday

#2: Wait, so, you also met someone to swim in this park?

L: Yes, that was Kari, the woman. She was 12 years old. She arrived here in Copenhagen for the first time to visit the city and also took a bath. Have you been here before?

#2: I think I'd come in once, maybe crossed that bridge and then went out.

L: Just to check it out or was it dark or you had to arrive somewhere?

#2: I think my exploration of many urban spaces is also driven by a quest to find a public bathroom. So, I think that's why I came into this park.

L: And you find one here, right?

#2: I think so.

L: So, your impression of the park?

#2: Maybe it's the combination of statues and this bridge, but it feels more grand, if I can say that. It feels, it feels more like a park for other people. Like, the other park felt more like a place for the neighborhood. In a way that this feels to me like it has this other purpose to show off whoever these people are in their grand statues.

L: Would you say "show off" history or in regard to the people walking here?

#2: I think more in the sense of the history. And it's interesting, the other one to me was very clear that it was the ramparts and I feel like I have to look much harder, in order to see that here. But then like when you look, it makes sense. I wonder what this place looks like in summer.

L: I saw people sitting on the grass and the café was open.

#2: Ah, there is a café!?

L: I would actually buy my coffee there and just walk. It was nice.

#2: Something that I love, that I've seen, I haven't seen it really in other places, but they had a thermos but not like my thermos, but the thermos you would see in a restaurant that has a handle and proper mugs. And I've also seen that people would bring actual glasses with a bottle of wine to go drink. It's just so classy.

L: Yes, that's amazing. And it's those 10-15 minutes outside, making it your extended private space.

#2: It's funny how, and I don't know what it is but this park, maybe it's that there is more birds and more activity and more people, but we just did a lap and I could do another one and another one and another one. Whereas the other park, to me, it felt like, *Okay, we've walked this way before. Let's walk somewhere else.* And I don't have this desire here.

L: Such a revealing reflection. Where do you think does the feeling of wanting to do another round come from?

#2: Some of it is that one side you're up high and the other side you're down low. And there is so much different textures. You've got the plain grass and then these really twisty trees and then these flowers, which even that they're mostly browns, they are still nice to look at. There's a lot of diversity and you pass very quickly between these three experiences and then there's the bridge and that's a whole other way of looking. And then, all of a sudden, you're up high again. And also, the patches of sunlight, there is for me a desire to keep going to get back to the sun and keep going back to the sun. Maybe, it would be different if it was the inverse and this was direct sunlight and too hot. But I think the activity of the birds.

L: It might be more visible [transparent]? This park gives you an overview.

#2: In my undergraduate we read a paper on legibility and they were talking about how, I think it was in the context of colonialism, when there is one world order, there's a desire in the process of conquest to make the territory legible, be it by imposing a grid upon the landscape, even when that doesn't match the topography, or planting things in straight rows. It's taking our logic and bringing it in. And for me, what you were just saying, this park feels very legible. I can easily read it. I think, also, having landmarks outside the park helps me orient, e.g. having the square [Israels Plads] here and the market hall [Torvehallerne] and then being able to see The Round Tower and the Realdania building.

#2: I think also, in the other park, the water is divided up into more smaller pieces. So, this [park] really has one organizing geographic thing.

L: What would you say guides you here? And what was it in Østre Anlæg? What keeps you walking? What keeps you exploring?

#2: The paths here are much more defined. They feel wider, they feel smoother. I have to think less where I'm going.

L: How do you feel in this park, compared to Østre Anlæg?

#2: For me, this would be a park that I would probably come to with the goal of people watching. Whereas the other park would be a park I would go to with the goal of contemplation or thinking or being more inside myself. It's also interesting, the positioning of the play spaces. That's also a product of the topography of the park, but in the other park the playground was kind of hidden, but it was also in the center. It must be so cool, thinking about that this is your park and this is your classroom, too.

L: Beautiful! This actually looks like a toilet again.

#2: My favorite buildings [*laughs*].

L: And you have the same patterns here again that you photographed at the beginning in Østre Anlæg.

#2: But also, the details of the bricks are just so beautiful, like wow! This is something I can't get over here, especially, in Denmark, especially. Someone really thought about it. By the way, the train tracks are on –

L: – Nørreport is there [*pointing into the direction of the train station*].

#2: But then there is like a bridge –

L: – One is going over The Lakes.

#2: No, there is, when you take this path, maybe, it's one block down, you can look over to the right and see tracks. Do they go underneath this street?

L: Ah, I know what you mean. Wait a minute. It's there [*pointing towards the visible tracks at Vesterport Station along Hammerichsgade*]. [*Leaving the park*] I was never so conscious about it or bodily perceptive - Stepping outside the park, you are immediately stepping into busy city space again.

#2: Yes, indeed.

L: Thank you so much for these lovely walks!

Addition via WhatsApp message regarding the three defining words for each park visit

#2: I would say: Østre Anlæg: hidden/unexpected/wild. ... I feel like especially the contrast of passing from the other two parks next doors (the Botanical Garden and the Rosenborg Castle) it felt even more magical. I felt like, walking through the park, we were on an adventure, with many paths to explore. And Ørstedsparken: ... curious (I feel like the edges of this park touch many different places that I had never really knit together before. I remember looking to the edges of the park to see what was outside, and if I could find myself on my mental map again), playful (more people sitting in the sun, I remember there was duck watching or dog watching ...), and warmer [more sunlight].

STUDENT #3

Date: 6th January 2021, Wednesday

L: Comparing parks in winter, would you say they appear more the same?

#3: I would say, if there are leaves or it would be spring it would be very much different. But now, with the snow and leafless branches, I think it's kind of similar.

L: What made you sneak in here now?

#3: I just wanted to enter in this enclosed territory. That's what makes people curious, if there is an enclosed part. People get engaged and go inside and look and see. If there is an open field and a bench, nobody would want to sit on it. Like Jan Gehl said, you would feel insecure, sitting and facing with your back to the open space.

L: The position of benches really decides how you –

#3: How people use it. Can you take my coffee? I would like to take a picture. [*Pause*] I want to go this way. [*Pause*]

L: Do you like taking pictures of people?

#3: I just like to capture the moment and see the people in it, yes.

L: When I take pictures, I try not to invade them. I'm quite conscious about how a camera can disturb people's privacy in public.

#3: I'm also trying to avoid shooting the faces, just trying to include their body and posture. [*Pause*]

L: “The park in winter”, actually a very interesting topic, because in winter it’s – I have to push myself to get out and I know it’s very important. And if the sun is shining, that’s an immediate magnet. But now, it takes a little bit more mental power to go out. I’m actually really, really enjoying that I’m doing ethnography, because it kicks me to go out. And being purposefully guided, not in a sense of *You need to go somewhere and you are rushing*, but your purpose is to observe. Very, very nice. [Pause] Would you go to parks rather alone or with people?

#3: Honestly, with people. For the first time, I don’t really enjoy being alone in the park. I don’t know why. I somehow feel insecure about walking, passing and looks of people or passing some people, sometimes. But then if I’ve already been to that park, the next times are pretty much easier. But always, yes, it would be nice to have company, a friend, or someone else to walk the park. I would feel more confident and comfortable. It might also depend on the size of the park.

L: If you look around, where would it be more comfortable for you?

#3: And the topography. If it is like a big space and you are alone, walking on the street, that would be like you are isolated and very much uncomfortable.

L: Comparing now Østre Anlæg and Ørstedsparken, where would you prefer walking?

#3: I would say this park [Ørstedsparken]. I don’t know why. Maybe, because of the size, the walking paths. I feel like it’s a bit more intimate than the previous park. Maybe, because we are just walking around this lake, all of the paths are circulating around the lake. And the Østre Park is just like – You see the layers. It’s [Østre Anlæg] a bit complex.

L: How would you describe this park?

#3: Intimate. Vivid, I would say.

L: Vivid, because...?

#3: ...because - The proximity, the walking paths, bushes and the lake. And also the lake is not in a geometric shape. It’s fluid. The shape is like a balloon. It’s like you are flowing with the path.

L: Do you feel more guided here? Do you feel more guided in Østre Anlæg? Where does it feel freer to walk around?

#3: This one [Ørstedsparken] is guiding in a very soft way, or in a very polite way. This is much more guided than the previous park but still, you don’t feel constrained or you feel restricted.

L: Which park would make you feel restricted or unpleasantly guiding.

#3: If it is in a geometric shape, I would say. And if you are expected to move around according to the park for a long distance. This would feel very much restricting. But this, even though it’s very much guided, you can still escape at some point. So, I would say, this is guided but in a soft way.

L: Normally, many, many people sit here on the benches [in the lower part of the park], because it is super well exposed to the sun around noon, afternoon.

#3: So, can we watch the sunset from here?

L: Sunsetting, not, but you have a real sun illumination in the afternoon.

#3: Let’s go into that direction.

L: How would think about this park without the fence? Is it a present feature to you, because you mentioned it before?

#3: When I first entered, it felt totally closed. You have to push the fence to get inside. It’s a bit secure, a bit privatized but then now, it’s not totally closed, it’s just partially fenced. So, still, it provides you with direction to the outer environment and the park. But in Vienna, some parks are just totally gated. The fence is much higher and they have opening hours. So, what’s the use of it then? [Pause] Now I enjoy Copenhagen in a different mode. Thank you so much for inviting and accompanying me.

L: Thank you, Student #3! Thank you for being so open and doing this with me! Which kind of different impression do you have now?

#3: I mean, having a company, having someone like you, I actively engage in the environment. It makes me see the park through a different lens. If I visit this kind of park by myself, I’d just walk around and see all the beauty and take a picture and that’s it. I would not reflect, I wouldn’t really give a thought about it. That’s why. Immersed deeper in the environment with you asking questions. It’s very engaging.

L: And it is the same for me. I engage with something I enjoy and I get to know people more closely. A reminder that there is more to see.

#3: Have you already been to this side?

L: I think, I’ve been everywhere by now. You decide where we go. Oh, Hi, Student #1! [Student #1 is arriving]

#3: Surprisingly, meeting a familiar face, makes the urban realm you are engaging in a new experience. You can enjoy more, and you can feel more safe. And you feel like, *Oh, ja, that is my place*, even though it is like a new place for me.

L: I can resonate very well. You are less left to your own devices. You feel this support system, when you walk together with someone. [Pause] So, talking about the atmosphere, is there something you recognize more, that is more present in your experience?

#3: I think, now I've been to this park with someone familiar, it would change my perspective towards this park. If I ever come back to this park, I would not get my initial feeling, but it would add a layer. A different feeling, I would say. I would be more, *Oh, that is my realm*. So, I would not be so much alone when I come back alone. I would feel like, *Oh, this is the place I've been with someone else*. So, I would always recall that kind of memory. And this urban atmosphere is my familiar urban atmosphere. It's not foreign anymore. When I visit Copenhagen again, this park, the place that we walked together, is not foreign to me anymore. It now has some place in my mind.

L: Would that be the same with Østre Anlæg?

#3: It's different but still, I've already walked and I've already engaged in this place. Let's say, five years later I travel to Copenhagen again and have the chance to visit this park, I wouldn't feel it is a foreign park. I would feel that this is the park. Maybe, I might forget a little bit, but if I engage in it again, five, ten minutes later, I recall this memory. And I also recall you too and then it wouldn't feel like a foreign place anymore.

L: As you said, it adds a layer to the experience. And sometimes, it replaces or displaces old layers.

