

From Copenhagen to Gorton

Wellbeing, spatial justice and the role of urban design

This thesis has been submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Lancaster Institute for the Contemporary Arts, Lancaster University, UK.
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October 2024



A healthy city can embrace and make productive use of differences of class and ethnicity and lifestyles it contains, while a sick city cannot. The sick city isolates and segregates differences instead of drawing a collective strength from its mixture of different people.

Richard Sennett, 2011. Cities, Health and Wellbeing Conference, Hong Kong

Abstract

Spatial inequality cannot always be avoided, but it can be maintained or it can be mitigated. The continued support of unjust geographies can diminish wellbeing outcomes at neighbourhood level, exaggerating the effects of disparity and tensions within communities, leading to conflict between groups and eroding trust in institutional systems.

This PhD research proposes that urban design has a role to play in reducing spatial injustice and increasing wellbeing at neighbourhood level in deprived and socially diverse communities. Despite extensive research on health impacts, little is known about the relationship between urban design and social interactions. Under the umbrella of a post-positivist stance and constructivist ontology, lived experiences of wellbeing and inequality at neighbourhood level were explored in two communities, Nørrebro in Copenhagen, and Gorton & Abbey Hey in Manchester, through semi-structured interviews of 22No. participants. These were analysed following the thematic model that integrates reflexive iterations, and data interpretation at the scales of micro, meso and macro perspectives. The analysis process culminated in the generation of three themes – Dynamic Values, Space to Meet, and Creative Dialogue. Based on this analysis, this research argues that the distribution of wellbeing in these communities is spatially structured, and that deprivation is maintained by wider institutional processes. It further proposes that, lessons from the production of exemplar public spaces in Copenhagen can have an application to mitigate and/or disrupt the patterns of unjust geographies in Gorton.

This study concludes with two contributions to knowledge: a theoretical framework that calls for the production of public space to be driven by a balance of values, exposure and power; and a set of principles to be used by designers, policy makers and community leaders, to facilitate a creative dialogue amongst diverse user groups in the production of an urban space, that is democratic in both in its outcome and its design process. The work presented here offers a fresh perspective on the complex relationships between urban design, people, and governance. By addressing these aspects, this work has the potential to inform and influence the development of cities towards a more equitable, socially sustainable urban sphere that is conducive to promoting wellbeing in the community, particularly in deprived and diverse neighbourhoods.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to thank, in first instance, the Liveable Cities Team for offering this opportunity, and the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC) for funding this PhD research. Thank you to my supervisors, Distinguished Professor Rachel Cooper and Dr Christopher Boyko, for their superb help throughout my PhD journey. Your support and advice not only shaped this thesis, but also, myself, as a researcher. Thank you for lifting me up when I thought I could not go on, and letting go when life got in way. Thank you, Rachel for always believing in me and suggesting this opportunity in the first place, and Chris for always being there and helping me find my voice. Thank you to my VIVA examiners, Professor Tom Nielsen, Professor Tom Jeffries and Dr Mirian Calvo, for their time and attention in reviewing this thesis thoroughly, and all your kind, positive comments. I would also like to thank Professor Alan Marsden, for his understanding and support during the final year(s) of writing, and Eamon Canniffe, from the Manchester School of Architecture, for the continuing support and guidance over the years.

Thank you to all my participants, for giving their time, and sharing their experiences.

Thank you to all the staff at Imagination and the Lancaster School of Architecture at LICA, who provided support and advice along the way, in particular Ana Costa, Serena Pollastri, Des Fagan, Ruth Dalton, Leo Bourikas, Jane Quin, Andrew Brassington, David Perez Ojeda, Claire Coulton, and Andy Darby. Thank you to my PhD colleagues, Laura Wareing, Akm Sirajuddin, Lingyao Jin, Duha Engawi, Ana Kumacheva, Meg Parivar, Man-Li Huang, Ellen Jeffrey, Lucy Hunt, Jess Robins, Hayley Alter, and Yuxin Zhao (Annarin), for all your help, advice, encouragement and company. Also, a big thank you to my friends and writing buddies Abu Siddiki, Sue Shaw, and Meisoon Jumah for all the pick-ups, lunches, late-night company and conversations.

A very special thanks to my husband, John, and my mother, Clara, for their love, help, support and patience, but mostly for walking this journey along with me. Thank you to my children, Aldo and Axel, for holding my hand every step of the way, through all the ups and downs, and lifting my spirits up throughout this adventure. Also, thank you to my aunts, siblings and parents' in-law, for all their help, patience, and enthusiasm over the years. Thank you to my grandmother, Dora Libia Gonzalez, for lighting all those candles. And finally thank you to my father, Dr Arnoldo Sabbagh Núñez, for spurring my thirst for knowledge and encouraging me to *always* ask questions.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work that has been undertaken under the supervision and guidance of Distinguished Professor Rachel Cooper and Dr Christopher Boyko at the Lancaster Institute of Contemporary Arts (LICA), University of Lancaster, and has not been submitted in support of an application at any other university for a degree, diploma or other qualifications.

I have read the University's current research ethics guidelines, and accept responsibility for the conduct of the procedures in accordance with the University's standards and procedures.

I have attempted to identify all the risks related to this research that may arise in conducting this research, obtained the relevant ethical approval (where applicable), and acknowledged my obligations and the rights of the participants.

The following publications contain excerpts of this thesis:

Sabbagh Gomez, A. (2019). From Copenhagen to Gorton: Wellbeing, Democracy and the Role of Urban Design. *International Association Societies of Design Research Conference*. Official Conference Proceedings.

Sabbagh Gomez, A., & Boyko, C. (2018). *Wellbeing, inequality and urban form*. Poster session presented at Healthy City Design 2018 International Congress, London, United Kingdom.

Sabbagh Gomez, A. (2018). Wellbeing, Inequality and the Role of Urban Form. *The IAFOR International Conference on the City 2018*. Official Conference Proceedings, 91-119. ISSN: 2432-4264. Available at https://papers.iafor.org/proceedings_category/city-official-conference-proceedings/

Boyko, C. T., Coulton, C., Sabbagh Gomez, A., & Cooper, R. (2017). *The little book of wellbeing. A guide to wellbeing in urban environments*. Lancaster: Lancaster University.

Signature:



Date: October 2023

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

*“Homogeneous neighbourhoods become self-perpetuating societal divisions”
(Johnston & Pattie 2011:2)*

The catalyst for this this PhD research stemmed from the proposition that cities could be designed to promote wellbeing and happiness (Montgomery, 2015; Sabbagh Gomez, 2015), as well as my interest in the debate that surrounds spatial justice for socially sustainable urban futures.

Under the academic umbrella of spatial justice, the role of urban design is hotly contested: on one hand, Marcuse (2010, 2019) queries the effectiveness of a spatial focus to tackle social injustice, warning against the tendency of spatial efforts to mask or distract from institutional prejudice. Whilst Soja (2010, 2022) believes that spatially structured injustice should be addressed by both social and physical interventions; Soja (2022) insists that spatial problems must have spatial solutions. Harvey, on the other hand, highlights the lack of meaningful user input in physical urban strategies: “The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is, [...] one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights” (Harvey, 2012, p. 1).

Whilst Marcuse, Soja and Harvey reflect on the role of space, this research queries the role of *designed* space. Urban design has been used as a tool to organise and control communities since antiquity. For example, Dinocrates, a student of Hippodamus, designed Alexandria as a Hellenistic polis with exemplar spatial representation of equality: “the original Hellenistic town was intended as a polis in which autonomous citizens enjoyed an equal say in decision-making (unless, of course, they were female, foreign or enslaved)” (Shenker, 2016). However, subsequent rulers re-appropriated its celebrated arrangement of carefully defined quarters to enable hierarchical power structures and social control, turning Alexandria into a template of urban autocracy. “In the old polis every citizen had an active part to play: in the new municipality, the citizen took orders and did what he was told” (Mumford, 1961).

There are three conspicuous observations to be made from Shanker and Mumford’s statements above: Even the most utopic of urban designs, is only as good as its governance; meaningful public participation is essential for the articulation of democracy; and finally that, the history of urban equality and spatial justice seems to be founded on an interpretation of society as a more or less homogenous group of values. Whether the homogenous, well-ordered society only ever existed as a tangible construct on the drawing boards of Hellenistic urban designers, a debate on spatial justice and urban design today cannot by-pass its most complex variable: different people.

This PhD research seeks to understand the role of urban design has to play in promoting wellbeing and reducing spatial injustice in deprived neighbourhoods that are also socially diverse, by exploring two case studies, Nørrebro in Copenhagen and Gorton in Manchester. Over the course of this PhD,

however, the British and Danish socio-political backgrounds seemed to have grown less tolerant of diversity and all-inclusive inclusivity, which makes the discourse proposed by this thesis ever more pressing.

Given the rise of global emergencies, -climate at the top of all agendas-, I question whether the notion of homogeneous urbanity was perhaps a more plausible construct when people did not have the need or means to migrate. This thesis, is therefore presented from a context of plurality rather than a monist position: “multiplicity of powers and identities in global cities requires new strategies of politics of emancipation” (Merrifield & Swyngedouw, 1997, p. 4)

1.2 Research Context and Approach

This PhD study is part of the Liveable Cities Project, a £6.2m six-year research programme funded by the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC), that aimed to “transform the way cities are engineered to promote societal and planetary wellbeing” (Yates, n.d.). This work contributes to the Liveable Cities project by increasing our understanding of the interplay between lived experiences, urban design and the institutional processes that structure their relationship to foster wellbeing.

This research acknowledges the complex relationship between governance and urban space, and it enters the spatial justice debate through a range of lived experiences of wellbeing and space from residents, community leaders, local authorities, and designer participants from Nørrebro (Copenhagen) and Gorton (Manchester), the two case studies investigated in this research.

Copenhagen, is well known for its high wellbeing outcomes (TMF, 2015; WHO, 2020). Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 6, urban design has been strategically used as a tool to promote high liveability outcomes (Gehl, 2009; TMF, 2015, 2022). This study investigates the premise of these strategies, and questions whether there is an application for a socially diverse UK urban context.

Gorton, or Gorton & Abbey Hey, which is its official political ward name, is a ‘left behind’ area to the East of the city centre, which suffers from some of the lowest outcomes in Manchester (See Chapter 8 for details). This thesis understands the persistent levels of deprivation in Gorton, to go beyond spatial inequality and into the realms of spatial injustice (See Chapter 8 for details). This study has collected lived experiences of initiatives that attempt to respond to these challenges by residents, facilitators, local authority agents and designers, to investigate the narratives from different contexts.

Diversity is an important addition to this enquiry, as it reflects current trends and challenges of urban settings. Manchester, for example, has seen a 51.3% increase of ethnic¹ diversity² from the 2011

¹ This work acknowledges that there are, of course, many types of diversities beyond ethnic, such as age, gender, social status, etc. This study does not intend to prioritise one diversity over the other, merely highlights that different people have different needs and values. How different those needs and values are a matter of judgement and perception.

² Figures from 2021 census stands at 28.7%, higher than England’s average of 26.7%. the 51.3% growth is also considerably higher than the average growth in England since 2011 is 39.3% (GMCA, 2023). Denmark has seen similar growth in ethnic diversity to England, although overall proportions are by considerably lower: from 10.1%

census to the 2021 (GMCA, 2023). Nørrebro, the primary location for data collection in Copenhagen, was chosen for its high diversity credentials. Furthermore, all Copenhagen's examples considered in this thesis are driven by 'inclusion of diversity' agendas.

The research approach adopted to appraise these case studies is the 'most different case design' (See Chapter 4 for details), where information flow is one directional. In other words, the intent of this study is to appraise Copenhagen specific urban design practices for their applicability to the needs of the case study in Manchester, and not the other way around.

1.3 Research Rationale: Social Processes, Wellbeing and Urban Design

"Political determination can be conferred upon the grid by the distinction of inclusion and exclusion"
(Mazza, 2009:134)

Notions of 'wellbeing' are not universal or definite. Aspects of wellbeing differ between communities and even across time within the same community (Vincze et al., 2021). Nonetheless, understanding objective as well as subjective wellbeing has become increasingly relevant to measure the progress³ of cities (Quick, 2019). In the UK, the Office for National Statistics (ONS) has been measuring wellbeing since 2010. However, the initial drive for these measures to drive the national financial budget has been scaled down in lieu of the Levelling Up agenda (Bhattacharya, 2022; Button, 2019) .

The landscape of wellbeing in the UK has varied widely since 2010, but inequality of wellbeing continues to grow (Button, 2019; Quick, 2020; WHO, 2020). Deciding whose wellbeing to prioritise is a value judgment and a key consideration for the making and implementation of policy. What is the impact of unequal distribution of wellbeing at neighbourhood level? How can urban design reduce spatial injustice and improve wellbeing?

Differences in our daily environment and living conditions explain 29% of the self-reported inequalities in health in European Union countries (controlling for age and sex). Of this gap, over 90% is explained by differences in housing conditions, fuel poverty, lack of green space, crowding and air pollution, showing the influence of material and environmental deprivation on health and equity. [...]

Academic evidence shows that environmental deprivation levels have an independent effect on health. Regions of the United Kingdom with the poorest physical environments have 18% more deaths than expected in other regions across the country. (WHO, 2023)

in 2011 to 14% in 2021, rate of growth stands at 39%. (DST, 2023). Figures in the City of Copenhagen are also lower: from 13.8% in 2011 to 17.6% in 2021, the proportion of ethnic diversity has increased 27.5%, so significantly lower than the Danish average (Statbank, 2023).

³ New Zealand, for example, introduced a national wellbeing budget in 2019, replacing their traditional GDP focussed financial budget. Public spending in New Zealand has to contribute to wellbeing as well as make financial sense (Button, 2019).

The literature reviewed advocates a strong link between reduced life chances, low wellbeing and inequality. Furthermore, some of the literature also implies that inequality can be spatially structured facilitating the creation of poverty traps where the reproduction of disparity and deprivation is said to be 'contagious' (Galster, 2013, 2019; Jivraj et al., 2019; Kearns et al., 2019). For the purpose of this study, the incapacity to avoid or escape such communicable hardships, defines spatial injustice.

1.3.1 Gap in the knowledge

Following a critical review of the literature on neighbourhood effects (See Chapter 3 for details) the significant factors in determining key life outcomes such as health, education, social exclusion and social/occupational were grouped into the following four overarching categories (Jivraj et al., 2019; Van Ham et al., 2013):

- **Geographical Factors:** Spatial mismatch (access to suitable jobs);
- **Environmental factors:** Exposure to neglected surroundings, violence, hazards and toxins;
- **Social processes:** Cohesion, control, networks and collective socialisation; and
- **Institutional mechanism:** Access to quality public services.

However, the scope of this research cannot comprehensively cover all of the neighbourhood effects, and following an assessment exercise to determine which one to take forward in this investigation (See section 3.6), social processes was found to be the where a contribution to knowledge from this research could be most valuable.

Neighbourhood effects driven by social processes highlight the impact social relationships within a given geography can have on an individual's life chances. Neighbourhoods can have self-regulating social controls, such as peer influence and social cohesion. These controls are subject to the strength and number of weak and strong ties within and across existing social networks (Granovetter 1973, 1983). Intrapersonal communication and intergroup information flow across those ties, can affect the balance between social disorder and collective efficacy (Sampson & Raudenbush 1999). "Behaviours, aspirations, and attitudes may be changed by contact with peers who are neighbours. Under certain conditions these changes can take on contagion dynamics that are akin to "epidemics." (Galster, 2012:25).

Research has also shown that the quality of those weak and strong ties, that is intrapersonal and close relationships are a fundamental aspect of wellbeing. Diener (2012) believes that happy people have better social relationships. Ryff (1995) uses positive relationships as one of six key indicators to measure psychological wellbeing. Seligman (2011) uses authentic connection to others to describe his Flourishing model. In the field of clinical psychology Keyes (2002, 2009) uses supportive relationships to measure social wellbeing.

Social wellbeing, as opposed to individual wellbeing, is associated with the social self, that is, the self as it identifies, reflects and or reacts to others. Social wellbeing is subject to experience of human connections to and the strength of those relationships. These can be close and intimate bonds or the broader and more transient relations within social spheres (Refer to section 2.5).

The above literature review demonstrates how the neighbourhood effect of social processes and measures of wellbeing are intrinsically related. However, it does not explain how urban design can influence those processes.

In 2014, Galster wrote for the McArthur Foundation: “Although we know that neighbourhood influences health, education, work, and other factors, what is less understood is how they affect those outcomes” (2014, p. 1). Since then, he and his colleagues have continued to endeavour to further our knowledge of neighbourhoods (Andersson et al., 2018; Galster, 2019; Galster & Sharkey, 2017; Nordvik & Galster, 2019). Despite the value of their assertions, the gap in the knowledge of how spatial practices affect wellbeing outcomes remains vast. Furthermore, how to implement solutions continues to be a hotly debated topic.

1.3.3 Aims

The following objectives were generated, based on a critical review of the literature and an identification of gaps.

1. To critically explore the role of urban design in fostering wellbeing and spatial justice in socially diverse neighbourhoods that also suffer from deprivation.
2. To critically analyse how urban design can increase wellbeing and increase spatial justice by embracing diversity at neighbourhood level.
3. To develop set of urban design principles to foster wellbeing and increase spatial justice whilst embracing diversity.

1.3.4 Research Questions

This research is primarily concerned with the role that urban design has in promoting wellbeing at neighbourhood level, to ascertain key design principles and processes that may foster wellbeing in diverse neighbourhoods that are also deprived. The formulation of the research questions was driven by the literature review (Refer to section 3.6)

RESEARCH QUESTIONS		
UMBRELLA QUESTION	RQ1	What is the role of urban design in promoting wellbeing and reducing spatial injustice in deprived neighbourhoods that are also socially diverse?
EXPLORATORY QUESTIONS	RQ2	(How) Can Danish urban design approach implemented in Nørrebro be applied to promote wellbeing at neighbourhood level in Gorton & Abbey Hey?
	RQ3	(How) Can Danish urban design approach implemented in Nørrebro be applied to reduce spatial injustice at neighbourhood level in Gorton & Abbey Hey?

Figure 1.2: Research Question table

1.4 Thesis structure and chapter summary

THESIS STRUCTURE		
No.	CHAPTER TITLE	CHAPTER SUMMARY
1	Introduction	This chapter outlines the context and rationale for this research. It also briefly explains the gap in the knowledge, objectives and research questions. It also includes a chapter summary.
2	Literature review: Defining Wellbeing	This chapter presents a thorough exploration of the body of knowledge in relation to wellbeing. It concludes by choosing a definition of wellbeing that helps frame the theme discussion and conclusion.
3	Literature Review: Space, Inequality and injustice	This chapter presents a critical review of academic literature regarding spatial inequality and injustice. It concludes by presenting a neighbourhood framework that helps to determine the gap in the knowledge and the research question (which are outlined in Chapter 1)
4	Research Design	Research design outlines the philosophical stance that frames this research and the data analysis. It also outlines the methods used for data collection. Including reflective notes where appropriate.
5	Analysis: From Creating Codes to Creating Themes	This is a short chapter outlining the theme analysis model used for building codes and themes, including reflective notes and samples where appropriate.
6	Historical & Urban Analysis: Copenhagen & Nørrebro	This chapter offers a critical analysis of the urban history and analysis of Copenhagen, aiming to expose the socio-political drivers that led to its current urban form.
7	Historical & Urban Analysis: Manchester & Gorton	Similarly, to the previous chapter, this chapter also presents a critical analysis of the urban history and analysis of Manchester, revealing the socio-political drivers that led to its current urban form.
8	Theme Report and Discussion	This chapter presents the narrative and discussion in the form of three themes. This is the longest chapter and it presents the core of this research.
9	Conclusion	This chapter concludes this thesis by presenting a summary of the research journey, answers to the research questions, contribution to knowledge, limitations, future work and final reflection.

Figure 1.2: Project Structure and Chapter Summary Table

Chapter 2

Literature Review: Defining Wellbeing

2.1 Introduction

There are many different ways of achieving well-being. How you compare those different approaches on a scale is something I don't know. If well-being is truly multi-dimensional, then policy-makers will have to make judgement calls. It's a value judgement which aspect of well-being you decide is more important.

Daniel Kahneman, in conversation with Lord Richard Layard at the LSE. 15 Nov 2011

Wellbeing can be thought of as “the ultimate goal of human endeavour” (NEF, 2009). Its study can provide a system to measure social progress and as such, wellbeing is fast becoming a key consideration for policy makers. However, a globally accepted definition of wellbeing continues to elude the academic community (Dodge et al., 2012; Kahneman, 2011). “There is considerably more agreement about how to measure wellbeing than about how to define it” (Angner, E. 2011: 5).

Traditionally, wellbeing⁴ has often been researched within social sciences including philosophy, sociology and psychology. However, since the emergence of positive psychology in the 1950's, interest in the field of wellbeing has exploded and its exploration has had a significant impact on other fields such as economics, geography, health, neuroscience, and increasingly policy making (van Hoorn, 2007).

This chapter will review key literature in relation to wellbeing, exploring major approaches to understanding, measuring and defining wellbeing, including hedonia, eudaimonia, integrated approaches, and social and collective wellbeing. This chapter concludes by choosing a single definition that will be taken forth as a guiding principle throughout the thesis.

2.2 Hedonia

2.2.1 Pleasure and Pain

Hedonism can be traced back to Greek philosophers Aristippus and Epicurus. They equated the idea of wellbeing to the experience of pleasure, although with different opinions with regards to the nature of pleasure. Aristippus, a disciple of Socrates, dedicated his life and theories to the physical pursuit of

⁴ This literature review has been primarily concerned with European and Global North understandings of wellbeing. This is done for parity with the chosen case studies, which are the product of European history, traditions, and values. Global importance of other non-Euro centric wellbeing understandings is hereby acknowledged. However, the discussion of these is unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis.

pleasure. He believed in controlling and adapting his circumstances to maximise enjoyment. Epicurus' strand of hedonism promoted an ultimate form of pleasure attained through the intellectual enlightenment of one's surroundings and through the absence of pain.

The idea of pain as the opposite emotion to pleasure was later adopted by utilitarian philosophers such as Jeremy Bentham. He proposed that what was fundamentally valuable and what ultimately motivated people was the balance between pleasure and pain. Wellbeing and happiness, according to Bentham⁵, is the measure of pleasure experienced, exclusive of pain or suffering. This philosophy was central to his ideas on prison reform in the late 18th century and the consequent design of the Panopticon. Here, inmates would be forced into a reformed morality through the strict control of their wellbeing (Evans, 1982). Bentham is also associated with the utilitarian theory of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'⁶ This principle, according to The Bentham Project at UCL (2010b a), was "his starting point for a radical critique of society, which aimed to test the usefulness of existing institutions, practices and beliefs against an objective evaluative standard". As an active law critic and reformer, he applied his doctrines of wellbeing to suffrage, religion, international law, animal welfare, and the decriminalisation of homosexuality. Notably he was the first to produce a utilitarian justification for democracy as well as for social equality: 'All inequality is a source of evil – the inferior loses more in the account of happiness than by the superior is gained.' (Bentham, 1822⁷ quoted in Campos Boralevi et al., 1996, p. 2).

Bentham's influence on government policy reforms of the 19th century is still subject to academic debate (Bentham Project, 1999). His association between wellbeing, happiness and equality are of particular interest to this study, and I intend to expand on this subject at a later stage. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that his chosen terminology, specifically the use of 'pain' as the opposite of 'pleasure' can cloud the perception of the modern reader. During his lifetime, public executions were still popular events and a key aspect to governance (Clark, 2009; Spierenburg, 1984). Consequently, notions of 'pain' were often equated with punishment, suffering, and bodily harm (Spierenburg, 1984; Foucault, 1975). Spierenburg (1984:IX), further explains that when the shift of attitude of the ruling class shift towards sensibility suffering reached a 'critical threshold', pain and bodily harm were finally removed from public life into the confine of the penitentiaries. This change in sensibility or conscience formation spread throughout all aspects of life from family to politics (Elias, 1939; Sennett, 2003). One of the most conspicuous changes may have been the removal of suffering and pain from the public sphere, but pleasure also slowly retreated behind closed doors. Perhaps it was the retrieval of both

⁵ In the spring of 1776, in his first substantial (though anonymous) publication, *A Fragment on Government*, Jeremy Bentham invoked what he described as a 'fundamental axiom, it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong.' (A Comment on the Commentaries and A Fragment on Government, ed. J. H. Burns and H. L. A. Hart, in *The Collected Works of Jeremy Bentham* (London, 1977), p. 393.

⁶ This statement appeared in 1776, in Bentham's first substantial (though anonymous) publication, "*A Fragment on Government*" as well as in "*An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*" in 1789. Bentham used the principle of utility as a critical tool by which the value of laws, institutions, practices, and beliefs could be tested, and if required, improved. The Bentham Project, 2010 "Bentham's life, legacy, writings and the work of the Bentham Project: the greatest happiness of the greatest number." UCL, London.

⁷ Jeremy Bentham, 1822. *First Principles preparatory to Constitutional Code*.

pain and pleasure to the autonomous sphere of privacy that eventually blurred the distinction between these two terms.

2.2.2 Hedonism and Subjective Wellbeing

To hedonic philosophers, pleasure and pain were seen as key measures of happiness and unhappiness, of good and bad life emotions. They believed that humans essentially seek to maximise their experience of pleasure and minimise their experience of pain; maximising pleasure was seen as a way of maximising the good in one's life and vice-versa. However, the experience of pleasure or pain is often subject to the individual's association with enjoyment, happiness, wellbeing or suffering. More recent research often uses the term 'affect' to define moods and emotions (i.e. positive affect or negative affect) and to describe people's evaluations of their own life events (Diener et al., 1999).

Ed Diener, professor emeritus of psychology at the University of Illinois and senior scientist for the Gallup Organization has been researching Subjective Well-Being (SWB) since the early 80's. He started by using the Experience Sampling method⁸ in 1981 to assess people's moods across time and situations. "Although there are some cultural differences in what might be considered 'good' or desirable behaviour, there is certainly some consensus too. Everywhere in the world, people want to be happy, to get along with other people, to have their needs met, to develop and grow, and to have respect. People want to love and to be loved. It is these universals that we want to study as positive psychologists." (Diener, 2012, quoted in Jarden, 2012, p. 88)⁹

'Positive psychology' studies positive qualities of human behaviour and functions that make life generally happier, more peaceful, and more desirable. Research on positive psychology has revealed that the relationship between positive and negative affect is complex and not always inversely correlated. In other words, wellbeing is not necessarily the opposite to illbeing (Lucas, Diener & Suh, 1996). Furthermore, the lack of interrelation between the two constructs increases with time¹⁰ (Diener & Emmons, 1984). Positive and negative affects should be considered distinct factors and measured separately (Bradburn & Caplovitz, 1965; Diener, Smith & Fujita, 1995; Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith 1999) particularly when research emphasis is on long term moods rather than momentary emotions -

⁸ Larson and Csikszentmihalyi explain that "The Experience Sampling Method (ESM) is a research procedure for studying what people do, feel, and think during their daily lives, It consists in asking individuals to provide systematic self-reports at random occasions during the waking hours of a normal week. Sets of these self-reports from a sample of individuals create an archival file of daily experience. Using this file, it becomes possible to address such questions as these: How do people spend their time? What do they usually feel like when engaged in various activities? How do men and women, adolescents and adults, disturbed and normal samples differ in their daily psychological states?" (Larson & Csikszentmihalyi, 2014:21)

⁹ Jarden, A. (2012). Positive Psychologists on Positive Psychology: Ed Diener, International Journal of Wellbeing, 2(2), 88-91.

¹⁰ Diener and Emmons (1984) devised five studies to investigate the relationship between positive and negative affects. Test participants included 776 undergraduates and 34 33-85 year old community residents. Studies explored the associations of positive and negative affects from daily mood reports as well as memories of emotions spanning from a month to year old. The principal finding indicated that the correlation between the two types of affect differ greatly subject to the timeframe. Positive and negative affects became progressively independent as the time frame increased.

what Kahneman describes as the experiencing and remembering selves respectively (as discussed on section 1.3).

The supporters of hedonism tend to focus their research methods on the use of subjective approaches, in which individuals themselves are considered to be in the best position to determine how well they are and what makes them happy (Henderson & Knight, 2012). Thus, hedonism is often associated with measures of Subjective Well-Being. (SWB).

Subjective wellbeing focuses on happiness (Kahneman, Diener, & Schwarz, 1999) and generally consists of three dimensions that should be measured separately (e.g., Wilson 1967, Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith 1999; Diener & Seligman, 2004; Kahneman, Diener, & Schwarz, 2003):

- Presence of positive mood (or positive affect)
- Absence of negative mood (or negative affect)
- Life satisfaction

Despite their distinctiveness, the above components are also strongly correlated (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith 1999) as they present contrasting dimensions of personal reactions to life events. The assessment of moods or 'affect', suggest 'real time' investigations of an individual's response to his/her life events, whilst life satisfaction represents a more analytical dimension to SWB, where the individual is asked to evaluate life as a whole or judge his/her satisfaction with more specific life domains.

PLEASANT AFFECT (Positive affect)	UNPLEASANT AFFECT (Negative affect)	LIFE SATISFACTION	DOMAIN SATISFACTIONS
Joy	Guilt & Shame	Desire to change life	Work
Elation	Sadness	Satisfaction with current life	Family
Contentment	Anxiety & worry	Satisfaction with past	Leisure / Health
Affection	Stress	Satisfaction with future	Finances
Happiness	Depression	Significant others' views on one's life	Self
Ecstasy	Envy		One's group

Figure 2.3: Components of Subjective Wellbeing

SOURCE: Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith, (1999). *Subjective Well-Being: Three Decades of Progress. International Journal of Wellbeing*, 2(3), p. 277.

The table, "Components of Subjective Wellbeing" (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith 1999:277, above) illustrates a range of paradigms often identified with the study of SWB. Diener's team has pioneered research on aspects that can affect happiness, such as income, sex, character, aspirations and social

and cultural background¹¹. Due to the broadness of these studies, Diener and his colleagues have chosen to describe SWB as “a general area of scientific interest rather than a specific construct” (Diener, Suh, Lucas, & Smith 1999:178).

“Not only is happiness a pleasant state, but in most ways, it is a particularly helpful one. For instance, happy people are healthier and live longer. They have better social relationships and stay married longer. They volunteer more, and they are better citizens. Some of our work even finds that they make more money.” (Diener, 2012, quote in (Jarden, 2012, p. 89).

2.2.3 Experienced Wellbeing and Remembered Wellbeing

Daniel Kahneman, Nobel Prize-winning psychologist often known for his research on behavioural psychology, highlights some key issues with the measurement of happiness. His work deals with the relationship between the cognitive processes of perception and memory versus self-reported measures of pleasant and unpleasant experiences (Kahneman et al., 2003; Kahneman & Riis, 2005; Kahneman 2011).

“It is a common assumption of everyday conversation that people can provide accurate answers to questions about their feelings, both past (e.g., 'How was your vacation?') and current (e.g., 'Does this hurt?'). Although the distinction is mostly ignored, the two kinds of questions are vastly different. Introspective evaluations of past episodes depend on two achievements that are not required for reports of immediate experience: accurate retrieval of feelings and reasonable integration of experiences that are spread over time” (Kahneman & Riis, 2005:285).

Kahneman (2005) makes a clear distinction between the ‘experiencing-self’ and the ‘remembering-self’. The experiencing-self lives in the moment, adapts easily and can identify present emotions, comfort levels, and so forth. However, only a few of these experiences are passed on to the ‘remembering-self’ to keep and evaluate; the rest are lost. “Unlike the experiencing self, the remembering self is relatively stable and permanent. It is a basic fact of the human condition that memories are what we get to keep from our experience, and the only perspective that we can adopt as we think about our lives is therefore that of the remembering self” (Kahneman & Riis, 2005:286). Kahneman equates reports from experiencing-self as experience happiness and reports from remembering-self as reported life satisfaction. As much as they are distinctive, they are also complementary and both measures are essential to ascertain a true picture of wellbeing.

2.3 Eudaimonia

2.3.1 Aristotle and the ‘Good Life’

Not everyone agrees that the pursuit of pleasure is the path to happiness or indeed wellbeing. Aristotle originated the eudemonic perspective (from daimon - true nature), which focuses on

¹¹ Jarden, A. (2012). Positive Psychologists on Positive Psychology: Ed Diener, *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 2(2), 88–89.

personal achievement. In this instance, wellbeing is attained by performing worthwhile undertakings and by leading a virtuous or “good life” (Henderson & Knight, 2012).

Fromm (1981), described the ‘good life’ as that which discerns “between those needs (desires) that are only subjectively felt and whose satisfaction leads to momentary pleasure, and those needs that are rooted in human nature and whose realization is conducive to human growth and produces eudaimonia, i.e., “well-being.” In other words, the distinction between purely subjectively felt needs and objectively valid needs—part of the former being harmful to human growth and the latter being in accordance with the requirements of human nature” (Fromm,1981:xxvi, quoted in Ryan & Deci, 2001:145).

To Aristotle, a virtuous life included actions of justice, kindness and honesty as well meaningful personal and social development (Henderson & Knight, 2012). In contrast to hedonia, eudaimonia deals with personal growth and self-actualization. Aristotle believed pleasure was a vulgar pursuit as it made people slaves to their desires (Ryan & Deci, 2001; Henderson & Knight, 2012). Happiness or hedonic pleasure should only be attained through meaningful actions. Aristotle was not against the feeling of pleasure but its selfish pursuit (Waterman, 2008).

Ryan & Deci also express apprehension towards the association of wellbeing and the pursuit of hedonic desires: “from the eudemonic perspective, subjective happiness cannot be equated with well-being” (Ryan & Deci, 2001:146). This apprehension stems from the unlimited causes of pleasure. Not all desires that a person pursues contribute to an increase of wellness (typical examples may be the consumption of alcohol or illicit drugs). As joy does not necessarily lead to wellbeing, eudaimonia makes a clear distinction between wellbeing and happiness. According to Seligman (2011), the idea of ‘happiness’ is an ambiguous construct that can disguise the complex nature of human flourishing (Dodge et al., 2012).

Waterman (1993) describes the path to eudemonic wellbeing through the full engagement of activities closely related to deeply held individual values. “Under such circumstances people would feel intensely alive and authentic, existing as who they really are” (Ryan & Deci, 2001:146) Waterman called this ‘personal expressiveness’ (PE). Although Waterman’s research demonstrated a link between SWB and PE, it also showed that they were distinctive experiences. For instance, PE seemed to have strong associations with challenge, fulfilment and personal growth and hedonic wellbeing had stronger relations to feeling relaxed, away from problems and happy. (Ryan & Deci, 2001:146).

Aristotle’s eudaimonia is often regarded as an objective approach¹², as the virtuous life is measured through predetermined external considerations (Henderson & Knight, 2012). It seems that from a eudemonic perspective, levels of happiness are less significant than the path that leads to that happiness.

¹² For a detailed review of subjective and objective measures see Tiberius, V., & Hall, A. (2010). Normative theory and psychological research: Hedonism, eudaimonism, and why it matters. *The Journal of Positive Psychology*, 5(3), 212-225.

2.3.2 Eudaimonia and Psychological Wellbeing

Eudemonic psychologists have produced a diverse body of definitions for wellbeing. Perhaps this is due to the nature of eudaimonia itself, as it urges for an 'objective' and external reflexion of basic values and ideals of the life experience before these are tested on individuals. Some of the current characteristics defining wellbeing include personal expression, purpose, autonomy, competence, self-realisation, mindfulness, self-acceptance, authenticity, and social connectedness (Waterman, 1993; Baumeister & Vohs, 2002; Huta & Ryan, 2010; Ryan & Deci, 2000). The diverse array of potential components defining eudemonic wellbeing present eudaimonia as "a more complex and elusive concept than hedonia" (Henderson & Knight, 2012:198).

Drawing on Aristotle, Dr. Carol D. Ryff, Professor of Psychology and Director of the Institute on Ageing at the University of Wisconsin, has described well-being as "the striving for perfection that represents the realization of one's true potential" (Ryff 1995:100). She questions SWB as being over reliant on the unchallenged perception that happiness offers the ultimate life experience (Ryff, 1995). As a follower of the eudemonic tradition, she highlights Aristotle's distinction between 'right' and 'wrong' desires (Ryff, 1995). Her team has focussed their research on what they call 'Psychological Wellbeing' (PWB) to describe positive psychological functioning as opposed to negative or psychological dysfunction.

PWB is assessed through self-acceptance, positive relationships, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life, and personal growth (Ryff 1995:99). These six key characteristics are a result of a comprehensive multidimensional review study of contemporary literature including mental health, developmental psychology and clinical psychology (Ryff, 1995).

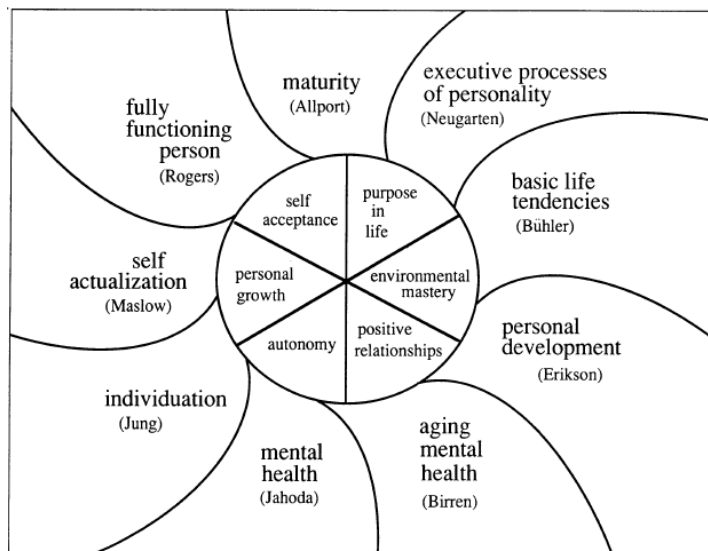


Figure 2.4: Core dimensions of well-being and their theoretical origins

SOURCE: Ryff, (1995). Well-Being in Adult Life. Current Directions in Psychological Science, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Aug., 1995), p. 100.

The results of their research have demonstrated that PWB can influence emotional and physical health including aspects relating to immunological systems. (Ryan & Deci, 2001). Some other queries that have been tested through the PWB key characteristics include gender variations and profile of change across different ages as well as culture (Ryff, 1995). It is interesting to note that this research was conducted within the objective framework of elements deduced from empirical research but using the self-reporting methods often used with SWB research.

2.3.3 Flow, the Optimal Experience

If the focus of Eudaimonia is personal achievement, flow, as described by Csikszentmihalyi, (2002) is its ultimate expression. According to Csikszentmihalyi (2002), happiness is not something that just happens, but rather a “condition that must be prepared for, cultivated, and defended privately by each person” (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002:2). For over twenty-five years, he has investigated the path to happiness, concluding that ‘flow’, defined as a deep sense of enjoyment that may create landmark memories does not usually come from passive activities, but from a sense of exhilaration during peak challenges where skills match the opportunity for action.

It is worth noting that, in his book “Flow: The Classic Work on how to Achieve Happiness” (2002), Csikszentmihalyi is careful to quickly substitute controversial terms such as happiness and pleasure for more assertive expressions such as ‘optimal experience’. Flow, as the ‘optimal experience’, then presents an active state entirely within the control of the individual which can only be achieved through complete focus on a goal-directed behaviour. Although flow can also occur by chance, it is more likely to be the result of a structured activity, or from a person’s capacity to make flow happen. According to Csikszentmihalyi, an individual may induce a flow-like state by adapting the environment or external conditions to match his/her goals or by modifying the way those conditions are managed towards a more optimal experience.

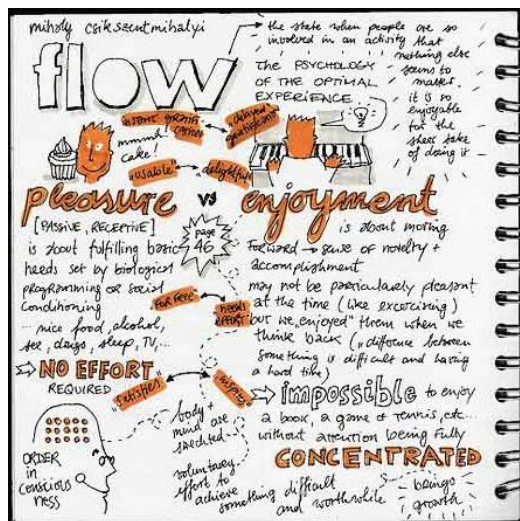


Figure 2.5: Happiness as a flow-like state

SOURCE: Pursuit of Happiness, (2016). History of Happiness: Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi. <http://www.pursuit-of-happiness.org/history-of-happiness/mihaly-csikszentmihalyi/>.

In his book *Authentic Happiness* (2002), Martin Seligman builds on Csikszentmihalyi's work by proposing that happiness can be induced through a suitable balance of pleasure and flow. According to Seligman, the positive emotional components of pleasure tend to have a temporary value and require an element of gratification that can be sustained through a prolonged period of time to achieve optimal inner experience or flow.

2.4 Integrated Wellbeing Approaches

2.4.1 Integrated Approaches: Recent Research

The debate between hedonism and eudaimonia continues to the present day, however, now many researchers recognise the multi-dimensional aspects of wellbeing and agree that there are strands of truth in both traditions (e.g., Diener, 2009; Michaelson et al., 2009; Stiglitz, Sen, & Fitoussi 2009)¹³. Hedonia and eudaimonia traditions may be distinct but should not be exclusive of each other. In fact, they should be treated as complementary measures of wellbeing¹⁴.

A range of concepts of integrated wellbeing are gradually emerging as scholars continue to explore the benefits of both hedonic and eudemonic traditions (e.g. Huppert & So, 2009). Comprehensive investigations can convey both the nature of wellbeing, as well as a process leading to wellbeing.

¹³ Dodge, R., Daly, A., Huyton, J., & Sanders, L. (2012). The challenge of defining wellbeing. *International Journal of Wellbeing*, 2(3), 223.

¹⁴ For comprehensive study of the benefits of a multi-dimensional approach to wellbeing see (Henderson & Knight, 2012; Ryan & Deci, 2001).

Whilst integrated methodologies are relatively new, the term 'flourishing' is often found amongst these studies to capture a sense of both psychological and subjective wellbeing, of self-realisation and happiness. "Emerging from the literature is the suggestion that a life rich in both hedonic and eudemonic pursuits is associated with the greatest degree of wellbeing (Huta & Ryan, 2010)" (Henderson & Knight, 2012:197).

Ryan and Deci (2001) have performed a comprehensive review of empirical research on both hedonic and eudemonic traditions and their relationship. They found that, although proof of their distinctness was overwhelming there was also considerable overlap between the two traditions. Dr. Heather L. Urry of the University of Wisconsin, in collaboration with Prof. Carol D. Ryff (amongst others), brought a neuroscience perspective to the wellbeing debate. The research analysed EEG-based responses on subjects that had been evaluated in a study which included measures of eudemonic wellbeing, hedonic wellbeing, and positive affect (Urry et al., 2004). The results showed that negative affect increased right pre-frontal patterns. Inversely, positive affect moods activated left pre-frontal responses. Interestingly, when the study was adjusted to omit hedonic wellbeing responses, the left frontal activation could still be used to predict eudemonic wellbeing. It seems that in addition to a philosophical difference, our neurological responses to hedonic and eudemonic wellbeing are also discrete.

Commented [ASG3]: JPH - is Wellbeings a word?

Within the field of clinical psychology, Keyes (2002; 2009) has described mental health as positive functioning in life when participants display a high level of one hedonic feature and more than half of eudemonic aspects. He has used a similar precision to establish a prognosis of flourishing from a specific combination of social wellbeing (supportive relationships, trust and belonging), emotional wellbeing (happiness, interest in life, and satisfaction), and psychological wellbeing measures¹⁵. Keyes 'definite' diagnosis methods may seem somewhat arbitrary to assess an area so subjected to individual life experiences and perspectives. However, his systematic approach has advanced the field of positive psychology by re-defining attributes such as 'languishing' and 'flourishing' in scientific terms, not just as philosophical approaches.

2.4.2 Flourishing, Wellbeing and Authentic Happiness

"As a society, we need to know how people can flourish" (Dunn & Dougherty, 2008, p. 314).

Since the 2002 Keyes flourishing-languishing model was published, (See section 3.1), multiple subsequent measures of flourishing have been proposed. For instance, Huppert and So (2009) study takes advantage of the wellbeing module in the 2006/7 European Social Survey (Jowell & The Central Co-ordinating Team, 2003) to present the first cross national study of flourishing (Hone et al. 2014).

¹⁵ "In his 2002 research, Keyes asked youths to report the frequency of three symptoms of emotional wellbeing, four symptoms of psychological wellbeing and five symptoms of social wellbeing. Keyes made a 'diagnosis of flourishing' if the individual displayed a third of the emotional symptoms, four of the psychological symptoms and five of the nine symptoms of positive flourishing, 'almost every day' or 'every day' in the past thirty days." (Dodge et al., 2012)

Diener and colleagues produced their Flourishing Scale in 2010 (Diener et al., 2010), which was driven by evaluations of emotional wellbeing.

The term 'Flourishing' refers to high levels of wellbeing (Diener et al., 2010; Fredrickson & Losada, 2005; Hone et al., 2014; Huppert & So, 2009; Keyes, 2002; Seligman, 2011) and is a key concept in Positive Psychology. The Declaration of Alma Ata 1978 (WHO, n.d.) defined health as 'a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity'. The preoccupation of psychology with mental wellness (as opposed to illness) can be dated back to William James at the beginning of the Twentieth Century. His writings on healthy mindedness versus 'sick souls' proposed that optimism and pessimism are powerful religious experiences. According to James, a healthy mind can only be obtained through the unconditional search for a higher purpose in life (James, 1902). By mid-century, studies on highly positive states of minds were propelled by humanistic theory. Such is Abraham Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs model, which places self-actualisation at the top of the pyramid (Maslow, 1954). Towards the end of the century, research in positive Psychology thrived through a distinct shift in methodology; the theoretical approach of humanistic research began to be coupled with scientific investigation. Prominent, pioneering researchers include (amongst others) Fredrickson, and her broaden-and-build theory (2004), where she studies the relationship between actions and emotions. She proposes that whilst negative emotions are associated with 'urges to act' (e.g., fear generates the urge to flee), positive emotions do not necessarily encourage physical reaction, but do trigger significant cognitive action (Fredrickson, 1998, 2004 & 2005). Csikszentmihalyi, and his model of 'Flow' (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002). As discussed in section 2.3, Csikszentmihalyi's studies, were fundamental to Martin Seligman research, who used his passion for wellbeing and position as APA president to shift the focus of research in America from pathology to the study of positive emotions. Seligman's own research led to the direct association between Flourishing and Positive Psychology.

On the first day of his presidency of the American Psychological Society (APA) in 1998 Seligman stated that: "I realized that my profession was half-baked. It wasn't enough for us to nullify disabling conditions and get to zero. We needed to ask, what are the enabling conditions that make human beings flourish? How do we get from zero to plus five?" (Seligman, 1998, cited in Wallis, 2005, online). This section will focus on one of the most recent flourishing constructs, the PERMA model by Martin Seligman (Seligman, 2011).

In his book entitled 'Flourish: A Visionary New Understanding of Happiness and Well-being', Seligman (2011), outlines his wellbeing theory and the elements that he believes constitute the building blocks for a flourishing life: Positive Emotion (feeling good, an aspect of happiness and life satisfaction), Engagement (being completely absorbed in activities or flow), Relationships (authentic connections to others), Meaning (purposeful existence), and Accomplishment (sense of accomplishment and success). Seligman refers to these components as PERMA.

Rather than defining wellbeing, each of these elements presents a distinctive factor of wellbeing (Dodge et al., 2012:226). Together they offer a path towards flourishing in life. As an integrated approach, some aspects of the PERMA components are measured solely subjectively by self-report

(positive emotions and engagement), but others (relationship, meaning and accomplishments) have objective as well as subjective facets of measurements (Seligman, 2011:25).

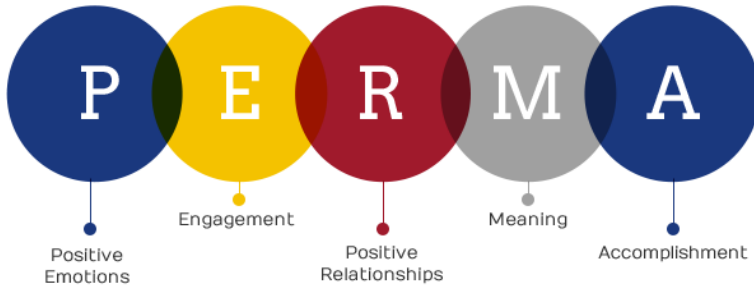


Figure 2.6: The Five elements of PERMA

SOURCE: Seligman, (2011). www.authentic happiness.sas.upenn.edu/learn

The PERMA construct presents a development as well as a departure from Seligman’s earlier theory of authentic happiness (2002). It is a development because the three authentic happiness constructs -positive emotion, engagement and meaning- have been absorbed into PERMA. However, with his Flourishing construct, Seligman attempts to take away the focus of positive psychology from happiness towards wellbeing. Wellbeing, Seligman now insists (2011), is not happiness.

Authentic happiness, according to Seligman (2011), is defined by the measurement of life satisfaction. Wellbeing is measured through flourishing. “Authentic happiness theory is one-dimensional: it is about feeling good and it claims that the way we choose our life course is to try to maximize how we feel. Well-being theory is about all five pillars, the underpinnings of the five elements is the strengths. Well-being theory is plural in method as well as substance [...] well-being is a combination of feeling good as well as actually having meaning, good relationships, and accomplishment. The way we choose our course in life is to maximize all five of these elements” (Seligman, 2011:24-25).

	AUTHENTIC HAPPINESS THEORY (Seligman, 2002)	WELLBEING THEORY (Seligman, 2011)
TOPIC	Happiness	Wellbeing
MEASURE	Life Satisfaction	Positive emotion, engagement, positive relationships, meaning, and accomplishment
GOAL	Increase Life Satisfaction	Increase flourishing by increasing positive emotion, engagement, positive relationships, meaning, and accomplishment

Figure 2.7: Authentic Happiness Theory vs. Wellbeing Theory table

SOURCE: Seligman, (2011). *Flourish: A Visionary New Understanding of Happiness and Well-Being*. New York, NY: Free Press, pp 12

2.5 Social and Collective Wellbeing

The impact of the urban context on wellbeing is one key theme of this thesis, which will be explored fully at a later stage. However, in order to build a spatial theory, we must first consider the different definitions related to social wellbeing.

2.5.1 Social Wellbeing

The National Institute for Health and Care Excellence (NICE) identifies three key types of wellbeing:

“Emotional Wellbeing: this includes being happy and confident and not anxious or depressed;

Psychological Wellbeing – this includes the ability to be autonomous, problem-solve, manage emotions, experience empathy, be resilient and attentive;

Social Wellbeing – has good relationships with others and does not have behavioural problems, that is, they are not disruptive, violent or a bully.” (NICE, 2013:2)

The importance of human interactions as a factor of wellbeing cannot be overestimated. For instance, the 2011 Seligman’s PERMA construct (see section 3.2) highlights positive relationships as an essential measure of wellbeing as well as a goal of wellbeing. “Warm, intimate relationships are the most important prologue to a good life” according to George Vaillant (Ghent, 2011), director of the Harvard Study of Adult Development. Better known as The Grant Study, this investigation was set up by Dr. Arlie V. Bock in 1938 to assess what it takes to live and age well and it is one of the longest running studies of adult life (Ghent, 2011).

2.5.2 Collective Wellbeing

Social wellbeing is subject to experience of human connections to and the strength of those relationships. These can be close and intimate bonds or the broader and more transient relations within social spheres (NEF, 2009). Social wellbeing is associated with the social self, that is, the self as it identifies, reflects and or reacts to others. “The self-concept is not a singular, monolithic cognitive structure. Instead, it comprises three fundamental components: the individual self, relational self, and collective self” (Sedikides, Gaertner & O’Mara, 2011): 2011:98). These realms are distinguishable but coexist within each individual (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001):

- Individual Self: pivots around each person’s unique characteristics, such as abilities, skills, and preferences;
- Relational Self: concerned with significant relationships; and
- Collective Self: deals with large impersonal social groups.

All three selves are vital constituents of human experience and with each aspect being associated with psychological wellbeing and health benefits (Sedikides & Brewer, 2001).

Suh & Sung (2009) define collective well-being as “a sense of satisfaction or happiness derived from or related to the collective dimension of the self” (Suh & Sung, 2009). Collective wellbeing is subject to specific membership in groups or social categories (e.g., ethnic group, gender, nationality, social class). Suh & Sung (2009) continue to explain how a person’s wellbeing may be affected by the collective self: “Merely belonging to a socially stigmatized group (e.g., gay), for example, may create minority stress that leads to various negative mental health consequences. Conversely, a strong performance of a group one identifies with (e.g., Red Sox winning the World Series) can temporarily boost the individual’s morale and sense of well-being. Because the social reputation of one’s group has a direct impact on the person’s esteem, people try in various ways to protect and enhance the positive image of the group they belong to.” (Suh & Sung, 2009).

2.5.3 Community Wellbeing

Community wellbeing is a form of collective wellbeing, although there is no consensus on its exact definition (Lee & Kim, 2015). Lee and Kim’s 2015 paper brings to light different arguments and attempts to clarify the meaning of community wellbeing by exposing and analysing overlapping concepts. To define community, they highlight two key aspects: a functional social bond between people of similar pursuits and a spatial dimension where the social interaction occurs within a geographical area (Fellin, 2001; Hillery 1955; Lee & Kim, 2015). “We use community to refer to a geographically bound group of people on a local scale who are subject to either direct or indirect interaction with each other.” (Lee & Kim, 2015:11).

According to Lee & Kim most definitions of community wellbeing recognised the needs, desires, aspirations, or goals of the individual and collective group (e.g., Hay et al., 1996; Brasher & Wiseman, 2008; Kusel & Fortmann, 1991; Ribova, 2000). However, the most comprehensive accounts also embrace physical, political and environmental concepts (Lee & Kim, 2015:15).

“[community] [is] a number of people who have some degree of common identity or concerns often related to a particular locality or conditions ... a community is not a thing. It is a number of people who have repeated dealing with each other. When community is identifiable with a locality, CWB, the quality of community life is intimately connected with: how well that locality is functioning; how well that locality is governed; how the services in that locality are operating; and how safe, pleasant and rewarding it feels to live in that locality.” (Chanan, 2002. Quoted from Lee & Kim 2015:13)

2.6 Towards a Definition of Wellbeing

“How we define well-being influences our practices of government, teaching, therapy, parenting, and preaching, as all such endeavours aim to change humans for the better, and thus require some vision of what ‘the better’ is”

Ryan & Deci, 2001. On Happiness and Human Potentials. Annual Reviews, pp. 142.

Traditionally, large comparative surveys¹⁶ have used wellbeing indicators generally focussed on objective data collected from administrative records (such as income, marital status, education, health). However, objective indicators in isolation are not sufficient for the assessment of wellbeing (Ryff, 1995) or the development of policy. Subjective measures based on experience sampling and self-reports including key dimensions such as happiness, life satisfaction, self-acceptance, personal growth, and social connectedness are also critical.

“Many nationally representative surveys have employed broad socio-demographic factors, such as income, education, age, and marital and parental status, to explain variations in subjective well-being. In combination, these broad factors rarely account for even 10% of the variance in reports of happiness or life satisfaction. From our perspective, understanding who does and does not possess a high profile of well-being requires closer examination of the actual substance of people’s lives, that is, their life experiences” (Ryff, 1995:102)

As discussed so far, wellbeing is generally understood as a positive state and a high level of satisfaction with one’s life. These can be attained through positive emotional experiences (such as meaningful relationships), and/or fulfilment of personal goals and constructive social functioning. Wellbeing is considered a dynamic rather than a static concept, as it relies on life experiences (Ryff, 1995; Csikszentmihalyi, 2002; Seligman, 2011). However personal perception of those experiences may vary with time (Kahneman, 2011).

In this research on wellbeing, eudaimonia and hedonia will be regarded as complementary rather than opposing traditions. It is the belief of this researcher that happiness alone does not guarantee wellbeing, and yet, the pursuit of wellbeing without happiness is a vacuous endeavour. Despite the different natures, happiness and wellbeing are both halves of the same goal: to live a life worth living. It is for this reason that, regardless of their distinctive nature, in subsequent chapters, the terms will be used interchangeably: not because we believe they have the same meaning, but because by the application of one term I would like to acknowledge the importance of the other.

As discussed in the opening paragraph of this paper, there is no universal consensus when it comes to defining wellbeing. This thesis aims to explore and expose fundamental concepts of wellbeing, and to endorse one a suitable construct that may serve as a guiding principle throughout the rest of the research. At this stage, the overall intention is to use key aspects of wellbeing to qualify and assess the impact of inequality in urban design. Therefore, a central aspect of the chosen wellbeing construct must be its compatibility with urban design processes. Although it may not address all aspects of wellbeing, this paper proposes that as a minimum requirement it should acknowledge environmental mastery (Ryff, 1995) as well as embrace the division between collective and individual practises, and

¹⁶ For example, the UNICEF (2007) comparative study of child wellbeing in rich countries included children living in homes below the poverty line, children in homes where there was no employed adult, and children in homes where there were few education resources, as indicators of low wellbeing within the domain of ‘material wellbeing’. (Statham & Chase, 2010, p. 5).

life experiences and life satisfaction (happiness, experiencing self vs. remembering self) (See Kahneman, 2005).

Some current definitions used for policy guidance include the Government Office for Science Foresight Report on Mental Capital and Wellbeing (2008). This body defines mental wellbeing “as a dynamic state that is enhanced when people can fulfil their personal and social goals and achieve a sense of purpose in society”. Although this definition refers to mental wellbeing, its template can be considered relevant to this thesis as it emphasises the social context of wellbeing by focusing on interaction at individual and social levels. However, it omits collective elements, physical environment and happiness.

In contrast to Foresight, DEFRA (Department for Environment Food & Rural Affairs, 2010) describes wellbeing as “a positive physical, social and mental state occurs when several basic needs are met (eg. Education or shelter) and one perceives a sense of purpose, including being able to achieve important personal goals to take part in society”. This definition also emphasises social and community aspects and acknowledges the physical context of wellbeing. However, with regards to the physical environment, it implies that a minimum standard is sufficient, which somehow limits the scope of wellbeing. As with Foresight’s definition, it also omits collective aspects and happiness.

The NEF (New Economics Foundation, 2008) defines wellbeing as a dynamic process, in which a person’s external circumstances interact with their psychological resources to satisfy – to a greater or lesser extent – their psychological needs and to give rise to positive feelings of happiness and satisfaction (Marks & Thomson, 2008:2). Although the NEF presents a broader definition than Foresight and DEFRA by embracing the dynamic equilibrium between external conditions and internal resources, it does so by focusing on the individual, thus also lacking a social or collective dimension.

	FORESIGHT (2008)	DEFRA (2010)	NEF (2008)	DODGE et al. (2012)
KEY ASPECTS	Dynamic state personal/social goals sense of purpose	Positive physical, social & mental state; basic needs; sense of purpose (inc. personal goals & role in society)	Dynamic process; physical & psychological resources; positive feelings; happiness; life satisfaction	Dynamic process; Equilibrium, Challenges and Resources
PROS	Emphasis on social context and interaction at individual and social levels.	Emphasis on social and community aspects; acknowledges physical context of wellbeing.	Broad definition; emphasis on balance of physical mental resources	Appears highly compatible with urban design processes
CONS	Mental wellbeing only Omits elements from collective perspective, physical environment and happiness.	Min standard for physical context; omits collective aspects and happiness	Lacks collective and social aspects	Simple two dimensional construct may limit evaluations

Figure 2.8: Comparison of definitions for wellbeing

The wellbeing construct proposed to be taken forward through this thesis is that of Dodge and her colleagues (2012). In their attempt to develop a universal definition of wellbeing they have drawn

on key theories such as flow, flourishing and dynamism to outline three key aspects of wellbeing: Equilibrium, Challenges and Resources.

2.6.1 Equilibrium

A key aspect of wellbeing is explored by the theory of Dynamic Equilibrium (DE) or set point theory (Headey & Wearing, 1992, 1989, 2006; Brickman and Campbell, 1971). The DE theory illustrates how, in any stable situation, the dynamic properties of wellbeing are somewhat controlled: “individuals generally seem to oscillate around their own set point of wellbeing” (Headey, 2006). Headey and Wearing’s work (1992) implies links between personality, life events, wellbeing and illbeing. However, they also recognise that the DE theory requires further exploration to make it “more dynamic” (Headey, 2006:369). Their work has nonetheless found that this set point of equilibrium largely indicates ‘high’ levels of wellbeing, with ratings above midpoint:

“In the absence of recent major life changes, people arrive at an equilibrium state in which their present life is viewed as being almost as satisfying as the life they expect, the best life they could aspire to, the life they feel they deserve and the best previous period of their life. Their present life is regarded as considerably better than the worst previous period of their life, and than the life of the average person in the country” (Headey & Wearing, 1992:8).

Headey & Wearing’s research reveals that the DE theory is true¹⁷ for advantaged and disadvantaged sections of the community in most countries in which life studies have been conducted¹⁸ (1992:8). Their research suggests that the consistent reported levels of SWB are partly due to adjustment of perceptions in relation to aspirations, expectations, sense of equality, and so forth. “Human beings construct their world to arrive at a psychologically consistent set of perceptions—an equilibrium state—which supports or bolsters a feeling of well-being” (Headey & Wearing, 1992:8).

Headey & Wearing proposed (1992) that SWB generally remains in a state of equilibrium¹⁹ unless subjected to major life events, such as marriage, divorce, illness, death, job changes, and so forth

¹⁷ “This emphasis on equilibrium is not new and reflects the work of Herzlich (1973). Her research emphasised that individuals saw equilibrium not only as a norm but also as a state that they would like to ‘attain or keep’ (p. 59). Interestingly, in contrast to Headey and Wearing’s idea that most individuals have stable wellbeing, Herzlich’s (1973) interviewees saw it as a rare occurrence. However, Herzlich noted how often equilibrium was referred to by her participants and that it had a wide variety of applications. She found that the word “expresses a whole area of individual experience. It serves, in a way as a distillation of the language of health” (p. 59). She went further to fully explain what equilibrium is, in terms of health: “Concretely, equilibrium comprises the following themes: physical well-being, plenty of physical resources; absence of fatigue; psychological well-being and evenness of temper; freedom of movement and effectiveness in action; good relations with other people”. (Herzlich, 1973:60). Quoted from Dodge et al, (2012:226-227).

¹⁸ “Members of poor and oppressed sections of the community tend to give somewhat lower ratings than better-off or socially advantaged groups but the differences are not great.” (Headey & Wearing, 1992:8).

¹⁹ The lack of life events may also lower SWB evaluations as life challenges are necessary for an individual’s development. (Hendry & Kloep, 2002)

(1992:9, 93). However, even after most major events, in time, SWB levels tend to go back to their set point of equilibrium²⁰ (Suh, Diener, & Fujita, 1996).

2.6.2 Challenges & Resources

Dodge and her colleagues (2012) have highlighted that Headey and Wearing’s research propose a wellbeing framework that reflects a relationship between stocks (social background, personality, social network) and flows (life events). In other words, the impact of life experiences on SWB can be enhanced or attenuated by the existing set of individual values, aspirations and expectations. “In trying to define wellbeing, it is justified to consider the state of equilibrium as central” (Dodge et al., 2012:228).

Cummins (2010) further develops Headey and Wearing’s premise of DE by focusing on the extent to which a life or an everyday event can alter wellbeing from its set point of equilibrium. His study (2010) suggests the existence of a homeostatic defence, a kind of ‘built in’ resistance to life challenges that strives to maintain SWB at its set level of equilibrium. A challenge needs to possess a certain level of strength to overcome the set homeostatic disposition and significantly increase or decrease the level of wellbeing.

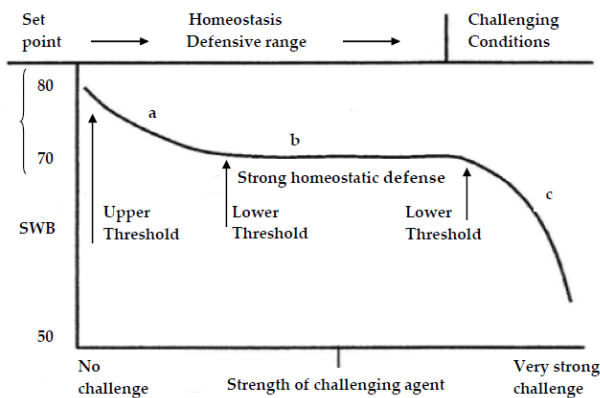


Figure 2.9: Cummins' Changing Levels of SWB.

SOURCE: *The challenge of defining wellbeing. International Journal of Wellbeing, 2(3), pp. 228*

The homeostatic defence theory implies that individuals instinctively exhibit a range of resources that are subject to their stocks levels (e.g. Social background, personality, social network). Hendry and Kloep (2002) also explore the relationship between this personal array of resources and life challenges. They believe that individuals have a varying degree of resources to meet challenges; that these challenges are essential to maintain high levels of wellbeing as a successful encounter can increase

²⁰ However, some experiences may be too distressing and wellbeing may not return to its set point, such as the loss of a partner or a child. (Headey & Wearing, 1992:42)

personal development. Equally, unresolved challenges may lower confidence levels –and therefore the pool of resources, with which to respond to future life events.

Csikszentmihalyi’s flow theory also proposes that the *optimal state of inner experience or order in consciousness* may occur “when skills match the opportunity for action” (Csikszentmihalyi, 2002:6)

2.6.3 The Fine Balance of Wellbeing: A Definition by Dodge et al. (2012)

Dodge and her colleagues (2012) developed an interesting proposition to define wellbeing. Their concept amalgamates the DE theory of Headey and Wearing (1989, 1992), the homeostasis theory of Cummins (2010) as well as the above Hendry and Kloep’s (2002) study of the relationship between challenges and resources and Csikszentmihalyi’s flow theory (2002). They define wellbeing as:

“The balance point between an individual’s resource pool and the challenges faced” (Dodge et al., 2012:230)



Figure 2.10: Dodge et al.’s Wellbeing Definition Diagram (2012)

SOURCE: *The challenge of defining wellbeing. International Journal of Wellbeing, 2(3), pp. 230*

“Stable wellbeing is when individuals have the psychological, social and physical resources they need to meet a particular psychological, social and/or physical challenge. When individuals have more challenges than resources, the see-saw dips, along with their wellbeing, and vice-versa” (Dodge, et al., 2012:230).

This proposition is appropriate to this study because of its compatibility with urban design measurements. The seemingly universal application of this theory provides the opportunity to investigate the urban context as a series of overlapping layers based on challenges and resources, whilst within a framework and language of wellbeing.

Although Dodge et al.’s definition does not mention collective or remembered aspects of wellbeing, the construct is open enough to undertake these dimensions should it be required.

2.7 Summary

The nature of wellbeing has been the topic of a philosophical debate that stems from Ancient Greece and “ideas that began there have shaped the way in which scientists and policy makers still think about wellbeing” (Stoll, 2014:1). Two approaches are often mentioned, hedonia and eudaimonia. In the past these approaches have been seen as opposing philosophies, but current research is inclined to take advantage of integrated methods (Henderson & Knight, 2012; Ryan & Deci, 2001).

Ryff (1995), warns against the tendency of national wellbeing measures to rely on socio-demographic factors “From our perspective, understanding who does and does not possess a high profile of well-being requires closer examination of the actual substance of people’s lives, that is, their life experiences” (Ryff, 1995:102).

Key to the construction of a theoretical framework for this thesis, is Dodge et al.’s definition of wellbeing as the balance between challenges and resources. This outlook has the potential to strengthen (urban) design practices that look to satisfy needs of the community as a key driver.

The analysis of resources against challenges also leads to the debate of distribution of such resources, which is the subject of the next chapter: Space, Inequality, and Injustice.

Chapter 3

Literature Review: Space, Inequality & Injustice

3.1 Introduction

The topic of wellbeing inequality has been woefully underdeveloped compared to other areas of wellbeing research and policy. It requires urgent attention if the wellbeing agenda is to achieve its potential to improve social justice. (Quick, 2015)

This chapter sees a shift in focus from the understanding of wellbeing as a concept to distribution of wellbeing. It continues with a discussion of the terms Spatial Inequality and Spatial Injustice, followed by an exploration of neighbourhood effects.

3.2 Wellbeing Inequality

3.2.1 Whose wellbeing?

Since the Office of National Statistics began to measure wellbeing in 2010, overall life satisfaction has increased (ONS, 2021b, 2022), but so has the inequality of wellbeing.

[...] If these improvements were the result of public resources, this begs the question of whether this was the best use of such funds? Rather than simply asking if policy is improving wellbeing, policy makers need to be asking about whose wellbeing? Are there losers, as well as winners? Are we improving the wellbeing of those most in need? (Quick, 2015)

It appears that access to wellbeing is spatially structured.

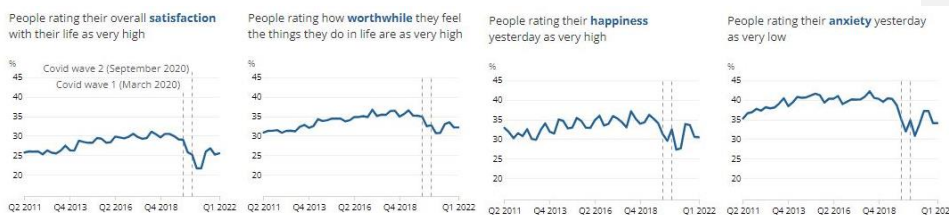


Figure 3.1: Four Measures of Wellbeing UK 2011-2022

SOURCE: Annual Population survey, Office for National Statistics (2022)

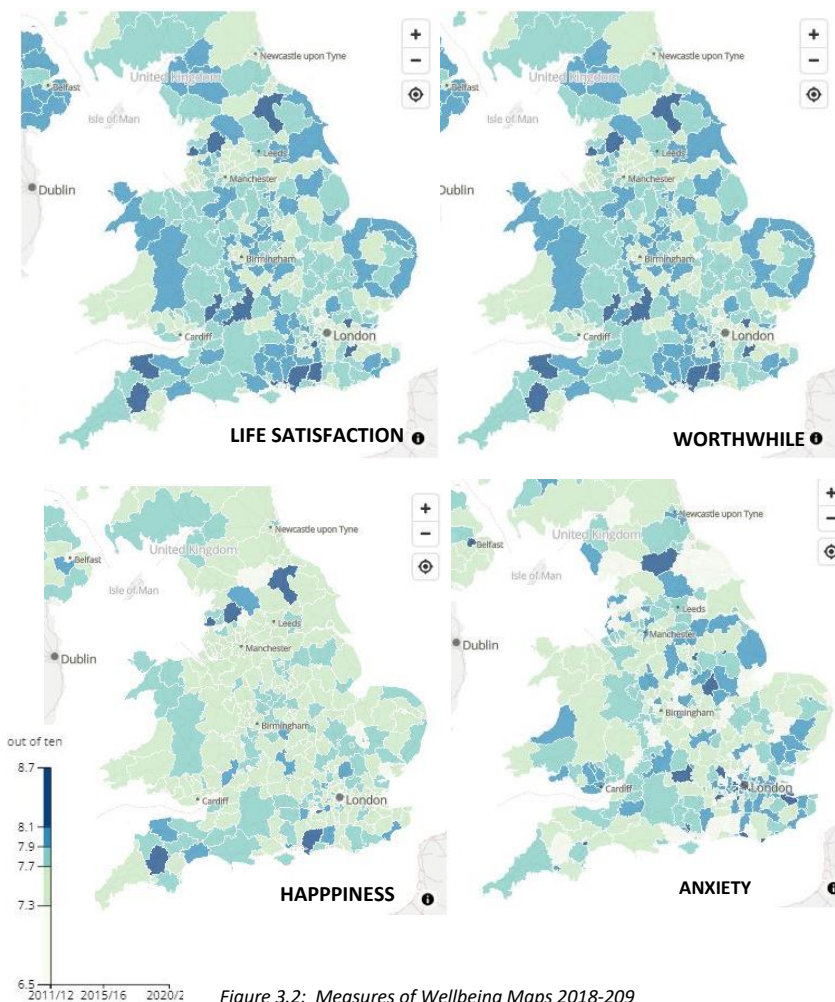


Figure 3.2: Measures of Wellbeing Maps 2018-2019

SOURCE: Annual Population Survey, Office for National Statistics (2021)

Since the ONS started measuring wellbeing, it has shifted from publishing wellbeing measures as an isolated account of Life Satisfaction, to presenting them alongside GDP and health (amongst other key outlooks). “to ensure that the measures were still representative of what matters most to people in the UK.” (UK Measures of National Well-Being, Current and Upcoming Work - Office for National Statistics, n.d.) The relationship between national policy and the measures of wellbeing has fluctuated away from wellbeing to be superseded by the levelling Up agendas, particularly in England ((Button, 2019)

What resources to improve and whose wellbeing to prioritise are judgement calls that policy makers are faced with on a regular basis. Even Jeremy Bentham's classic 1776 theorem 'happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong' (Bentham, 1776)²¹ has often been criticised for failing to recognise the moral distinctiveness of individuals (Rawls, 1971:27).