#3: Yes, layers by layers.

L: Composition-wise, also maybe from in connection with your architecture background, how would you describe the park. And question before: Have you ever had a project with parks?

#3: Not necessarily with a park but with a public space. I was involved in a project of designing a pavilion in a public space, not a park design. This would be a bit too much for us. Only a pavilion in a park. We did an urban analysis of the park situation and users, time of the day and also the topography. I kind of prefer this park more than the previous park. It's inviting people to engage. One thing is, I think, it wouldn't leave much opportunity for further development like the previous park. The previous park provides more room for adding or for practice, planning-wise. This park doesn't leave much room for other people to build on top this layer. Location-wise, look at the surrounding, it's pretty much surrounded by posh buildings in every direction. You engage in the park very much?

L: Yes, I would come here. Now, observing the people, how would you describe it?

#3: It's like a hide-out space. I kind of overlook this park. I usually pass through this neighborhood, especially the Nørreport station and also the drug store and also walk around. It seems like a hide-out space, maybe, because it is surrounded by buildings. But it's more pleasurable than the previous park.

L: I was reflecting, whether being guided in a pleasurable way gives you more freedom, because you are not engaged with looking around and -

#3: You wouldn't have to decide where to go. It gives you a clear, guided pathway. But still, at the same time, it's not constraining you. You can take any way you want.

L: Could you imagine other people might enjoy the other park more?

#3: I think so. I think, this park is more intimate. So, maybe for couples. For the other one, it would be more for dog-walk, children. And also, it's right next to the National Museum, right? So, if it is springtime and the weather is nice, maybe families would go for a walk. This park for me is more posh than the previous one.

L: If you had to give this park and also Østre Anlæg three adjectives or just any words, which would they be.

#3: I'm going to start with this park [Ørstedsparken]. I need some time to . . . Dimension, and, and . . . I don't want to use the word hideous. It would be too . . . First is dimension, then serene and the third would be, the third would be . . . I don't want to use the word posh. What could it be? Grand!? Well, not very grand, but . . . -

L: Take your time. We can also talk about the other park instead.

#3: Complex topography, the other one [Østre Anlæg]. No, it's not architecture, no. But I would say orientation and . . . mysterious. And engaging!

L: Engaging in which sense? It's a very interesting word.

#3: Engaging, like I said before, the topography is complex. I have to orient myself and I also have to engage my mind to guide my footpath. It goes up and down.

L: Where would you say are you more present?

#3: In the previous park, definitely, because this park, I just flow in and I can enjoy. But in the previous park I have to decide at all time and like, *Should I go down or should I go up?* And I also want to see the other part and I also

want to see this little, hidden way. This park is just dimension and intimate. I can see the bridge. I'm not feeling left out. Because, in the previous park you don't really know where you are. This park, I can see the buildings outside. I don't feel lost. I can just go out any time I want. But yes, the previous park is more engaging. This park is more comfortable. The last word would be comfortable.

L: Student #3, thank you sincerely for this nice time together!

INTERVIEWS WITH STRANGERS

KARI (K)

Origin, residence, category: Denmark, Copenhagen, elderly woman

Date: 2nd January 2021, Saturday

K: Where are you from?

L: I'm from Germany, from Berlin. And I'm doing a Master in Urban Studies. And for me, it's interesting to approach the park from the perspective of consciousness and meanings.

K: It's a big park.

L: How do you like the park, like the first impression, and why do you come here?

K: The first thing I see, I pay attention to, is that it's a very big park and it has different levels. Also, it's surrounded by beautiful, big buildings. It's my favorite place to go here. And during daytime, there are a lot of small kids and they love to be here and run around.

L: What do you mean with the buildings? You like that it is kind of embedded?

K: The buildings are very elegant. They have something to contribute, too. So, it's a very nice place. And one of the qualities about this place is that you have all the water and it means that there is contact with the sky.

L: That's a nice reflection. In my opinion, everything is so connected.

K: Connected, yes, this is a keyword. *[Pause]* At one time, you feel like in nature and then you can hear the sound from the cars around. And also from the playground over there.

L: Since when are you coming here?

K: I used to live in Aarhus and I was employed at the University of Aarhus in science stuff. I'm an administrator. But I had been there for 16 years and so when I got an official letter 10 years ago, because of some public debate and political engagement in making housing available, offering me to live in one of the very old buildings close to the Royal library, I quit the university and moved to Copenhagen. But now my husband has lost everything, because of Corona. It's very, very serious. He is still in Aarhus, because he's afraid of getting Corona, because he's 68. I'm 60 years old. He is really losing a lot of money. So, I have been sitting alone in this apartment, for one year. How long are you going to be here?

L: I'm leaving on the 20th of January. I've been here since end of August. Wow, that's so beautiful, the reflection in the water. Since when do you come here?

K: When I come here? Sometimes I come, because my sister is working at the school over there and when I meet her, I pass through this park, because I can never remember when it's time for ringing the bell and the kids are out of school. Yes, the noise from the kids coming out, then I know it's over.

L: And you wait for her? For the break?

K: Sometimes, I come to pick her up and then we have a walk before she leaves from Nørreport. And we often sit here, because it's a nice place. This is our favorite place and some of the places down there. It depends on the sun. And I think, *Who is this smart person to design such thing to put your feet?* Normally it's all about money, but they want people to feel good here.

L: Maybe, it's still from the past, designed in the 19th century. I'm also surprised, I never saw this anywhere.

K: No, I never saw this ever.

L: You said it's your favorite park?

K: Yes. It is really my favorite park. I also have a lot of memory. I lived in the suburbs. But when I was young, it was so amazing, the first time I took the train to the city. I guess, I was 12 years.

L: It was the first time you came here?

K: It was an amazing place, really. One of my best friends from where I used to live, we went out to swim inside the water. Ørstedsparken was a normal place to go and swim. We went to this water and in fact, I was very afraid of swimming, but I think, we had a beer before. It was really stupid, because I didn't know how to swim. It was like paradise here. And it was the time when we finished primary school or elementary school. Afterwards, I went to the gymnasium and then I went to the university.

L: Did you go to any school here in Copenhagen?

K: No, the gymnasium was close to where my parents lived and afterwards, I went to Nørrebro. This park has a very big lung. There is a lot of air. You can breathe. It is not the same as it was in Nørrebro. I mean, there were no places where people could be in Nørrebro. It was very different. This place [Ørstedsparken] is nature.

L: What do you mean with, "You can breathe"?

K: I think, it's because of the water. It's the most important thing here, because the water is calling down the universe. It wouldn't have been the same without.

L: True, just imagine this would all be lawn.

K: I think, I wouldn't like to walk here, if there wasn't this water, because then you can also take the Fælledparken. How long time have you been observing here?

L: Observing? Not so long. One day, I sat down in the curve of benches and just started writing and realized that every place gives you a very different perspective, offers you a very different painting for the eye. What do you observe when you come here?

K: Not people. It's funny, but I'm not interested in observing people here. It's more the way the nature is that is interesting. And also, this location of the bench, it invites that we should look in this direction. It's decided that we should pay attention to this area down there at the water.

L: That's super interesting that you mention it, because there are four benches, two facing the lake, two facing the statue. It implies quite explicitly what should be looked at. Wow, I need to stand up. It's getting really cold. What's your name?

K: My name is Kari.

L: My name is Lisa.

K: That's a beautiful name. Will you be here again tomorrow? I might be. Maybe we see each other.

L: That would be lovely. Let's say, around three o'clock and if we both appear, it's destiny.

K: I hope to see you tomorrow. But I don't know if it will work.

L: So maybe until tomorrow. Bye, bye.

PETER (P) AND METTE (M)

Origin, residence, category: Denmark, Copenhagen, middle-aged couple

Date: 17th January 2021, Sunday

L: How often do you come here?

P: Four times a year, even though we are local.

L: Where do you live?

P: We live here around Copenhagen.

L: How do you like the park? Like, why? Why do you come here, even though it's so rare?

P: I think, this is very urban and it's right in the city. A lot of different people come here, families and people with dogs and old people and couples and a lot of tourists, when they're coming at the moment. It's a very nice park. And also, there are not a lot of parks in the inner city.

L: Is there another park you would go to instead?

P: That depends on where in the city I am? Because there are parks in Nørrebro, Østerbro and around the city. So, it depends on where you are at the moment.

L: I lived close by when I studied here and I always came to think and walk my circles. What does this park mean to you? Is it a place to rest or to watch people etc.?

P: Of course, it's also to watch people, because a lot of people come by here. A lot of people come from everywhere, just for walking around, instead of looking at buildings and roads and buses. And then there are some hills. And it's a historical park also.

L: You know about the history?

P: This park really goes way back, but I don't know the details. I would think this park is from around the 1700s. Maybe older, like a lot of the buildings around in the inner city, they are from the 1600s and 1500s.

L: What did you want to say?

M: It's just, I really enjoy the nature, the lake, the animals, the birds.

L: Is that also the place [the float] you would come to? Or would you sit somewhere else?

P: We are now standing on this float with sitting places, but there are not many sitting places around. Of course, there are, but it's more like a walking area. To walk around and enjoy what you're seeing. And sometimes, you stop for a while and then you go on. Whereas, in some of the other parks, e.g. Østre Anlæg, you can also sit down a little bit more. People go to the parks, because they want to relax and do their running, run their dogs, play with their children and pick on the ice.

L: Would you say, you feel comfortable here? Would you say, it's a safe space, safe place for you?

P: Yes, anytime. Anytime, at four o'clock in the morning. Saturday, Sunday, whatever. It's a 24h open park.

L: Are there parks that are not 24 hours?

P: Frederiksberg Have, Kongens Have.

L: Are you originally from Denmark?

P: Yes, we are locals. We were born in Copenhagen.

L: Cool, I'm from Berlin. Do you have any memories about this park?

P: Oh, yes, I have many memories! A lot of good electronic parties have been held here. Techno and house, you know.

L: In this park? Wow! And is it still going on or was it recently?

P: No, no. It was going on for some years and then Corona came. Let's see what's left when things start to open again, because many people are very, very hungry to dance again. And the government in Copenhagen is nothing like Berlin. In Berlin, you spent a lot of money to save all the clubs and invest in sound insulation.

L: How about the park at night? I saw some youngsters the other evening.

P: Yes, they have no place to go now. You have this curfew of maximum five people together.

L: But again, the party would happen over there at the Ørsted monument or everywhere? That's so interesting, because it's such a historical, seemingly formal park.

P: There have also been a lot of after parties down over there, people were dancing.

L: Those are official parties?

P: No, no. After parties.

L: They would start when and would the police come and stop it?

P: I don't think so. In the summertime, until late afternoon.

L: May I ask, if you would give this park three words, adjectives or whatever? Which words would those be to describe the park and how you feel in the park?

M: Peace.

P: Togetherness.

L: Why?

P: Because a lot of people stop by and we all have our parallel experiences when we go into the park. We come here for a reason, maybe just for walking and then suddenly we sit down and have another experience.

M: There is a lot of stress every day and you go to work and you just need to relax and do something else. That's why I really enjoy just to come here and experience nature, people.

L: So true! I feel the same. How would you describe Østre Anlæg?

M: It's much bigger!