As discussed in Chapter 1, Bentham was a pioneer of democracy and social equality (Postema, 1998; (Bentham Project, 2010b a). His foundations of political morality are based on equality sensitive principles (Postema, 1998): 'All inequality is a source of evil – the inferior loses more in the account of happiness than by the superior is gained.' (Bentham, 1822)²². The Bentham Project at UCL (2010a b) explains that, according to Bentham, inequality is an *evil* for two reasons:

First, the best distribution of material resources is an equal one. The value of a unit of a particular resource, for instance £100 of money, diminishes with each increment: an addition of £100 to the income of a poor person is much more valuable than the addition of £100 to the income of a rich person. Second, the concentration of resources in a few members of society will increase their power proportionately and will lead to their promoting their selfish interests to the detriment of the interest of the community in general, resulting in corruption and oppression, and even greater inequality. (Bentham Project, 2010b, p. 2)

Despite his enormous contribution to democracy and moral politics –but perhaps unsurprisingly– Bentham's relentless search for justice and equality was never conclusive in finding that simple universal principle that benefitted everyone evenly. Critics question his focus on 'aggregate happiness' rather than on the pattern and justification of distribution of welfare²³, (Cohen, 1993; Rawls, 1971); his tendency to describe individuals as mere vessels for pleasure or suffering (Hart, 1996; Parekh, 1970); and his consideration that the assessment of goods in terms of their utility, may underestimate the complexity of preference in welfare²⁴ within a community (Cohen, 2003; Sen & Nussbaum, 2003).

Bentham himself reworded his fundamental axiom "it is the greatest happiness of the greatest number that is the measure of right and wrong"²⁵ several times in the last ten years of his life. Postema (1998:156-7), one of Bentham's advocates, argues that he felt that the axiom failed to explicitly include the happiness of minorities. According to Postema, he worried that misinterpretation of the general principle may impose great hardship to minorities whenever a majority (the greater number) stood to benefit. Bentham eventually altered the principle to "the greatest happiness of all in the community"²⁶ and increased its complexity through the addition of a new supporting principle:

²¹ A Fragment on Government (Bentham, 1776), (Quoted in Burns, 2005:46)

²² Jeremy Bentham, 1822. First Principles preparatory to Constitutional Code.

²³ Hedonic Welfare: Welfare as enjoyment, or, more broadly, as desirable or agreeable state of consciousness.

²⁴ Preference Welfare: "welfare as preference satisfaction, where preferences order states of the world, and where a person's preference is satisfied if a relevant state of the world obtains, whether or not he knows that it does". (Cohen, 2003:3)

²⁵ A Fragment on Government (Bentham, 1776), (Quoted in Burns, 2005:46).

²⁶ See, Pannomial Fragments, Bowring, iii. 211; Leading Principles of a Constitutional Code, Parekh, p. 196; Constitutional Code, Bowring, ix. 5. (Quoted in Postema, 1998:157)

I recognize, as the all-comprehensive, and only right and proper end of Government, the greatest happiness of the members of the community in question: the greatest happiness - of all of them, without exception, in so far as possible: the greatest happiness of the greatest number of them, on every occasion on which the nature of the case renders the provision of an equal quantity of happiness for every one of them impossible: it being rendered so, by its being matter of necessity, to make sacrifice of a portion of the happiness of a few, to the greater happiness of the rest.²⁷

Perhaps whose wellbeing is not a question with a definite answer, but a subject to be continuously examined.

3.2.2 Inequality and Injustice: The Spatial Challenges of Wellbeing

The pattern of disparities in wellbeing reveals an unequal geography where prominent spaces of injustice have formed. The concepts of spatial inequality and spatial injustice are analogous and complementary, yet distinctive. The overlap between their definitions is considerable as they both enjoy similar ingredients – such as spatial, economic, political and social factors. Nonetheless, the key ‘flavour’ or focus differs: Spatial inequality is heavily accentuated by economic factors such as wealth or income. Spatial injustice on the other hand, focuses on political aspects or devices of power and control.

Spatial inequality will be discussed in Section 3.3. Spatial injustice will be discussed in 3.4 section.

3.3 Spatial Inequality

“The welfare of a nation can scarcely be inferred from a measurement of national income”.
(Simon Kuznets in report to the Congress, 1934)²⁸

3.3.1 Defining Spatial Inequality

The Gini coefficient is the most commonly used measure of inequality²⁹ (Gillis et al, 1996; Atkinson, 1975; Champernowne & Cowell, 1998; Campano & Salvatore, 2006). In 1936, it was proposed by Corrado Gini as a measure of inequality of income or wealth (Gini, 1936). Looking at the diagram below, it appears that the value of global inequality has a Gini index of about 0.70³⁰. Milanovic (2012) illustrates the gravity of this number “One way to look at it is to take the whole income of the world and divide it into two halves: the richest 8% will take one-half and the other 92% of the population

²⁷ Parliamentary Candidate's proposed Declaration of Principles: or say, A Test Proposed for Parliamentary Candidates, London, 1831, p. 7; (quoted in Postema, 1998:157)

²⁸ Quoted from: Gernot Kohler, Emilio José Chaves (2003) Globalization: Critical Perspectives. p. 336

²⁹ Other indexes include the Theil index, and the Hoover index.

³⁰ The above ‘Global Inequality Diagram’ has been drawn using ‘true’ global inequality measurements. That is Using global household income levels that have been adjusted with the price levels they face in different countries. The currency used is international (or ‘PPP’ for purchasing power parity) dollar with which, in principle, one can buy the same amount of goods and services in any country of the world.

will take another half. So, it is a 92-8 world. Applying the same type of division to the US income, the numbers are 78 and 22. Or using Germany, the numbers are 71 and 29” (Milanovic, 2012:8).

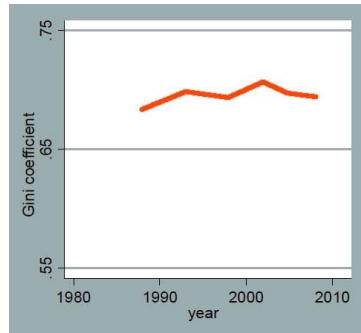


Figure 3.3: Global Inequality Diagram, 1988-2011

SOURCE: Milanovic, Branco (2012). *Global Income Inequality by the Numbers: in History and Now*. The World Bank, Development Research Group, Poverty and Inequality Team

Amongst the fields of geography and economy, spatial inequality is often defined as income inequality across geographical or administrative units within country or region (see Milanovic 2011 & 2012 Rodríguez-Pose & Ezcurra, 2013, Justino & Moore, 2015). When defining spatial inequality, social disparities are often regarded as consequences of income and wealth inequality. Justino and Moore (2015) for example, highlight the harms of income and wealth inequality, which can result in production inefficiencies as well as degrade the collective and political competence of societies, obstructing a fair distribution of public goods and justice.

Interestingly, Shorrocks and Wan (2004) also use income as the sole focus of spatial inequality, but have widened the definition of income to include quality of life, environment and other non-pecuniary aspects:

We follow common practice in referring to the measure of living standards as ‘income’, although it should be stressed at the outset that the income concept must be interpreted broadly to encompass not only home production and non-pecuniary income, but also all the advantages and disadvantages systematically associated with geographical location, including climate, regional price variations, local public good provision and environmental quality. In essence, the analysis assumes that individuals with the same income at different locations are equally well-off. (Shorrocks & Wan, 2004:2).

Despite this being a highly comprehensive account of spatial inequality, the broad definition of income exceeds expectations and can be confusing the reader. For the purpose of this thesis we will use, Kanbur and Venebles (2005) description of spatial inequality: “inequality in economic and social indicators of wellbeing across geographical units within a country” (Kanbur & Venebles, 2005:11). As discussed in Chapter 1, wellbeing is not always directly related to income or wealth, and it follows that to obtain a more accurate picture of spatial inequality, they should be measured separately.

3.3.2 Trends in Spatial Inequality

There are two types of spatial inequalities based on geographical definitions:

- 1- Geographically disadvantaged areas vs. geographically advantaged areas. This is based on 1st Nature Geography, i.e., areas with natural physical advantages or resources, such as coastal regions, and proximity to rivers.
- 2- Regional vs. Urban. This is based on 2nd Nature Geography, i.e., advantage created due to dense agglomeration or high interaction between economic agents. There are efficiency gains from economic concentration. Thus, productivity in urban clusters tends to be higher than in regional settings. The accumulation forces in cities act as virtuous circles of self-reinforcing development (Kanbur & Venables, 2005:7).

“In general, spatial inequality is the net result of the balance of forces of concentration and dispersion” (Kim, 2008:4).

These geographical classifications exercise a delicate play between the spatial concentration and dispersion: concentration can be intensified by the centripetal forces of natural advantages and economic specialisation. On the other hand, centrifugal forces of dispersion are influenced by mobility and communication factors. From an urban perspective, extreme concentration can introduce a variety of premiums and social ills that can seriously undermine efficiencies that fostered the mass clustering to begin with; for instance, congestion, commuting costs, greater crime, pollution. (Kim, 2008).

Despite the fundamental role of geographical advantages, the complex oscillation of inequality cannot be fully explained by spatial advantage. Historical, political and economic permutations also play a key role. For example, in traditionally rich countries such as the US and Europe, spatial inequality decreased between the wars and started rising again in the 1980s (Atkinson 2014a; Milanovic 2005; Piketty 2013; Stiglitz 2013). Justino and Moore (2015), identify three key equality inducing factors during the first half of the Twentieth Century: low levels of unemployment, increased political power of organised labour and solidarity promoting wars:

- **Low levels of unemployment:** Increase levels of production (especially in the manufacturing sector) and scarcity of labour due decreased population growth and increased migration overseas, instigated increased wages and redistribution of income towards the working masses. Deindustrialisation and globalisation later in the century significantly reduced the effect of this equity inducing factor;
- **Increased political power of organised labour:** Organised labour acquired considerable political power due to concentration of workforce (e.g., manufacturing plants), a strong sense of class and collective consciousness defined in common material and occupational interests. The following deindustrialisation process weakened trade unions and reduced the class-consciousness of employees deferring their workplace collective identity to cultural or religious kinships. “Recent generations of rejectionist radical political movements communicate and mobilise more through the internet and religious and ethnic organisations

than through direct workplace interactions. (...). Unlike either communism or social democracy, they do not consistently or coherently articulate or promote the interests of labour in relation to capital” (Justino & Moore, 2015:4); and

- **Solidarity-promoting wars:** The First and Second World Wars were extensive conflicts with widespread involvement at all levels of the community. The experience of this ‘total’ or ‘industrial’ warfare stimulated a sense of loyalty and profound citizenry towards the community inducing political pressures for more inclusive socioeconomic policies. Contemporary warfare, on the other hand, tends to be more disparate. This disassociation erodes empathy for those affected by conflict. (Justino & Moore, 2015)

3.3.3 Measuring Global Inequality

Following the relatively stable period between 1960’s and 1980’s, global inequality increased sharply until the turn of the century. “These two decades were very bad as far as convergence, or catching up by poor countries, is concerned: rich countries grew, on average, faster than poor countries” (Milanovic, 2012:5). Divergence of inequality during this period is often attributed to factors derived from globalisation.

Future trends of spatial inequality remain unclear as the full effect of labour-displacing technology remains unknown. According to Neo-Marxist economist Piketty (2013) it is more likely that inequality will tend to persist or intensify for the foreseeable future. Piketty’s theoretical forecast is followed by bold statements and policy recommendations regarding redistribution of wealth. His concerns are based on the recent rise of concentration of wealth. After the period of equalisation, accumulation of wealth is reaching levels not seen since World War I, diluting egalitarianism and threatening political stability. Piketty believes that excessive accretion of wealth can only be undermined by rapid growth (due to technological progress or rising population) or government intervention such as adopting a global tax on wealth.

As with Piketty, Milanovic (2012) also found vast increases of capital for the top 1% (60%+), though his research also shows vast increases elsewhere. Milanovic found that those on the bottom third experienced likewise rises of income (between 40% and 70%), allowing many to escape absolute poverty. The number of absolute poor –as defined by the World Bank - dropped from 44% to 23% in the past 20 years. The biggest winners, nonetheless, are the middle classes of emerging economies (China, India, Indonesia, Brazil and Egypt) with rises between 70-80%. The biggest losers, with stagnating incomes are the upper middle classes of established economies and the poorest 5%.

“Global income distribution has thus changed in a remarkable way. It was probably the profoundest global reshuffle of people’s economic positions since the Industrial revolution” (Milanovic, 2012:12)

Milanovic (2016) research shows that even though inequality has soared within nations, it can also be shown to have fallen dramatically amongst nations. He argues that conflicting statements between convergence or divergence of global inequality is subject to the type of measurements used. Milanovic (2012, 2016): presents by the following graph to illustrate the disparity:

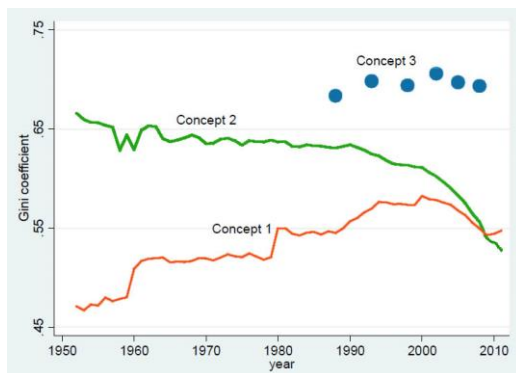


Figure 3.4: The Mother of All Inequality Disputes

International and global inequality, 1952-2011. SOURCE: Milanovic, 2012:6

Inequality can vary greatly subject to the measurements used. Concept 1 compares mean inequality levels between countries (all countries have the same value). Concept 2, also uses mean inequality values but takes into account population (larger countries have a greater influence on global inequality). Concept 3, represent 'true' inequality as household income survey data are taken into account rather than mean values.

Milanovic found that when country population is not taken into account, data shows a rising global inequality. However, if population is considered, inequality data shows that it has been decreasing since the 1980's, due to middle-class incomes in China and India drawn closer to the stagnating incomes of the middle classes in the developed world.

Until recently, it was China alone that had been preventing a rise in global inequality as measured by Concept 2. But now it has "support" from India which is also registering high rates of growth, and is also starting from a very low baseline. High rates of growth of these two countries are thus the major factor underlying the downward trend of Inequality 2. (Milanovic, 2012:7)

More recent data focuses on household income globally (concept 3). These measurements show the first consistent inequality fall since the industrial revolution. Between 2002 and 2008, global Gini decreased by 1.4 points (Milanovic, 2012:8). If projected, then inequality would display a gigantic, inverted 'U'. Although Milanovic (2012) also admits, it could just be a crinkle on the graph.

3.3.4 Optimal Inequality

According to Kim (2008): "from the standpoint of economic efficiency, spatial inequality may be beneficial or harmful" (Kim, 2008:1). Inequality can reduce wellbeing, limit life chances of specific sectors of society, cause social instability and poverty traps, leading to a fragmented urban and social fabric. On the other hand, concentration of trades and specialization can increase economic returns on the basis of proximity, scale and productivity.

The “optimal inequality”³¹ is a concept dating back to Simon Kuznets, a Nobel Prize winning economist, who asked, “Does inequality in the distribution of income increase or decrease in the course of a country’s economic growth?”(Kuznets, 1955:1)

Freeman and Gelber (2010) devised a laboratory experiment to study the relationship between output (efficiency) and rewards (inequality). Six groups of participants were offered three incentive systems to test the influence on performance and levels of involvement: A no incentive system, where everyone received same amounts of rewards regardless of their output (low inequality); a single large reward for the most puzzles (high inequality); and a system of increasing rewards to match performance (potential optimal inequality). The results yielded an inverted U pattern (below), where both high levels of equality and inequality of rewards produced low outcomes while the groups with a mid-level of inequality solve the greatest number of puzzles.

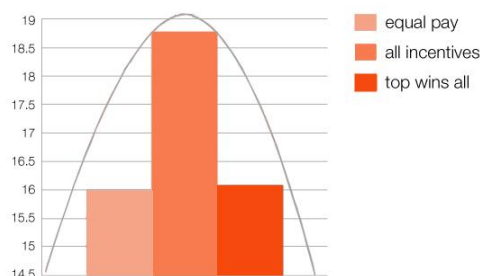


Figure 11: Reported Number of Mazes Solved in Maze Experiment at Given Incentives

SOURCE: Freeman & Gelber, 2010

“The relation between inequality and economic outcomes follows an inverted-U shape, so that increases in inequality improve economic performance up to the optimum and then reduce it.” (Freeman, 2012)

³¹ One the most influential theories on benefits and harms of Inequality is the highly criticised Rawls’ Difference Principle. Rawls’ Difference Principle states that the only morally valid sources of inequality are those that lead to life for the worst off being made better (E.g., inequality of income in order to encourage people to work hard, thus making the society as a whole, and those poorest, better off).

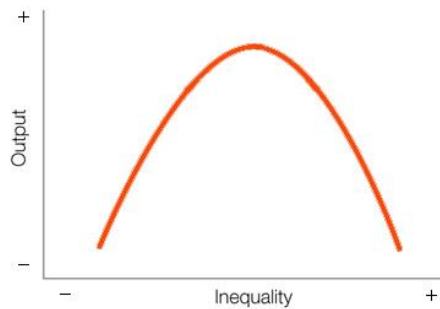


Figure 3.6: Inequality-Output Relation Is an Inverse-U

SOURCE: Freeman, 2012

Optimal levels of inequalities have a fragile balance and if the economies are not internalised, beneficial effects can be disrupted. Excessive concentration can introduce and amplify a variety of social, environmental and economic adversities such as crime, pollution and congestion costs.

Spatial inequality can increase social inequality across regions, spurring poverty traps and instigating social exclusion. Moreover, spatial inequality may contribute to regional divergence in economic welfare destabilising regional social fabrics.

3.3.5 Consequences of Spatial inequalities

It seems reasonable to suggest that when spatial inequality increases within a given country (all else equal), so does national inequality (Rodríguez-Pose & Ezcurra, 2013). Rapid growth is often perceived to stress rather than reduce spatial inequalities. Sudden economic expansion is often linked to unequal regional and urban development (Kim, 2008).

Political dynamics and quality of Governance³² play a key role as the State can be seen to influence the distribution of wealth (Kanbur & Venebles, 2005; Kim 2008). For instance, unequal distribution of infrastructure, rapid economic growth, the openness of economies and globalization are often linked to uneven regional and urban development (Kim, 2008; Kanbur & Venebles, 2005; Milanovic 2012).

The consequences of inequality become significantly great when territorial disparity intersects with political and ethnic tensions. This kind of spatial overlap has the power to challenge civic stability (Kanbur & Venebles, 2005; Kim 2008). Extensive spatial dissonance may provoke conflicts over the geographical distribution of resources (Østby et al. 2009, quoted from Rodríguez-Pose & Ezcurra, 2013).

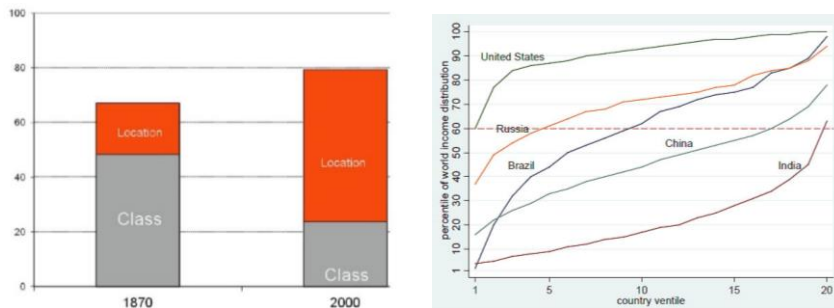
One of the key concerns of global inequality is migration. Milanovic (2012) talks about “citizenship premiums”, and argues that “a proper analysis of global inequality today requires an empirical and

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³² Eg. Corruption.

mental shift from concerns with class to concerns with location, in other words, a movement “from proletarians to migrants” [...] If the main determinant of one’s income is now location.” (Milanovic 2012:12).

Contrary to Piketty’s (2013) Neo-Marxist notions discussed on Section 3.3.3, Milanovic (2012, 2016) poses that Marxist principles have become somewhat misplaced as the class system has ceased to be the key determining factor of inequality, location is. A place of residence has a higher impact on determining income, opportunities, and outcomes than social background. If poor countries are unable to improve their regional conditions, migration becomes the only solution to escape poverty. In Milanovic (2012:27) words: “Either poor countries will become richer, or poor people will move to rich countries.”



(LEFT) Figure 3.7: A Non-Marxian world. Level and composition of global inequality in the 19th century and around year 2000 (measured by the Theil Index). SOURCE: Milanovic, 2012

(RIGHT) Figure 3.8: Different countries and income classes in global income distribution, 2005. SOURCE: Milanovic, 2012

3.4 Spatial Injustice

3.4.1 Defining Spatial Injustice

“The welfare of a nation can scarcely be inferred from a measurement of national income”.
(Simon Kuznets in report to the Congress, 1934)³³

The spatial organization of inequality is, in part, simply a manifestation of unequal distribution of resources, opportunities or outcomes occurring at the level of individuals, families, and groups that is mapped on geographical units. However, we define spatial injustice as the intentional efforts to organize physical space in ways that maintain or reinforce that inequality. (Galster & Sharkey, 2017:2; See also Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom 2001)

³³ Quoted from: Gernot Kohler, Emilio José Chaves (2003) Globalization: Critical Perspectives. p. 336

“Thinking spatially about justice not only enriches our theoretical understanding, but it can also uncover significant new insights that extend our practical knowledge into more effective actions to achieve greater justice and democracy. Obversely, by not making the spatial explicit and assertive, these opportunities will not be so evident”. (Soja, 2009:2)

In his book, *Seeking Spatial Justice*, Soja (2010) analyses the dynamic forces of socio-spatial dialectic with an aim to target social democratic action. He describes spatial injustice as the conflicting discourse between social, spatial and political parameters. With the backdrop of LA’s successful bid for a more inclusive transport network, Soja debates, what he terms consequential geographies (i.e. uneven geographies) of multiple dimensions:

- 1- **Macro:** Political boundaries
Colonialism: e.g., eurocentrism and the politics of dispossession (Edward Said). This injustice is built upon the construction of subordinate inferior beings through the acquisition, subordination and the intrusive organisation of space.
Division and power distribution through Electoral Districts
- 2- **Meso:** Geographical uneven development
Community based regionalisms
- 3- **Micro:** Neighbourhood scale distribution of inequalities
Exclusionary zones / siting / UDPs
Location of toxic facilities

For the purpose of this thesis, we will focus on spatial injustice at the neighbourhood scale.

3.4.2 Disadvantage and Wellbeing at the Neighbourhood.

People living in deprived neighbourhoods are less likely to work, more likely to be poor and have lower life expectancy, more likely to live in poorer housing in unattractive local environments with high levels of antisocial behaviour and lawlessness and more likely to receive poorer education and health services. Living in a deprived area adversely affects individuals’ life chances over and above what would be predicted by their personal circumstances and characteristics. (ODPM, 2005:6)

According to the ODPM (2005) report³⁴, long-term exposure to spatial inequality can have a detrimental effect on individual wellbeing. Health, education, social inclusion and mobility –both social and occupational- are some quality-of-life outcomes that can be distressed by occupying a disadvantaged spatiality (Galster,2014; van Ham, 2012).

In health, for example, a substantial body of epidemiology research associates area effects (both physical and social) to arrange of behaviours and outcomes such as depression, distress, anxiety violence, substance use, smoking, unhealthy foods intake, cardiovascular disease, obesity, lack of physical activity and low birth weight (See Ross & Mirowski, 2001; O’Campo et al 2015; Pickett & Pearl, 2001; Diez Roux, 2001). These behaviours in turn, can have a negative effect on morbidity and life chances (Johnston & Pattie 2011; McCulloch, 2003). Long-term exposure to deprived or disadvantaged

³⁴ ODPM: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (currently under the Department for Communities and Local Government)

socioeconomic settings is often associated with low wellbeing outcomes, and neighbourhood effects are frequently highlighted as a key obstacle to improve such outcomes (Kawachi & Berkman, 2003; O'Campo et al 2015).

In social sciences, the concept of the neighbourhood effect suggests that the social and economic status of a neighbourhood can influence, directly or indirectly, individual outcomes³⁵. Neighbourhood effects have preoccupied researchers as back as 1925 (See Park et al., 1925). However, it was Wilson's 1987 book 'the Truly Disadvantaged' which sparked a renewed interest on this field resulting in an explosion of studies and hypothesis (van Ham, 2012). Following Wilson's publication (1987), researchers have examined the consequences of neighbourhood poverty as well as the effects of other neighbourhood conditions, such as spatial mismatch (Galster, 2012) and racial homogeneity (eg. Small & Feldman 2012).

Wilson's (1987) theory has profound spatial associations. He argues that during the 1970s and 1980s American cities suffered a major socio-spatial-economic shift which saw the growth and prosperity of suburbia against the decline of urban centres. The exodus of manufacturing jobs and the middle class from the centres caused the vitality of cities to shrink. Critical revenue was removed, the spatial landscape became fragmented and pockets of poverty were enhanced. This concentration of poverty exacerbated the life chances of the poor by affecting individual outcomes, such as economic self-sufficiency, violence, drug use, low birthweight, and cognitive ability (Wilson, 1987). Mayer and Jencks (1989:1441) considered that Wilson's key proposal was that "poor children living in overwhelmingly poor neighbourhoods find it harder to escape poverty than poor children living in more affluent neighbourhoods." (Mayer and Jencks 1989:1441).

Location, once again appears to be a driving factor for the reproduction of inequality and the spatial manifestation of injustice.

3.4.3 Testing Neighbourhood Effects: The Gautreaux and Moving to Opportunity Programmes

Wilson's theories were put to the test by two key American based social programmes that attempted to reverse the injustice of locality. These interventions removed thousands of families from poverty trap neighbourhoods and into less deprived spatialities. It is interesting to note that when considering the possibility of similar schemes in the UK, Harding (2002) and Lupton (2003) argue that, for ethical reasons, such was the impact on those left behind, it is unlikely that such large-scale experiments could be endorsed in the UK.

These schemes are the 1976-1990 Gautreaux³⁶ Assisted Housing Programme in Chicago, (See Rosenbaum & Kaufman, 1992; Popkin et al., 1993; Duncan & Zuberi, 2006) and the 1994-1998 Moving to Opportunity Experiment (MTO) (See Clampet-Lundquist & Massey, 2008; Ludwig et al., 2008;

³⁵ Sampson (2008) explains that, although there is no official consensus, the current definition of neighbourhood effects almost always refers to individual outcomes. In the past the same term has been used to study collective or community outcomes.

³⁶ NB: In 2002, there was also a second, less extensive Gautreaux programme. (See Duncan & Zuberi, 2006).

Sampson, 2008) While both programmes tackled social exclusion, the former focussed on racial segregation whilst the latter targeted class marginalisation.

The Gautreaux programme was part of a racial discrimination legal settlement. It aimed to disperse concentrated poverty of highly segregated neighbourhoods by moving thousands of Chicago families living in public housing or on waiting lists for public housing to “(...) much better neighbourhoods, where ‘much better’ was defined as more racially integrated” (Duncan & Zuberi, 2006:111). Two decades after the move most families continue to reside in low poverty, racially balanced neighbourhoods. The programme has also had intergenerational success: grown up children have also continued living in areas with lower poverty rates, higher educational outcomes, and more integrated than their original neighbourhood. (Duncan & Zuberi, 2006)

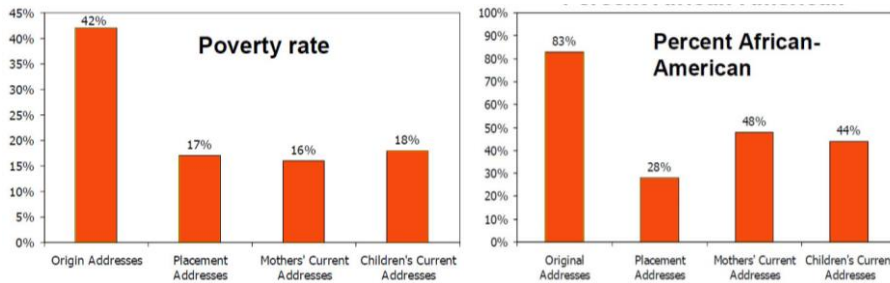


Figure 3.9: (LEFT) Gautreaux Census Tract - Poverty Rate

Figure 3.10: (RIGHT) Gautreaux Census Tract_Percent African American

SOURCE: Duncan & Zuberi, 2006:123-124

The MTO is an individual-level intervention. Its premise involved families from five cities³⁷ living below the poverty line³⁸ and in concentrated poverty. It provided housing vouchers to be randomly assigned to one of three groups:

- Experimental: voucher limited to a neighbourhood with less than 10% poverty
- Section 8: voucher without restriction (move anywhere).
- Controls: No treatment.

The MTO had no racial criteria. However, the baseline applicants were predominantly black or Latino female-headed families (Sampson, 2008), who in fact mostly moved to more affluent but highly segregated neighbourhoods (Orr et al., 2003).

In contrast to Gautreaux, the MTO experiment revealed surprisingly mixed results. Some outcomes demonstrated significant improvement, such as mental and physical health and young female

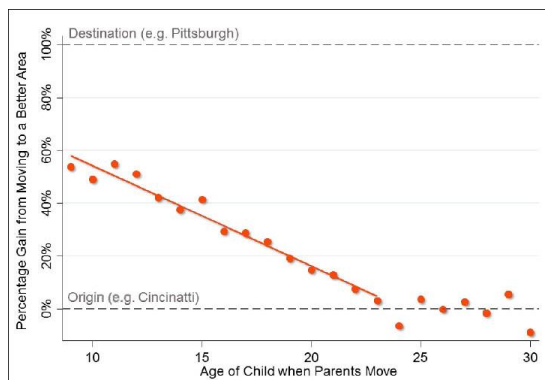
³⁷ Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York City.

³⁸ 40% or greater.

education and behaviour (e.g., Sampson, 2008; Ludwig et al 2013). Other outcomes such as economic self-sufficiency appeared to have no impact. Overall, the results were diverse subject to outcome, site and subgroup (Galster, 2012). The complexity of interpretation led to considerable debate, especially over the extent and influence of neighbourhood effects on economic success (Clampet-Lundquist & Massey, 2008; Ludwig et al., 2008; Sampson, 2008). According to Sampson (2008:2), “MTO publications and presentations appear to have cast doubt on the general thesis that neighbourhoods matter in the lives of poor individuals”. In his paper, ‘Moving to Inequality’ (2008), Sampson argues that MTO is an ‘ingeniously’ designed experiment, and although the data collected is invaluable, its analysis and interpretation requires a closer look.

In 2015, Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, presented a re-analysis of the effect of the MTO experiment. This was based on new research on how children’s long-term economic outcomes are affected by the duration of environmental exposure (Chetty & Hendren, 2015). “Every year spent in a better area during childhood increases a child’s earnings in adulthood” (Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2015). Children who relocated between the age of 9 and 13 years of age, showed a 31% to 50% income increased compared to the control group or those who remained in a deprived locality.

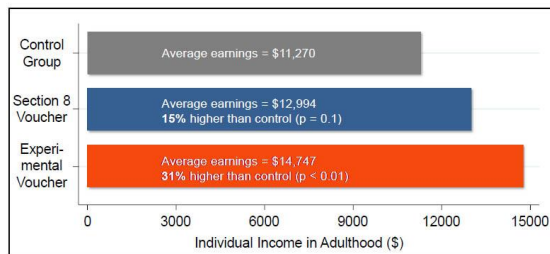
According to Chetty, Hendren, & Katz (2015), the social impact of space has a chronologic dimension.



Notes: This figure plots the percentage gain from moving to a better area by the age at which the child moves. For example, children who move at age 9 have outcomes that are about 50% between the outcomes of children who grow up permanently in the origin and destination areas.

Figure 3.11: Effects of Moving to a Different Neighbourhood on a Child’s Income in Adulthood

SOURCE: Chetty & Hendren, 2015



Cost-Effective Policy: The MTO experiment increased the earnings of children who moved to low-poverty areas before age 13 by 31%

Figure 3.12: Long-Term Economic Impact of MTO on Children Moving to a Low Poverty Neighbourhood at Age 13
SOURCE: Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2015

3.4.4 Spatial and Social Processes of Neighbourhood Effects

“Homogeneous neighbourhoods become self-perpetuating societal divisions” (Johnston & Pattie 2011:2)

As we have seen in previous sections, some of Wilson’s theories were corroborated by schemes like the Gautreaux programme and the MTO experiment. At Gautreaux, key negative neighbourhood effects were successfully reversed for participants and subsequent generations (Rosenbaum & Kaufman, 1992; Popkin et al., 1993). MTO, on the other hand, showed that some of these effects could not be so easily overturned. Advocates of neighbourhood effects criticise the selection bias and data analysis processes (Clampet-Lundquist & Massey, 2008; Ludwig et al., 2008; Sampson, 2008; Galster, 2012; Chetty, Hendren, & Katz, 2015). But how do neighbourhood effects work? Why does long-term exposure to spatial distress have such an impact on wellbeing and life chances?

“Although we know that neighbourhood influences health, education, work, and other factors, what is less understood is how they affect those outcomes” (Galster 2014:1, 2012).

Four mechanisms that may explain how the spatial characteristics of a neighbourhood can impair wellbeing and life chances (Bauder, 2002; Galster, 2012, 2014; Johnston & Pattie, 2011) include:

- **Spatial mismatch:** Access to suitable jobs;
- Environmental factors and hazards;
- **Social processes:** Cohesion, control and collective socialisation; and
- **Institutional mechanism:** Access to quality public services.

3.4.5 Spatial Mismatch

The disconnection or mismatch between the location of labour force and suitable employment is often referred to as spatial mismatch (Houston, 2004). High unemployment and low economic self-sufficiency are the foreseeable manifestations of spatial mismatch (Galster, 2014).

The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis (SMH) was first discussed by John Kain³⁹ in 1968 as an alternative assessment to the high black unemployment rate in the city cores (Ihlanfeldt, 1994). “The spatial mismatch hypothesis was a challenge to the prevailing notion in the US during the 1960s that employers’ racial discrimination accounted for high unemployment among African Americans. The spatial mismatch hypothesis introduced a structural explanation (namely, the local demand for labour) into the debate surrounding the causes of racial inequality” (Houston, 2005:226). According to John Kain (1968) the concentration of low skill city centre unemployment in North America was partly due to the suburbanisation of employment and the involuntary segregation of ethnic minorities (mainly black) communities.

SMH does not necessarily imply that suitable jobs do not exist, simply that through de-concentration towards the outskirts, these became remote from the location of labour force establishing an urban geography of injustice (Kain, 1968; Holzer, 1991; Houston, 2005; Ihlanfeldt, 1994; Kasarda, 1990). City centre residents faced three key spatial impediments to gain employment on the suburbs (Ihlanfeldt, 1994; Ihlanfeldt & Sjoquist, 1998; Houston, 2005):

- **Commuting:** Not always a viable option due to financial and time costs, as well as lack of public and/or private transport (Holzer et al., 1994; Shen, 1998);
- **Migration:** The availability of affordable housing in suburban areas can be restricted (Kasarda, 1990). In the US context, unlawful practices of red-lining conventions continue to be a barrier to residential mobility of ethnic minorities (Ihlanfeldt, 2004). In the British context, impediments related to the social housing sector can equally reduce the residential mobility of the low skill sector (Minford et al., 1987; Doogan, 1996). In addition, members of these groups often have a low inclination for change⁴⁰ (Granovetter, 1983); and
- **Information:** The further a job vacancy is from home, the less likely an individual is to find out about it (Ihlanfeldt, 2004).

³⁹ Although John Kain is often thought as the author of SMH, his 1968 publication does not actually use that term. Instead, his paper was based on three distinct hypotheses.

(1) Residential segregation affects the geographical distribution of black employment;

(2) residential segregation increases black unemployment; and

(3) The negative effect of housing segregation on black employment is magnified by the decentralization of jobs, which was later translated as the Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis. (Quoted from Ihlanfeldt, 1994:220). See also John Kain, “The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis: Three Decades Later.” *Housing Policy Debate*, 3 (1992):371-460.

⁴⁰ Coser’s (1975) and Granovetter’s (1973, 1983) research have found that low socio-economic groups tend to rely more heavily on strong ties (close friends and family) and weak ties associated with the same structural group for support and employment opportunities. Furthermore, they argue that social groups that lack bridging weak ties (acquaintances between diverse social groups), may also lack the ability for complex role set to enable intellectual flexibility and self-direction (Coser, 1975:257). Granovetter has interpreted this on urban terms: “The absence of flexibility may have inhibited organization against urban renewal, since the ability to function in complex voluntary organizations may depend on a habit of mind that permits one to assess the needs, motives, and actions of a great variety of different people simultaneously” (1983:205). Granovetter further notes that this argument may equally apply to upper-class individuals whose social structure is insulated from other incongruent social groups.

Contrasts between US and British urban areas: Research on SMH is comes almost exclusively from the US. In his 2004 paper, Houston explores the spatial mismatch differences between US and British contexts, finding that:

- Urban de-concentration in Britain is less extensive than in the US (Summers, 1999).
- British urban areas have a higher density, with heterogeneous socioeconomic groups living in close proximity to each other (Downs, 1999).
- Urban areas in Britain enjoy a more comprehensive public transport system with lower car ownership rates than in the US (Downs, 1999).
- British urban areas are generally smaller than those in the US.

“These factors would suggest that spatial mismatch may be slightly less significant in Britain than in the US” (Houston, 2005:228).

3.4.6 Environmental factors and Hazards

Environmental factors are defined as the natural and human-made characteristics of the neighbourhood that may “affect directly the mental and/or physical health of residents without affecting their behaviours” (Galster, 2012:25). Factors can include:

- **Physical Surroundings:** Such as deterioration of buildings and public infrastructure, litter, graffiti, noise;
- **Exposure to Violence:** the stress response to the encounter of violence can impair people functioning and sense of wellbeing (Galster, 2012); and
- **Toxic Exposure:** Pollution can be in the air, soil or water, due to proximity to major roads, manufacturing plants or historical land uses. Long-term exposure to pollutants has a direct link to low health outcomes, and reduced life chances. (Galster, 2012, 2014).

“Visual signs of social and physical disorder in public spaces reflect powerfully on our inferences about urban communities.” (Sampson, 1999:603). Evidence of visual disorder or ‘incivilities’⁴¹ include verbal harassment, public intoxication, decayed urban landscapes, abandoned cars, and broken windows. Environmental disorder also reveals a physical narrative of neighbourhood operational efficacy and the apparent value placed by residents on their surroundings. This “record may encourage or discourage future activism” (Sampson, 1999:604). Research has shown that minor offences can have a direct effect on fear of crime and be a direct trigger for serious crime (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Sampson, 1999).

Wilson and Kelling (1982) introduced the theory of the ‘broken windows’. Their thesis proposed that trivial environmental visual cues, such as broken windows, can entice graver felonies, as potential offenders assume that residents are tolerant of neighbourhood disorder and less likely to confront

⁴¹ As referred to by Albert Hunter (1985).

strangers or call the police (Sampson, 1999; Skogan 1990). Public ‘incivilities’ are a strategic visual environmental cue for the commission of crime (Sampson, 1999).

Research has shown that exposure to violence and physical disorder can be disproportionately assigned to a certain sector of society, limiting their wellbeing and life chances whilst intensifying the uneven distribution of territorial injustice. In Chicago, Papachristos (2013) and Sampson (2012) found that violence was concentrated in neighbourhoods marked by poverty, ethnic isolation, and institutional decay. In Glasgow, Livingston et al. (2014) revealed a positive association between the number of ‘newly active’ offenders in a neighbourhood and the density of prior offenders for both violent and property crime. Livingston and his colleagues’ (2014) research, suggests that the institutional segregation of known transgressors can be a factor for the reproduction of spatially defined crime and criminals. Damm and Dustmann (2012) encountered similar findings in Denmark. Their study followed the children⁴² within a refugee relocation programme in Denmark. Their research also reported a positive relationship between the existing stock of felons at the assigned neighbourhood and those who committed offences as young adults⁴³. Further evidence indicated that youth crime conviction rates in the neighbourhood at the time of relocation, decreases the chances to be active in the labour market or in education by age 25. Damm and Dustmann (2012) and Livingstone et al. (2014) findings support the existence of a social multiplier (See Glaeser et al., 2003) that is spatially structured and institutionally dispensed.

Another example of spatially structured injustice is the distribution of environmental hazards. Bryant and Mohai’s (1992) research focussed on the siting of environmental toxins across neighbourhoods and found that these were disproportionately located in or around low income, racial or ethnic communities (see also Dawney & Dawkin, 2008). Kerry Ard (2015) investigated the decline of pollutant levels between 1995 and 2005 in the US. Despite the sharp reduction nationwide, the difference of exposure between races and neighbourhoods has remained unchanged, displaying an enduring geography of injustice. Ard’s (2015) research is corroborated by Sampson and Winter (2016) data, where children’s levels of lead were measured between 1995 and 2013. Again, despite a substantial decline since the 1990’s, the increased difference of exposure for children living in black neighbourhoods has been consistent. “Sampson and Winter argue that the patterns reveal both the enormous spatial disparities in exposure to environmental toxins as well as the power of public health intervention to reduce or eliminate the consequences of environmental inequality” (Galster & Sharkey, 2017:6).

3.4.7 Social Processes

Where you are influences who you interact with; who you interact with influences what you learn and how you interpret the information and knowledge gained; and such local sources of ‘valued’

⁴² The study followed children who were under 14 years old at the time of residential assignment, and noted their offenses between the ages of 14 and 26 years old. The programme was run between 1986 and 1999 with a quasi-random assignment of neighbourhoods (Damm & Dustmann, 2012).

⁴³ Damm & Dustmann, (2012), looked at crime rates higher than the average for the overall population, and found a positive relationship with male subgroup only, particularly for violent crime. There was no effect with the female subgroups.

information influence how you behave – all of which takes place in spatially-defined contexts, in linked geographies of inputs, processes and outputs. (Johnston & Pattie, 2011:17).

Social processes are a fundamental aspect of neighbourhood effects. In education, for example, substantial research indicates that parental and student attitudes to involvement and achievement are in part related to dominant preconceptions of their community (e.g., Kohen et al., 2002; McCulloch, 2006; Sampson et al., 2002).

In his 1983 thesis, Huckfeldt presented evidence that social networks are spatially disposed; despite individual preferences, opportunities for social ties were constrained by neighbourhood context. Associations that are structurally biased can, in turn, affect the flow of information across that social context⁴⁴. Huckfeldt also notes “contextual influence is not simply a matter of assimilation and absorption.

The spatial concentration of social networks can have substantial implications for the geography of attitudes and behaviour; those who live in relatively close proximity are more likely to think and act in similar ways because of the spatial selectivity of information flows – a spatial polarization often referred to as a neighbourhood effect. (Johnston & Pattie, 2011:P16)

Jencks & Mayer (1990) and Galster (2012) described a series of social processes in relation to neighbourhood effects, including:

- **Collective socialisation:** Subject to a critical mass, collective socialisation implies a process of assimilation of local norms imposed by key role models. According to the gravity of social networks these performances are substantiated by social pressure. In other words, social control is policed by the neighbourhood (Wilson, 1987; Jencks & Meyers, 1990). “It is through personal networks that society is structured and the individuals integrated into society” (Tilly, 1982:3);
- **Social networks:** Peer influence and social cohesion are subject to the strength and number of weak and strong ties within and across neighbourhoods (Granovetter 1973, 1983). Intrapersonal communication and intergroup information flow across those ties, can affect the balance between social disorder and collective efficacy (Sampson & Raudenbush 1999). “Behaviours, aspirations, and attitudes may be changed by contact with peers who are neighbours. Under certain conditions these changes can take on contagion dynamics that are akin to “epidemics.” (Galster, 2012:25); and
- **Competition for resources / relative deprivation:** Access to limited opportunities and services may create competition between groups in a neighbourhood. Relative deprivation suggests that socioeconomic difference may provoke a lower sense of achievement and relative inferiority amongst the less ‘successful’ groups and individuals (Jencks & Meyers, 1990).

⁴⁴ Huckfeldt also notes “contextual influence is not simply a matter of assimilation and absorption. These friendship patterns also point to processes of exclusion, rejection, and hostility” (Huckfeldt, 1983:668. See also Bauder, 2002).

All the above social processes have an inherent spatial dimension. In addition, it seems that the distance between social networks can be fundamental to the structure of these processes and information flow between them. In 1950, Festinger et al. research found a strong connection between proximity and social networks, revealing a common geography to social patterns where material interaction appeared to have the most influence. "Social networks are spatially structured, as both cause and effect" (Johnston & Pattie, 2011:1).

However, Wellman's research proposes that social networks are far more complex than the geographical boundaries of a neighbourhood: "Communities – in the flesh as well as in the ether – are far-flung, loosely-bounded, sparsely-knit and fragmentary" (Wellman, 2002:11). According to Wellman spatially or neighbourhood-based interactions have become residual, largely replaced by advances in communication technology and social media. Wellman (2001, 2002) has termed the emergence of these loosely bound communities 'glocalisation'⁴⁵.

Piselly (2007), on the other hand, has attempted to bridge both spatially structured and glocalised network theories by proposing that glocalisation has not replaced physical information flows, but instead offers additional communication channels (Piselly, 2007:875).

3.4.8 Institutional Mechanisms

In a report published by Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Susan Harkness and her colleagues (2012) evaluated how the role of institutions, culture and social norms influence the geography of poverty in the UK. According to Harkness et al. (2012), these uneven geographies were established under two distinct circumstances. Areas assigned to poverty from inception with persistent deprivation (areas 'built poor', such as of low income factory workers houses) and those that have evolved into an inadequate spatiality (e.g., residual areas low rent generated by the exodus of higher income residents from cities to the suburbs (see Lupton, 2003). Both areas are characterised by a lack of/ill institutional intervention. "Economic decline has been an important factor in the concentration of poverty; the loss of industry and jobs, combined with low-quality housing stock, has failed to draw new workers to these areas" (Harkness et al., 2012:26). The North of England and the Midlands have suffered some of the worst outcomes of decline (Lupton, 2005).

Institutional processes of neighbourhood effects stress the importance of local resources such as schools, parks, libraries, medical facilities or children's programmes "which provide more enriching opportunities in relatively affluent neighbourhoods than are usually available in resource-poor neighbourhoods" (Shonkoff and Phillips 2000:330). According to Galster (2012), local authorities may offer lesser public services and facilities due to a limited tax base, incompetence, corruption, or other operational challenges, amplifying the effects of uneven spatiality by reducing personal development and educational opportunities of residents.

⁴⁵ 'Glocalisation', however, according to Wellman (2002), does not apply to segregated ethnic or racial communities. His 2002 paper, offers no explanation for this statement.

Here again, the perceived level of neighbourhood safety matters, since parents' willingness to take advantage of existing neighbourhood resources may depend on their perceptions of the safety and consequences of doing so. (Shonkoff and Phillips 2000).

Beatty and Fothergill (2010) have looked at the spatial distribution of employment and the perception of ill health. Their data suggests that where labour demands are high, those with health issues and disabilities are more likely to work. Conversely, in regions with low employment opportunities, ill health seemed to have stronger influence on those unable to work. "Claims for incapacity benefits have as a result become increasingly concentrated by area, with reforms to incapacity benefit expected to lead to significant loss of income while having little effect on employment" (Beatty and Fothergill, 2010).

3.5 Towards a Spatial Injustice Framework

The neighbourhood as geographical entity⁴⁶ stages the focus of this study. The literature reviewed on the above sections advocates a strong link between reduced life chances, low wellbeing and inequality. Furthermore, some of the literature also implies that inequality can be spatially structured (Huckfeldt, 1983; Johnston & Pattie, 2011) facilitating the creation of poverty traps where the reproduction of disparity and deprivation is said to be 'contagious' (Jencks & Meyer, 1990; Galster, 2012). The incapacity to avoid or escape such communicable hardships, defines spatial injustice⁴⁷ (Galster & Sharkey, 2017)

The proposed framework is based on the following four processes and factors (See sections 3.4.4 - 8), and their influence on key life outcomes such as health, education, social exclusion and social/occupational mobility:

- **Geographical Factors:** Spatial mismatch (access to suitable jobs);
- **Environmental factors:** Exposure to neglected surroundings, violence, hazards and toxins;
- **Social processes:** Cohesion, control, networks and collective socialisation; and
- **Institutional mechanism:** Access to quality public services.

⁴⁶ As opposed to a neighbourhood defined by social communities, which can be much more fragmented and dispersed (See Wellman 2001, 2002; Piselly, 2007).

⁴⁷ For the purpose of this thesis.

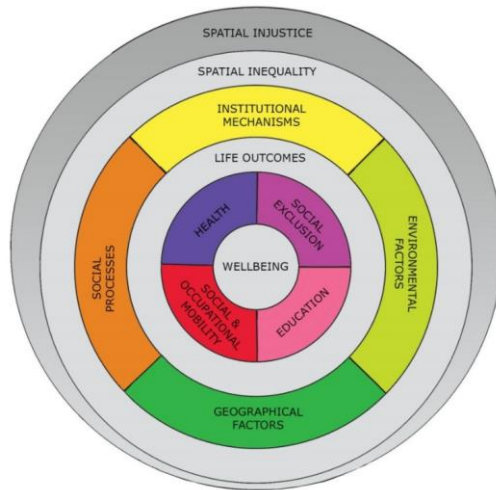


Figure 3.13: Spatial Injustice Framework SOURCE: Author

Although Spatial Inequality can occur with any of the four neighbourhood effect processes, Institutional Mechanisms can amplify Spatial Injustice.

3.6 Summary & Literature Review Conclusion: Finding the Gap

Whilst last chapter explored the different understandings of wellbeing, culminating in Dodge et al (2012) definition of wellbeing, this chapter started by querying the distribution of wellbeing in the UK, highlighting an uneven landscape where the gap between high and low outcomes is increasing steadily.

A key point explored in this chapter is the difference between Spatial inequality and Spatial Injustice. Both concepts are interlinked, and can often manifest together. Spatial inequality has been described in this work as the uneven distribution of resources, which may be due to multiple causes, from systematic structures to location of natural resources. Spatial injustice on the other hand, considers the causes and effects of spatial inequality more carefully. Similarly, to Dodge et al (2012) definition of wellbeing (See Chapter 2 for details), the balance, or rather, in this case, the imbalance of challenges and resources plays a key role; spatial injustice is concerned with the intentional efforts to sustain that imbalance as well as its spatial distribution.

Another key discussion in this chapter is the theory is neighbourhood effects, which focusses on the effects of prolong exposure to a deprived spatiality: according to researched reviewed, long exposure can further reduce life chances, and by association, wellbeing outcomes (see section 3.4). The spatial injustice framework illustrated in the previous section highlights four key neighbourhood effects process/factors. This discussion has helped to frame the umbrella research question for this thesis.

However, the scope of this research cannot comprehensively cover all of the above neighbourhood effects (See sections 3.4 and 3.5). In order to determine which one to take forward in this investigation, all four of them were assessed for their potential connection to urban design, using the following three questions:

1. Could this neighbourhood process/factor/mechanism be **produced** by urban design?
2. Could this neighbourhood process/factor/mechanism be **amplified** by urban design?
3. Could this neighbourhood process/factor/mechanism be **mitigated** by urban design?

The table below, illustrates the evaluation of all four factors against the above three questions:

URBAN DESIGN vs NEIGHBOURHOOD EFFECT PROCESSES EVALUATION TABLE				
NEIGHBOURHOOD EFFECT	PRODUCED by urban design	AMPLIFIED by urban design	MITIGATED by urban design	COMMENTS
Geographical Factors	X	✓	✓	Refers mainly to Spatial Mismatch (access to jobs). Job creation is initially an administrative problem.
Environmental Factors	X✓	✓	✓	Refers to exposure to -Hazards and toxins: administrative issue; -Neglected surroundings: Social/administration issue; - Violence: this can be a spatial problem but it is also an outcome of social cohesion
Social Processes	✓	✓	?	Refers to social, cohesion, networks, control and collective socialisation. Social processes are spatially structured.
Institutional Mechanisms	X	✓	✓	Refers to access to services, which is related to tax bases (administrative/economic)

Figure 3.14: Urban design vs neighbourhood effect process evaluation table
Spatial Injustice Process Selection

Following the above assessment, it was found that urban design had potential links to all four factors/processes. This is, perhaps, not surprising, as all these neighbourhood effects have a spatial dimension. Social processes, however, stood out for the lack of clear understanding whether neighbourhood effects rooted in social processes can be mitigated by spatial solution, how they might be solved, and how effective these solutions might be. Although there is some academic research in this topic, our knowledge continues limited (Dixon et al., 2005, 2020; Hickman, 2013; Nathan & Sands, 2023).

Research on 'lived diversity', which includes both contact and lack of contact [...] confirmed that urban space may act as a catalyst for tolerant attitudes. This observation corresponds with increasing recognition of affective states, such as empathy, anxiety and group threat. Contact research has therefore, in summary, transcended the scope of the contact hypothesis. It has expanded into the realm of urban theory, which foreshadows future collaboration between the two traditions. [...]. A move in this direction would leave substantial space for geographical research. (Wessel, 2009:5)

Wessel identified a gap in 2009, and a potential intersection between theories of urban geography and urban design. Since then, academic interest on this field has increased, but not vastly. For

example, a cursory search⁴⁸ of key words “contact theory” “urban theory” from 2009 to 2023 on key data base Google Scholar only yielded 49 results, and again “contact theory” “urban form”, and “contact theory” “urban design” in the same timeframe, fared better, with results of 81, and 180, but still hardly extensive, especially when taking account that “contact theory” on its own yielded 28,600 results. Lancaster University Library’s One Search (without time restriction) results were 3, 0, 2, and 2,951 respectively. Wed of Science (no time restriction) results were not any better: 1, 0, 1 and 2,570 for each search.

In short, there is a gap in our knowledge on how urban design can mitigate processes in regarding social relationships and interactions, which led to the umbrella research question below. This will be investigated through two exploratory question that feature two case studies (most different design, refer to Chapters 1 and 4).

RESEARCH QUESTIONS		
UMBRELLA QUESTION	RQ1	What is the role of urban design in promoting wellbeing and reducing spatial injustice in deprived neighbourhoods that are also socially diverse?
EXPLORATORY QUESTIONS	RQ2	(How) Can Danish urban design approach implemented in Nørrebro be applied to promote wellbeing at neighbourhood level in Gorton & Abbey Hey?
	RQ3	(How) Can Danish urban design approach implemented in Nørrebro be applied to reduce spatial injustice at neighbourhood level in Gorton & Abbey Hey?

Figure 3.15: Research Question Table

⁴⁸ Online Search dated 28.10.23

Chapter 4

Research Design

“Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning” (Geertz, 1973:5)

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents an in-depth discussion about the philosophical position of this research, followed by research approach, methods, ethical considerations, data collection, and approach to data analysis. A more in-depth account of the coding and primary data analysis process is discussed in Chapter 5.

4.2 Meta-Theoretical Perspective

Most theoretical, spatial, social or even political urban studies embrace, either explicitly or -more commonly- implicitly, a positivist understanding of contextual data (Flyvbjerg, 2001; Sidney, 2010. For positivists examples see also Ewing and Clemente, 2013), yet the metatheoretical perspective of this research challenges these dominant trends by adopting a post-positivist⁴⁹ constructivist approach⁵⁰.

Positivism originated in the natural sciences. It is typically -but not always- applied to context free, quantitative investigations aiming to find a causation (event A is always/generally followed by event B). The value of positivism is rooted in hypothetically clear assertions of objective and reproducible processes. Words such as accuracy, rationality, certainty are often associated with positivist contributions (Wyly, 2008). Despite the scientific value, such connotations present an inappropriate line of enquiry for this thesis, as these fail to reflect the true complexity of the social world. “We require a good account of the nature of the social world which does not naïvely import causal models from natural sciences” (Archer et. al, 2016); Wyly too, warns against “the dangers of treating

⁴⁹ Post-positivism emerged in the mid-20th, as a revision rather than a rejection of positivism. It argued that an external reality could not be predicted by observation alone and it promoted epistemological pluralism instead. Post-positivism aimed to move positivism on from the naïve realism of full understanding of reality, towards the probable understanding critical realism. A key concept was Karl Popper’s theory of falsification (1934, 1956. See also Creswell and Creswell, 2017:7). This promotes a post-positivism that, similarly to positivism, it is firmly rooted on deductive, quantitative and experimental approaches. However, this thesis follows Thomas Kuhn’s version; Kuhn’s concept appeared as a development to Popper’s concepts, and it goes as far as severing post-positivism from positivism by questioning the validity of objective reality and objective observation of reality. Kuhn’s views are rooted on notions derived from subatomic science such as quantum theory and uncertainty principle. Kuhn (1962) embraces the more complex view that, scientific knowledge, is always subjected to social, political and cultural paradigms, and cannot be detached from human influence.

⁵⁰ Constructivist approaches are mostly associated with post-positivist stances; however, some scholars (eg Gerald Cupchik, 2001) have argued that positivism and constructivism are compatible, and can be used as a combined ontology.

individuals and societies as if they behaved according to the mechanistic laws of Newtonian physics” (Wyly, 2008:8).

Central to this thesis is the understanding, analysis, and interpretation of the relationship between the physical environment, institutional processes, lived experiences of individuals, as well as the study of inter-personal relationships between individuals within a physical, political and social context. According to Tracy (2012:3) “Social theories are based in the ever- changing, biased, and contextualized social conditions of their production”. The diversity of values is at the heart of this study; this thesis argues that a positivist approach may overlook the richness of meaning across different perspectives.

4.3 Theory Objective

Although post-positivist approaches to socio-urban analysis are not extensive, they are not new. Alternatives to positivists tactics have been developing for over 20 years. The Perestroika Movement in 2000, for example called for an expansion of epistemological pluralism with considerable emphasis to reflexive practices across the American political science community (Monroe, 2005; Laitin, 2003). Prof. Bent Flyvbjerg, scholar and expert international advisor⁵¹ on social and urban and planning, shared similar concerns in 2001 when he wrote: “It is [. . .] not meaningful to speak of ‘theory’ in the study of social phenomena, at least not in the sense that ‘theory’ is used in natural science” (Flyvbjerg, 2001:25). According to Flyvbjerg, the strength of social discourse lies on robust reflexivity of value judgement and power relationships, as he argues that “human skills are based on judgment that cannot be understood in terms of features and rules” (Flyvbjerg, et al 2003:396. Also Flyvbjerg, 1998).

Critics of the Perestroika Movement warn against the limits of methodological pluralism, and endorse consistency of a scientific frame. For example, David Laitin, in a fervent attack of Perestroika advocates and Flyvbjerg’s book *Making Social Science Matter*, argued for positivist methodologies that ensue casual relationships, by claiming that “there is nothing to be gained in advertising a program that does not insist on the best approximation to science as the data and our abilities will allow.” (Laitin, 2003:181). Laitin criticises the subjectivity of value judgement and describes context as a network of features to be extricated, into distinct factors or algorithms that can produce outcomes of significance (Laitin, 2003:168).

In fact, large surveys and n-analyses are the “go-to” methods in the field of urban design (Sydney, 2010). Statistics are, after all, essential for making predictions and describing tendencies. Perhaps is the need, or desire to “calculate” a forecast, that drives the dominance of positivism in urban studies -either in weak or strong forms- despite the knowledge that certainty in social science cannot match the accuracy of natural sciences⁵².

⁵¹ Flyvbjerg is an advisor to business and governments across the world, including UK, USA and China. His publications have earned coveted endorsements by the likes of Nobel Prize laureate Kahneman, Bourdieu, and Ed Soja amongst others.

⁵² Even as we start to recognise that natural sciences laws are not as exact as once believed. (E.g., Quantum physics and the theory of superposition).

Commented [SGA5]: Epistemological pluralism is a term used in philosophy, economics, and virtually any field of study to refer to different ways of knowing things, different epistemological methodologies for attaining a fuller description of a particular field. (Wikipedia)

Commented [SGA6]: Check Flyvbjerg uses this term

Commented [SGA7]: Is there a difference between urban design research and urban studies research? What constitutes urban studies? Do you think your PhD falls into urban studies, as opposed to urban design? MAKE THIS POINT AT LIT REVIEW!!!!

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Flyvbjerg wrote a furious response to David Laitin's criticisms titled *A Perestroika Straw Man Answers Back*, in which he asserts that context cannot be understood in terms of a set of preconceived variables. In fact, relevant issues can only be derived through an in-depth study of context. Only an expert on that context can hope to interpret value judgements. Human skill and judgements, he continues, cannot be explained in terms of factors and rules. "Regardless of how much we let mathematical and statistical modelling dominate social and political science they are unlikely to become science in the natural science sense. This is so because the phenomena modelled are social and political and thus "answer back" in ways natural phenomena do not" (Flyvbjerg, 2006:396).

This research deviates from dominant trends by following a post-positivist constructivist approach. Constructivists often stand to challenge mainstream tendencies. This thesis acknowledges this methodological gap, and values the prospect to contribute to the body of academic knowledge in urban studies. Nonetheless, contesting or mitigating the balance of dominance in the Science Wars, is rather than a preliminary ambition, an opportunity that emerged through the process of ontological discussions. In truth, the overriding ambition of this researcher, is to foster the confidence and skills to follow the appropriate path, however uncharted that might be. As noted by a participant in this study whilst discussing Jan Gehl's highly regarded research methods, "Is that enough? Is observing, counting enough?" (CPH_D1).

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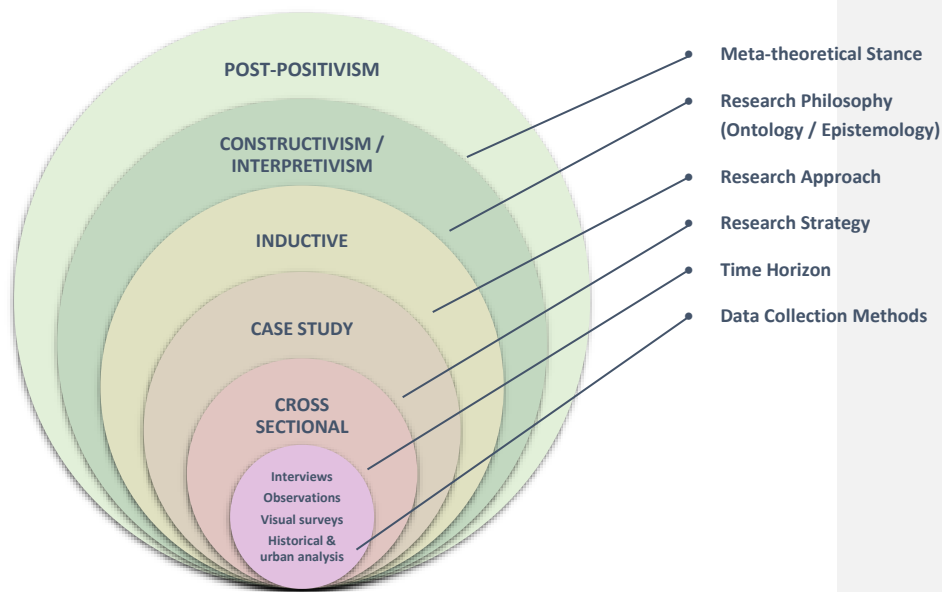


Figure 4.1: Research Design Diagram

4.4 Ontology and Epistemology discussion

“To talk about the construction of meaning [epistemology] is to talk of the construction of a meaningful reality [ontology]” (Crotty, 1998:10)

As Crotty so eloquently articulates, to talk about epistemology, is to talk about ontology. This section aims to discuss how the constructivist ontology of this research is augmented by an interpretivist epistemology.

Interpretivism and constructivism have a symbiotic relationship as both can be applied as either epistemology and/or ontology. Johannes van Walt (2020) described these terms as two sides of the same coin. At its simplest, the use of this particular combination of paradigms can be defined as “interpretation of facts and construction of new solutions to scholarly conundrums” (der Walt, 2020:59). However, this definition barely illustrates the significance the philosophical duet brings to this thesis. For this purpose, I would like to quote a story Homi Bhabha told Harvard Magazine in 2011:

Kellogg’s set up a branch in India and started producing cornflakes to give consumers the real thing. What they didn’t realize was that Indians, rather like the Chinese, think that to start the day with something cold, like cold milk on your cereal, is a shock to the system. You start it with warm milk. But you pour warm milk on Mr. Kellogg’s corn flakes and they turn to wet paper. You pour warm milk on the sturdier Indian cornflake, it holds up. Does it taste better than Mr. Kellogg’s? No. [...] The point is [...] you have to know something about [...] a place and its cultural rituals.

(“A Humanist Who Knows Corn Flakes”, Homi Bhabha, quoted in Schwartz-Shea et al, 2011:45)

Constructivism can be seen as an alternative perspective to the understanding of interests or values (Sydney, 2010); for example, realism and its variants, liberalism, or even Marxism interpret interests and values as arising from material resources. In these instances, realism focusses on the balance of relative power, liberalism seeks to maximise utility in the interest of individuals, and Marxism highlights structural resources that promote dependency. Constructivism differs by recognising that, just like in Homi Bhabha’s anecdote, interests and values change across time and place.

A constructivist ontology acknowledges a reality formed of multiple layers of social, political, cultural and physical structures that interact simultaneously and can fluctuate across temporal or physical contexts. People are not perceived as fixed entities but as agents that collaboratively construct -and deconstruct- these socio-political-cultural-physical structures, which in turn forms the context that frames the exchanges between agents and group of agents.

The purpose of an interpretivist epistemology is to find hidden meaning in the data. “Interpretive research understands that the motivation that animates these several activities is meaning— both its expression and its communication to others” (Schwartz-Shea et al, 2011:46). An interpretivist epistemology brings value to this thesis by providing a vehicle for understanding the process of finding those meanings. The fluidity of language and the flexibility of meaning making, can lead to multiple

Commented [SGA10]: Epistemology is the branch of philosophy that studies knowledge or knowing. It is the knowledge to examine reality. **Ontology** is the branch of philosophy that studies the nature of human beings existence as individual, in society and in the universe. <https://www.researchgate.net/post/What-is-the-difference-between-Ontology-and-Epistemology>

Commented [SGA11]: Do we need this foot note? It is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss all the subtleties of alternative interpretivist-constructionist combinations. Instead, this author aim aims to justify the choices made for this thesis.

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interpretations and the validity of interpretation lies on its connection to context. Constructivism and interpretivism are indeed two sides of the same coin.

Constructivist and interpretative approaches have become valuable in the study of inequalities and power injustices in political life (Sydney, 2010; Judd, 2005), yet somehow continue to be scarce in the urban studies⁵³.

“We need to search for progressive urbanisms and to build the radical cities of social justice, working with allies to mobilise all the tools of exploration, analysis, negotiation, and construction. The Radical city awaits.” (Wyly, 2010:23)

Constructivists propose that knowledge and values are socially produced. Ontology, in this case is not casual, but constitutive. It presents an interactive relationship between individuals, groups, entities, structures or material resources as it recognises that interests and powers across and within these relationships change over time and place. “It is because we are able to occupy and take perspectives that we are persons at all. It is by means of perspective taking that we are constituted as selves and agents and that we simultaneously also come to differentiate and understand others” (Sugarman & Hickinbottom, 2010:137).

According to Klotz & Lynch (2007) there are 3 key aspects to Constructivist ontology:

1. **Context:** Research is situated socially but also spatially and temporally.
2. **Intersubjectivity:** Norms, values, ideology create a shared understanding and identity that can guide action.
3. **Power is asserted through dominant meaning:** Power as the “dominant meaning” has the capability to shape and/or guide discourses, mechanisms and even group identities. Language plays a crucial role here, as discourse can perpetuate or challenge these dominant meanings.

Constructivist ontology places great emphasis on everyday interactions between people, and the social practices they engage in; interpretivism focuses on the language they use to construct their reality. The definition of language in this study is not confined to words, but design language and urban language also play a big role. This includes any form of communication and interaction in relation to the built environment, between individuals, institutions and/or physical context. This can be verbal or non-verbal, such as graphic, visual, haptic, and artefactual amongst others. “Symbols and material artefacts (e.g., urban design, architecture, monuments, etc.) make discourse tangible, and may be objects of struggle or contest among competing actors and groups” (Sydney, 2010:31).

Interpretivism and constructivism ontology view groups and individuals as shaping and being shaped by their context. As such, the language or discourse that is used to envision, produce, and perceive the built environment context can be understood as manifestations of power. As highlighted by Klotz

Commented [SGA15]: NOTE FROM CB: I would have liked to have seen more discussion of the terms being used here. What is positivism and post-positivism, and why is your PhD taking a *post-positivist* approach (as opposed to just a constructivist approach)?

I also wonder if you might consider defining/ describing your terms first and then applying them to a discussion of your research/ the urban context? At the moment, you talk about both things together, which sometimes makes it difficult to know when a new concept is being introduced at a general level and when it is being introduced at the research context/ urban scale.

SEE Constructivist Realism: An Ontology That Encompasses Positivist and Constructivist Approaches to the Social Sciences Gerald Cupchik 2001

See Creswell

Also see different types of constructivism (social, radical, cognitive...)

Possible answer to CB query. Constructivism can be used as a theoretical perspective or as an approach. In this case is an approach, because the theoretical perspective is Post-positivism. An I want ed to highlight this because a lot urban studies are may follow a constructivist view that knowledge is experience, the can also use a weak positivist approach, for example Lynch, whose seminal book image of the city, a city is read through the experience and senses of moving through the city. However, this there is an underlying weak positivist understanding of the 'dominant' experience, and Lynch's framework is often use to assess the legibility of the urban fabric, through large scale surveys. Nothing wrong with this. But this study accepts that there are different experiences and is not trying to order these in hierarchy or find the dominant experience, but tries to give them equal consideration.

⁵³ A Google Scholar online search using the words “Constructivist Ontology” and “Urban Design”, from 2000-2022 yield 39 results. From 2020-2022: 12 results. By varying the words “Urban Design to “Urban Studies”, the results increased to 139 and 23 respectively (accessed 17.06.2022 @12.53).

and Lynch, power is asserted through dominant meanings or interpretations of language. Who controls the built environment discourse? Who is controlled by the dominant discourse? The individuals or groups who have power over the language can shape physical environment, interpret group identity and establish the ethics of our urban context, the values of place.

The study of diversity and wellbeing requires additional consideration of multicultural perceptions and local variants (Littlewood, 2008). This thesis explores, from different perspectives, discourses about context, built environment and place connect ideas, institutions, and individuals in order to unravel underlying narratives between values, concepts and processes that promote wellbeing and spatial justice in diverse neighbourhoods.

The constructivist stance of this thesis aims to acknowledge the key role and significance of rich contextual data in socio-urban studies. At the same time, it recognises that the understanding of context is not objective. Epistemologically speaking, this thesis takes the view that knowledge is created through interpretation: "Interpretation shapes social reality" (Sydney, 2010:29). Data is not objective or fixed information, but instead it is interactive within its context, coloured by social interaction and lived experiences. As such, the participants, the research, and the researcher are contextually located (whether physically, historically, socially, politically, economically, or ideologically). Constructivist and interpretivism recognise that knowledge is not value free and it is a fundamental part of the process that bias is articulated.

The ontology and epistemology of this thesis propose that multiple realities should have multiple interpretations constructed by each individual, based on their unique experience and understanding. As discussed, constructivism is yet to be well established across the sphere of urban studies and specifically urban design. Post positivist research of this kind can be accused of being value laden, subjective and biased (O'Leary, 2010). This researcher finds these negative views regretful, and instead, regards these traits not as weaknesses but strengths. It is precisely the rich contextual narratives, the thick analysis, the multiple 'subjective' reflections of each participant that can provide important insights into relationships of wellbeing, diversity and urbanity. Beyond cataloguing these relationships into a tidy spreadsheet, embracing and articulating the bias can also shed a light on how people engage with and within the built environment, how interactions emerge and how they evolve in the microcosms of diverse perspectives (Tracy, 2012). The study of urbanity through the lens of constructivist philosophy, is a tactical choice to do justice to the heterogeneity of the social world.

4.5 Reflectivity and Reflexivity

Despite the significant overlap between the two terms, reflectivity and reflexivity do not infer the same praxis. Being reflective⁵⁴ about research is part of knowledge creation. According to Socrates, a life without reflective thinking, is not a fully human life (quoted in Mortari, 2015:1). Foucault identifies reflectivity with critical thinking. His 1990 discourse, *Qu'est-ce que la critique?* questions the establishment of social norms and the influences that structure dominant meanings to reinforce

⁵⁴ For more information see Luigina Mortari's 2015 article "Reflectivity in Research Practice: An Overview of Different Perspectives".

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Commented [SGA17]: NOTE FROM CB: How is this different from constructivism? Is it important to bring interpretivism into this conversation, either as a stand-alone section or maybe as a footnote...?