P: They have the biggest play area for children in Copenhagen and at daytime and weekdays. It's free for everybody. And it's also a very historical park combined with this one [Ørstedsparken], because it is the old fortification ring. I like that park, too. I went there some days ago, actually. I was sitting around, but in the summertime it's so much prettier and so much more of an experience. Also right here, we have 1000s of different flowers and all the trees have their leaves. It's a different experience in summertime. But then this is an awesome site. That's also when we came in here, we said, *Wow, there is ice on the lake*. Peace, happiness and togetherness would it be.

M: Yes.

L: That's beautiful. It shows that it's about nature, but it's also about having other people with you or around.

M: Also, if you come here alone, it's a place where you can be alone. Just to be. I actually love taking pictures. It doesn't matter if I'm alone or with somebody else. If I see something beautiful here or in another park, I love just to take pictures.

L: Cool. Thank you so much. My name is Lisa, by the way.
M: That's Peter. And I'm Mette.
L: Thank you. Thank you so much and have a happy, peaceful, together time.
M: Thank you for -
P: - for your company and that's also, why we are coming to parks, to meet other people. And actually, we are so observant that we have seen you walk around twice the park.
M: Like, *And there she is again*.
L: [*Laughs*] You know, walking for me is a cure. And it's good to be alone. You have to learn it. If you can't be alone, everything will feel strange or not right, because you won't find the fulfillment in other people. So going outside and moving is about integrating all these thoughts and inspirations.
P: Yes, then you should really go to Søndermarken, at Copenhagen Zoo. It's a very big park and it's more challenging than this one. You can even do longer rounds and make your own shortcuts and make new routes. And even though it's flat, you can really get lost.
M: When I was a child, I was living at the five lakes. I used to look at the lakes and the birds. And then every time I see a lake, like here, I think of my childhood.
L: Do you know this park from your childhood?
M: Yes.
L: Did it change a lot?
M: No, it's the same.
P: No.
M: I went to this school. The red building. It's still a gymnasium. And we went over here to the playground. This has changed a little bit and also the cafe, but the rest is all the same.
L: And people-wise?
M: I think, back then, there were also people, who used the park to recover from whatever.
P: This park is also known, in the 80s and 90s and maybe also now, for a lot of sexual meetings of gays.
L: Someone told me that the bushes were cut down in the past years due to this. Do you think, it's a cliché, that it is labeled "the gay park"?
P: I think, it's not happening in this weather. I think it is a summer thing. As long as the park is for everyone in the daytime and then in the nighttime people can do whatever. However, when there are so many different types of people, we have to take care of each other and it's for everyone.
L: Would you come here at night?
P: Yes, yes!
M: If I'm with people. Not alone in the dark.
L: Yes, there's a difference between men and women, unfortunately. Okay, I have to move and maybe will do five more rounds. Thank you so much. It was really a pleasure.
P: Thank you so much! Really, take care. And have a cool project. I hope you can use our input.
L: I will definitely use it. Bye, bye, guys.
M: Safe travel to Madrid.

TINA (T)

Origin, residence, category: Denmark, Copenhagen, young woman

Date: 17th January 2021, Sunday

L: How often do you come here?
T: I don't come to this park very often. Today is actually just because I was swimming in the Canal with a friend and on my way home. Though, I just thought I would enjoy the weather a bit more. I usually only go to the other park, Østre Anlæg. For example, when I'm running. But I'm actually not sure if you're allowed to, but I do it.
L: Another friend also told me that he is not sure if he's actually allowed to run here in Ørstedsparken.
T: Usually, I come here in the summer with friends to have some beers, but on my own, I don't come very often. Usually, I go to Fælledparken.
L: How would you describe this park, Ørstedsparken?
T: It's hard to describe, I feel like this park is usually a bit dirtier than the other places. I think, it's because so many people come here to have drinks. So, there's quite often a lot of trash around here, which I don't think is so nice.

And I think, this park, it's associated with more of a 'going-out-kind-of-vibe'. Maybe, because back in the days, it used to be a place where men came.

L: I heard it's labeled as "gay park", is it?

T: Exactly. So, I think, it's maybe therefore that it is associated more with going out and less with going out to enjoy nature. It's not my go-to place, but it is a nice park. I mean, maybe a bit small, but it is nice. I think, I just went by and saw the lake and thought that this was nice. But usually, I go here mainly in the summer.

L: Where did you grow up?

T: I grew up in a small Danish city, but it had good access to nature, better than here.

L: Would you use the park for transit, like going through?

T: No, I rarely go through, not even to transit. I would rather go around it, actually, which doesn't really make sense, because I have to go through this part often.

L: Route choices and routines often are quite habitual.

T: And also, I'm usually with my bike and you're not allowed to bike through.

L: And I rarely see people actually biking. I also don't see this park to really invite for biking through. And if everyone is walking, you would be kind of exposed due to the quicker speed.

T: Yes, I guess you're right. A lot of the same vibes you can find in the Botanical Garden. It's a similar setup, but the Botanical Garden is a bit nicer. It's weird, because looking at it [Ørstedsparken], it is a nice park. It's a good park, but there are some associations. I guess, because I'm mainly here in the summer, where there are a lot of people and a lot of trash, just kind of dirty.

L: Do you have certain memories? Some people mentioned electronic parties.

T: I heard about it, but I haven't tried it.

L: Maybe, it was in the 80s and 90s?

T: Yes, I think, my parents tried it. A long time ago. Yes, I think so. And for me, to be honest, in this park, mainly it's about having beers with friends late into the night. It's not a place I go to find peace or think. I would go other places.

L: Interesting, because when I look at the people, there are so many couples and so many strollers and so many people with their dogs. But of course, now, there is also more movement and people are not really sitting down like in summer. Is it a young park?

T: Yes, I would say it's quite young in the summer. Especially here and over in Kongens Have, very young. That's also where you can see people staying quite late, in comparison to the other parks.

L: Young means in their 20s and 30s?

T: Even younger sometimes. I think, around 18 to 30.

L: If you would give this park three words, adjective or whatever, which would they be?

T: I mean, it is pretty. I would also think, dirty. And, beer.

L: Great.

T: I don't have a very clear answer, though.

L: That is also an answer and there is also no right or wrong. There is no perfect park, as everyone draws from it differently.

T: Maybe the location, the access to it also impacts it. As I said, I would either run in Fælledparken, which is very close to me. I would go to Østre Anlæg, which is a bit further, and then it's more of a trip. It's more of an experience. And I think, this is just in between. So, it's not close enough that it is so convenient, but it's not far enough that it's like a trip. I think, when I'm going further, then you have the feeling of experiencing something new or something that you don't do every day.

L: Do you feel comfortable here or free?

T: Yes, I think so. It's not that I don't like it when I'm here, but I don't choose it actively when I have to go somewhere.

L: What's most present if you look around?

T: The bridge. That's quite nice. There is not too much here. It's quite small.

L: I would also say, this park is more about looking. It's easy to grasp. Cool. Thank you so much. What's your name?

T: Tina

L: Hi, I'm Lisa. Have a lovely day, enjoy the sun.

T: I hope, I could help!

L: 100%! Thank you so much for your openness and reflections!

ROBIN (R)

Origin, residence, category: Denmark, Copenhagen, elderly man

Date: 17th January 2021, Sunday

L: We can also walk together wherever you were going. How often do you come to this park?

R: Four times a month. I live nearby.

L: Okay, why do you come here? And what do you do when you come here?

R: To take photos.

L: Beautiful, what would you take pictures of? And what do you do with the pictures?

R: I take pictures not of people but of the statues and situations, of scenes. Sometimes, I make some exhibitions for people in cafés of Copenhagen.

L: Since when do you do that?

R: 20 years.

L: Did you always live here?

R: The last 25 years.

L: So, you know the park?

R: Yes.

L: How would you describe the park?

R: It's a small and I'd say, the most beautiful park in Copenhagen. Because it's small and it's interesting. There are the statute and ups and downs. It's very curved. I like that. It's also diverse. It's not just flat. Not like King's Garden. This is also very romantic. I'd also say it's romantic.

L: How do you feel in this park, when you walk around? What is most important for you? Do you look at people, do you get in touch with people?

R: No, it's only the surroundings. Picture, interesting pictures.

L: What would you say, makes it so beautiful?

R: It is the statues, and it's small and curved, very romantic. It's not just flat.

L: Do you have certain memories about the park?

R: There was a café, once. I don't know where. I was meeting some friends, but that was many years ago. I did sunbathing here also when I was young.

L: Would you say the park changed a lot?

R: No, I don't know. But in Corona time, there are a lot of people, who didn't use to come in. During summertime, there have been many more young people, sitting in parks.

L: If you would give the park three words, how would you describe the park?

R: Romantic, cultural/historic and then . . . It's easy to see what's going on.

L: Maybe, transparent?

R: Yes, I think, that's it.

L: You come here if you want to go to a park?

R: Mostly, yes. Also, because it's close by. Østre Anlæg is also interesting, but it's not a small park and it's too easy to walk through. It's boring, I think. There is something about this park [Ørstedsparken]. Have you been in all parks?

L: Yes. In Østre Anlæg, Fælledparken, the Botanical Garden, Frederiksberg Have, -

R: There is also Søndermarken. Frederiksberg Have is also very romantic.

L: Would you say Ørstedsparken is a dirty park? Because someone said, you would see a lot of trash.

R: No. I saw a place behind the toilet, this house, there was a lot of toilet paper. But otherwise, I don't think. Only, if you go into the bushes, you can see some, but it's not a lot.

L: How would you describe the people you would meet or see here? Do you think they are locals?

R: Yes, I think so. In the summertime, they sunbathe. I think, in every park of Copenhagen they do the same things. Maybe, gay people they are during the night still here, it's mostly here.

L: Someone mentioned that bushes were cut down.

R: I think, it had something to do with it. I don't know. It's talked about a lot. There are mainly children here and they had a big argument. And then the City said, let's do something, but that's 5-10 years ago.

L: Would you say it's a diverse park from the perspective of activities happening here and people walking? I received the impression that it's a quite open park.

R: Yes, compared to the other parks, it's more open. Maybe people from East Europe, they are here and at Fælledparken. I don't think, in King's Garden and Østre Anlæg there are so many drunk people. That's more here, also homeless people. Because it's the inner city.

L: Cool, I don't want to stop you further on your walk.

R: No, no problem.

L: Thank you so much. My name is Lisa, by the way.

R: Robin. Thank you. Okay, goodbye.

ANTON (A) AND MAGNUS (M)

Origin, residence, category: Denmark, Copenhagen, 15 years-old teenagers

Date: 17th January 2021, Sunday

L: Are you here often? Do you live here?

M: Yes, I'm here often. I can walk here.

A: I live about 8km from here.

L: So why do you meet today? Why did you decide to meet here?

M: Because of Corona.

A: You can't always be inside. So, just to talk and get some old things back. What can you say? Get a normal day back.

L: You have online classes?

A: Yes.

L: Okay. So, it's the place to meet at the moment.

A: Yes, but also, we are playing handball on a high level. So, normally, I spend 20 hours a week training. The day is just so unnormal now.

L: You can't train at the moment?

A: No, it's just fitness all the time.

M: And I mean, the park is in the middle of where we live. It's a good place to meet and to just have a little chat and walk and get some air.

L: How often would you say, are you here? And how good do you know the place?

M: I am here, two times a week, maybe.

L: Mainly, at this time or also in the evening?

M: I'm often here around this time, because in the evening it can get kind of rough. Sometimes.

L: Like, at what time? You wouldn't recommend me to walk through at night?

M: It's not like that, because you can always walk through here. But like us as boys, sometimes people look down on us, because maybe we look tough. But it's not like that. But I'm here at this time, because it's just, it's beautiful, at this time.