SEE: Interpretivism-Constructivism as a Research Method in the Humanities and Social Sciences – More to It Than Meets the Eye Johannes L van der Walt1
http://ijptnet.com/journals/ijpt/Vol_8_No_1_June_2020/5.pdf

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authority. Through constant reflective thinking and critique of power relationships, Foucault aims to deepen our understanding of justice. As such, critical reflection is the praxis of freedom (Mortari, 2015:4).

Reflexivity⁵⁵ also entails critical thinking. More specifically, reflexivity acknowledges the multiple interrelations between power and knowledge, and it recognises that both power and knowledge are socially constructed. Reflexivity is often associated with how the researcher's engagement with the research influences the outcomes. In this case, researchers apply self-criticism to interrogate how knowledge is created, and how relations of power associated with the researcher's context, impact in this process.

Reflexive practices are essential when paradigms such as interpretative and constructivist are involved, as these discard the notion of "hard facts" by arguing that all truths stem from interpretation.

"Even though interpretive researchers seek to understand the concepts and meaning-making of those who are "native" to the context they are studying, it does not follow that they are simple conduits of research participants' concepts; researchers are also, perforce, sense-makers [...]—not merely describing the social and political worlds they present, but actually creating them for the reader through the judicious selection of words and phrases." (Schwartz-Shea et al, 2011:39)

Research in this sense is co-constituted (Finlay, 2002). D'Cruz et al (2007) describe reflexivity as a double edge sword, as it can enrich the sense making process, but it can also provide the opportunity to reinforce or legitimise the authority of the researcher, rather than question it. The reflexive process should not only be transparent when it interrogates the researcher's engagement with the researched and their/its context but also iterative and flexible whilst cross examining the evolving construction of knowledge.

Validity then, rests on the process of interpretation and meaning creation. Reflexivity is an essential check on sense-making, as it presents a path for critical analysis on the effect of situated interpretation and contextualised knowledge construction (Subramani, 2019). Nonetheless, reflexivity is more than method to evaluate qualitative research. Subramani (2019:1), argues that "It has transformed the question of subjectivity in research from a problem to an opportunity". In fact, some researchers take this argument further and maintain that "reflexivity is not merely a feature of research but an ethic of how we should comport ourselves in late modernity itself" (McCourt, 2016:51). Reflexivity comprises a process for thinking as well as doing research, and as such it should be applied at every stage of the research process.

There are three stages of reflexivity (Corlett and Mavin, 2018; Day, 2012; Finlay, 2002):

- **Thinking:** At pre-research stage, the researcher's positionality should be considered. Questioning assumptions or understandings about nature of reality and how alternative views

⁵⁵ For more information see Heather D'Cruz et al 's 2007 paper: "Reflexivity, its Meanings and Relevance for Social Work: A Critical Review of the Literature"

Commented [SGA20]: Take this out? What does this mean? Research is CO-CONSTRUCTED with the participants? IE you have to agree the meaning with the participants?????

may affect the research outcomes. Other questions I asked myself to understand my biases included: What is important for this research? How do I feel about this? Where do I stand? What do I believe? What are my biases?

- **Doing:** At data collection stage, self-awareness is key. This includes acknowledging research related relationships (e.g. with research context, data, and researcher-participant connections). For example, research methods for this thesis included semi-structured interviews; exposing my personal interest on the subject and study cases, as well as indicating some commonality with the participants (whether professional or personal), helped to ease the tension and breakdown underlying preconceptions of power and knowledge. In addition, the interviews were framed as a dialogue, albeit my contributions were deliberately modest and moderated, with the aim to either steer, or maintain the flow of the conversation. The overall aim was to facilitate rapport creating a relaxed and safe atmosphere, to ultimately, yield rich data. This process was recorded in pre and post interview notes to cross-reference with transcripts at data analysis stages.
- **Evaluating:** Reflexivity at data analysis stage involves examining the research data as well as processes of interpretation and construction of knowledge. For this thesis, this process involved reconsidering the pre-research assumptions, and systematic iterative cycles of reviewing codes and cross-examining new and old interpretations of text, to ensure parity. Supervisors, academic colleagues, fellow architects, friends and family were essential sounding boards to challenge my interpretations⁵⁶. Constant note taking and detail diaries helped to keep a record of the evolving narrative, and an account of decisions made along the way, as well as challenges and possibilities that arose as part of the analysis process.

In accordance with Levy (2003), the pursuit of reflexivity across every stage of this endeavour was performed “not in order to suspend subjectivity, but to use the researcher’s personal interpretative framework consciously as the basis for developing new understandings” (Levy, 2003:94).

4.6 Literature Review

The literature review provides a comprehensive report on key concepts and overall landscape of knowledge of the concept domains. Theoretical analysis of the concept domains helped to refine and frame the research question and objectives for this thesis. This was done by summarising and critically analysing existing key research, highlighting areas of controversy and identifying gaps in the academic knowledge. The choices of sources were evaluated for currency⁵⁷, relevance, authority, accuracy, and purpose⁵⁸.

⁵⁶ Additional reflexive analysis endeavours had planned to include cross-examination of data and analysis with the participants. Unfortunately, contact with the participants was abruptly interrupted and research phase consequently abridged due to the unexpected outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic.

⁵⁷ Refer to previous section regarding parity of data.

⁵⁸ For further information on this evaluation method, refer to the CRAAP test (Currency, Relevance, Authority, Accuracy, and Purpose).

Commented [SGA21]: It is acknowledged that due to the number of unforeseen interruptions that this research has endured -pregnancy, family illness, bereavement and Covid-19-, the time lapse between conducting the literature review and the submission of this thesis is larger than anticipated. Following discussions with this thesis supervisors, it was decided that to appraise the literature review chapters for relevance rather than carry out a re-draft for currency. The theoretical body of the literature was appraised for relevance in advance of the

Conducting a literature review at the outset, enabled familiarity and understanding of prominent research in the fields of wellbeing, spatial (in)justice / (in)equality.

The overall literature review sequence used in this thesis was drawn from Maier (2013), who, in criticism to the Swiss cheese metaphor proposed by Reason (2000) called for hierarchical, well-defined steps that present an increase on focus from one step to the next, leading to the formulation of a research question.

This study's sequence, has adapted Maier's model to present an iterative process where the steps are treated as series of feedback loops, which is consistent with the reflectivity and reflexive praxis discussed on previous sections of this chapter.

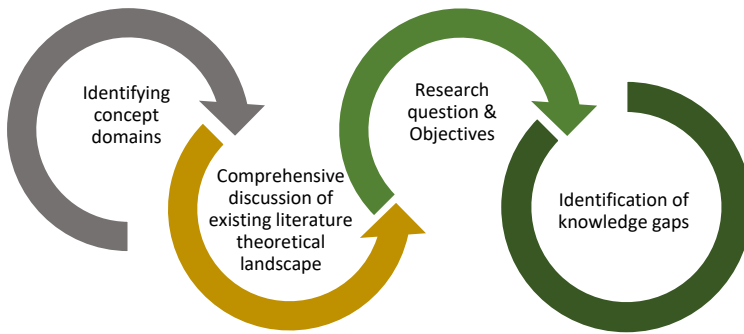


Figure 4.5: Iterative literature review sequence. (Adapted from Maier, 2013:4)

As part of the iterative reflective and reflexive process the initial literature review body was re-examined for relevance at the time of writing the themes report and discussion in Chapter 8. Where appropriate, literature review was updated. It was found that, although the pandemic left a temporal void in the literature, the relevant 2020-2022 academic landscape in relation to wellbeing, inequality, and injustice had been saturated with pandemic related content, and could lack parity with the data collected for this study.

4.7 Qualitative Research Strategy: Case Study

Choosing the appropriate research methodology is a crucial element to any research project. Denscombe, (2010:4) recommends the consideration of three key questions: *What is suitable? What is feasible? And What is ethical?* Key considerations are discussed below, followed by the Research Strategy Assessment table:

- 1- **What is suitable?** As discussed in the previous section, the appropriate strategy for this investigation needs to accommodate the study of multiple perspectives and explore the richness of context. (O'Leary, 2010:105).

Commented [SGA22]: Reason JT, Carthey J, de Leval MR. Diagnosing "vulnerable system syndrome": an essential prerequisite to effective risk management. *Qual Health Care.* 2001;10:ii21-5.

Commented [SGA23]: For example, section 2.6: Towards a Definition of Wellbeing. Key definitions were updated where the source had update their definition. DID THIS HAPPEN???? Current Gov definitions of wb are from 2012

Commented [SGA24]: Furthermore, the body of literature was found to be sufficiently comprehensive to provide a suitable theoretical context to support the interpretation of data collected and thematic analysis.

2- **What is feasible?** What were the foreseeable limitations of the project? As with most PhD projects, time is limited, the investigation and analysis are to be done as a single researcher endeavour, and there are financial constraints to be considered. Additionally, I had limitations based on my personal circumstances. I was never a lone researcher. I started this journey as a new mother of a 9months old baby, whilst at the early stages of pregnancy with my second child. A suitable strategy had to allow for flexibility to operate around the evolving needs of the babies and their childcare, and part time work to meet my growing family's financial demands.

In addition to the 'known limitations' described above, the onset of Coronavirus pandemic during the later stages of the data collection for this research, presented unforeseen challenges that are described in sections 4.9 and 4.10.

3- **What is ethical?** Preliminary ethical considerations included the possibility of harm, integrity, openness and honesty, anonymity, confidentiality, voluntary participation, and the ability of the participants to understand the nature of the research (Denscombe, 2010).

RESEARCH STRATEGY ASSESSMENT TABLE					
KEY STRATEGY	DESCRIPTION	SUITABLE	FEASIBLE	ETHICAL	COMMENTS
SURVEYS	Gather facts to test theory	X	✓	✓	On its own does not allow for complex relationships. Would be useful as a method
CASE STUDIES	Complex relationships between factors in a particular setting	✓	✓	✓	Preferred strategy
EXPERIMENTS	Observe influence of specific factors	X	X	?	The RQ calls for the study of real-life situation in their natural setting. Experiments involving human beings can be ethically problematic.
ETHNOGRAPHY	Social interaction with culture	✓	X	✓	Not feasible due to scope and time constrains
PHENOMENOLOGY	Personal experience	X	✓	✓	An element of personal experience may be useful as a method, but as a strategy it could fail to answer the RQ.
GROUNDED THEORY	Explore new topic and provide new insight	✓	X	✓	Not feasible due to scope and time constrains

Figure 4.2: Selecting a Research Strategy

Following the research strategy evaluation of the table above, it was clear that using a small number of in-depth case studies was the appropriate strategy for this project. A case study, as defined by Yin (2003:23) is a “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and in which multiple sources of evidence are used.” Yin (2003) adds that the case study is a unique strategy that allows the investigator to preserve significant characteristics of real-life events. Silverman (2000) states that the case study is the most flexible of all strategies.

A case study strategy enables a holistic, in-depth exploration of complex and dynamic relationships in the chosen settings (Feagin, Qrun and Sjoberg, 1991). Overall, the main advantages of using case studies in this investigation included:

- It allowed the data to be examined within its own real-life context. (Yin, 2003);
- It supported in-depth observation of a limited number of events, conditions and lived experiences, and their relationships within a small geographical area (Zainal, 2007).
- The detailed qualitative accounts obtained helped to explore the complexities of real-life phenomena that could have been overlooked through experimental or survey research; and
- It allowed for multiple sources of evidence and cross-reference between multiple case studies; Multiple methods used include specialist and key residents’ interviews, questionnaire, participant observation, visual observations and walkabouts, and mapping of the local area.

Yin’s (2003) constructive criticisms of case studies was instrumental to prepare against the drawbacks of this strategy. Key critiques included:

- Lack of systematic processing of data: throughout the investigation a detailed coding journal and analysis strategy were used to keep a record of the iterative handling of data process.
- Case study inquiries can be time consuming, and yield impenetrable amounts of data: Use of CAQDAS NVIVO⁵⁹ software helped to organise data, keep track of changes following coding reviews.
- Case studies are not a basis for scientific generalisation: This project is not set up for scientific generalisations. A positivist approach would be better suited for a macro analysis leading to large population pattern observation. The objective of this thesis is to translate the data to theoretical propositions, not to population as in statistical research.

4.7.1 Cross-Case Analysis: Case Orientated / Most different Design

Cross case analysis “facilitates the comparison of commonalities and differences in events, activities, and processes that are the units of analysis in case studies” (Khan & VanWynsberghe, 2008:1). This thesis aims to systematically mobilise and transfer data across subjects and communities to extract

⁵⁹ NVIVO is a Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), used for the analysis of qualitative and mixed methods research.

Commented [SGA25]: Write a detailed strategy plan, including all the proposed methods and reporting criteria will be drawn up a later stage.

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new or unexpected knowledge. As described by Ayres et al. (2003:875) “moving between across-and within- case comparisons”.

This research followed a case-orientated approach, so to place the complexity of social and urban contexts of individual cases at the centre of this investigation. In other words, the research focussed on the cases themselves rather than on variable across cases (variable-orientated approach).

This investigation used case studies set in two different geographical areas at neighbourhood level: Nørrebro in Copenhagen (CPH) and Gorton, Manchester (GRT).

The purpose was to build an understanding of current best practices of processes and implementation of urban design strategies involving spatial justice, diversity and wellbeing in Copenhagen for cross comparison to Gorton, with the goal of identifying those strategies that could be applicable to Gorton.

This type of selection criteria⁶⁰ is called the ‘most different design’ (See Przeworski & Teune, 1982). This approach emphasizes diversity in the selection of case studies. As such, the research has intentionally pursued cases that differ as much as possible to “extend lessons learned in single cases to inform another case and to uncover similar processes in unexpected contexts” (Khan & Van Wynsberghe, 2008:5).

Copenhagen was chosen due to its enduring high levels of wellbeing and social cohesion, regularly topping polls for most liveable city on the planet (Refer to Chapter 6). This thesis has focussed on the current Integrated Urban Renewal Initiatives. This initiative spotlights the districts that are deemed to fall below the high living standards of the city to address site specific challenges. Key strategies include promoting trust, participation and positive relationships through the design of public space.

From being at the forefront of steam engine innovation at the turn of the century, Gorton, on the other hand, has failed to recover from the decline of heavy industry. In 1854-1966 Beyer, Peacock & Co. Ltd, a global steam locomotive works was set up in Gorton, producing some of the most innovative railway locomotives in the World. The urban fabric was dominated by the dense terraces that supported the heavy industry. Today, the traditional Victorian urban grid appears fragmented, and to a large extent replaced by an urban plan based on car-led zoning strategies. Given its proximity to the city centre, Gorton has been earmarked as key growth area for housing and industry under the Manchester Strategy Plan (Refer to Chapter 7), which brought a new focus on wellbeing to reduce local low health outcomes. Despite boasting higher than average proportion of people aged under 24 years, 31.4% of Gorton residents suffer from health issues that limit their day-to-day (Refer to Chapters 7 & 8).

⁶⁰ There are other approaches to case-orientated cross case analysis, such as:

- **Typologies:** Cases are categorised into clusters that share similar typologies. (See Dezin, 1989);
- **Multi-case methods:** described by Stake (2006) as a common focus for a set of case studies;
- **Process tracing:** exploring a number of processes or casual paths to reveal potential outcomes (See George & Bennett, 2005).

This PhD proposes that some of the principles used in Copenhagen to increase wellbeing in deprived neighbourhoods, could also mitigate the effects of spatial injustice in Gorton.

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“Good qualitative research helps people to understand the world, their society, and its institutions. Qualitative methodology can provide knowledge that targets societal issues, questions, or problems and therefore serves humankind.” (Tracy, 2012:5).

4.8 Ethics considerations

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The ethical considerations of this research were guided by the six core ethical principles by Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council, the original funding body of this investigation (UKRI, 2021):

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Framework for research ethics
<https://www.ukri.org/councils/esrc/guidance-for-applicants/research-ethics-guidance/framework-for-research-ethics/our-core-principles/#contents-list>

- 1) Research should aim to maximise benefit for individuals and society and minimise risk and harm;
- 2) The rights and dignity of individuals and groups should be respected;
- 3) Participation should be voluntary and appropriately informed;
- 4) Research should be conducted with integrity and transparency;
- 5) Lines of responsibility and accountability should be clearly defined;
- 6) Independence of research should be maintained. Conflicts of interest cannot be avoided they should be made explicit.

These six items represent the overarching ethical framework recommended by the Lancaster University. House (1990) proposed a guidance that follows the principles above, but it is perhaps more specific about the way this research was conducted (House, 1990, quoted in Dearnley, 2005):

- Mutual respect and genuine value of different points of views. Avoid demeaning others interests or circumstances.
- Non-coercion: Avoid manipulation of situations or people to collaborate. Ensure that consent is given willingly and freely.
- Commitment to democracy, equality and liberty.

Commented [SGA30]: Talk about the Rainbow Heaven??

The Lancaster University Ethics Committee granted formal ethical approval prior to any contact with participants or field research. Written consent for collection, use of data for this thesis and publication of the findings was obtained in all instances. Anonymity of participants have been pursued as far as practically possible. For example, names have been substituted for genderless codes, gender has been anonymised further by using the same pronouns for all participants (they/their). Also, specific job titles been substituted for general roles. However, some of the participants identities were already in the public domain prior to this research. This is generally due to the participants active and long-term engagement with the community, as well as the commercial marketing efforts of their employment. Before collecting any data, these participants were made aware, that although all data published would be anonymised, confidentiality could not be 100% guaranteed.

4.9 Limitations

This research was subject to substantial disruptions and limitations following personal and worldwide events.

Key personal circumstances that affected this research were noted on section 4.7 (*What is feasible?*). In addition, data collection for this research was subject to the extraordinary circumstances that the Covid-19 pandemic brought upon the world⁶¹. Approximately 70% of the data had been collected prior to the first UK National lockdown in 2020; mostly participant interviews, but also meeting observations, and visual surveys.

Lancaster University requested that all researchers should consider the impact their research may have on the participants under pressures of the pandemic and the uncertainty of unquantified health risks. Researchers should “seek to minimise or avoid adding to the burden of workers or disrupting the delivery of services” (Lancaster University, 2020), with special regard to those with responsibilities in the front line, as it was the case with most of the participants involved in this research at the time. Upon discussion with the two supervisors of this thesis, it was deemed that to continue with data collection efforts, could unduly increase health risk to the participants, the community, as well as the researcher. Consequently, all the data collection concluded following the UK Government announcement of national lockdowns in March 2020– albeit somewhat prematurely. Scheduled interviews post March 2020 and resident workshops in Gorton were cancelled. However, the biggest impact to the original research plan was caused by the cancellation of all systematic field work observations, which had been planned for summer 2020, upon conclusion of participants interviews.

As a result, the research approach was reconsidered and the methodology and analysis re-framed to suit the data already collected. The changes are discussed in the following sections.

4.10 Multi-method Data Collection

This research aims to seek social insights in relation to specific urban settings. More specifically, to understand how complex social structures are manifested physically in urban public space but also in terms of urban values, concepts and design processes at the neighbourhood level. A multi-method process was employed to facilitate the exposure of multiple perspectives. Creswell (2015:3) has defined multi-methods as the use of multiple -in this case qualitative- methods to collect data for a single research project. The methods selected revealed how diverse levels of lived experiences intertwine with the context and the processes that promoted that context.

For parity, the research design for this thesis planned to use parallel methods for data collection in both case studies, including:

⁶¹ Limitations included freedom of movement, unknown danger to the health of participants, researcher, and their immediate social “bubbles”, ethical considerations relating to anxiety, and mental health, added disruption of primary local services, IT illiteracy and lack of access to IT equipment/software for remote communication tools amongst participants.

Commented [SGA31]: FST REC Guide for Projects During Pandemic

Guidance on ethical issues to consider when conducting/re-designing research projects during the pandemic

1. Desktop urban and historical analysis;
2. visual surveys;
3. Site observations;
4. semi-structured interviews with:
 - o residents;
 - o key neighbourhood workers;
 - o architects and urban designers; and
 - o local authority.
5. Meeting observations.

The use and limitations of each of the above methods is critically examined in the following sub-sections. As discussed, all data was collected before 2020 lockdowns, and the original aspirations for research design were subject to strategic adaptations to respond to the shifting landscape of the pandemic. The research was originally designed to rest heavily on the data collected through site observations, with other methods used to support or challenge this data.

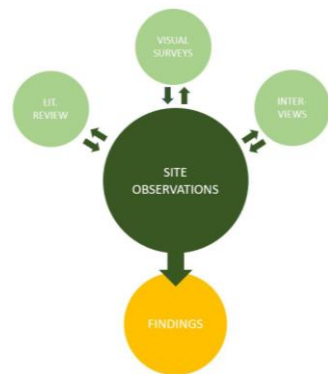


Figure 4.3: Original Research Design Framework

However, all primary data collection including site observations had to be cancelled due to limitations discussed in section 4.9.

The outcomes of this thesis are based on data collected before the first British national lockdown in March 2020⁶², which were namely, literature review, interviews, and visual surveys.

Commented [SGA32]: Limitations included freedom of movement, unknown danger to the health of participants, researcher, and their immediate contacts, ethical considerations relating to anxiety, and mental health, disruption of primary local services, and lack of equipment and illiteracy of remote communication tools amongst participants.

⁶² For parity, no data has been collected during or post pandemic. Similarly, further contact with existing participants concluded due to the pandemic.

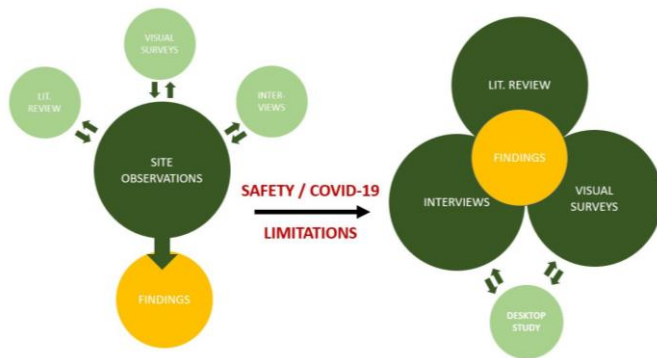


Figure 4.4: Final Research Design Framework

The original research enquiry continued to be relevant, and the research question was wide enough to be retained in spite of the unforeseen disruptions. Instead, following multiple discussion with colleagues and supervisors, this researcher opted to take advantage of the significant amount of data already collected, and adapt the approach to methods and data analysis. Consequently, the research design moved away from site observation data, by altering the analytical frame of this enquiry from a deductive content analysis using mapping and patterns of behaviour leading to physical and infrastructure recommendations to an inductive thematic analysis interpreting concepts, values and design processes leading towards strategies for engagement and policy making.

4.10.1 Desktop urban and historical analysis, visual surveys, and site observations

All individual locations discussed in the theme report (see Chapter 8) were subject to in-person preliminary field trips prior to 2020 lockdowns. Explorative visual surveys and/or walkabouts, were conducted in preparation for the systematic field observations. Researcher's photographs from these visits have been used in this thesis.

In Copenhagen, the researcher visited the sites unaccompanied. In Gorton, several 'expert companions' escorted the researcher. These included thesis supervisor Prof. Cooper and Dr Boyko, fellow researcher Dr Bourikas, local architect J Piercy, and participant GRT_CL1. Detailed notes of researcher's and companion's observations were recorded, and later on coded accordingly (Refer to Chapter 5)

However, these field trips were only intended as explorative. Systematic collection of data was planned to be performed at a later stage with site observations, which were cancelled prematurely. To mitigate the missing data, and to moderate the potential of bias, the desktop urban and historical analysis of each case study, was completed to greater depths than initially planned. The information presented in Chapters 6 and 7 is considered an integral part of the urban analysis, providing the necessary context to support the discussion in Chapter 8. In addition, participant interviews took a more central role in the data analysis.

Adaptations to the research design and data analysis framework are explained in the previous section.

4.10.2 Semi-structured interviews and participant recruitment

Participants interviews for this qualitative study were envisioned as an organic method aimed at the in-depth exploration of barriers and assets surrounding wellbeing and diversity in the built environment and its design processes. This was the main method of data collection.

Tracy (2012) describes the interview process as a “forum for probing”, for “strengthening” and “complicating” data. Conversely, Rubin and Rubin (2005:vii), point out that interviews resemble “night vision goggles”, facilitating the exploration of hidden complex phenomena. Participants were encouraged to elaborate on their lived experiences, and reflect on past events (both recent and distant memories) to enrich the investigation with background and contextual information.

Commented [SGA33]: Quoted from Tracy 2012.

The flexible format of the semi-structured interviews provided the opportunity to adjust the standard question set to each participant architectural language skills and expertise. Adaptation occurred at pre-interview stage, as well as *during* the interview. For example, the term ‘Urban Design’ was substituted⁶³ from question guides and participant information sheets related to residents, as there is a general lack of understanding of what it means amongst the (British) public; instead, I strived to use the more descriptive phrase: ‘design of public spaces around your neighbourhood’. On some occasions, the participants also found the term ‘public space’ unfamiliar, and/or appeared perplexed at the concept of ‘design of public spaces’. In these cases, more specific examples were used, such as ‘parks’ or ‘streets’. In these instances, the word ‘design’ was abandoned altogether, for more open-ended questions such as ‘What do you like about... What would you change? Why? The data collection focussed on lived experiences as a unit of analysis, and it was imperative that the participants narrated their experiences in a language that reflected their perspective. The organic nature of the interviews allowed for the questioning to become a ‘conversation’ when required. Drawing upon reflective skills and my expertise as an architect and urbanist during the interviews, I discussed with the participants what the design implications might be, whilst being careful to use their language choices. Far from viewing language discrepancies as drawbacks, these instances provided windows for “mutual discovery” (Tracy, 2012:132).

Commented [SGA34]: Gorton dominant language, issues of power, influence dynamics. Maybe be more explicitly reflexive about these here? See note on Sheffield Thesis.

It is worth noting, that conceptual language challenges were far less acute for the participants in Denmark, despite all interactions being conducted in English, a second or third language in all instances. In the rare occasions when the participant seemed unsure of their words, I endeavoured to re-tell their statement in my own words to confirm my understanding of their narrative and avoid ‘losses in translation’⁶⁴. Differences of language acuity between the two locations could also be explained by education levels. It is possible that in only selecting participants in Denmark that are fluent in English as a second or third language, I may have missed those who lack the education to have a second or third language. Nonetheless, the state education system in Denmark has been more successful in equipping their citizens not only with foreign language skills, but also urban design

⁶³ This was done initially following the advice of my supervisors. This suggestion soon proved valuable and effective.

⁶⁴ As English is also my second language, I am well versed in this struggle.

language, as community urban projects are included in the primary school curriculum, as will be discussed in the later chapters of this thesis.

Beyond a data collection method, selecting semi structured interviews as a main method, compelled the use of reflective and analytical skills at every stage of the interview process -before, during, and after the interviews. Reflexive interviews notes were written as soon as practically possible after each interview and discussed with supervisors to convey the initial assessment on how the interview went, what were the key issues discussed? How did observations discussed verified, challenge, expand, alter previous concepts? What worked well, what could I have done differently? Were there any leading questions? Confirmation bias is often described as the tendency to favour or prioritise information that confirms our preconceptions and/or avoiding challenges to our own beliefs (Allahverdyan & Galstyan, 2014; Nickerson, 1998). To avoid the pitfalls of confirmation bias, this particular question was considered at every stage of the research: at pre- collection (as question guides were being drawn up), during the interviews, whilst writing post interview notes, when transcribing, as well each iteration of coding and analysis.

Given to the nature of the sites (high levels of deprivation, low civic engagement, low education, low trust), it became clear early on that large samples from all groups would not be feasible within the scope of the PhD. Instead, I targeted people who were very knowledgeable about the sites and the residents, had long standing relationships with the area, and/or frequently dealt with or was exposed to diverse social groups.

An overall of 20 interviews were conducted (9No. in Copenahgen and 12No. in Manchester), involving 22No. participants. The interviews lasted between 30-90min, and their collective transcripts generated over 130,000 words. Different perspectives across design stages were sought, from briefing to design production as well as end users. Roughly, participants were grouped in four categories, Local Authorities (policy makers), Designers (architects and urban designers), Community Leaders (Local Councillors, Housing Associations Neighbourhood Officers, Social Workers), and Residents. This structure also allowed the exploration of phenomena at different scales:

- Macro scale, generally from designers experience, who were able to discuss the particular areas investigated and highlight similarities or differences from projects of similar contextual conditions elsewhere in the region. In particular they were able to give an overview of the implications of policy across the region.
- Meso scale: generally, from community leaders whose experience often spanned various neighbourhoods around the area.
- Micro scale: Mostly from the residents who had in-depth knowledge of the particular of the particular neighbourhoods identified.

Commented [SGA35]: CHECK!!!!

Commented [SGA36]: Implications, sample of convenience: some participants talked about site outside the area, more loose in Denmark, as it is the approach that matter. Gorton: not much architecture in Gorton, so it is Gorton west and north.

COPENHAGEN		
No.	CODE	PARTICIPANT TYPE
01	CPH_LA1	Local Authority 1
02	CPH_D1	Designer 1
03	CPH_D2	Designer 2
04	CPH_D3	Designer 3
05	CPH_CL	Community Leader 1
06	CPH_R1	Resident 1
07	CPH_R2	Resident 2
08	CPH_R3	Resident 3
09	CPH_R4	Resident 4

MANCHESTER		
No.	CODE	PARTICIPANT TYPE
10	GRT_LA1	Local Authority 1
11	GRT_LA2	Local Authority 2
12	GRT_D1	Designer 1
13	GRT_D2	Designer 2
14	GRT_LC1 & LC2	Gatekeeper 1 & 2
15	GRT_CL1	Community Leader 3
16	GRT_CL2	Community Leader 4
17	GRT_CL3	Community Leader 5
18	GRT_R1 & R2	Residents 1 & 2
19	GRT_R3	Resident 3
20	GRT_R4	Resident 4

Figure 4.6: Interview participants list

Three sampling strategies were used to recruit participants, following the hierarchy indicated below:

1 – Purposeful sampling: A list of key designers, and community leaders was drawn up following desktop studies. 12No. projects were shortlisted in Copenhagen for their outstanding high-profile architecture and/or urban design in or around neighbourhoods of Nørrebro (Copenhagen). Wellbeing and social cohesion, and/or reducing spatial inequality had to feature as key design driver/s. 3No. key designers and 1No. local authority official accepted the invitation to participate in this research. A similar exercise was performed for Manchester participants. In this case, Planning Portal, as well as Manchester.gov websites were used to ascertain key designers, relevant local authority, and community leaders. Out of 4No. designers identified, 2No. accepted the invitation. 7No. Local authority members were contacted, and 2No. officers, directly involved with the Gorton area, were keen to participate. Unfortunately, no planning officer responded to the invitations. Out of 6No. community leaders, including local councillors and housing association officers, 5No. agreed to participate, by far the most overwhelming response.

2- Snowball sampling: All participants recruited from purposeful sampling were asked to recommend further participants. This was particularly fruitful in the Gorton case: an initial key resident's short list was drawn up from local media and newspaper, community awards, charity listings of people who were immersed in the community and would have in-depth knowledge of diverse groups through regular direct contact. However, no personal contact details were sought in this manner due to ethical considerations. All participants were approached following an introduction or recommendation from a previous participant.

Out of 10No. residents identified, 5No. were invited to participate. 4No. were interviewed. 1No. accepted initially, then later on declined. The pool of suitable participants was limited not just in

numbers, but also in demographic differences. All participants identified were over 65 years old. 80% of them women. This group of people are the gate keepers of the Gorton and Abbey Hey community. They are long standing residents that have great personal investment in the life and betterment of Gorton. They regularly convene with a wide variety of people of diverse age, cultural and social backgrounds. Their longstanding commitment have gained them appreciation, but importantly trust from a community that have strong misgivings about any unfamiliar person or circle.

Due to language and time constraints, alternative tactics were sought in the Copenhagen case (discussed below).

3- Opportunistic sampling: In Copenhagen, all resident participants were approached at local public spaces. In this case it was possible to select a sample that was diverse in of age, gender, culture and social status. The number of total participants was limited to 4No., as it will discussed in the later sections of this chapter, samples are not intended for statistical analysis⁶⁵; rather the aim was to collect diverse lived accounts in or around the vicinity of Nørrebro.

In Gorton, due to safety concerns⁶⁶, participants were not approached directly. Instead, leaflets were left on local shops, public amenities and letter boxes. Unfortunately, no opportunist participants responded. The efforts to increase sample size and variety in this manner were futile, but not unexpected. Gorton suffers from low levels of trust and participation across the community. Participation and trust maybe regarded as personal choice, it seems, however, that they can also be understood as privileges that not everyone can afford.

4.10.3 Meeting observations

Following some of the interviews, I was fortunate to be further invited to observe 3No. meetings in the local community. I attended community meetings to observe the decision-making process and how key strategies with regards to wellbeing and social cohesion are introduced and implemented. Meetings were attended by expert participants such as planning officers, councillors and community groups leaders.

4.11 Methods critical reflection: Pros and Cons

The limitations discussed above, had a severe impact on the research design of this thesis, as unexpected events coincided with the later stages of data collection. As a result, the data analysis was reframed and the way methods were used shifted from the original intention when data was collected. Section 4.10 above critically revisits the methodological approach and analyses all methods used. The table below presents an outline of the pros and cons of the methods used.

⁶⁵ In this analysis, the participants are not treated as representative of their group but 'a group'. For example, one of the participants was an economically secure female over 65 years old, her account is not considered representative of all residents of similar circumstances, but it is reasonable to assume that 'some' people within that group, would have similar views and experiences.

⁶⁶ The researcher had to, on two separate occasions run away to avoid becoming a victim of a crime, and/or violet confrontation with local youth.

METHODS CRITICAL REFLECTION TABLE		
METHOD	PRO	CONS
1 - DESKTOP URBAN AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - In depth longitudinal analysis, across time and city scales (macro to micro). - City analysis helped to ground the participants narratives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Limited by existing information and existing lines of enquiry.
2 - VISUAL SURVEYS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Semi-informal walkabouts were organised and adapted with ease to different locations, times of day and year, as well as companions. This gave the researcher a broader understanding of the context and reduce the possible bias. - Included photographic record. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exploratory observations were broad, but lacked depth. - Lacks rigour of systematic observations.
3 - SITE OBSERVATIONS (Method discounted. See Section 4.9 for details)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Systematic data collection is a rigorous process. - Mapping challenges and resources, as well as movement and interaction of people with each other and urban space. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formality of method brings complex logistics to setting up site observations. - Site observations can give the researcher in-depth of knowledge of a particular location, but would not present a broad understanding of the intricate and complex networks across the neighbourhood.
4- SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Rich data. - Record of lived experiences. - Range of source reduce bias, and allowed analysis form different perspectives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Coded data too rich and difficult to manage. - Analysis of code data is complex and time consuming.
5- MEETING OBSERVATIONS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Helped understand institutional and decision-making processes. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The sampling was opportunistic rather than purposeful.

Figure 4.7: Methods critical reflection table.

4.12 Thematic Analysis: Inductive Approach

For this thesis two approaches of qualitative analysis were considered: Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA) and Thematic Analysis (TA).

At its most fundamental level, content analysis is a research technique that translates qualitative data into numerical illustrations or occurrences (Bell & Waters, 2018). Consequently, in content analysis, statistics play a central role in coding and analysing qualitative data; There has been substantial polemics in relation the quantitative shades of content analysis, and many do not consider it a 'true'

qualitative analysis method (Braun & Clarke 2013). For example, Denzin & Lincoln (2005) strategically excluded this method from their *Sage Handbook to Qualitative Research*; Krippendorff, (1980:2) describes it as a technique “for making replicable and valid inferences from data to context”, a language that is more attuned to the archetypes of natural sciences research. Braun & Clarke themselves (2006, 2013) have conspicuously labelled this type of analysis ‘Small Q’ qualitative research. As response to these criticisms, more interpretative forms of content analysis have emerged, often referred to Qualitative Content Analysis (QCA). This is the alternative technique considered (but ultimately rejected) for the analysis of this thesis.

Commented [SGA37]: see Bell 2009

There is a considerable overlap between of qualitative content analysis (QCA) and thematic analysis (TA). Their most common attributes include: (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019)

- Consideration of real-life contexts;
- Engagement with both interpretation and description of data;
- Immersion in data;
- They are both iterative processes, encouraging forward and backward analysis and cross-evaluation of codes in relation to the whole body of data.

The use of QCA and TA is most valuable to an investigation when engaging with multiple realities and the construction of meaning is less apparent. As with any qualitative analysis technique⁶⁷, some level of interpretation is required. Both TA and QCA acknowledge the diversity of understandings across the data and the validity of different interpretations. However, whilst TA aims to construct meaning across different perspectives, the QCA researcher must define their specific viewpoint (Schreier, 2012).