A: I think, when it gets dark, dark, dark, it may be more uncomfortable.

L: I was walking here at 5 and 6 in the evening and compare it to my dark walk in Østre Anlæg. Here, it's still quite comfortable walking.

M: I mean, it's kind of open, you can always see each other. I think, it's more like a mental thing, because it's so open that no one will really do stuff. But Copenhagen is just a place that is so happy but also can be so rough.

L: How would you describe this park?

A: It's kind of peaceful. Also, the lake, now there is snow, but it's beautiful and just a relaxing place.

M: Also, a lot of happy people. When people are happy, you can't really be anything but happy.

L: So, how would you describe the place? For example, if you have to give me three words.

A: Peaceful, beautiful and just normal. Just a good, nice place to be. Yes, maybe nice as well.

M: I would say like peaceful, beautiful and relaxing. I really relax when I'm here and get my mind off from school and just walk. I really like just to think about everything. It's very peaceful to think about life, about your life and your people around you and how they affect you. And just think everything through.

L: How would you describe the people here?

M: From around 12 to 16 o'clock, there are a lot of people with children and families and there are also people like you, students, that live nearby and like walk here. Because, you have everything written out. You know where to walk. And it's in the middle of Copenhagen. It's just peaceful and nice to be here. The people, I would say, there

are a lot of different people that walk here. There are all cultures. Of course, we don't know people's history and what they've been through, but a lot of different people walk here, old, young etc.

L: Many people talked to me about the park's reputation as the "gay park".

M: I've heard that, because my dad is a policeman and when I say, I'm going to this park, he says like, *Oh, are you going to the gay park?* He doesn't have anything against it, but I think, he's been out here. There's some kind of place to meet for gays, because I think, they meet around here and do what they do. I wouldn't say, it's the main name of it. But I don't think about it, because I have nothing against them. And I think that if they want to meet here, let them do it. Nothing against that.

A: Maybe it's also an old term that our parents used, because I think, most of the young people like Magnus said, it was his father. I also heard it from my teacher. She said the same. Maybe it isn't the same now.

L: Have you heard about electro parties, happening here in summer?

M: I know about a lot of students that meet here and drink a beer, listening to music in the summer.

L: Okay, but not something official?

A: I think, in Copenhagen, it's every single park. Everyone is drinking.

M: I think, in summer, a lot of parties move over to the beach and Islands Brygge. It moved also there, because you can jump in the water, you can drink.

A: Also, the Danish community, I would say that there is a lot of alcohol involved.

M: And you have a certain image, if you don't drink from a very young age. You can be labeled as a nerd or something. I'm 15 years old and I began drinking when I was 14, old 14.

L: And this would be old for starting to drink?

A: Yes, a lot of people start drinking when they're 13 and that's kind of normal. You can get alcohol very easily nowadays. In Denmark, there's an alcohol culture. I just think, here, we have a little bit of a misunderstanding. You don't have to drink to be cool, you can enjoy with your friends and the people around you without alcohol.

L: For me, I drink when I'm relaxed, I don't drink to get relaxed. With some people I just don't feel it. And also, I want to drink something that tastes good, not just get drunk. About the park, do you have any certain memories?

M: I've been here a year ago, when I was with my girlfriend. That's the only memory.

L: If you come into the park, what do you recognize first?

M: I always look at the water and how it is today. Like, *Does it look cold?*

A: Water is also relaxing for the brain. I also have a vacation house in Southern Denmark. And it's just so peaceful to get out of your normal day. Maybe, especially in Corona, you are sitting at least six hours in front of our computers. Yes, and then maybe some computer games. And then there was training.

L: What's your name? You are Magnus, right? And you?

A: Anton.

L: Cool. My name is Lisa. Thank you so much for all your answers and enjoy your day!

M: Yes, of course. You too!

A: You too!

L: Thank you. Bye, guys!

KARA (K)

Origin, residence, category: Germany, Copenhagen, 25 years-old student

Date: 21st January 2021, Thursday

Note: Interview translated from German to English

L: What's your name?

K: Kara.

L: My name is Lisa. How often do you come here?

K: During lockdown, once a week. I always go for walks but each time into a different direction. Sometimes here, sometimes Østre Anlæg, sometimes the harbor.

L: How do you like the park?

K: I like it. I think, it's beautiful. I like that it's so winding, a bit wild, but at the same time, I find it a bit dark. When it gets darker, I find it a bit creepy. The park also has the rumor that gay men meet here. They can do so, but then you just think at night, *Is something happening here that I don't want to see or that would expose them?* That's in the back of my mind. So, it's a beautiful park, but it has an aura that's a bit dark and mystical.

L: What's your focal point when visiting and experiencing parks?

K: I like when parks are not boring, meaning, I like when you have something new to explore, when the park is a little labyrinthine. For example, Frederiksberg Have, where I used to live, is beautiful but quite styled. Whereas, next to it, there is Søndermarken and this one is a little bit more wild and hilly. Somehow, I liked Søndermarken always more. Here, it's nice to have the lake in the center and the height differences. What I don't like so much in winter is that the street is so visible through the bushes.

L: And you also hear a lot. The city is quite present. Why would you choose this park over the one in Frederiksberg?

K: I think, I would always take the two to switch, for variation when going for walks.

L: How do you feel in Ørstedsparken?

K: It reminds me of something international and of abroad (German: "Ausland"), because it looks more exotic as compared to Frederiksberg Have, which is more classicistic.

L: How would describe the social composition of the 'park society'?

K: It's mixed and anonymous. There are many different people and everyone is doing their thing. Again, in comparison, Frederiksberg Have is more staged and dressed. Here, it's quite heterogeneous and the people are for themselves. I guess, the distant atmosphere is also connected to the image as "gay park", even though I haven't really experienced it myself.

L: How about Ørstedsparken in summer?

K: In summer, you see the lawns covered, people picnicking, and especially young people. A lot of music. Certainly, less tidy or well-kept compared to Frederiksberg Have.

L: I always feel free to move here, yet the park somehow tells me to stay on the paths.

K: But there is also quite little space between the paths, while in Frederiksberg Have and Søndermarken, there are huge grass areas between the walking paths.

L: If you would have to describe the park with three words, which would they be?

K: Enchanted, gloomy/dark and glacial (German: „Verwunschen, düster und glazial“).

L: Do you know that we are on the ramparts?

K: Oh, I didn't know that. Wow, I never realized this, but it makes sense.

L: Do you pay attention to the statues?

K: No, sometimes I look but no.

L: How do you like Østre Anlæg?

K: Østre Anlæg is also cool and less park-like. It's darker and muddy and more hidden. You don't really recognize it as a park when passing. The area between Nørreport and Østerport is anyway a black hole on my mental map. Worse than Østre Anlæg is also the Botanical Garden. There, you only have two entrances and when walking outside, you never find a convenient access point.

L: Maybe they want to stop it from overcrowding. Possible that this side towards Israels Plads used to be closed. Do you know if the Ørstedsparken was ever non-24/7?

K: No. But exactly, that's the only side where there is no fence.

L: Do come here in summer? How is it like?

K: I only recently moved to this area in Copenhagen. But I feel, in summer, it's always super crowded and you don't really have enough space to spread properly.

L: Nice. What do you study, by the way?

K: I'm doing a Master in French and Mathematics at KU.

L: Thank you! Enjoy your day and the sun! I seriously forgot how it use to feel.

K: Bye, bye!

ØSTRE ANLÆG

SHARED WALKS AND TALKS

STUDENT #1

Date: 3rd January 2021, Sunday

L: Are there parks where you grew up?

#1: Yes, there are.

L: This was in Pondicherry?

#1: Yes, in Pondicherry. But there are very few parks. It is a very green city, there are trees on pavements and trees in backyards of people's houses, but parks are fewer in number. But there is one main park and that's close to my house. Thank God!

L: Was the park very embedded in your daily life and in your routine? Why would you go there?

#1: I would mainly go to walk around, because that was my place for walking around with my mum at times, with my dad at times, alone at times. It was very different when I was a child. It was renovated when I was around 10 or 12. But then before, in my early years, it was very different. There was a lot of sand, less green, and there were things to play with, e.g. a statue of a demon, but you could climb on it. And I would do that, and my aunt would take me there, especially to sort of play at the playground, sit in the park for a while. And so those are my first memories. As an architecture student, we would also sketch a lot of things and we were asked to start small, and, so we had different exercises like sketching an egg or sketching a table or just things like that. And then at one point, they told us to start sketching trees. And so, then that was my park where I would sit down for hours and hours sketch the tree. And we had to sketch different types of trees, like six or seven different types, and each tree was a universe in itself, because it had so many branches, so many leaves, so many, I'm like "How do you . . .?". So, it would take days and days and days to finish one tree. That was our summer break assignment.

L: Talking about the parks that you have visited throughout your life, not just specifically in Pondicherry but e.g. throughout the 4CITIES journey, which park do you remember most and what about them?

#1: The names I will probably not remember, but there was one right in the center of Ixelles, which had a church inside and it had like a, you had to go down, and you had a church, and that just blew my mind, because it was just like you had roads and you had houses. It's a pure residential area all around and then suddenly there is this railing and you are looking and you just go down and there is so much green, there are so many trees. And then you have a church and then you have a place to sit down and there was a bit of water, not too much, just a bit. I loved that place. It was near Place Flagey, near the lakes. It was the Jardin de l'Abbaye de la Cambre. So that was in Brussels.

L: What impressed you?

#1: It was ensconced. It was something away from the city, just because it was on a different level. And I read something about the church also, I think, this was the point from where Ixelles began.

L: Have you been to Østre Anlæg before?

#1: I have but not a lot. I have been here more, in Kongens Have.

L: This is a different experience, right?

#1: Yes, indeed, so this is basically my backyard.

L: That's interesting! So, why wouldn't you go to Østre Anlæg, which is only 50 m further.

#1: I also wonder why, but I think it has also to do with what you feel familiar with and I think, for me, this was the first place I went to. And, when I was trying to understand what the city center is all about and how do get around, this is what I would cut through this park, I would come back through this park. So, this was my anchor. It was like my anchor. It was like "ahh" [an expression of relief], because we have reached this, so home is so close.

L: In parks, would you say you focus on something specific? How is your experience of a park shaped?

#1: I would just look for a place where I can sit. For me, this is the most important, because if I sit in a place where there is too much activity, too many people walking by, then I don't feel it. But it is also again, as you say it, it is

subjectivity. There are people who would enjoy it. I enjoy looking for a place to sit that is shaded, that has got trees around.

L: Shaded even in this cold time?

#1: Yes, even in the cold. I don't know what it is. It is a sort of enclave, you know.

L: You hide from the sun!?

#1: It is also something a lot of people do in India, because all you have is sun. So, you look for shade. Especially, when the sun is right above and there is basically no shade but under the tree. Especially, when it is 40 degrees, 42 degrees. And then you need a lot of shade and you look for that. And people do cluster around trees a lot. And trees are considered holy, because it gives you shade in India.

L: I understand. That means, drawing a tree was therefore even more of a significant, intense exercise for you. Do you have a certain memory you connect with an urban park, besides the drawing exercise for your studies and visits with your aunt?