Unlike TA, QCA is often used to focus on the description of **manifest content**, whilst TA highlights the interpretation of **latent meaning**. Moreover, QCA describes and classifies data ‘more’ systematically, often through the use of a coding frame. As discussed, QCA can be used to ‘count’ the particular frequency of terms, instances or codes across the data. On the surface, these aspects of QCA could be regarded as valuable to the analysis of this research, as the systematic occurrence evaluation of certain meanings across the data is certainly noteworthy. However, this would be at the cost of reducing the data to single meanings. The narratives collected during this research are rich in contextual differences. In addition to descriptions of manifest content, interpretation of latent content is also a key aspect of the analysis as the research has been designed to present data from sources with different experiences and backgrounds. The selection of a TA method, pushed the enquiry beyond explicit surface data analysis, towards the construction of meaning where multiple realities, and shifting viewpoints are not only acknowledged, but profoundly engaged with an inductive approach that negotiates the development of themes.

Commented [SGA38]: surface meaning

Commented [SGA39]: hidden meaning

The goal of the cross-case analysis is to identify themes. An inductive approach supports the analysis of data from the ‘bottom up’. In other words, from specific codes to general themes. “Theme is a

⁶⁷ Other qualitative techniques include, for example, Hermeneutic Interpretation and Discourse Analysis, which also engage in comprehensive interpretation of data.

thread of underlying meaning, within which similar pieces of data can be tied together” (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019:2).

Commented [SGA40]: CHECK!!!!

The quality of the findings is not only dependent on iterative analytical processes but also on personal experiences and knowledge. It is essential that philosophical perspectives underpinning theme development, presented at the beginning of this chapter, are acknowledged. As discussed, the subjective factors of interpretative analysis are seen as an asset to innovation and theme development (Evers, 2016). Other mediated factors were also considered. For example, metaphors, linguistic symbols, or underlying messages. In other words, the language that individuals use to help others make sense of their world. “Themes should be novel but truly representative of participant’s views and experiences” (Vaismoradi & Snelgrove, 2019:5).

Commented [SGA41]: FIND REF????

This investigation will be using an adapted model of six-stage process proposed by Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke (2006) to conduct a thematic analysis. Braun & Clarke (2013) define TA as an analysis approach that explores patterns within and across the data to advocate a general conclusion. Braun and Clarke start by encouraging the researcher to immerse themselves in the data to highlight main ideas as codes. Codes can then lead into themes through a constant comparison or iterative process:

Commented [SGA42]: There are different TA approaches

BRAUN & CLARKE THEME ANALYSIS MODEL vs ADAPTED THEME MODEL	
- Familiarisation with the data	Micro View: Codes
- Coding	
- Generating themes	Meso View: Themes
- Reviewing themes	
- Defining and naming themes	Macro View: Theme Report
- Theme Report	



Figure 4.8: Theme Analysis Model (Table and diagram)

The process of creation of codes, code analysis, theme generation and subsequent report will be described and discussed in Chapters 5, and 8.

The following two Chapters 6, and 7 present a historical and urban analysis of secondary data which will also form part of the Chapter discussion, providing background urban information.

4.13 Summary

This thesis follows a post-positive theoretical perspective, guided by constructivist and interpretivist ontology and epistemology respectively. The methodological approach highlights the interpretation of lived experiences and the construction of themes.

Using a most different approach, case studies of Nørrebro in Copenhagen and Gorton in Manchester were chosen as key neighbourhoods for data collection. Methods used included desktop urban and historical analysis, visual surveys, meeting observations, semi-structured interviews with residents, key neighbourhood workers, architects and urban designers, and local authority.

Data analysis is based on Braun and Clarke's reflexive thematic analysis model.

The pandemic led to a fundamental shift in the methodological framing of the thesis, from what methods were used and how they were used (E.g.: site observations were disrupted and ultimately discounted). The analytical approach also shifted from deductive content analysis to inductive thematic analysis.

Chapter 5

Analysis: From Creating Codes to Creating Themes

5.1 Introduction: An adapted model

The analysis approach for this study is based on a specially adapted version of the Clarke and Brown reflexive thematic model (Braun & Clarke, 2006a, 2023; Byrne, 2022). Their six steps process has been grouped into three cycles that examines the dataset from micro, meso and macro perspectives. This process calls for a sequential shift in focus: from the interpretation of single items to the aggregation of meaning, to the production of a coherent narrative.

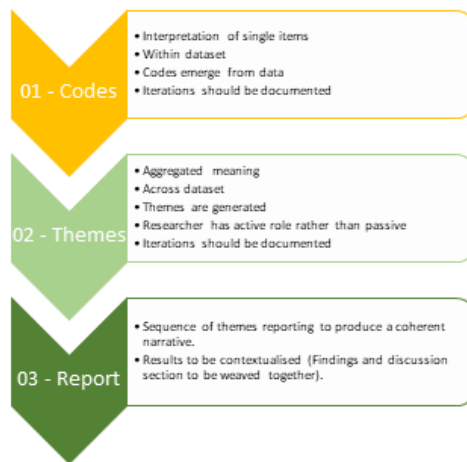


Figure 5.1 – Adapted thematic model

As a researcher, I played an active rather than passive role in the interpretation of data. In fact, the adapted thematic model described above, where data is inspected at different scales, follows my own professional architecture and urban design processes. Much like industry standard iterative design processes, this model presents iterative data analysis cycles, where iterations are key to substantiate the credibility and trustworthiness of this study final outcomes.

The advantage of using this process, is that each cycle investigated the interpretation of data from a different point of view, acting as a feedback loop to the previous one, resulting in the consistent interpretation of data and a coherent narrative. The disadvantage was time: the iterations meant that to move forward I often had to move back and re-examine my interpretations, within the cycles and across the cycles. I also needed to step back, to give myself time to reset and then come back to look at the data with fresh eyes. Overall, it was a rewarding, but time-consuming process.

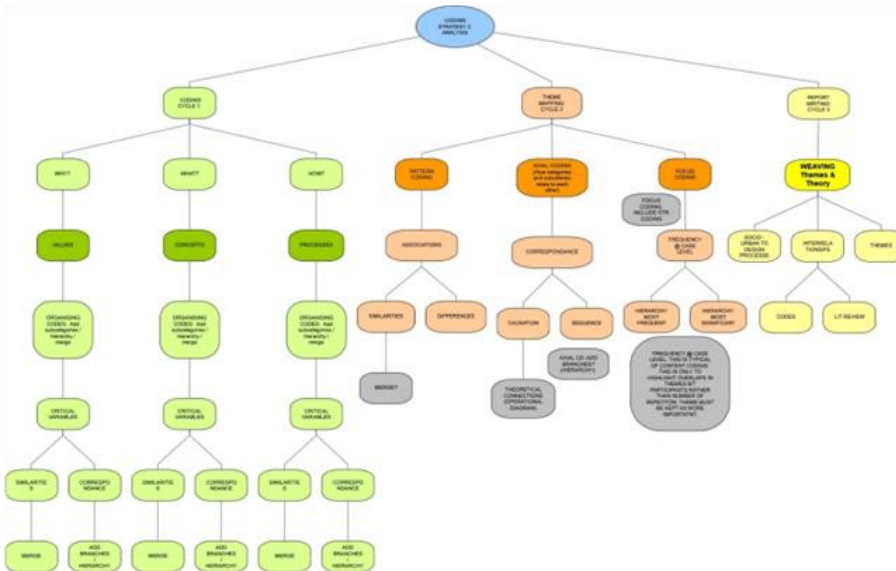


Figure 5.2 – Coding strategy: Data Interpretation Cycles Map

The following sections will describe the interpretation process for Micro (Codes) and Meso (Themes) levels of the analysis model. The third level, narrative and theme reporting, will be subject of Chapter 8.

5.2 Micro view: Codes

Micro view at this level of analysis data is reviewed and analysis at individual units; in this case being participant lived experiences. Starting with familiarisation and ending with code formulation. This phase roughly corresponds to Clarke and Braun (2006b, 2023) steps 1 & 2:

- 1- Familiarization of data,
- 2- Generation of codes.

5.2.1 Familiarisation

As the name suggest, the aim of this step is to become ‘familiar’ with the breadth and depth of dataset before coding begins (Braun & Clarke, 2006b, 2023). “To become immersed in the data involves the repeated reading of the data in an active way searching for meanings and patterns” (Nowell et al., 2017). This “immersion process” was used not just as familiarisation with the data, but also as a pre-coding exercise and annotations were documented throughout. More specifically the process involved the following steps:

1. Writing notes during interviews to highlight key points discussed.
2. Post interview notes: reflective notes on how experiences discussed are related to literature review, past or future interviews, and new elements that need investigating. These notes also consider what's new, key findings, and how lived experiences elucidate or relate to the research questions.
3. Transcribing interviews (in verbatim). Refer to Appendix 3 for interview transcript examples.
4. Re-reading interviews transcripts and making notes on margin or using post-its to record emerging codes, links to further research, questions, links to literature review or other participants lived experiences. This was a pre-coding exercise to understand where the data was heading.

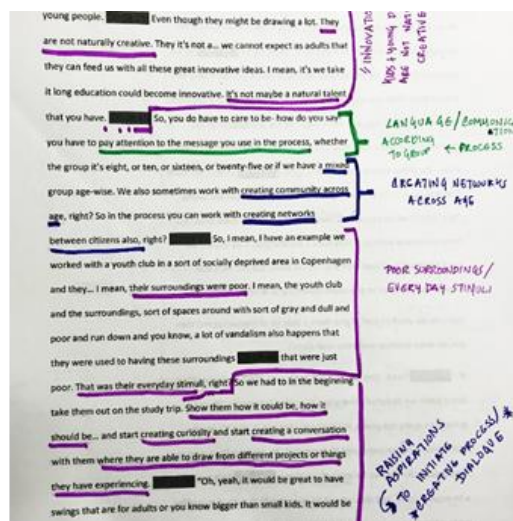


Figure 5.3: Familiarisation. Pre-coding transcript sample (Participant: CPH_D1)

Notes and interpretations made during this phase are considered casual, they helped to give an indication of the of where the analysis may lead to. As this process lacks systematic engagement with the data, the notes were used to support the development of codes, rather than the basis to develop the codes or narratives.

This pre-coding exercise corroborated the resolution that a CAQDAS⁶⁸ program, NVIVO, would be beneficial to help manage the coded data.

⁶⁸ CAQDAS: Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software.

5.2.2 Codes formulation

Formal coding started after familiarisation with the data. Three coding categories were used in this study. This approach was introduced to align with the ontological perspective of this thesis (Saldaña, 2015, 2021). In this sense the coding tree that formed the foundation to the final narratives, was “constructed” using three distinct branches or categories: Values, Concepts and Processes.

CODING APPROACH			
ACRONYM	CATEGORY	KEY QUESTION	DESCRIPTION (Saldaña, 2021)
VAL	Value	Why?	Affective coding method used to record or analyse emotion and/or experience by participant. Often used to code social relationships. Value Coding considers the importance participants attribute to an event or experience.
CON	Concept	What?	Analytical coding method often used for theory or theory development. Concept coding is used to translate or interpret data from particular description or behaviour to a general idea. E.g.: from clock (description) to time (concept).
PRO	Process	How?	Also known as ‘Action Coding’, is often used to portend observable activity. In this thesis process coding was used to actions or processes related to a specific coded Value or Concept.

Figure 5.4: Coding approach table.

In this approach a single piece of relevant data or text was queried three ways⁶⁹:

- **VAL:** Why is this notion or experience important to the participant? What is the Value?
- **CON:** What is the meaning of here? What is the general idea being expressed here?
- **PRO:** How is this value and/or concept manifested?

The triple investigation of data facilitated the groundwork for the subsequent building of themes of the next cycle in the analysis (MESO view). Generally, each piece of data was coded at least once (but often more than once) under each VAL, CON, PRO category. The purpose was to construct relationships, and reveal overlaps, conflicts, and omissions across the interpretation of data.

CODING MEMOS & MAPS		
DOCUMENT TITLE	DESCRIPTION	SAMPLE
CODING STRATEGY MAP	Coding strategy map – drawn at the start of coding, and reviewed at the end of each cycle.	Figures 5.2, 5.7, 5.9
PROJECT DIARY	Daily reflective notes on what I’ve done, how it went, and what to do next.	Appendix 6.1
ANNOTATIONS	Analytical & reflective notes on specific pieces of data. Written whilst coding.	Figure 5.6
CODES DIARY	Reflective record of how codes evolved as more data was added to the set. Written alongside coding, reviewed daily at the start and the end of coding sessions.	Appendix 5.2
CODEBOOK	Computer generated list of all current codes. Automatic updates.	Appendix 5
TAXONOMY MAP	Coding map, indicating hierarchy. Updated at key stages. Key recent changes highlighted.	Figure 5.8 Appendix 4
POST-CODING NOTES	Informal reflective notes on participants transcript made immediately after finishing coding a transcript.	Appendix 3.4
FURTHER LIT REVIEW	Notes and links to further items to be investigated in related to coded items.	Appendix 6.3

Figure 5.5: Coding approach table.

⁶⁹ This system, again, derives from my own architectural design processes, where design decisions are questioned at multiple levels.

A disadvantage found of using this process for qualitative analysis, was that it could lead to 'over coding'. Using CAQDAS⁷⁰ (NVIVO) allow the researcher to visually keep track of coding density through coding stripes (See Figure below).

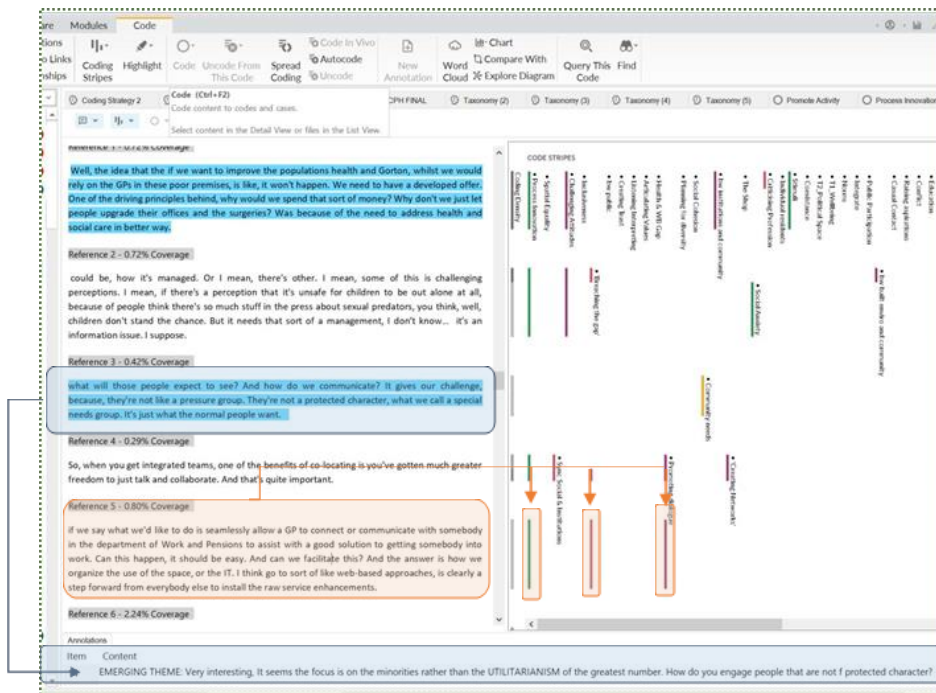


Figure 5.6: NVIVO coding sample.

NVIVO Screenshot of GRT/CON/Constructive Dialogue/Communication Code. Shaded in Orange is a coded text by participant GRT_LA1, alongside coding stripes showing other codes related to this item. (Green Stripe: CON/ Process Innovation; Red Stripe: VAL/Breaching the Gap; Purple Stripe PRO/Promoting Dialogue).

Shaded in Blue is an Annotation related to a single piece of text also by GRT_LA1.

When over coding was suspected, coded data was reviewed and individual items re-coded or un-coded where appropriate. Strategies to keep coding and over coding 'in check', included a series of analytical and record diaries entries, as well as annotations. These were coding memos written regularly, some as part of the coding day routine (e.g., Project Diary at the end of coding sessions and reviewed at the start of the next one). These memos served as feedback loops, as well as a record for particular interpretation of data. They also kept track of codes that had been/should be reviewed, changed, or text to be re-coded (Refer to Figure 5.5 for full list).

⁷⁰ CAQDAS: Computer-assisted (or aided) qualitative data analysis software.

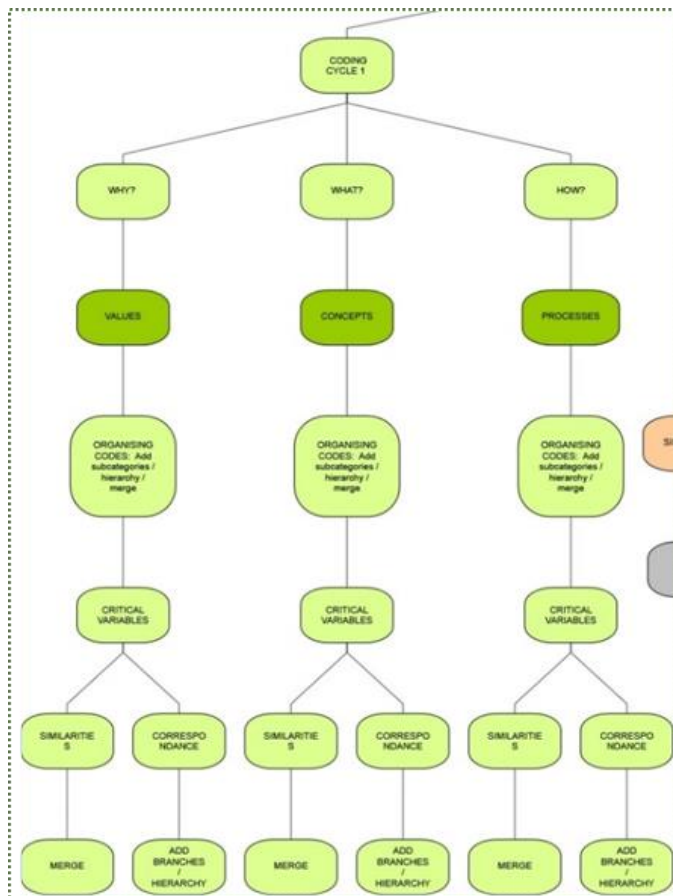


Figure 5.7: Coding Strategy Extract: Cycle 1 or Micro View

All Copenhagen interviews were coded first, and in groups of participant types (Designers, local authorities, Community gatekeepers, residents). At the of each set, coding tree was reviewed and revised as necessary. Where codes were found to be too similar, they were merged. For associations inferring 'correspondence', the hierarchy of that relationship was construed under 'parent', 'child', or 'sibling' branches.

This was an inductive process. The first transcript to be coded was that of CPH_D1. This participant was chosen following a review of post-interview notes, as this appeared to have richest relevant narratives. This first exercise created the backbone of the coding tree. With every interview the coding tree evolved accordingly. Codes were added, merged, split to reflect new data. When required, the researcher would review previously coded data, and re-code data to consider changes as required to accommodate the new interpretations. Alteration to the coding tree were recorded in a coding diary.

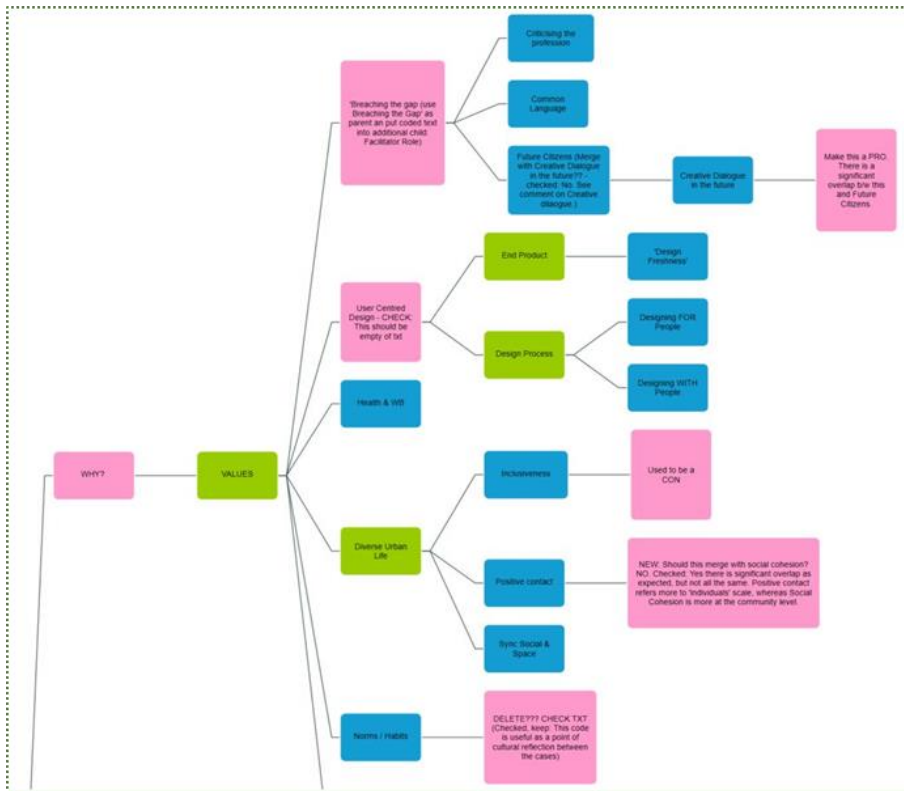


Figure 5.8: Coding Taxonomy Extract: Changes were recorded through the process.

The coding of Gorton started by using Copenhagen’s coding tree. Interpreting data under the same coding structure enabled the comparison of data of the case studies, and the assessment of how values, concepts, and process from Gorton’s participants contrasted with those of Danish participants.

The coding process of Gorton had a deductive beginning, as data was analysed against an existing set of codes. However, the Gorton coding tree also evolved as more data was coded. As a parallel process to Copenhagen, codes were added, split, merged, and in some cases, moved to a more suitable level. This often involved going back and reviewing data already coded, in some cases, re-coding. Most notable a number of codes were added, as the institutional system and social differences between Copenhagen and Manchester, yielded additional codes not found in the initial Danish set.

5.3 Meso view: Generating Themes

This phase is characterised by a shift in focus: from the previous analysis at micro level of participant experience, the emphasis now lies on the interpretation of aggregated meaning at meso level. The meso view aims to analyse the grouping of experiences and relationships between the codes that

structure them. The outcome of this analysis phase is generation of subthemes under the three categories -Values, Concepts, and Process-, used in Cycle 1.

This phase roughly corresponds to Clarke and Braun (2006b, 2023) steps 3 & 4:

- 3- Generation of themes,
- 4- Themes review.

These steps were not considered sequential, but iterative. Codes were combined according to shared meaning to provide a coherent dataset. Following this, data aggregations were mapped and reviewed with two PhD supervisors, as well as discussed informally with fellow researchers performing thematic analysis. Iterations were documented in the form of maps, tables and explanatory notes.

The original coding analysis strategy had identified three types of relationship that could be used to map codes and start the process of generating themes, pattern, axial, and focus coding (Saldaña, 2015, 2021). Axial Coding is used to ascertain or sequential or causation between codes. The data collected could show some hints towards this type of correlation, but the number of incidents in the dataset is not adequate to establish a clear pattern. For this reason, this type of code mapping was discounted. The use of Pattern coding and focus are described in the following sections.

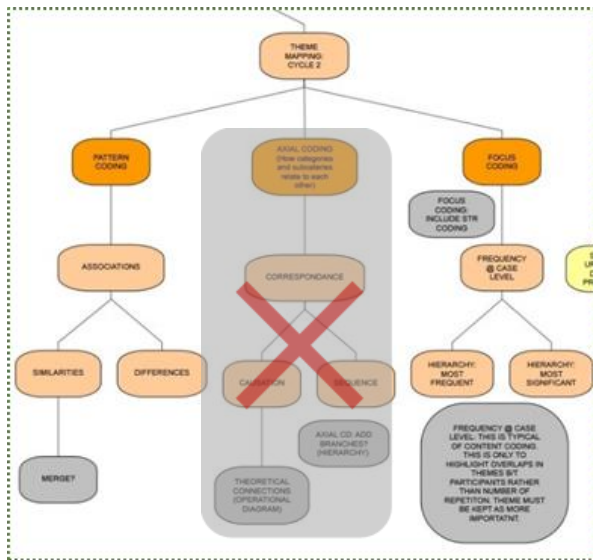


Figure 5.9: Coding Strategy Extract: Cycle 2 – Theme Mapping, Meso View. Axial coding was discounted due insufficient number of incidents in the dataset.

Cycle 2 started by mapping Gorton’s coded data, as this is the main case study and it contained the largest dataset.

5.3.1 Pattern Mapping: Similarities and Differences

Pattern mapping considers associations between codes by similarities and differences. Pattern coding was also used on Cycle 1 to determine associations between individual pieces of data (within codes). In this cycle it was used to map the relationship *across* codes.

- Codebook review with a focus on codes descriptions. This led to the creation of a tree diagram of shared meaning.
- Codebook review was followed by a review of the annotations and other analytical memos, created during Cycle 1. Key observations were added to the Meaning Tree Diagram.

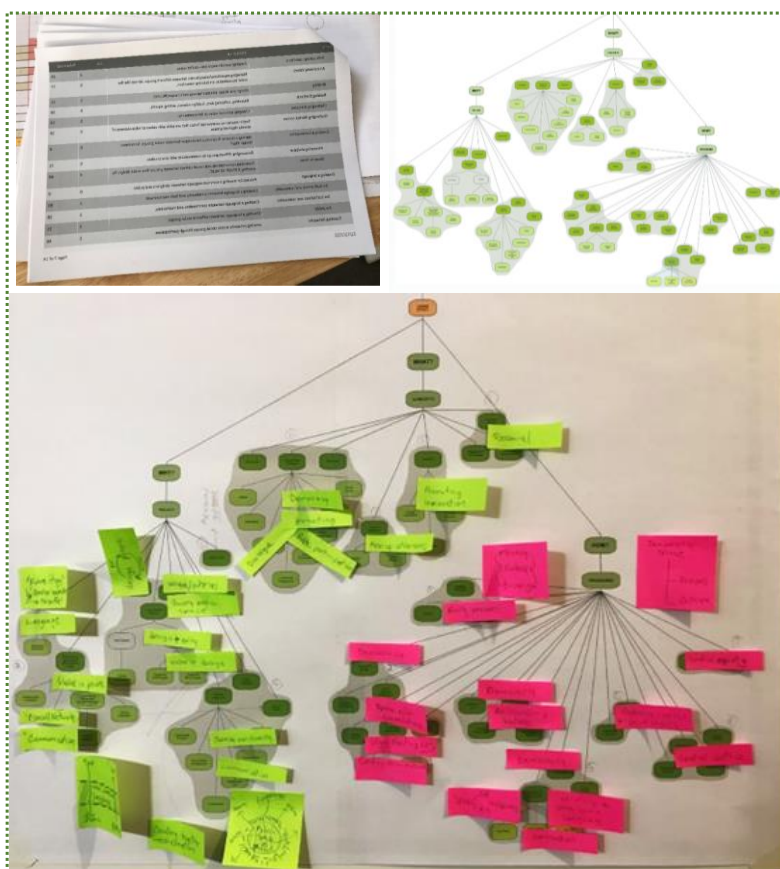
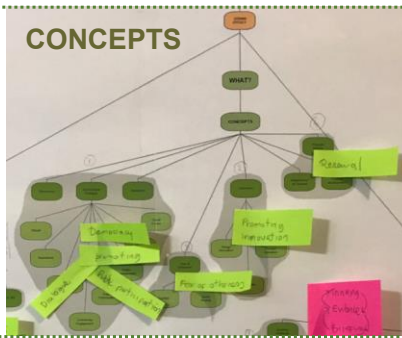


Figure 5.10: Pattern Mapping
 (Top left-bottom) Codebook, Shared meaning Tree Diagram, Key Observations on Meaning Tree Diagram.

- **Increased wellbeing:**
 1. Desire outcome to reduce dependency on state (leading to long-term investment reduction).
- **Value in people:**
 - **Resources gap:** Reinforce existing networks / create new networks to represent groups of concern.
 - **Language gap:** New creative language to facilitate/make participation more accessible.
 - Local networks to drive the design process.
 - What about the normal people? Who represents them?
- **Value in design:**
 - 1- Projects driven **by** the community.
 - 2- Low value on greenspace: Public open space often understood as space of conflict Quality of built environment
 - 3- Low quality-built environment/ lack diversity of (commercial) provision.
- **Social cohesion:**
 1. Competition for resources creates friction between groups.
 2. Space for diversity: institutional events to negotiate



- **Democracy:**
 - Raising aspirations
 - Promoting /facilitating dialogue
 - Engagement and participation
- **Promoting Innovation:**
 - Design
 - Process
- **Social fragmentation:**
 - Conflict
 - Anxiety
- **Urban renewal:**
 1. co-location of services
 2. Improve built environment quality
 3. Increase provision



- **Articulating Values**
 - Democratic design process: Not everyone can have a say.
 - Use gatekeeper for sustainable strategies
 - Neighbourhood scale- who is the community?
 - Layered space to negotiate differences
- **Space for conversations**
 - Collaboration / co-location of services
 - Cross dialogue to understand place
 - Scale, quality & neutrality matter.
- **Creating a language**
 - Coherent urban narrative (Gorton currently fragmented)
 - Improved built environment quality
 - Safety spaces
 - Reduce institutional silos
- **Creating Trust**
 - Regular events to tackle fear of otherness.
 - Using Community groups strategically
 - Create networks to represent key groups (not everyone is able to participate)
- **Spatial Equality**
 - Designing for diversity
 - Challenging market forces



Figure 5.11: Pattern Mapping: Detailed Meaning Tree Diagram.

5.3.2 Frequency: Most frequent and most significant data overlaps.

The association cycle was reviewed against a more systematic analysis of the data. Code frequency analysis is often linked to content rather than reflexive thematic analysis. In fact, Braun & Clarke (2019, 2023) often warn against systematic reviews of the data when following their model. They consider the role of the researcher to be “passive” in this approach.

For this investigation, however, the active interpretation of data happened at an earlier stage. During the coding phase, individual pieces of data was coded across multiple codes. This was not an oversight, but rather a strategic measure to enable this segment of analysis. Focus mapping in this study indicates frequency of interpretation of data, not just content. The aim was to focus the data, by exposing the strength of the connection between individual codes, to draw a thread that reveals the bonds and rifts between codes.

A table for each category was drawn indicating the frequency of overlaps across codes, were the highest and lowest data frequencies were highlighted. Key queries used to analyse these table included:

- 1- What are the strongest connections between codes?
- 2- What are the weakest connections between codes?
- 3- Where are the significant gaps?
- 4- What was significant and expected?
- 5- What was significant and unexpected?

The results from this evaluation were then used to review the previous association diagram, leading to the generation of initial themes under the three original categories of Values, Concepts, and Processes.

Commented [SGA43]: Made a table indicating the data overlaps, what where the relationships across the data set (within categories) ? Also noted the gaps what were the themes that lack connection?
Then looked at the overlaps within the data to understand the relationship (how it weaves across themes) . Looked at what the gaps within the narrative: which codes were unexpectedly unrelated? Which codes did yield much data? It is considered that all the codes were part of a framework, so the review of CPH focused in the gap
Issues arose from the size of the data and how to reduce it was hard. So, the tables were drawn. etc

GRT VAL

CODES WITH >70 No. OF REFERENCES

> %20 References overlap between codes highlighted in **dark rose colour**

CODE NAME	Breaching the gap										G: Diverse Urban Life										U: User ctr Design				Low threshold of overlapping refs
	A: 'Breaching the gap'	B: 'common language'	C: Criticising 'future citizens'	D: 'future citizens'	E: 'creative dialogue in the future'	F: 'Shared Objective'	H: Coexistence	I: Commitment to neighbourhood	J: Inclusiveness	K: Safety	L: Safety Institutions	M: Sync Social & Space	N: Existing Networks	O: Individual residents	P: GreenSpace	Q: Health & WB	R: Norms	S: Quality of built environment	T: Social Cohesion	V: Design Freshness	W: Designing FOR people	X: Designing WITH People			
1: 'Breaching the gap'	123	6	1	2	2	6	8	16	39	1	48	15	20	5	8	26	8	19	27	5	10	8	(-5)		
2: 'common language'	6	37	1	0	1	1	0	2	12	0	10	4	2	0	3	5	1	5	2	1	0	7			
3: Criticising Profession	1	1	31	1	3	0	0	2	8	4	8	3	0	1	1	1	2	6	2	4	1	3			
4: 'future citizens'	2	0	1	13	1	0	0	1	4	1	4	1	0	1	1	3	0	2	6	1	3	1			
5: 'citizens' design in the future'	2	1	3	1	19	1	0	2	4	2	2	5	4	0	4	1	0	5	3	1	1	2			
6: 'Shared Objective'	6	1	0	0	1	23	0	2	5	0	9	5	1	3	4	10	0	0	4	3	2	2			
8: Coexistence	8	0	0	0	0	0	53	6	10	6	7	6	4	0	6	5	18	3	39	0	1	2			
9: Commitment to neighbourhood	16	2	2	1	2	2	6	86	19	2	22	17	23	11	12	10	7	13	30	1	3	4	(-3)		
10: Inclusiveness	39	12	8	4	4	5	10	19	117	2	34	22	22	5	8	32	4	13	34	1	10	11	(-5)		
11: Safety	1	0	4	1	2	0	6	2	2	32	3	4	3	1	5	2	4	3	12	1	1	1			
12: 'Sync Social & Institutions'	48	10	8	4	2	9	7	22	34	3	107	5	23	7	7	28	8	13	30	2	12	7	(-5)		
13: 'Sync Social & Space'	15	4	3	1	5	5	6	17	22	4	5	72	8	0	7	8	6	27	18	8	9	8	(-3)		
14: Existing Networks	20	2	0	0	4	1	4	23	22	3	23	8	79	1	13	9	5	7	19	1	2	5	(-3)		
15: Individual residents	5	0	1	1	0	3	0	11	5	1	7	0	1	30	1	4	0	1	5	0	0	0			
16: Greenspace	8	3	1	1	4	4	6	12	8	5	7	7	13	1	60	10	7	19	20	0	4	5			
17: Health & WB	26	5	1	3	1	10	5	10	32	2	28	8	9	4	10	81	5	12	18	4	6	3	(-3)		
18: Norms	8	1	2	0	0	0	18	7	4	4	8	6	5	0	7	5	43	6	20	2	1	3			
19: Quality of built environment	19	5	6	2	5	0	3	13	13	3	13	27	7	1	19	12	6	107	10	11	8	5	(-5)		
20: Social Cohesion	27	2	2	6	3	4	39	30	34	12	30	18	19	5	20	18	20	10	130	1	8	6	(-5)		
22: Design Freshness	5	1	4	1	1	3	0	1	1	1	2	8	1	0	0	4	2	11	1	23	2	2			
21: User ctr Designing FOR Design	10	0	1	3	1	2	1	3	10	1	12	9	2	0	4	8	1	8	8	2	29	0			
24: 'Designing WITH People'	8	7	3	1	2	2	2	4	11	1	7	8	5	0	5	3	3	5	6	2	0	34			
High overlap Threshold (20% of total No. refs)	(+25)							(+17)	(+23)		(+21)	(+14)	(+16)		(+16)			(+21)	(+26)						
Total No of overlapping refs @20%	4							5	4		6	5	5		4			3	5						
Total No of overlapping refs @ < %20	6							6	6		6	5	6		5			3	10						

> 5 References overlap between codes highlighted in **light olive colour**

CODES WITH 5 OR LESS No. OF REFS

Figure 5.12: Focus Mapping Sample

5.3.3 Initial themes

The observations from the two previous mapping exercises were combined to generate the 15No. initial themes shown in the table below, producing an increasingly coherent and condense view of dataset:

INITIAL THEMES			
No.	VALUES	CONCEPTS	PROCESSES
1	Value in Wellbeing	Democracy in design processes	Engaging the public
2	Value in People	Creative vocabulary	Creating space to meet
3	Value in User Centred Design	Fear of otherness	Creating an urban language
4	Value in social cohesion	Evolution in the production of space	Articulating values
5	Value in language	Physical intervention to increase Wellbeing	Promoting spatial justice

Figure 5.13: Initial Themes Table

Please refer to figures 5.14, 5.15 and 5.16 for an outline description of Initial Themes; including key characteristics and illustration of including associated codes. Salient aspects, such as strong relationships between codes (i.e., high overlaps of data between codes), as well as unexpected gaps in the narrative are highlighted were relevant.

As discussed earlier in this chapter and Chapter 4 (Research Design), theme generation hinges on active interpretation of data from the researcher (Braun & Clarke, 2023). This has led to criticisms from the academic community regarding the “lack of rigor, impressionistic and bias results” (Janis, 2022; Mackieson et al., 2018, p. 965; Morgan, 2022). Overall, the three cycles analysis process used for this thesis were found to be a rigours process. Reflexive interpretation, the feedback loops within and between the cycles and the constant querying of that from different perspectives helped to effectively reduce bias, and increased transparency, leading to a more reliable analysis of data and theme generation. However, this process was found to have two disadvantages: it led itself to the production of almost unmanageable amounts of data for a lone researcher, and it was time consuming. This was particularly noticeable in the first cycle, despite the introduction of over-coding check-points. Nonetheless, overall, the process was found to be rewarding and effective with regarding its purpose. In future, perhaps collaboration could help to increase efficiency.

VALUES:

1- Value in Wellbeing

- Desire outcome to reduce dependency on state (leading to long term investment reduction).
- Promotion of resources that can increase wellbeing outcomes.
- Low value on greenspace: Public open space often understood as space of conflict Quality of built environment. Greenspace is mostly discussed in relation to Quality of Built Enviro, Social Cohesion, and Existing Networks

GAP: Not much overlap between Health & Wellbeing and Commitment to Neighbourhood or Existing Networks. Why? Not much discussion of Greenspace in terms of WB.

2- Value in People

- Resources gap: Reinforce existing networks /create new networks to represent groups of concern.
- Local networks to drive the design process.
- This group is very self-reinforcing. E.g., Commitment to Neighbourhood has strong links to Existing Network and Sync Social & Institutions.
- Sync Social & Institutions: Also has links with Breaching the Gap.

3- Value in User Centred Design

- Projects driven by the community.
- Low quality-built environment
- Lack diversity / choice of (commercial) provision.

GAP: Quality of built Environment features the least on other Values

4- Value in Social Cohesion

- Diverse Urban Life
- Competition for resources creates friction between groups.
- Space for diversity: institutional events to negotiate differences.
- Social Cohesion features strongly on most other VALUE codes, except for Future Citizens, creative dialogue in the future User Centred Design.

5- Value in Language

- Language gap: New creative language to facilitate/make participation more accessible

GAP: Breaching the Gap mostly understood in terms of social cohesion, Wellbeing and institutional processes rather than design.

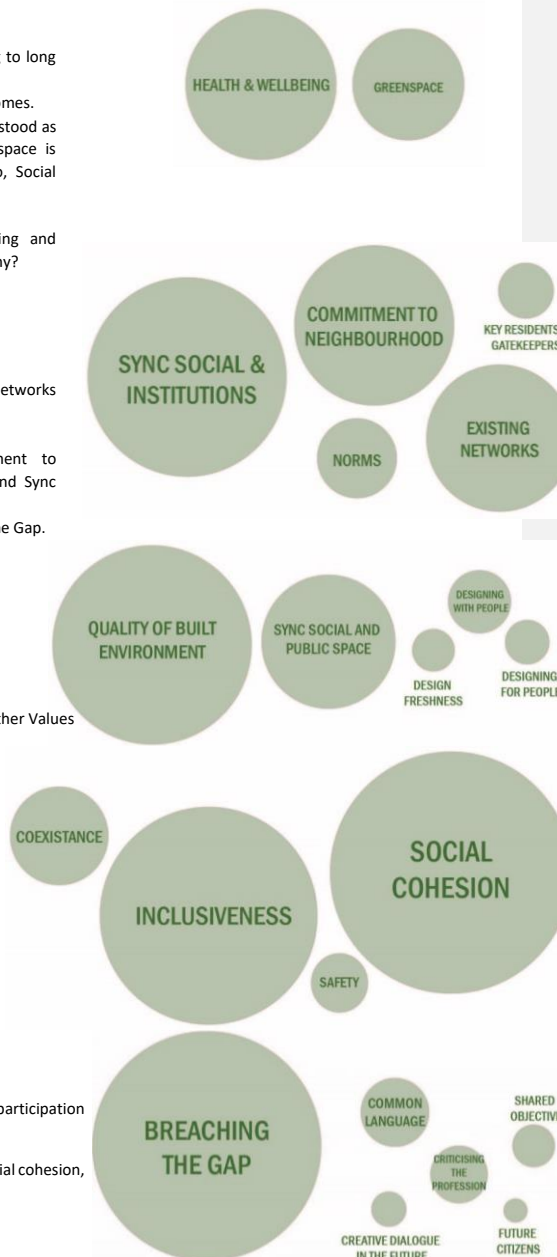


Figure 5.14: Initial Themes - VALUES

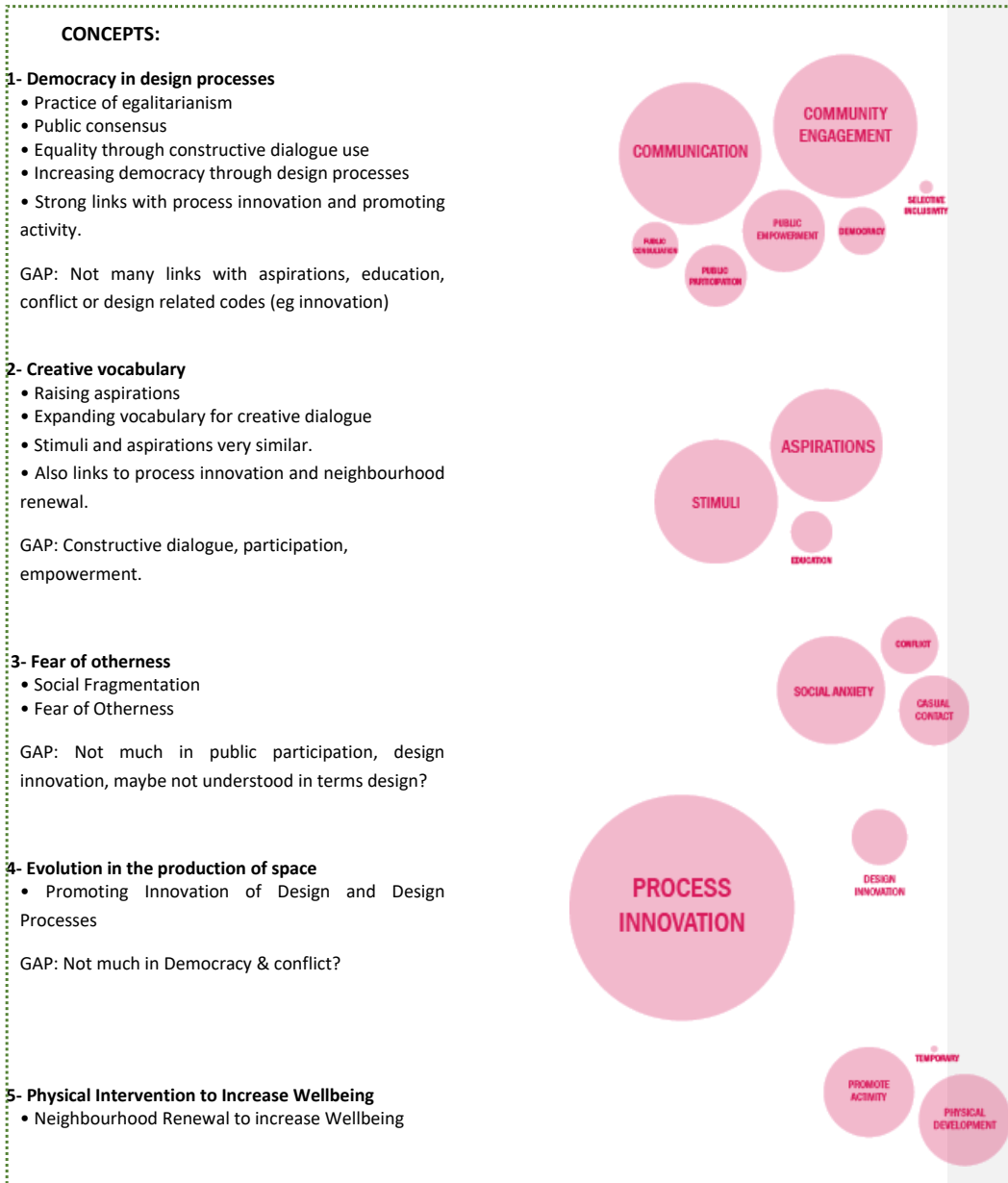


Figure 5.15: Initial Themes – CONCEPTS

PROCESS:

1 - Engaging the public

- Engagement with Institutional Processes
- Weaving Needs Across Social Groups
- Articulating Values - Conversations
- Creating Networks very well connected to most other key codes, especially with Theme PRO#2
- Overlaps are very similar to Creating Trust.

GAP: Not much with activity profile, democratic design, or integrating.

2 - Creating space to meet

- Space for Conversations
- Space for Casual Contact
- Space to Meet
- Neutral Public Space to Negotiate Social Differences
- Strong links with Theme PRO#1 & 4 (Articulating Values), and Spatial Equality.

GAP: Not many links to democratic design, designing out crime.

3 - Creating an urban language

- Creating a Design Language between Built Enviro and Community
- Physical Language needs to reflect ALL community groups.

GAP: Not much gathering evidence/ thinking developing (required for innovation)

4 - Articulating values

- Creating Trust Across Social Groups
- Links to Design our Crime: Secure by design.
- Strong links to Spatial Equality.

GAP: not much about democratic design.

5 - Promoting spatial justice

- Spatial Equality
- Challenging market forces

GAP: Challenging market forces, designing for diversity.

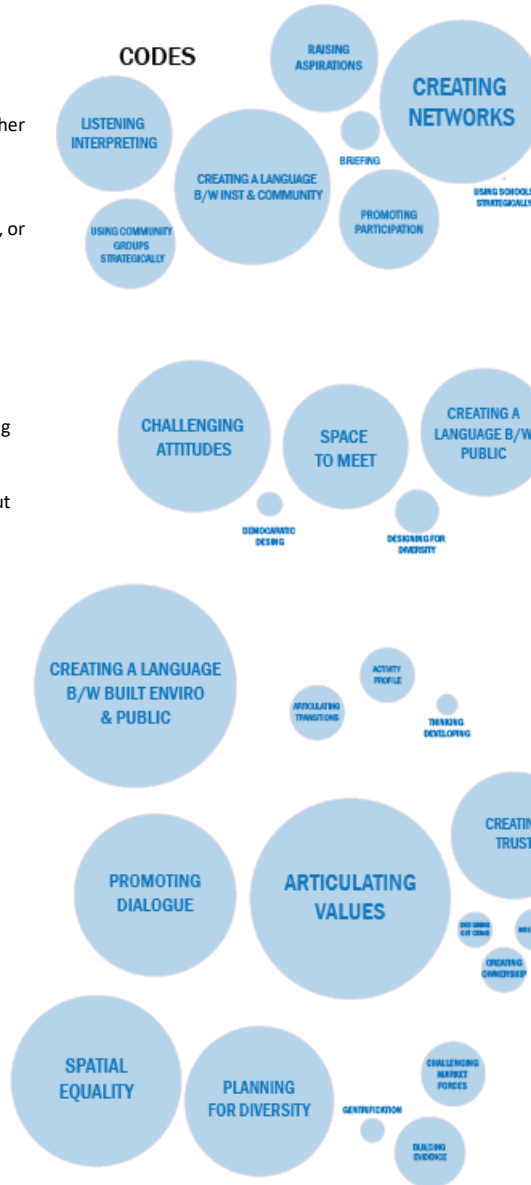


Figure 5.16: Initial Themes - PROCESSES

5.4 Macro view: Weaving and theme report

"Themes are not things that you find, they are things that you create"

Victoria Clarke, 2023

Chapter 8 describes the final thematic map and the theme report in detail. In order to avoid duplication, this section will be mainly concerned with presenting samples of the weaving process.

The third and final analysis cycle shifts from querying the data to weaving the data. It corresponds roughly to the steps 5 & 6 of the Clarke & Braun model (2006a):

5- Defining and naming themes,

6- Report formation

5.4.1 Weaving meaning, constructing themes

This third cycle handles the initial themes at macro level, by combining them in different ways, and testing them against theory discussed in the literature review and historical and urban analysis chapters, to build a coherent narrative. A key difference to content analysis, is that the final themes do not "emerge" from the data, but are "constructed" (Clarke & Braun 2006a). The creation of themes was tied to the building of a narrative for the discussion presented in Chapter 8.

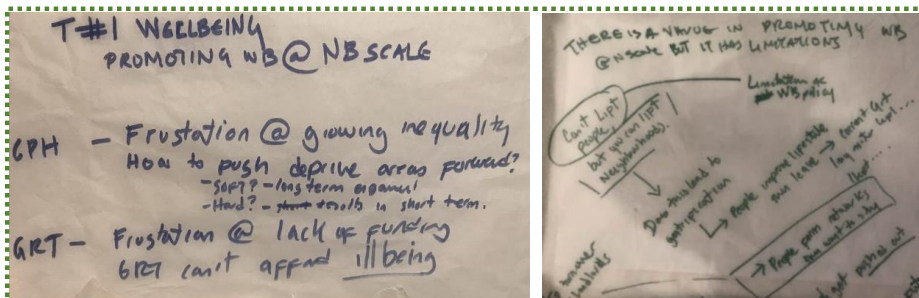


Figure 5.17 Sample 1 of weaving of narratives for Theme Report.
Process became more visual and physical.

The analysis process changed from interpretation of experiences and coding, to reporting. With the shift in scale, the process became more fluid, more visual, and more physical. Post-it notes and draft relationship diagrams were used to prompt the combination of meaning. These combinations were annotated, to then be queried and reviewed, as further reflective and reflexive processes. Examples of this process are pictured in figures 5.17 and 5.18.

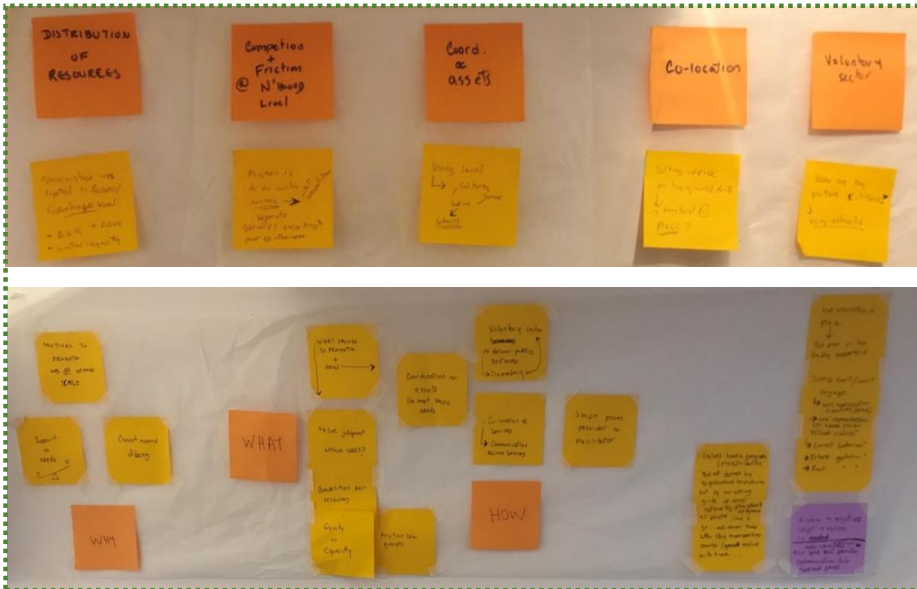


Figure 5.18 Sample 2 of weaving of narratives for Theme Report. Process became more visual and physical.

Unlike codes, which were constructed to have clearly distinctive meanings, themes are richer and more multifaceted. As discussed in Chapter 4 Research Design, the methodological and analysis approach of this thesis aim to build an argument with depth, by embracing the contextual intricacies of the research question. As such, there are no sharp boundaries between the themes; all themes relate to all the research questions (See Figure 5.19). These relationships may be direct or indirect, but much like strong and weak ties in social networks, all relationships matter. The three themes and the relationship between them, paved the way for the theme report, which in turn would lead to a meta-theme for the proposition of a theoretical model (See Figures 5.20-23 and Section 9.4).

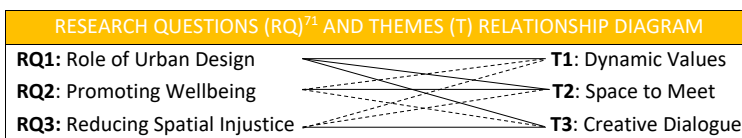


Figure 5.19: Research questions and themes relationship diagram. Solid lines denote direct relationships and dotted indirect ones.

⁷¹ For research question refer to Section 1.3.4

5.4.2 Mapping themes

The two aims of this 3rd cycle were to further reduce the data and provide a structure for the theme report: 68 codes were combined to 15 initial themes. These were again further reduced to 3 themes with 2 subthemes each. The analysis process at this stage was far from linear, and themes and subthemes names changed and definitions evolved as the report was developed. The theme mapping diagrams (Figures 5.20-22) use the final theme definitions, whilst figure 5.23 illustrates an earlier draft map. For full discussion and explanation of themes, refer to Chapter 8, and conceptual model refer to section 9.4.1.

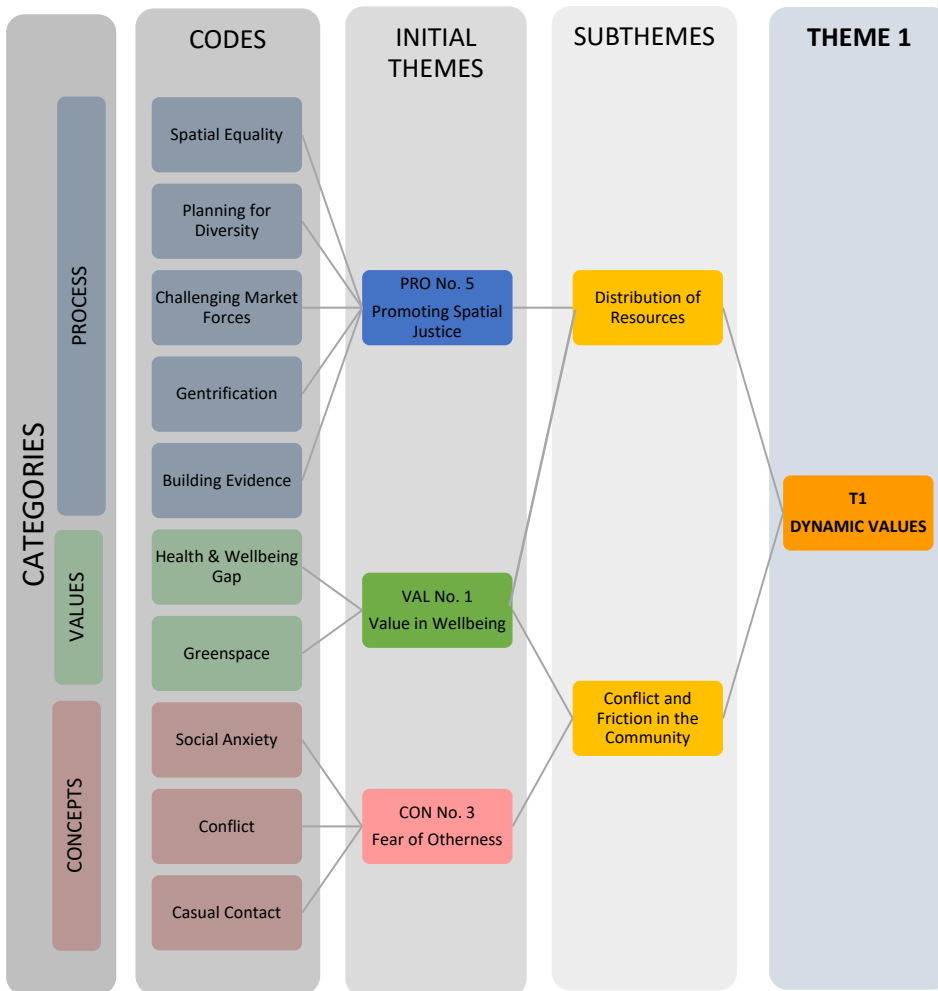


Figure 5.20: Theme 1 Mapping: Hierarchy diagram illustrating reduction of data leading to Theme 1.

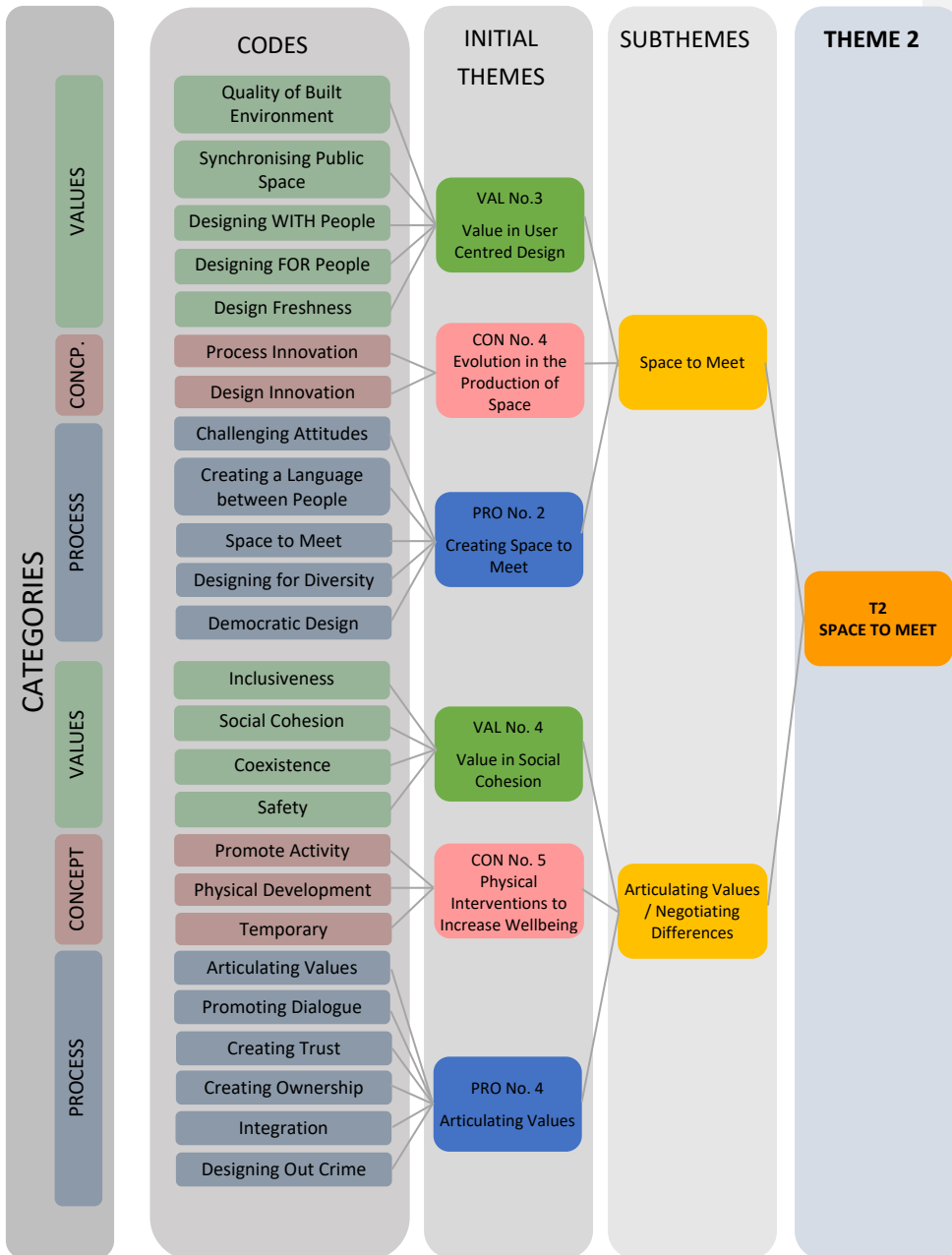


Figure 5.21: Theme 2 Mapping: Hierarchy diagram illustrating reduction of data leading to Theme 2.

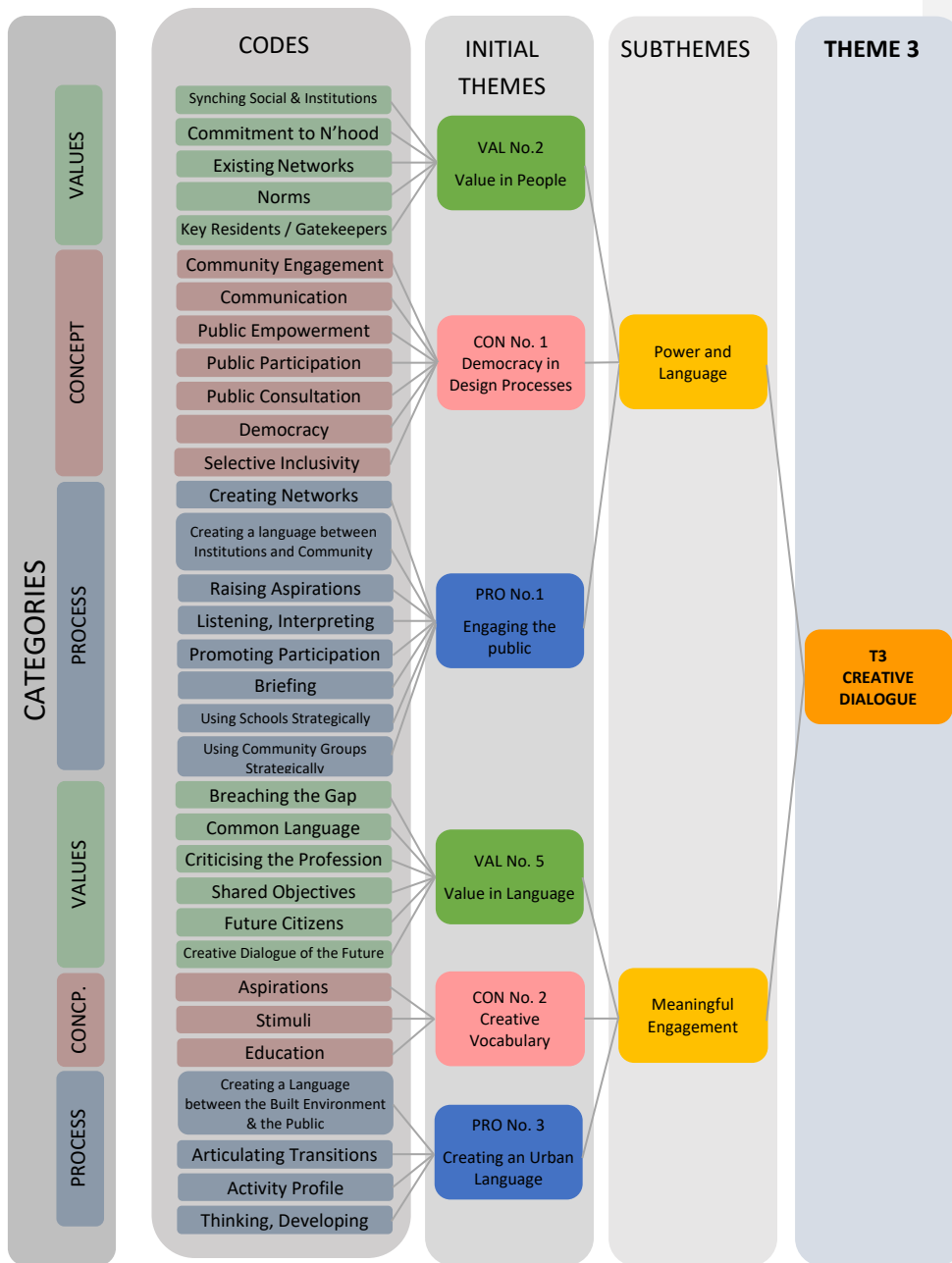


Figure 5.22: Theme 3 Mapping: Hierarchy diagram illustrating reduction of data leading to Theme 3.

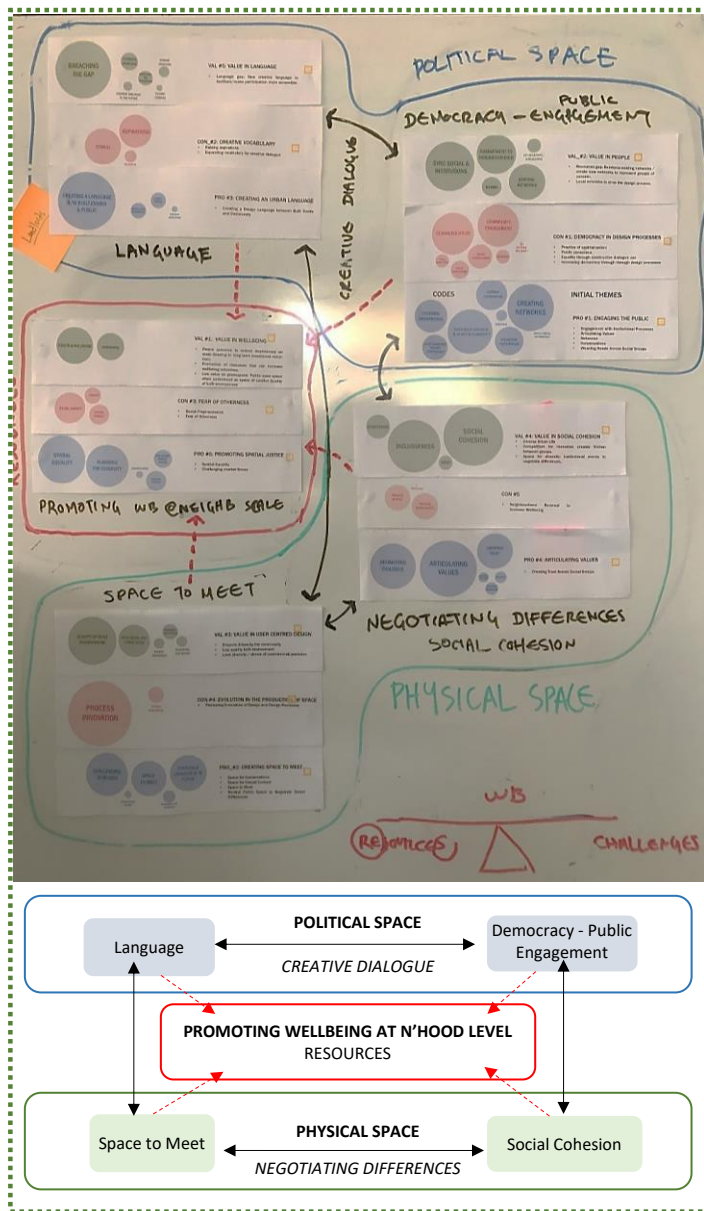


Figure 5.23: Draft Theme Map and Initial Meta-Theoretical framework.

The illustration above, picturing the draft theoretical framework, concluded the third phase of the analysis (theme weaving), and Cycle 3 moved on to report writing. As the report was developed, some

of the theme and subtheme names shown above evolved and might differ from the final version. For full discussion of the final theoretical framework refer to Section 9.4.1.

5.5 Summary

This chapter describes the analysis process. This has been based on a specially adapted version of the Clarke and Brown reflexive thematic model (Braun & Clarke, 2006a, 2023; Byrne, 2022).

It relies on three cycles of analysis that gradually increase in perspective scale:

1. **Micro view:** primarily deals with coding and individual pieces of data. The outcome of this phase is the code book (See Appendices 4 and 5).
2. **Meso view:** starts to reduce the data by generating groups of meanings. The outcome of this phase is 15 initial themes
3. **Macro view:** This phase reduces the data further by weaving meaning and creating a narrative structure for the theme report. The outcome of this phase are 3 final themes, and a draft thematic model.

A key aspect of the analysis process was the active role the researcher played in the interpretation of data and creating of meaning. The 3-phase process was key to reduce bias, as the stages acted as iterative feedback loops that promoted critical reflection at every step. However, this approach was found to be time-consuming and the efficiency of the meaning creation and reflection process could be further improved.

The analysis phase was followed by the writing of theme report and discussion, which is presented in Chapter 8.

Chapter 6

Urban and Historical Analysis: Copenhagen & Nørrebro

6.1 Introduction

Copenhagen is the capital of Denmark. Located in the Baltic Sea, the city of Copenhagen sits on the Eastern coast of Zealand Island and the North of Amager Island. Its closest urban neighbour is Malmö (Sweden), across the strait of Øresund. Together with their surrounding metropolitan areas, they form the Øresund Region, a significant centre of economic activity in Scandinavia.

This Chapter will analyse the urban development of Copenhagen, from early beginnings to the present day, with a special focus on Nørrebro.



Figure 6.1: Greater Copenhagen. SOURCE: Greater Copenhagen

6.2 Early beginnings 1100's-1800's

Copenhagen began as a small Viking fishing village. As the herring trade grew, so did this small settlement. By the 1100's, it had become a prominent commercial hub, Havn, with increasing influence on the trade and transport through the strait of Øresund. The city's earliest urban planning was heavily influenced by Catholic Church, which was firmly established in the area. Bishop Absalon founded the city of Copenhagen in 1160. Under his governance, religious infrastructure such as churches and abbeys dominated the city and its key geographical location and prosperity, brought power as well as enemies. The constant threat of war and invasion also had a heavy influence on the early urban planning, as the city fabric gradual expansion was structured by strategies of combat and contained by defence mechanisms. Urban growth was curtailed by stone fortifications, earth works, and the 'No Build Zone'; an area outside the city walls, preserved to enable unhindered military resistance.

Commented [ASG44]: Need to expand on the introduction - why has Copenhagen been chosen? Why has Nørrebro been selected as a district?

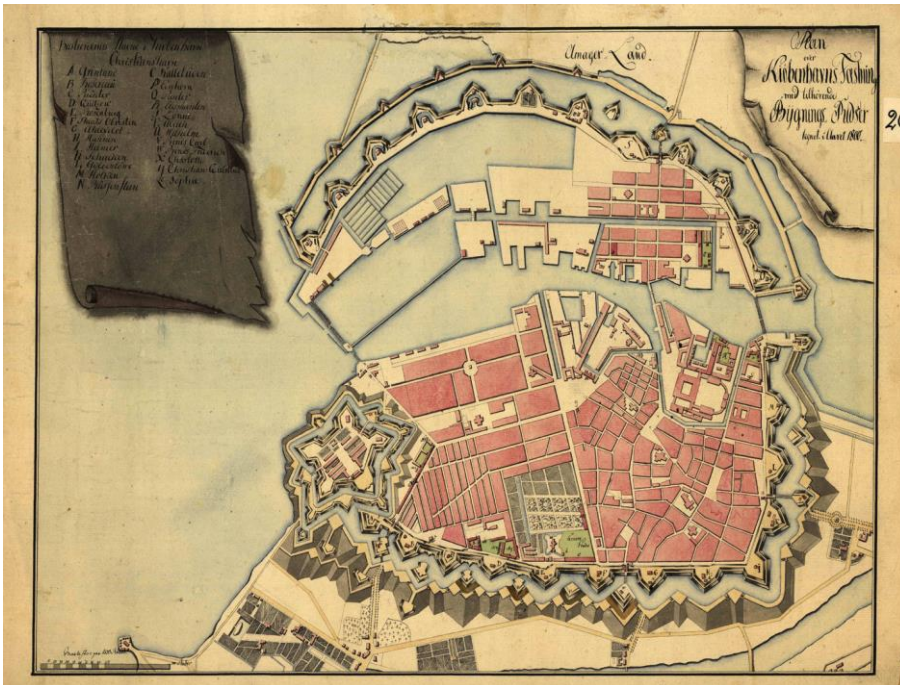


Figure 6.2: Map of Copenhagen c.1800. SOURCE: Wikimedia Commons: Old Maps Copenhagen

Although the typical social and political patterns of mercantilist accumulation started to appear in the 16th and 17th centuries, full blown industrialisation processes did not arrive to South Scandinavia until the mid-19th century. “The transformation caused a marked social and spatial concentration of production, people and capital, which soon turn to urbanisation” (Andersen, 1991:367). The economic pressure and industrial growth overturned the feudal combat strategies that had dominated the urban fabric of Copenhagen.

By the mid-19th century, the medieval core was overpopulated and the living condition were very low. The ‘No Build Zone’ surrounding the city walls was abolished in 1853 and the first outer ring neighbourhoods, Frederiksberg, Vesterbro, Østerbro, and Nørrebro⁷², emerged. These new neighbourhoods also started to evolve new patterns of spatial inequality, wealthy groups to north, working and middle-class groups to the west and south of the centre, which have been more or less persevered into modern times (Illeris, 2004).