#1: I also feel like, nature itself gives you, even if it is an artificially constructed environment, the presence of something that just grows organically, gives you a lot of peace. And I associate this with parks, but I don't have a memory, per se. But from a series of experiences, the common denominator, I would say, is that feeling of just not necessarily being reactive. In a city, in a town, it is really something, to not have to react, to not have to constantly be aware, to just be at peace, to just feel like one with nature. And that is something, that is really important, and I think parks can do that. We don't have to feel anything. And I feel like, at any time of the day, even if it was at night, even if it was in the morning, that feeling would remain. We don't have to. You meet somebody, you say hello, but you don't have to sort of function, you can just be. It is okay to sit however you want, to eat something, to jog if you want, to skip, to jump. It is okay.

L: Do you think people would jump, metaphorically and also literally? I came to experience that there are a lot of internalized rules on how to behave socially, also in parks. People dress up to go to the park. This influences you in acting freely or 'weirdly'.

#1: That's true, that's true. But in India also it is very polarized. Like, there are people who dress up to go to the park. Yes, definitely. But also, that is on the surface, but inside there is like a reckless abandon. And there is too much of an abandon, because they litter, and they think the park is theirs. They eat and leave their plastic bags here. They just do anything. People aren't very particular, I guess. People wouldn't be annoyed if you are in their way. They would just wait for you to get out of their way. I guess, it is also because there are so many, just so many people. What do you do? You sort of just step back and let them be. That is my theory. Because, I feel like here, there is an obligation. You are expected to behave, to conform. And it works, it works, it really works. And there is a positive side and negative side. Similarly, in India, there is a positive side and a negative side. People wouldn't move. They don't respect your personal space, your bubble. It is fine. If you are lying down, someone else just 5-10cm away, they are just fine lying down.

[Pause]

L: How do you like the park?

#1: I like the park, because it is very organic. Like, there is no defined geometric paths like in Kongens Have, which I think to like more.

L: Why do you think so?

#1: Because it is familiar. And because for me it was a gate to the inner city. It was through it that I used to go to the other streets and come back. But I like this park [Østre Anlæg], because it has so many things. Like different levels and it has an organic shape, very linear shape. And it is not as big. It looks very narrow, especially at this tip. And you can always see to either side. I love places like this, places where you can sit. And you can look from here to what's going on below. And also, it looks playful, there is a play area there, and you have a boat. That's very interesting. I don't know how many parks have this kind of boat next to a water.

L: That's very true. A boat near the water, makes sense.

#1: I always wanted to go to water.

L: About the layout, how it winds, would you say it is natural because of the leaves, because of paths?

#1: Because of the paths, I think. You don't perceive something that is street or something that is man-made. It looks like it was there and then people just made a park wherever they could walk across.

L: What do you imagine doing when you come here in summer?

#1: I would do whatever I usually do. I would either write or I would draw or if I had to listen to something. It is a place where I just want to be quiet and where I want to be at one with nature, be at peace. Definitely, I could see myself spending a lot of time here, especially in some place like this. It feels like your own personal table with a view. And the trees. I could see myself spending a lot of time at this particular point.

L: I wonder how much a place has to feel like it is yours to make you feel comfortable.

#1: But I think we have the capacity to adjust ourselves to the environment. We sort of appropriate it. Like, this is what we have, work with it. Like, "How can you make it yours?".

L: How easy is it for you to imagine space differently?

#1: I think it is very easy. You just close your eyes and you see so many possibilities.

L: Okay, let's close our eyes and take some time.

#1: [*Speaking from imagination*] I see bridges across the water as an arch and activity happening beneath it, on the platforms below the bridge. You have so much space for people to sit and enjoy the water. You feel like you are connected with the water. I see so many possibilities, God. You have platforms like decks that project out into the water. And then you have mounts as you had in the university [South Campus of the University of Copenhagen] that go up and down. Instead of having actual benches and tables where, with the landscape, you could have your own mounts where you can sit. And they are sort of hollow inside with places where you can sit and platform where you can write or read. And you can also watch what is going on and it is sheltered.

L: What would you really like to change in this park?

#1: I wouldn't, when asked, I would never want to change something. Because, I think, what is there is perfect. I like usually what I'm given. It is very hard for me to change it.

L: Doesn't that follow the idea of appropriating, of making it your own?

#1: Exactly, I think, it is always hard to criticize and change. ...

L: A woman I interviewed in Ørstedsparken said that it is beautiful for her to have the buildings around, because it encapsulates the park. I feel the same here, though.

#1: That's also true. You feel contained, protected. Ah, the seagulls!

L: Should we continue the walk?

[*Pause*]

L: Can you repeat this again? What do we have to overcome when we want to be present [*laughs*]?

#1: Ourselves [*laughs*].

L: This is just so true. Okay, so for this second round I want to draw the focus on our senses, that is, the sound –

#1: The seagulls.

L: - the feel, the smell, and how comfortable you feel. Is it warm, is it cold? –

#1: It is cold!

L: This limits your sense, right?

#1: It so does! Because the nostrils can't smell, the fingers can't feel. But this also happens, if it is too warm. I always have this theory that if there was just a little less sun in India, people just could think better for themselves. Maybe in cold countries, it is easier for people to focus, because there is not as much intense sun. But the I come here and realized "Oh my God!". It is not easy. It seems like we can overcome it but not at all.

L: I'm actually struggling with that. I don't want to accept the boundaries that we have created for and with our own bodies.

#1: I think, naturally we are made for moderate weather. No extremes. Because we don't have the kind of fur that animals have. I feel like animals, in some ways, are much more evolved physically. And us, yes, there is a certain extent to which you can use your body, you can do tremendous things with your body, yes. I do believe that. I also believe that physically, there is a physical world. There is harsh reality. With all my endurance and resistance to pain, I would die if a truck hits me. There is harsh, physical reality. I can't deny it.

L: That's why it is not just about consciousness.

#1: Yes, it is a very strong force and we can learn from it. We can evolve. Just the fact that we exist is a miracle. But we can't fool ourselves into thinking that we can play with this world. It is a force that is far stronger than us. Unless, of course, the occult world, people do say that they believe in the occult world. And there are people who can create another body for themselves, people that can play with lightning. But personally, I don't think that this is the state that we are at. We are at a stage where we are still at the mercy of the physical world. And cold is physical. Heat is physical. We can conquer it but just to a certain extent.

L: Though, I'm always reminding myself to question what physical limits I have accepted to be my reality. Let's come back to the park and be Georges Perec and see 'almost stupidly'. What do you see, what do you feel?

#1: I see pebbles, I see mud, I see rocks, which are bigger pebbles, I see a tree trunk, I see branches, lots of lots of branches, I see the sky, I see a bird, I see a dog, I see flowers, I see the wind blowing the leaves, I see moss on the tree trunk, I see buildings beyond the park, I see a dustbin, I see a fence, I see a railing, I see a bird, I see a bench, I see several benches beyond, I see a statue, I see a slope, I see a man coming down, I see the sun setting, the clouds, tree trunks, I see a fire place, train tracks and a train. I feel there is a reddish stain to the branches

now. They are reflecting the sun. I saw a dog going up the stairs. There is an abandoned bird nest. I see cobble stones. I see a building.

L: I smell the cold. Can you smell the cold?

#1: I don't think my nose is clear, but I know the feeling.

[Pause]

L: Being conscious in the park, observing mindfully, is that something you would do on your own?

#1: If we are quiet with ourselves and we are not preoccupied with thoughts, I think, it does come naturally. What else would you do? You do perceive your environment. You do take stock of it. Maybe not as consciously as we did today but to a certain extent and usually there is always some activity that drives us in the park. Whether it is walking or running or jogging or going there to read something, to draw something or to write something. And if it is just there to sit there and just be, then I think we do, more than if we go there very often and we still don't have a single purpose with which we go there, then we will naturally tend to sort of observe what is there, what is going on, what is happening.

L: You think that?

#1: Yes, for me, the first time I go someplace, I don't understand it as well as I understand it the third or fourth time.

L: What happens between these visits?

#1: I just think you begin to notice things, to understand, familiarize yourself and you begin to appropriate it. Like, "What are my comfortable spots?", "Where do I go if I want this, this and this?" or "What do I do when I need this, this and this?"

L: I wonder if other people feel the same. Like, *How present is the park actually in the park visitor?* We might be overlooking a lot in our habitual way of visually consuming the landscape.

#1: I'm just thinking of Roland Barthes, in the beginning, what the professor made us read, he says that it is a constructive process. To try and understand the city is not in the grasp of one person. It is several people and their own individualized perception of space, constructing a complete narrative in their space and time. You are taking people's view into account. And you see, it is not just one person. You are not taking only one student and following her/him around. And it takes different kinds of perceptions to build up what is going towards a perception of reality, because it is not just one person's point of view. It is a lot of things happening at the same time. And so, it is a layered perception. De Certeau also looks at it like that. It takes a lot of lived lives in the everyday to construct reality. It is not just one.

L: And whose reality is it then?

#1: That's what it is. It is not somebody's reality anymore. It is existence. It is like a record of existence. Because if it is just you or me writing something, then it is just hard perceived reality. But the moment you take everybody's view into account, then it becomes so much more.

L: You said you could depend on the park. For me, I knew, Ørstedsparken, it is there, and I go there, and it became more and more familiar to me. And I feel comfortable there. It just shows how a generically planned city from above will never hit the nail on the head. And us now seeing the different perceptions and feelings of people towards a certain place, how can urban planning facilitate to integrate and consider the multiplicity of meanings, uses and various human needs?

STUDENT #2

Date: 4th January 2021, Monday

L: First impression of this park?

#2: Of this park [pause]! Where does this go? Wow, that's so fascinating [looking at the entrance of the bunker-like pit]. First impressions. Maybe, let me start with not answering your question [laughs]. So, I'm from a really rural place. I grew up in the woods. So, I feel like my threshold for what is wild is very far from what you find in an urban place. So, to me, the ivy on the trees, it makes it feel more wild than for example the King's Garden, where all the hedges are flat and square. But I don't ever feel that I am outside of the city, in a park like this. You can always hear the sound of the train going by or the traffic or even, you can see the buildings. Which is not a bad thing.

L: We are in an urban setting, right!

#2: Yes [laughs], you are writing about an urban park.

L: I really wonder where this leads to [*still looking at the entrance of the bunker-like pit*]. I'll take a picture. I also saw such infrastructural feature on one of my autoethnographic walks along the path close to the back of the SMK.

#2: For me, it's also interesting what you were talking about, about this hidden connection that we only notice when it's not there.

L: You mean the connection of the water body in Ørstedsparken to The Lakes? [The connection facilitates water circulation and maintaining its quality.]

#2: Yes, and I feel this especially in urban spaces but kind of catching myself that this has all been touched by people. You know, we are walking on the ramparts. This zick-zack shape of water was definitely man-made [*laughs*]. No nature does this!

L: When I texted you to start in Østre Anlæg you replied "Oh, cool! Great, I love it." So, what made you be so excited about coming here?

#2: For me, honestly, one of the things that I really like about it is that you do get to see the ramparts and – I think this is the kind of history nerd in me – but being able to see the city's past. Because it's been erased in so many other parts of the urban landscape. This was the edge of Copenhagen! We are outside of Copenhagen right now! That is crazy!

L: How does this background knowledge impact you? Does it make the experience more significant or do you feel more in touch with something?

#2: Yes, I think it does. I don't know, I always – and this is something that I also just really love, I mean, I guess, this is my American upbringing – I love being . . . feeling like if I just scratch the surface, you can see remnants of bygone eras. And it's about knowing what to look at or knowing what to look for. I remember, I came here with a fellow 4CITIES student and I mean, it makes sense that these would be the ramparts – but that wasn't what I was thinking, when I walked into. She asked, "So, did you know that these were the ramparts?" And I was like, "Oh! Ah! I get it!" You know? I understood why this park was here. I feel like once I know . . . look, it helps me imagine all of the things that have happened in this park and the significance of this park.

L: What do you imagine? Look at this spot, do you want to sit down?

#2: Oh, yes!

L: This is a beautiful spot.

#2: It looks like a table for playing chess [*laughs*].

L: And beautiful to put your feet on this small, attached step.

#2: Ach, God, the sun feels so good! . . . What do I imagine? I imagine a lot of people have met here to go walk with their lover. The water and the ducks and . . . Yes, I could see a lot of romance happening here. I also love that there is . . . I don't know exactly where it is, but there is . . . I don't know if there's a kindergarten or just a playground.

L: Yes, there is a playground.

#2: That was one of the things I remember when I came here with the friend, just the sound of kids' laughter.

L: Indeed, it's something that gives the park a particular dynamic. And this one day, this one girl was wearing a ninja-like/knight costume.

#2: [*Laughs*] Haha, what?

L: Yes, so you have a very different micro realm unfolding there.

#2: And what I like about a park like this is that . . . I mean, it's clearly cared for. Someone clearly thought about the position of this bench and the amount of sunlight it gets, but it doesn't have the feeling to me that the people who care for the park are like helicopter parents and putting each leaf back in place when it gets out of line. I mean, I'm sure this ivy is not good for the plants, but it's still there. I guess, that raises other questions about the role of urban species in our urban environment, but . . . It feels touched but not deeply intervened. It is crazy that . . . there was a time when there weren't trees here.

L: Yes, they had to grow, yes! And today, here in Østre Anlæg, you have all of these small places to hide, explore and dwell in. You have enough moments, at least for me, where I'm invited to breathe.

#2: It makes me think about what one professor was saying about the rise of agoraphobia and when this part was being developed . . . What were the social . . . ? You know, we think of this place right now as having all of these different kinds of textures and places with openness and closeness and intimacy and exposure. And, yes, 100 years ago, it would have been a much more uniform landscape and how does that match with what people were needing at that time from their green spaces.

L: The question is, if they needed what was built back then and if we need what is built or what is growing today.

#2: Yes, and that's like the challenge of design in so many ways as that you meet, ideally meet, the needs of the present moment, recognizing that that's a very diverse group of needs. And then the future, and that's also going to be a very diverse group of needs.

L: Is there something, if you go into a park, you actually think of changing?

#2: For me, it all depends upon what it is – on a micro or a macro scale – what is the purpose of this place. And not all parks need to have the same purpose. I wouldn't want a place to play football in this park. The purpose of this park is not recreational sports and that's okay, as long as that need can be provided in another space. And that is also true for me. When I go out, looking for green space, so much of it depends upon what it is in that moment that I need? And if I want to go people watch, I go to one kind of place. Maybe, it is not even so conscious, but my feet will lead me to one kind of place.

L: Yes, there is something that leads, that guides us. What is that that draws us into the woods or out of the woods onto that bench? For example, Student #1 said, "I don't want to sit in the sun!"

#2: Really? What? [*Laughs*]

L: She would escape the sun, because in India you wouldn't want to sit in the sun. But she would be freezing on our walks [*C laughs*]. And she explained, she would still seek to hide somewhere.

L: A park is the place where I go, where I feel free or freer.

#2: Interesting. Yes, I don't know [*pause*]. I think for me, it's not so much a feeling of freedom, because I actually feel that in the city. I think, because I'm from such a rural place, I love . . . I love every 50 paces and this question, *Do I go straight, do I go right, do I go left?* You know? I love this, yes!

L: Really, okay, wow!

#2: Being from such a rural place, I would – nine times out of ten – prefer to go for a walk in the city as opposed to an urban park. Unless . . . In Vienna, during lockdown, there was such a need to see people that I would go out into parks, because I knew, there is going to be people sitting in the sun or using the exercise equipment or playing with their dogs. I just want to go see people being people, because I don't get that from on the street.

L: Yes, right, *Why would there be people?*

#2: It's restful for me to sit here [in Østre Anlæg] in the sun, especially . . . I mean, winter is not . . . When there is more natural sound like bird song and more colors in a park, I feel more drawn to it. And maybe it's also because I do get cold . . . I'm actually quite fine now, but –

L: But we should walk, because eventually it will be too late to get warm again.

#2: I want to take a picture of the dog hair. . . [*question missing*] The colors on the different trees, the new growth, some of the trees have a very purplish hue and some are yellow, and that's something that I notice a lot. . .

#2: [*Laughs*] Haha, these statues are so funny.

L: But there are fewer statues than in Ørstedsparken. Where do you want to go?

#2: Let's go down!

L: To the kids?

#2: Yes!

L: Now, we are changing the focus of the walk a little bit. It's about, "How do we feel?", "Are we cold or are we warm?", "Which kind of atmosphere do we perceive?", "What do we hear precisely?", and simply being less distracted through words.

#2: Okay [*pause*] . . . [*question missing*] I have lived abroad a lot and moved abroad a lot. I think, from being in new spaces and not knowing a lot of people, my intellectual stimulation came from engaging with the world and looking at . . . I don't know . . . For example, I have never seen that before [*pointing to a reinforcing wall at a slope*]. That you have this concrete with these interlocking . . .

L: Like LEGO bricks.

#2: That's so cool! I think my mind would get bordered, if I didn't look for thought material. And then, . . . once I started down that path . . . And especially, it is something I have noticed, when I have a camera in my hand, my eyes start to look at different things. I feel like, having a camera, my gaze goes to a much more micro scale.

L: Yesterday, I wrote down what I had observed on my autoethnographic walk. I realized how much is actually popping up, when you take your time to write down and reflect on what you saw. What did you just want to take a picture of?

#2: Just the moss and the Lykan.

L: Where would you say does your fascination come from?

#2: Probably from my dad. I was a kid and he was getting his Master's degree in something related to science. So, as a kid, I remember, he had to do a class project on organisms that live on the undersides of rocks and streams. So, I think, from him, you know, and my brother is also like this. You find mushrooms and he's just like "Uhh!".

L: I think it's also training, an upbringing.

#2: Yes! It's so crazy how trees grow. It's so new [*pointing to the bark of a huge tree*].

L: It looks like stretchmarks.

#2: We used to call these zippers. ... These statues on the top of this roof, I just find them so funny. I think it's a dragon, a flying animal, a flying lion or tiger. What are these white berries [toy torpedoes]?

L: They remind me so much of my childhood. If you throw them on the ground and tread on them, they give this noise of firecrackers, "Knaller", and "Erbsen" because they look like peas, therefore the name.

#2: When I was little, I remember these seeds that are somehow coiled like a spring and so if you touch them, they explode.

L: Oh my God, yes, "Springkraut". How do you call it in English?

#2: I don't even know. Maybe, Jewelweed. We spent so much time as a kid collecting them.

L: Would you say it's the visual that guides you around and attracts your focus? What does it do to you if you focus on something specific? How do you feel when you get really close to something and how when you are only passing and letting the surrounding pass by?

#2: I think, visuals do guide me a lot, but I would also say that natural characteristics like if it's a hot day that path has shade or if it's a cold day that path has sun. Those definitely do drive me. And also, what way looks more interesting. I think this was in a seminar class. Two students did a presentation about how they used to always take the most optimal route from BaseCamp [student dormitory at Sølvgade] to school [University of Copenhagen, Faculty of Humanities]. They took the most direct route and one day they decided to take the not-most optimal route. I think, they even walked back and it took them 4h or so, not because they couldn't have done it faster, but because there were so many interesting things that they stopped to look at. By the way, let's go that way. I also am lucky. I have a relatively good sense of direction in cities. Look at this bird on there!

L: Wow, wow! How would you call that?

#2: I don't know [*walking further*]. And it's amazing how in the summer this would not be so much color [*looking at bushes and shrubs*], but in the winter all of a sudden, it's like "pew".

L: That's very, very true. Though, coming back to why I asked you about your way of observing. I think history knowledge or any kind of knowledge about the place gives it another layer that makes it easier to comprehend it. For example, this tree might be 100 years old ...

#2: ...and they built this building around the tree. It's so beautiful [*contemplating in front of the twisted tree close to the SMK building*]. I wonder if it has a name.

STUDENT #3

Date: 6th January 2021, Wednesday

L: Before coming here, I asked you if you were raised next to a park and how the environment where you grew up in looked like. So, what is your experience with parks?

#3: Alright. Well, where I grew up, we don't have much green space or parks, because it is very related to the politics. We used to have a big park or big grass fields and people in my country [Myanmar] very much associated parks with the politics. They do debates, public talking speak sessions in the park every Sunday. After that, the riots would occur in the park. It is very much a tradition of Burmese people to have a public talk in a park. Somebody would walk up to the bench and start talking about his political visions and people would gather around and argue, agree or disagree. And after that, riots happen. Once we entered the military government regime, we don't want that kind of riot and political disturbances. So, they shut down all the parks and they sold the land parcels to do the commercial developments.

L: The park becomes a completely commercialized place?

#3: Yes, for example, high risers and shopping malls. Parks disappeared. Later, in 2017, people would ask for the democratization of the parks. People would demand, *We need parks*, because our lifestyle is very much centered around the shopping mall. We get out of the bus and go straight into the shopping mall and we eat, we meet, we hang out and we go to the cinema, we shop and all the day is spent in the shopping mall and then, at the end of the day, we go back to the house. That lifestyle is pretty much what people become finally bored of and they ask for parks, even if it's small. Even, if it is just small, just like a grass field, we call it park, but there are no big trees. It's just a grass field and some landscaped area.

L: How would you call this [Østre Anlæg]? This, what we see right now.

#3: For me, it's like a nature reserve. It's much more than a park. The scale, compared to where I grew up, it's much greater. So, I would call it a nature reserve. We only have this kind of park, that kind of place, only one in the whole city, in the middle of the city. Yes, that's the only one.

L: How much was your life built around parks?

#3: My life, no. I would say, if you ask people from Asia who grew up in a city, we would say, our life, our childhood or our upbringing is not much associated with parks. Instead, it is associated with streets and shopping malls. Like I said, the open space or the available vacant space is very rare in Asia.

L: Thinking of Brussels, Vienna and Copenhagen, it's a huge shift then, is it?

#3: Exactly, I mean, it's even a big difference when I moved from my country to some country in Asia. And from my country to Europe it's a huge difference, because in Europe the buildings are not very high rise. Of course, there are still some high-rise buildings, but in general, the buildings are not that high-rise and they pretty much value the open space and the parks. Even in Vienna or in Brussels, you can find a big open space in the middle of the city, right next to your house, if you are lucky. For example, the place where one fellow 4CITIES student used to live in Brussels, it's just right next to two big parks. And also, in Vienna, we can just go to Donau Insel [Danube Island] with bike and you would see a nature reserved place like a forest and a small river, a place intended for people to spend time. It's like within reach, you know. In Asia, it's not within reach. You have to drive there to be in that green space. It's not within reach.

L: Have you ever thought about parks? Was it ever something in your consciousness?

#3: For me, now, parks are very much associated with places for relaxation, for daily pleasure. But before that, parks are very much associated with the place that you go intentionally to enjoy, to escape from the city life. So, you pack your lunch or you pack some food and bring your friends or maybe family and make a trip to the park. But instead, in Europe, almost everywhere I lived, maybe I'm lucky, I live next to a park, even if it is a small or a big, parks are very much blended into my daily life. When I go out of the metro, I cross the park and I arrive at my house.

L: That was also here in Amager?

#3: Yes, also in Nørrebro. I just live next to the park, therefore, whenever I get out of the metro or bus, I pass through the park. Or when in my house, doing for example homework, I just look outside onto the park or maybe I just go for a walk, even if it is nine, ten, eleven, twelve at midnight. I posted a picture the other day. I ran in Mimersparken [Nørrebro, Copenhagen] at midnight and it is so safe, so it's not a big deal. Do you have time? I want to walk around.

L: For sure, I have time. You guide me. It has many pathways. This is the end and where we started is the end. [Pause]

#3: Yes, so what I'm saying is that the park is a part of my daily life here in Europe.

L: What do you associate now with parks? What changed the idea of parks as part of your life, as part of the city?

#3: What I associate with parks, I now feel like parks are places you can go and enjoy and do sports or whatever. Not only, not necessarily sports. You could just reflect your life and just meet with friends or go alone and just walk around. I really love having parks within reach. Can we walk around here?

L: Yes, we can walk around the building [the SMK] and actually get in again on the other side of the park.

#3: I think I have read somewhere for this one class about the parks and the Cholera epidemic and that they built a kind of buffer zone. For the ventilation of the city. And this park is part of this plan?

L: Yes. [Pause]

#3: The place that we went to during our excursion, Fælledparken, are we also going there?

L: No. We are doing Østre Anlæg and Ørstedsparken.

#3: Do you know the percentage, in this neighborhood, particularly, of the park green space versus the residential development?

L: I don't. That would be very interesting to know.

#3: I feel like this neighborhood particularly has a great amount of green space: The Lakes, this park, Fælledparken and especially the Ørstedsparken neighborhood. That's why I would like to know the communal plan for green space development. I'd also like to know how the first, original developer or the architect created an opportunity for the further development or the users to really engage, because sometimes - especially when the parks - when something is developed in earlier centuries, sometimes they didn't consider democracy. They were intended only for some sake e.g. for the Cholera epidemic or for some wealthier families. They somehow forgot to leave the room for users but later in the period, when the communes or third parties stepped in, they somehow managed to redevelop the parks. So, I would like to see the gap between the two periods and how it left the urban atmosphere.

L: Yes, indeed.

#3: So, shall we go this way? Oh, no. Let's go this way. I want to take a picture.

L: Beautiful, let's do this. [Pause] It's very interesting. Student #2 grew up in a very natural environment. In "the woods", she would say. That's why for her, Østre Anlæg is certainly an urban park and she was very aware of that it was artificially created. As compared to your perspective, it being a "nature reserve". So, I realized that there is a great difference regarding the perception of parks in the city, depending on where you come from.

#3: True, exactly. [Pause]

L: Talking about this park, what's your first impression and have you been here before?

#3: No, not this park. What is my first impression? I like the topography of the park, because it is not easily - I mean, as a first-time visitor, it's not easily - For example, some parks have a geometric shape, so that you can easily locate it and orient yourself where you are going, where you are heading. But with this park, the topography of the park is multi-layered. And also, the footpaths are designed very interestingly. You just walk up or you just go down and sometimes there are paths crossing. ... It makes me curious to see, *Oh, what is on the other side?* I want to go see the other side, because if I go out of this gate, I would not be able to see the other side.

L: How would you describe your way of observing, especially in more natural urban environments? What do you focus on?

#3: Most of the time, when I go to a new place, what I focus on are more the symbols and signs. That's what makes me curious and what makes me explore the new place. Like I said before, if it is a plain field and if I could easily see what's on the other side, it would not make me curious and I would not be interested in going to the other side. But if there is a secretive way, it makes a kind of gallery for the users to explore more and make them want to explore more. It's hidden somehow. If you look from the lower part and see some part of the park, it won't be necessary to go up there and see the statue, the signs of those parts. Speaking of Roland Barthes, signifier and signification, I would like to say signifiers. [Pause, S takes pictures]

L: Would you say your pictures reflect what you see or through taking pictures you get another perspective?

#3: It nuances me. If I take some events or some moments I capture and I look back, it kind of nuances back to the memory. And sometimes I discover more when I look at the picture, which I didn't clearly see in the present moment. It brings me back to the moment and my memory and shows me what is the difference, what I missed. Sometimes, for example, if you look at this statue, you missed out on the bench there and like the logs or maybe the trees.

L: How does this park make you feel?

#3: Maybe, because of the weather, it doesn't make me feel comfortable. If I came in spring, it would be very comfortable and I would very much enjoy the scenery. Like the little stream, lake, and the trees or maybe in early fall, the red leaves, that would be very homely and embracing. But now, it's cold and distant to me, but still it's mysterious and I want to explore more.

L: How is the climate in your home city?

#3: The weather is really hot and humid. That might be the reason why people build so many supermarkets and malls, to have air-conditioned environments. People just love to enjoy the indoor environment, more than the outdoor situation. People really forget what's happening outside. Sometimes, you go back from school with metro and the metro station is right inside the shopping mall, which means that you hang out with friends and do your homework and maybe go for extra classes in the mall and eat for dinner and when you look at the clock, it's already 9 pm, but you don't even know, if there is sun outside. Totally lost in time, in the passage of time.

L: Especially nature shows you the passing of time and how space changes through the circadian rhythms. Just imagine now that the sun would come out.

#3: The place would completely change. And also, with the engagement of people, the park would also change. Because weather, I think weather is detrimental. However, can you imagine 38°C on the street as in my home town.

L: I think, I couldn't think. Student #1 said the same.

#3: Yes, true. I hate sun.

L: Even though it's cold?

#3: Even though it's cold! When I said that to other people also to you, it would be so strange, when I say, I hate sun, even when it was cold. I don't want to stay in the sunlight.

L: In summer in Vienna, how did you move around in parks?

#3: Well, we looked for space with shade.

L: And if you imagine a different park design for this here - because, urban parks, yes, it's compromised nature, it is vital to have, in my opinion, to have these natural surroundings.

#3: For me, it's a nature reserve. It's the total opposite of what Student #2 felt [*laughs*].

L: How natural can urban nature be?

#3: Urban nature can be natural as much as a forest such as in Vienna or in Central Park in New York. Some parts of the Central Park are a wide, totally wide forest. Urban parks can range from a grass field, like an artificial grass field and a bench, to a completely wild forest. The category can vary, according to the conditions that you can design and that you can practice.

L: If you look back, are there parks you have been to and you consciously felt differently or used it in a different way?

#3: I'm going to ask you back a question. Would you feel safe to go to a park at night, very late at night? Would you feel a park is a safe place and it blends into your daily life?

L: Parks have been a very important part of my life in Copenhagen, especially Ørstedsparken, because it was very close to DIS. Though, no, I wouldn't feel safe, because it is dark. I'm doing autoethnography and I might go for a night walk in both parks at the end of all my fieldwork to see how it again changes my perception, my feeling. While coming here with you or other fellow students provides me again a new lens on the park.

#3: Your knowledge is layered by different people and different perspectives. At the end of it, you are looking from the top layer of your knowledge and make the judgement. [*Pause*]

L: What impacts the atmospheric impression of a park most, in your opinion?

#3: The weather. If it is too sunny, this park wouldn't be inviting and friendly to me. If it is - like this, I can stand this condition, even though it is cold. True, it is quite cold. But still, I can enjoy the scenery, better than with excruciating sun. And that is the first signifier. And second is the time of the day. If it is like - I mean, this park is very much - There are so many trees and if you can't see the other side, I wouldn't feel safe. I would feel a bit shady. *What is happening on the other side of the park when it is dark?* And the third is the presence of people that influences the urban atmosphere.

L: How would you describe the park right now, people-wise?

#3: People are pretty much enjoying the snow, maybe because it's the first snow of the year. It's quite surprising to see that they are not just, inspired by Jan Gehl, doing the necessary functions but doing sports, enjoyment, pleasure. I feel like it's quite different. Even though the weather is cold, they are doing the 'unnecessary', engaging in the urban atmosphere. True, it's so nice. I mean, if I'm walking alone with you and if I wouldn't see any other people, enjoying the park, I would also feel like, *Oh Lisa, let's just take the train to the other park*. I wouldn't want to walk back to the other park.

L: People motivate and inspire you! [*Pause*] What determines your decision to walk somewhere?

#3: The fashion of walking in a park? Generally speaking, walking for me can be conscious or subconscious or maybe the situation of the both coming together. What makes me decide to walk, like I said before, depends on the weather, time of the day and the presence of people.

L: Left or right, both paths bring us to the exit?

#3: Let's go this way then. Academically speaking, to wrap up what you have said to me, I would say, walking is the active mode of bodily movement and the passive mode of sensorial engagement.

L: Why the "passive mode"?

#3: Because it can be subconscious. Yes, it can be totally conscious, because, like right now, you are asking me question, so I have to be totally present, but it can also be subconscious. Because sometimes, I have to recall my past memories and I'm just walking and because when walking my body parts are actively moving, but my brain, my consciousness, is sometimes moved back to my memory or sometimes moved back to my room, thinking *What should I eat after this cold day? I'm going to make some hot soup*. In split seconds, my brain moves, you know, our minds move very fast. So, the sensorial engagement happens subconsciously. I'm recalling about my past memories, still thinking about what I'm going to eat. So, it can be subconscious and it can also be conscious. That's why I'm saying it is passive. It is happening automatically. You don't need to control it.

L: The active mode would be –

#3: The bodily movement and the passive mode the sensorial engagement. You are engaging sensorially, but it can be passive.

L: Because you are distracted. What would be your active mode of sensory engagement?

#3: This would be for example my orientation, finding paths, choosing the path. This would be active. I have to decide, which way should I choose or which way I'm going, to get back to the other side or to explore more. That would be active.

L: So, you are talking about the interplay between subconscious and conscious engagement. It's interesting, because when talking about sense, we are talking about smell. Then we have the sound, we hear and we know we are in the city –

#3: And also, when you step on the snow, the crunchiness of the snow is also a sensorial –

L: Yes, very much. It's the touch, the feel of the urban space that influences us. But, orientation, thermal regulation, these are also sense. Less known, but it's something that certainly determines decisions and that are determined by past decisions and experiences.

#3: Are you sure, we are on the right way?

L: Yes, we are going there and then left and then we are reaching where BaseCamp is at the corner.

#3: Ah, nice, I didn't even realize that we are quite close to Basecamp.

L: [*Heading towards Ørstedsparken, walking along Øster Voldgade*] These noises [very present traffic sounds], they remind us that we have just been in a very different scene.

#3: Yes, suddenly you have to be careful, watch out for people, for the cars, decipher the signs at the road.

L: You said, for you it is leisure. You go to parks for leisure. If you'd go back to your country now, what will have changed in your approach to urban parks and regarding your expectations towards the city?

#3: If I go back to my country, I would pretty much be looking for a park for my daily escape. I need a park as a part of my routine. The practice of visiting a park pretty much impacted my daily life, yes.

INTERVIEWS WITH STRANGERS

MARIA (M)

Origin, residence, category: Denmark, Copenhagen, middle-aged woman

Date: 3rd of January 2021, Sunday

L: Do you live around the neighborhood?

M: I live across the street for some years now.

L: How often do you come to the park?

M: Two to three times a week with my child and also with my boyfriend.

L: How would you describe the park?

M: There is always something new to find, even though I've been here very often. There are a lot of people, who go with their dogs, because it's a very natural park, and it's a good place for the kids. There is also another playground, a small one at the beginning. There are some artists, some statues, or something.

L: I saw the playground and it is declared as "smoking-free".

M: This one [the big, asphalted play area] too.

L: If you have three adjectives, how would you describe the park?

M: Natural, 'you feel free' and convenient, because it's close to where I live and if I need to go to the train station, I always go through this park. If I have enough time, I take this park to get to Nørreport, instead of taking the train for the one stop.

L: Would you come here or go through at night?

M: Yes, we do that too. I would also come and run between April and October. There are ups and downs, which is very good for the training.

L: How would you describe the people that come here and that you meet?

M: It's very convenient for the local people, who live around it, to walk their dogs and after dinner to take a walk. And it's for the kids, who have a possibility to play.

L: Do visitors from the museums come here? Or is it only a park to which the neighborhood comes?

M: Yes, I see a lot of them here or tourists. They arrive at the train station and walk around the park. They also come for the statues. I see a lot of people from Ukraine, because of the famous statue that was added recently.

L: Where did you live before?

M: I lived in Amager, but then I decided to move together with my boyfriend.

L: You said, you would always see something new, even after multiple visits.

M: Yes, because of the seasonal changes and because of my little boy, who always asks about things he sees and then I have to read about it to answer him. I think, it took me three, four years to understand the park. I remember in the beginning, the first time I was here, it was summertime, my boyfriend found a place that was so beautiful. But I couldn't find it again, because there are a lot of ways and there are many secret ways. And I was asking, *Where was that place where we have been last time?* I just couldn't find it. That's why I said, you always discover new things.

L: Indeed, there is a lot to explore. Cool, thank you so much. Take care!

M: You're welcome. Bye!

JON (J)

Origin, residence, category: Denmark, Copenhagen, middle-aged man

Date: 18th of January 2021, Monday

L: How often do you come here?

J: A couple of times a week.

L: Do you live around the area?

J: Yes, 500m from here.

L: What does this park mean to you? Why do you come here?

J: It's a place, with all the green, that is important for me, because I got a little depressed during Covid. When I come here, I forget my problems. So, it's good for me to go and take a walk here. It's away from the cars and the noise.

L: I don't know how often I've been out now for my fieldwork, but it has lifted me up so much. And also, when you come back, it feels like you've done something. How would you describe this park?

J: Exactly. I think, it's a lovely park, because it's close and sometimes I go to Fælledparken, but here it's not so flat. And there is also a little lake and a lot of animals. It's a place to get away from the noise and to relax.

L: How would you describe the people that come here and your experience with the people?

J: A lot of time, we're just passing by each other, but many use the park to run and I also think, many people just come out to the park to breathe. Also, you get nuts from watching all the news on Corona and maybe even afraid.

L: I'm also trying actively not to check the news and cases. Do you know people? If you walk, do you meet friends or neighbors? Or is it more of an anonymous atmosphere?

J: I don't think, I ever met someone here I know.

L: Why are you here right now? Are you going to work or just walking or passing through?

J: Just walking, taking a walk.

L: If you go through parks, is there something you focus on specifically?

J: In parks, I normally just try to get my mind off and get some fresh air.

L: I'm doing a comparison with Ørstedsparken. Have you been there?

J: I think, I know which one you mean. It's a small park, but it's there, and I wouldn't have to take the train to go there, which is good. But the longer the rounds, the better for me.

L: And this park is a good park to take some detours and have extended walks.

J: There is also a kind of kindergarten or what!?

L: Yes, it's a playground and someone actually mentioned, it's the biggest playground area in Copenhagen. Do you remember your first impression when you arrived and when you came into this park?

J: Well, it looked great for walking.

L: Would you say the park is familiar to you?

J: Yes, I've been here many times and also in the summer. And because of Corona, I also didn't have to do so much. And it was Kierkegaard, who said that if you take a walk, it will solve many of your problems. Well, and that's true. I can sit at home sometimes and everything would seem meaningless.

L: Yes, our mind is tricking us there. Meditation is therefore the tool for me to observe myself with some distance and then take action and get up. I have one last question. Are there many homeless people in the park?

J: No, not here. Maybe, that's more in the Ørstedsparken. I don't come here at night, but I know of Ørstedsparken that there are many people in the evening. I don't know here. Earlier, in the summer, you could see young people partying but not much. Østre Anlæg is really a little oasis in the city.

L: If you would give this park three describing words, which would those be?

J: Okay, I would say: "It's always there". I just know, it's always there when I need it.

L: So, it has a deeply emotional component to it for you?

J: Absolutely!

L: May I ask for your name?

J: My name is Jon.

L: My name is Lisa. It was a real pleasure talking to you!

J: Likewise. It was a wonderful experience, just going to the park.

L: Good that we both went out today. Have a beautiful day and life!

MAJA (M), ALMA (A), KLARA (K) AND SOFIA (S)

Categories: (M) - middle-aged woman, (A) - 9 years-old girl, (K) - 9 years-old girl, (S) - 7 years-old friend

Residence: Copenhagen

Date: 18th of January 2021, Monday

L: How often do you come here?

M: Every day, for two and a half hours?

L: And what do you like especially about the park?

M: There are a lot of things that you can play with.

A: Yes, you can jump on it.

K: I love the round thing over there. We normally jump on that. And then, we play a game called hot lava. And you're not allowed to touch the floor.

L: Are you normally here in this area or do you also walk around?

M: Sometimes we just walk around?

L: If you could change something about the park, what would it be?

M: Maybe nothing.

L: So, you live close by?

M: Yes, we live near here.

L: And if you would give the park three words, every one of you has three words, to describe the park, which would they be?

K: I like the round thing, the trampoline and the whole place.

L: It's really about the playground. I can understand.

M: And also, the nature, when it's summer.

L: How is it in summer?

M: In summer, the leaves are so green and there is a lot of fish here.

L: Do people actually go inside and swim.

M: No, no. They just play with the fish from the edge.

L: Do you have three words?

S: We're playing with the boat and on the round thing.

L: Do you know many people here?

M: No.

L: Did you say your three words?

A: I think, it's a fun playground. It's a really big playground. And I love exploring here.

L: Wow, what does that mean?

A: There are so many secret ways.

L: Would you say, you know a lot about the park?

A: Actually no, but I really love exploring here.

L: Yes, it's cool. You always see something new. Do you have some memories here in the park?

K: No, not really. We do almost the same thing every day, but we do fun things every day.

M: The kids love this place.

L: Is it easy to get to know other people, other children?

A: Yes, sometimes. There was an English family. We met them today. They were talking English.

L: You talk English so well! The school you go to is around the area?

A: Yes, it's close.

L: Great, then it's perfect to have the park so close too. Okay, thank you so much!

M: Thank you! Bye, bye.

EMIL (E) AND NOAH (N)

Origin, residence, category: Denmark, Copenhagen, 13 years-old teenagers

Date: 18th of January 2021, Monday

L: Why did you come here?

E: Because we're just getting fresh air in Corona time. It's good, the walking, so you're not getting fat.

L: I mean, you don't have to take care of getting fat, do you?

E: No, I'm still young, but I still think about my health.

L: Wow, where does that attitude come from?

E: That comes straight from my heart.

L: You are very wise. How do you like this park? Or do you like it?

E: Yes, we like it. We have been here, because we go to school right over there.

L: But do you have school at the moment?

N: No, we are online.

L: Okay, so you meet and you just walk around? What do you do in this park?

E: We just walk around and get some fresh air.

L: And where would you go? Do you have your places where you hang out?

N: No, not really. Not really.

E: Sometimes we hang over there, down there.

L: How often do you come here?

E: Two times a week.

N: I also come one time a week.

L: Do you have some memories about this park?

E: We run with apple juice and then we did a diploma. For half a school day.

L: You have sports lessons or festivals out here?

E: Yes, one time a year with the school.

L: Do you feel like it's your park and you can do whatever you want to do?

E: No, we also have to take care of other people in the park. Like, you have to hold social distance.

L: Sounds like you did your homework. Your parents let you out and you do whatever you want?

E: Yes, because when we say, we're in Østre Anlæg, they know where we are.

L: And today, where do you come from right now?

E: We've just been home and just entered the park.

L: What's your name?

N: My name is Noah.

E: My name is Emil.

L: Do you also meet with other people? Or is it always you three?

E: Also other people.

L: Do you know and meet other people randomly when you walk around?

E: No, no.

N: Yes, yes! Ida. It's Emil's girlfriend. She is walking her dog here.

L: How old are you?

N: I'm 13.

E: We are both 13.

L: What do you like most about this park?

N: Down there, the playground.

L: Would you come here at night?

E: I actually came here last night?

L: What did you do?

E: I just walk around with my friend Karl. But in summer it's much, much better.

L: If you could change anything about the park, what would it be?

N: A bridge over the water would be nice, because we don't want to walk all the way around.
L: That would be smart. I'll the City of Copenhagen to do so. Cool. Thank you! Have a good day!

ELLA (E)

Origin, residence, category: Denmark, Copenhagen, 16 years-old teenager

Date: 18th of January 2021, Monday

L: Do you ever come here?

E: No, not really.

L: But you would walk the dog somewhere?

E: It's actually not my dog.

L: Have you been here before?

E: Yes.

L: Okay, how do you like it? Or, how was your first impression?

E: Oh, my God. I just have to remember.

L: Do you live here?

E: I live right over there. I think, it was this hill over there and we were sliding down when there was snow with my kindergarten. That's my first memory. I was three or four. Now, I'm 16.

L: How would you describe this park? If you also compare it maybe to other parks you would visit?

E: I think, it's more a park for children, if you compare it for example to King's Garden. That's more for going around and walk with your friends and for old people. While here, we have a playground, where I also used to go. Yes, I think, this park is really good for kids.

L: Would you say the park has changed?

E: No, not at all.

L: But why don't you come here that often anymore if you live very close?

E: Now with Corona, my dad and I, we always go for walks, every day, but we go the exact other way or into the city.

L: So, you walk in the city instead of in the park? That's nice to have this routine with your dad. So, if you would choose a park and all parks are close to you, which one would you choose?

E: I think, I would choose King's Garden, because there is more routine. It's very squared and that's easier. Here, you have to go a lot of zick-zack.

L: Interesting. I had this feeling in Ørstedsparken at the beginning, that you know everything. You look and you see things immediately. If you would give Østre Anlæg three words, how would you describe it?

E: Fun, good memories and big.

L: Cool. However, I do see kids, but I also see a lot of joggers, I see older people. How about the area around the park?

E: It's very quiet, but it's a nice place. It's 10 minutes from the center. Do you know the potato rows? There are a lot of families and they also come here. And this is a school, where also the Princesses of Denmark have gone. I don't know them, but I've heard that.

L: How often have you been here the last year?

E: Maybe, 10 to 15 times. Only, to take her out. The dog is from a friend, who lives in the potato rows.

L: If you walk, would you see people you know?

E: No, because I've always been to a school in a different area of Copenhagen.

L: It's interesting, because your memory could really make it a familiar park. At the same time, a lot did change. What's your name?

E: Ella.

L: Hi, my name is Lisa. Thank you so much and have a lovely day.