From a semi-rural context, Nørrebro’s housing stock changed to three (plus) storey buildings of mainly small apartments. This led Nørrebro to become a neighbourhood characterised by low rents and social

⁷² The neighbourhood of Nørrebro was officially founded in 1852. Census data exists as far back as 1870. However, the records are not digitised. Dr. Garbi Schmidt (2012, 2015, 2016) detailed ethnographic studies of immigration in Nørrebro have been a key source of historical data at neighbourhood level.

diversity from the outset. According to Schmidt (2012), a surplus of cheap accommodation enticed low-income immigration from rural Denmark and abroad. In 1890, there were 21 different nationalities⁷³ of which the largest majority came from Sweden. Also notable in the early 20th century, were refugees from Russia, fleeing religious persecution and establishing a Jewish community. Life accounts of Nørrebro at the time, often depict a neighbourhood in ‘deep poverty’, struggling against famine and death. Nonetheless, it also hosted residents with “a decent income and even university education” (Schmidt 2016:55).

“Nørrebro was also diverse in aspects of class, wealth, professional skills and education. Factory workers lived next door to academics. Migrants and non-migrants could be found within both categories” (Schmidt 2016:56). Interestingly, Schmidt has found that there was a great deal of solidarity across the social groups, with life accounts of people sharing from shoes to childcare. The dominant minority, the Swedish, were particularly well integrated, with substantial accounts of intermarriages. However, if exclusion or discrimination was non-existent within the neighbourhood, beyond Nørrebro, the perception of diversity was more problematic. “Throughout the period, both national media and politicians looked upon both Swedish and Russian immigrants with suspicion: they were the visible, problematised immigrant groups of the time” (Schmidt 2016:57).

It could be argued that the combination of cultural dislocation, shared experiences of extreme poverty, and vocal external hostility, might have both promoted solidarity between neighbours and intensified anti-establishment feelings; the earliest demonstration of the latter was the ‘Battle at the Northern Commons’ in 1872, when 2000 bricklayers held a strike to abolish the ‘the slave hour’⁷⁴, in the first trade union clash with the police (Wolthers, 2016).

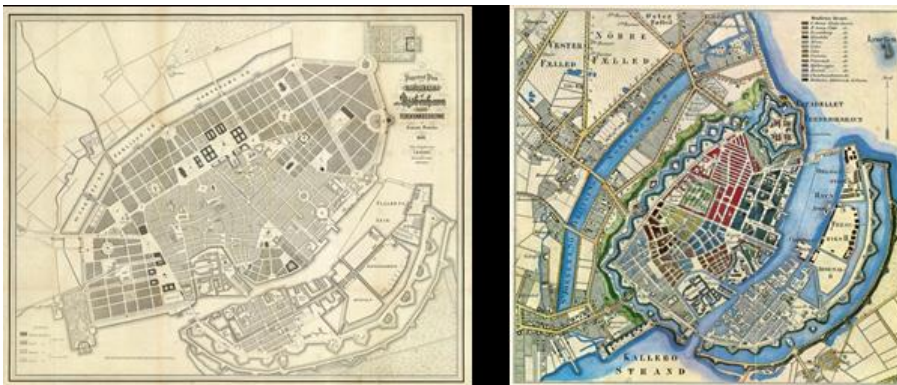


Figure 6.3: LEFT: Plan for the Expansion of Copenhagen, 1857. RIGHT: Copenhagen, 1850.
SOURCE: Wikimedia Commons: Old Maps Copenhagen

Through the second half of 19th century, as Nørrebro and its neighbours grew, the defence infrastructure enclosing the medieval city was slowly deconstructed to facilitate physical expansion.

⁷³ Some nationalities were only represented by a small number of people.

⁷⁴ Work hours from 6-7pm, to reduce working hours from 11 to 10 hours.

Commented [SGA45]: Add caption on plans to deconstruct most of medieval infrastructure, and plan to have a clear boundary between city and country side. City was planned to be fairly dense.

The medieval stamp, nonetheless, like old scars too deep to be erased, remains embedded in the urban fabric to this day. It is possible that urban legacy of control influenced Copenhagen's markedly early move towards pedestrianisation in 1962, as the city found itself paralysed and unable to follow others, in the callous expansion of automobile infrastructure in the 1960's.

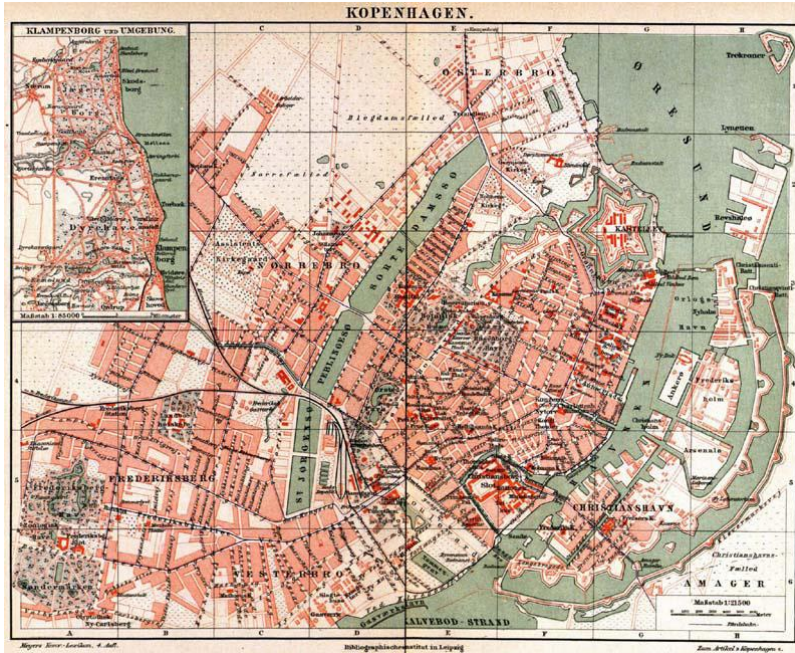


Figure 6.4: Map of Copenhagen c.1888.
 SOURCE: Wikimedia Commons: Old Maps Copenhagen

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6.3 Regional Urban Planning in Copenhagen: Finger Plan 1947

6.3.1 Post-war urban planning: Key theoretical influences

Comprehensive Regional Planning started in Copenhagen in 1945. As with other European cities devastated by World War II, the post-war period brought massive rebuilding programs orchestrated by regional governments. The procurement trends of the time, often afforded direct control of funding and design to public authorities (unlike current, more removed methods that guide, rather than control, private investment through regulations and policies). Copenhagen's post war planning was particularly influenced by North American urban parks and open spaces trends and urban planning in Britain.



Figure 6.5: Portrait of Frederick Law Olmsted (detail), 1895, by John Singer Sargent (1856–1925).
SOURCE: The Artchives/Alamy Stock Photo via Organikos.com

A key source of inspiration was the theories and work of American landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903). Olmsted was concerned about challenges that the industrial revolution brought to America, including “the need to assimilate waves of immigrants and to address the economic and social dislocation associated with rapid industrialization. [...] He was especially eager to demonstrate the contribution that creative and thoughtful urban design could make to democratic⁷⁵ capacity-building” (Roulier, 2010:312). As a response, Olmsted set to transform Boston’s marshland near Charles River into The Boston Emerald Necklace (1878-1896), a linear park that connects the colonial Boston Common to Franklin Park. The Emerald Necklace presented a turning point in urban design history and set one of the first precedents for sustainable green urban infrastructure (Jimenez and Rivas, 2018). The Emerald Necklace aimed to break up the monotony of the city, to create environments where nature and technology could co-exist. By ensuring that parks, open squares, sculptures, and fountains were plentiful, Olmsted addressed not only health challenges of industrial Boston, but also to weave the physical and social fabric that contrasted with the rapid urban changes (Mullin & Payne, 1997). Olmsted influence in Danish urban planning cannot be overestimated. From the post-war Finger plan to contemporary leading figures such as Jan Gehl and BIG, traces of Olmsted ideas of contributing to democracy through “creative and thoughtful urban design”, and sustainable urban planning are clearly visible (See sections 6.3.2 and 6.6).

⁷⁵ Olmsted had been inspired by the shift in ownership of the 19th century English landscape from feudal manorial grounds to public parks, which he interpreted as a significant political move towards democracy (Roulier, 2024).

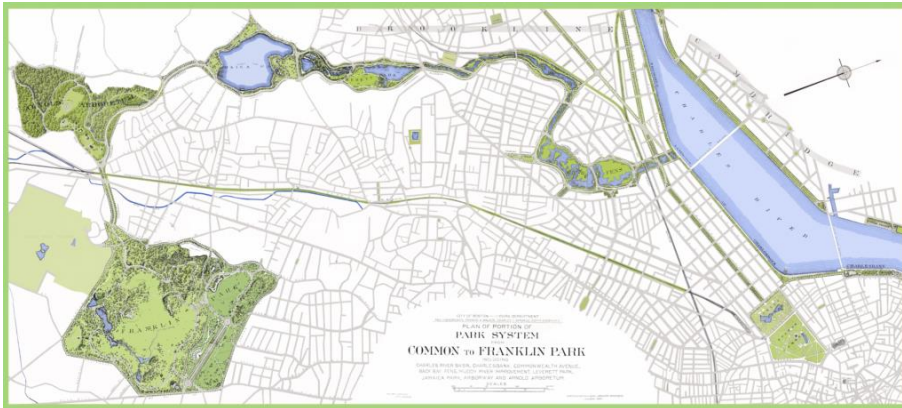


Figure 6.6: (TOP) map of the Olmsted plan for Boston's Emerald Necklace colorised by Elena Saporta. (BOTTOM) Boston's Emerald Necklace creates a continuous linear park through the city. SOURCE: Olmsted Network

In England, Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) also promoted green space as a key urban design driver: health, according to Howard was intrinsically related to proximity with nature. To that effect, Howard proposed that all residences of his Garden Cities of To-morrow (1898) should be planned within walking distance of green infrastructure. Howard's Garden Cities advocate the introduction of self-sufficient satellite communities surrounding a central city and divided by greenbelt wedges. Crucially, Howard specified maximum urban densities (for both central and satellite units⁷⁶) promoting

⁷⁶ 52,000 people for central city of 12,000 acres, and 32,000 people for 9,000 acres for a satellite town. The ideal Garden City would be composed of 6 satellite towns and one central city, totally 250,000 inhabitants in 66,000 acres. Garden Cities of To-morrow, by Ebenezer Howard 1898.

equitable distribution of resources and creating manageable, low to medium self-sufficient urban centres. Howard's vision of new communities on open land also promoted collective services, such as kitchens and laundrettes, creating neighbourhoods, that would not overwhelm the capacity of public services, and reducing uncontrolled sprawl into the green belt.

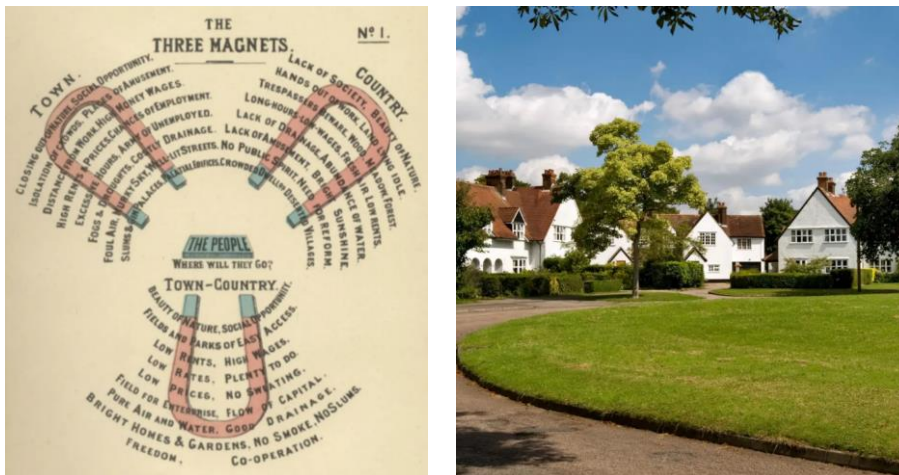


Figure 6.7: (LEFT) Howard's the 'Three Magnets', He wrote: 'Town and country must be married, and out of this joyous union, will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilisation.' He called this the garden city. Source: Public Domain. (RIGHT) Westholm Green was designed by Barry Parker and Raymond Unwin in 1906 for Garden City tenants. SOURCE: Historic England Blog

Patrick Abercrombie (1879-1957), in contrast, was adamant that density in the central city should remain high. Although his 1943 and 1945 London Plan criticises overcrowding of post-war London, highlighting the need to manage population density, distribution of space, and public resources, as well as acknowledging that "a good deal of industry could be moved" (Abercrombie, 1943:232), he also and calls against the dismantling of London in favour of satellite towns. "We must not, we cannot, we should not attempt to dissipate London, to eradicate London, to crowd something together like a series of garden suburbs in the place of the Great City of London" (Abercrombie, 1943:228). The form of Abercrombie's London plan is determined first by the transport strategy: "Traffic should not only be controlled but planned. [...] It is necessary to separate much more distinctly than we have attempted in the past through traffic from local approach to traffic"⁷⁷ (Abercrombie, 1943:228). Abercrombie recommended the use of a series of ring roads, and radial infrastructure to improve vehicular mobility by segregation of long distance and local traffic. In Copenhagen, both Abercrombie's mobility led plan and the vision of new communities in proximity with nature of Howard's Garden Cities, are combined into the 1947 Finger Plan, discussed in the following section.

⁷⁷ Abercrombie's position on traffic management is highly influenced by a set of principles proposed by the Assistant Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, Mr. Tripp (Abercrombie, 1943:229).

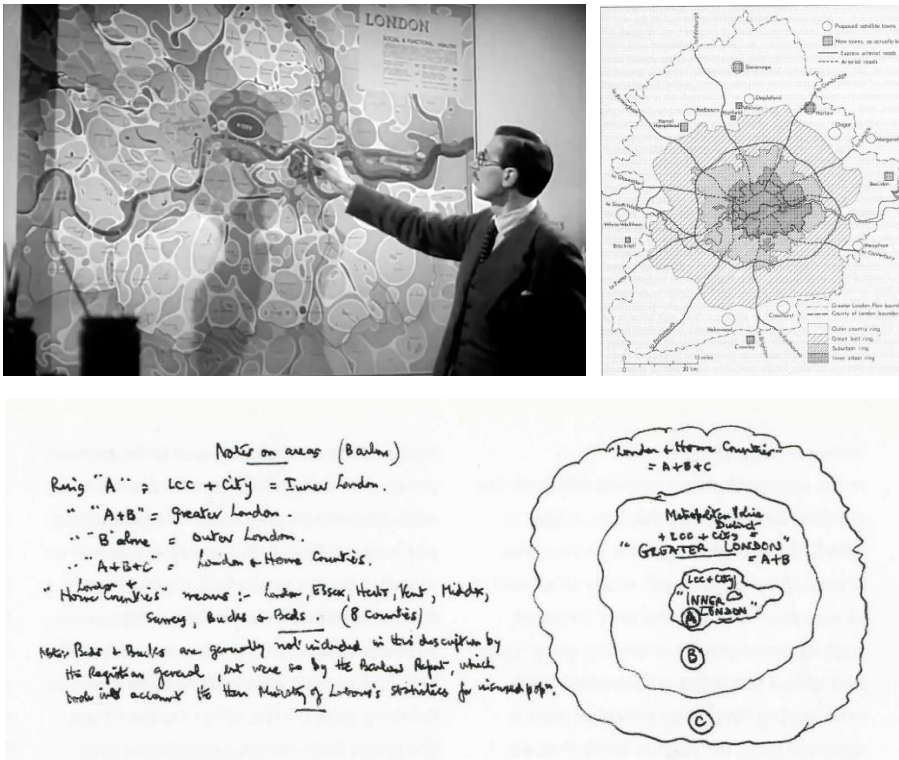


Figure 6.8: (TOP LEFT) Abercrombie explaining the map in "The Proud City (A Plan for London)", 1946. (TOP RIGHT) Abercrombie's Greater London Plan 1944. SOURCE: Nightingale Data Visualisation Society. (BOTTOM) Sketch from Abercrombie's working papers. SOURCE: van Roosmalen, 1997.

Further determinant from Abercrombie's London Plans, included zoning and, reducing overcrowding through a strategic distribution of uses, and public resources. The 1943 and 1945 London Plans aimed to increase wellbeing of vastly unequal living conditions across London. "Adequate open space for both recreation and rest is a vital factor in maintaining and improving the health of the people" (Abercrombie, 1943). The plans made use of open land created by the blitz to increase green and recreational facilities.

Like Olmsted, Abercrombie also has a humanist outlook when creating cities "The plan is much more than the mere physical location and siting of roads, buildings, and open space. It is a great sociological study of the needs of the population, in their work and their play" (Abercrombie 143:238), suggesting that the understanding of life within the city, transcends urban form. Although British urban trends eventually moved away from perceiving planning as a 'sociological study' following disillusion of post war era, *Life before Form* would in time become the defining aspect of Copenhagen urban strategy to the present day.

6.3.2 Regional Urban Planning in Copenhagen: Finger Plan 1947

Copenhagen's comprehensive response to regional post-war urban planning was the 1947 'Dem Fem Fingre', or 'Finger Plan.'

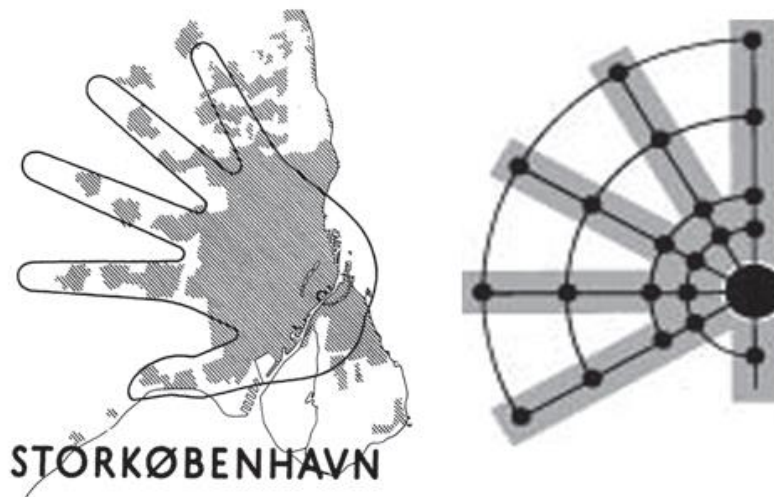


Figure 6.9: Finger Plan: From 1947 approximately 240,000 new housing units were constructed. Post war rationalization and industrialised construction methods dominated new town planning and it revealed a new, strong relation between the architect and its client – the state (Olsson 2013). SOURCE: Green Field Geography

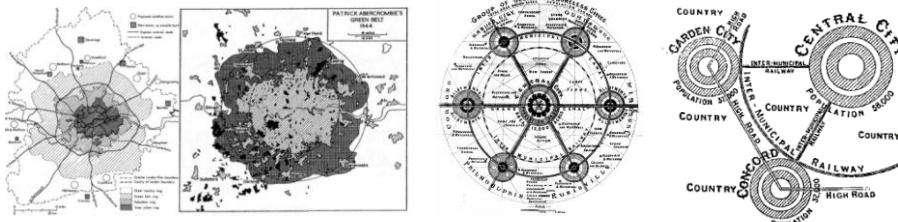


Figure 6.10: LEFT: Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Plan for Greater London, 1944. RIGHT: Howard's Garden Cities
SOURCE: Archimaps

The Finger Plan was a collaborative effort between Steen Eiler Rasmussen, Christian Erhardt "Peter" Bredsdorff, and the Urban Planning Laboratory to prepare the city for future modern challenges. Inspired by the ideas of British urbanists Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities and Abercrombie's Greater London Plan 1944 (Knowles, 2012), Rasmussen and his colleagues created their own unique urban response for Copenhagen. The palm of the hand, with its concentric infrastructure, encircled the city

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centre and its immediate surroundings (including Nørrebro), whilst the original five fingers⁷⁸, anticipated transport corridors that stretch out westwards across Zealand Island toward the historical market villages of Køge, Roskilde, Frederikssund, Hillerød and Helsingør⁷⁹. The areas between the fingers were to be preserved as ‘green wedges’⁸⁰, to maintain a balance between urban growth and natural environment.

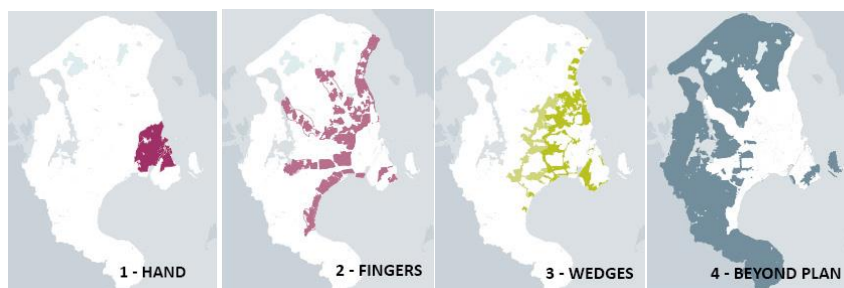


Figure 6.11: Finger Plan Zoning: LEFT TO RIGHT: 1- HAND: Core Urban area, 2- FINGERS: Transit transport links and development corridors. 3-WEDGES: Recreation areas. Restricted development zones. 4- BEYOND PLAN: Metropolitan area development must not be linked to growth of finger plan. SOURCE: Forest and Nature Agency Ministry of the Environment Copenhagen.

Jørgensen (2004), the concept of the Finger Plan implied that the historical “layer-upon-layer growth should stop and that most of the future city should develop in narrow town fingers along existing and future railways” (Jørgensen, 2004:188).

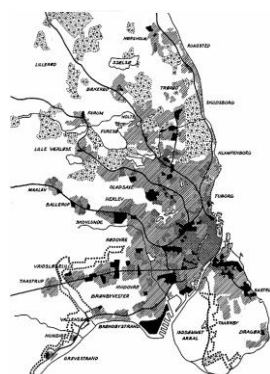


Figure 6.12: Finger Plan Development, Copenhagen. SOURCE: Jørgensen (2004)

⁷⁸ Since its original proposal, the Five Finger Plan has ‘grown’ extra fingers to include the relatively new developments of Ørestad to the East of Amager Island, provision for which, had been neglected in the original plan.

⁷⁹ The original Finger Plan stopped short of Helsingør. Transport corridor up to Helsingør was introduced in later versions of the plan, Copenhagen’s 2003 Traffic Plan (Knowles, 2012).

⁸⁰ According to Jensen (1984), the green wedges had already been identified in the 1936 Copenhagen Green Area Plan.

6.4 1950-1980 Suburbanisation: The Wealth and Ruin of Copenhagen

“The suburbs developed as pearls on a string” Jørgensen explains, but “some pearls became more shiny than others” (Jørgensen, 2004:192). The social and economic differences that began to manifest in the 19th century, visibly deepened between 1950’s ad 1980’s. It appears that trend was not solely the result of market forces. According to Andersen (1991), some local councils encouraged urban design mechanisms that promoted one social group over another. Ignoring the plan’s guidance regarding mixed population backgrounds, social segregation was furthered and wealth concentrated primarily on the North.

“From the beginning of the process of suburban growth, middle- and upper-class people preferred to locate to the North, workers were forced to go to the West. Many of the basic structures of the suburbs were prepared during this early transformation of the fringe. Local planning initiatives and the attitudes of the local political elites maintained a high degree of social segregation between the suburbs and explain a number of present structural urban problems” (Andersen, 1991:367).

Andersen called this phenomenon ‘political urbanisation’, criticising councils for deliberately prioritising only those local policies which would benefit their own target demographics in order to strengthen their political position in the area and ensure healthy tax revenues. (See image below).

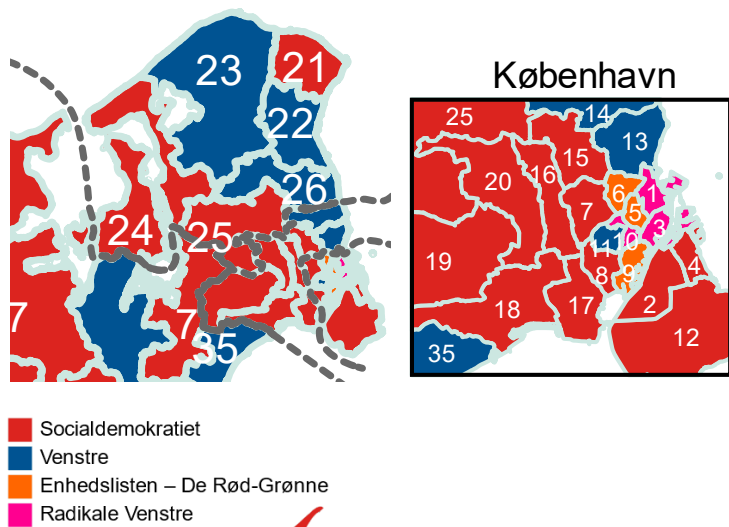


Figure 6.13: Results of the 2019 Folketing election according to constituencies. This image illustrates the political ideology distribution that supported the ‘political urbanisation’, as described by Andersen (1991).

SOURCE: By Furfur - Folketingsvalg onsdag 5. juni 2019: Resultater, Danmarks Statistik, via Wahlkarte Folketing Dänemark 2015.svg, CC BY-SA 4.0, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=79507741>

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Figure 6.14: Suburbanisation: growth of fringe zones 1920-80.
 (NB: Only areas within the statistical delimitation of Greater Copenhagen of 1979 are included)
 1: Core area, developed before 1900. Fringe zones: 2) 1920s. 3) 1930. 4) 1945. 5) 1950. 6) 1960. 7) 1970.
 SOURCE: Andersen (1991:372).

By 1960 most the development zones proposed by the original Finger Plan, had been built on. Between 1960 and 1976 demand for suburban living increased rapidly, and the fingers became longer⁸¹. Growth, however, was not evenly distributed across the Finger Plan. Whilst the suburban areas grew at a rate of 15% per annum, population in central districts of Copenhagen shrank 3% every year. The City of Copenhagen had peaked early in 1950. By 1976, Copenhagen had lost 40% of its population (Illeris, 2004). According to census data (statistikbank.dk) from the 1970's to the 1980's, whilst middle-age, salary earners and child population grew in the suburbs, young people declined; at the same time, the city saw a decline of mid-age people and manual workers⁸², and growth of young people, excluded people, immigrants from poor countries as well as a major increase of elderly people (Illeris, 2004). Overall, manual workers and self-employed declined by 50%, whilst employees working in the service sector increased (Andersen, 1991). This was not just a process of suburbanisation, but also de-industrialisation.

During his period, Nørrebro continued to play host to new social groups entering Danish society. In 1960's, Nørrebro saw an influx of guest workers from Pakistan and Morocco, and in the 1980's immigrant's place of origin shifted towards the middle east, Iran, Iraq, and Lebanon (Schmidt, 2012). The pattern of immigration that had been set a hundred years earlier, was now becoming more distinguishable, in terms of skin colour, language, clothing, and habits (Daly, 2020). To voices outside the neighbourhood, immigration in Nørrebro became increasingly challenging -and by challenging they meant Muslim (Nielsen, 2012). Whilst migration out of the city was threatening the socio-economic fabric of Copenhagen, there was an increased "national focus on transnational immigrants and Islam as problematic and implicitly threatening to an (imagined) homogeneous Danish cultural identity" (Schmidt, 2012:607).

Unforeseen by Rasmussen and his colleagues, the Finger Plan had, not caused, but facilitated the implosion of the central areas. Jørgensen (2004) explains that, as mid-century consumerism flourished, prosperity and wealth spread across the city, and so did the trend of space commodification. The decaying 19th century housing stock of the city could not compete in quality nor size of residential infrastructure in the suburbs. Propelled by the ever-rising number of car ownership, the 1950-1980 Great Migration unfolded a process of suburbanisation where the population in the suburbs increased by almost three-quarters of a million people; most of which, came from the city. Jørgensen argues that the Finger Plan provided the mechanisms to ease the transition from city to suburbia: "The Fingerplan gave the direction for the city's expansion" (Jørgensen, 2004:190).

⁸¹ 1963 First Step Plan (Knowles, 2012).

⁸² Across the metropolitan, manual workers and self-employed declined by 50%, whilst employees working in the service sector increased.

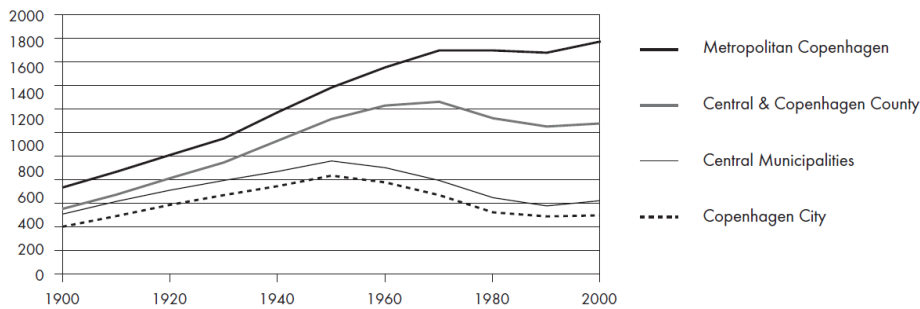


Figure 6.15: Metropolitan Copenhagen, population 1901 - 2000 (1,000 people).
SOURCE: Jørgensen, (2004:190)

As high earners left the city, so did their contributions to the tax base. In time, high end industries also followed suit, and the city's steady decline precipitated whilst social inequality grew as the concentration of social needs worsened. Far from the high living standards the central districts enjoy today, by 1990, the Copenhagen was on the brink of bankruptcy. Furthermore, it seems that urban design had had a role to play on this predicament.

6.5 1950-1970 The rise of cars in the city

Excess capital was often spent on high-end single-family homes and private vehicles (Illeris, 2004). It seems that mobility was now a commodity everyone could afford. In 1950 there were roughly 30 per 1000 inhabitants, in 1960 this increased to 82 per 1000, by 1970 it reached 200 per 1000 (Knowles, 2012).

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	1950	1958	1970	1980	1987
Central boroughs	24,893	58,127	124,084	106,195	110,066
Suburban areas	4,620	23,653	208,260	315,912	373,834
Total	29,513	81,780	332,344	422,107	483,900

Figure 6.16: Private cars in Greater Copenhagen 1950-87.
SOURCE: Andersen, (1991:372)

"TOD⁸³ is much more difficult to deliver when a substantial proportion of the population has the choice of using their own car." (Knowles, 2012:251). By the 1960's the increasing volume of private cars

⁸³ TOD: Transit Oriented Development. In this instance, Knowles is referring to the 1947 Finger Plan.

commuting into the city was bringing the centre into a standstill. The core, an urban medieval grid, still bearing substantial traces of its feudal defensive strategies, was incompatible with post-war mobilities trends. In 1962 Copenhagen began a tentative and gradual process of pedestrianisation, including reduction of parking provision. By 1973, pedestrian streets in the centre had increased by 311% from 15,800m² to almost 50,000m² (Gehl, 2006). Outside the centre however, Urban Hansen, Lord Mayor of Copenhagen 1962-1976, was determined to significantly increase vehicular infrastructure.

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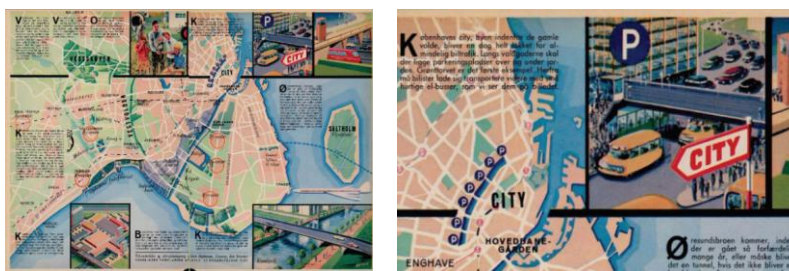


Figure 6.17: 1967 proposal for parking provision in the Nørrebro district, with electric buses transfer to the city centre. SOURCE: Samvirke magazine, 1967 (via Colville-Andersen, 2022)

Even more radical were the multiple schemes drawn to introduce a twelve-lane motorway circling the centre; From the 1958 Søringen⁸⁴ project (The Lake Ring), a flyover over The Lakes, to its later alternative, the 1967 Forumlinien project (The Forum Line), a motorway that would sweep through the inner districts of Osterbro, Nørrebro, and Vesterbro, these initiatives would have caused permanently damaged the urban fabric and life in Copenhagen. Furthermore, the remodelling of Nørrebro seems to have been central to the proposals. For example, additional parking provision was planned around The Lakes in Nørrebro to accommodate the cars removed from the centre (Colville-Andersen, 2022). The Forumlinien would have seen vast sections of Nørrebro demolished and substituted with large scale residential amphitheatres to replace the lost stock of accommodation.

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⁸⁴ This was proposed in 1958 and approved in 1964. Remedial works had started but were abandoned by 1973. It caused significant controversy amongst residents, architects and urban designers. Despite the local opposition, city planners persevered in their goal to follow vehicular trends elsewhere in Europe and America, and instead of curbing their ambitions, alternative schemes were explored (e.g.: Forumlinien in 1967). (Colville-Andersen, 2022)

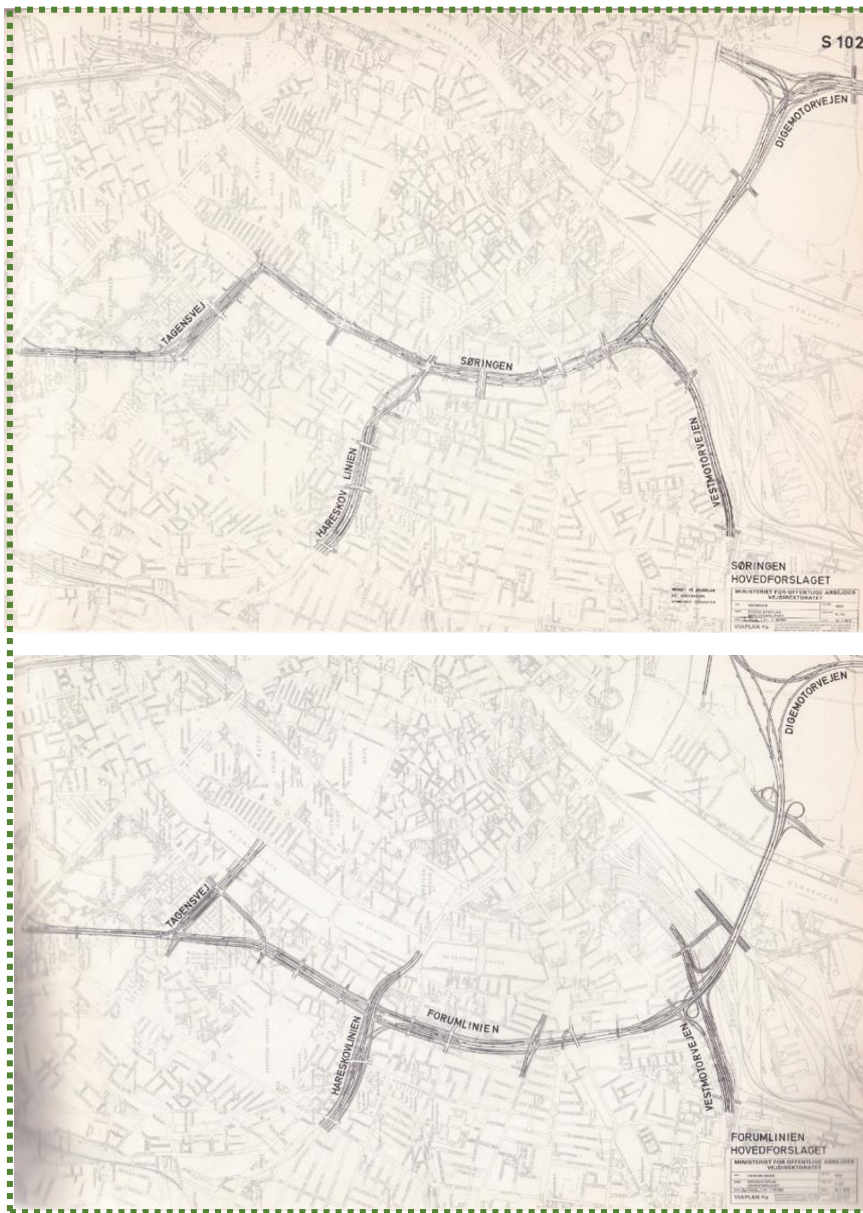


Figure 6.18: ABOVE: 1958 proposal for Søringen Project (The Lake Ring).
 BELOW: 1967 Forumlinsen project (The Forum Line)
 SOURCE: Vejdirektoratet, Danish Road Directorate (via Colville-Andersen, 2022)

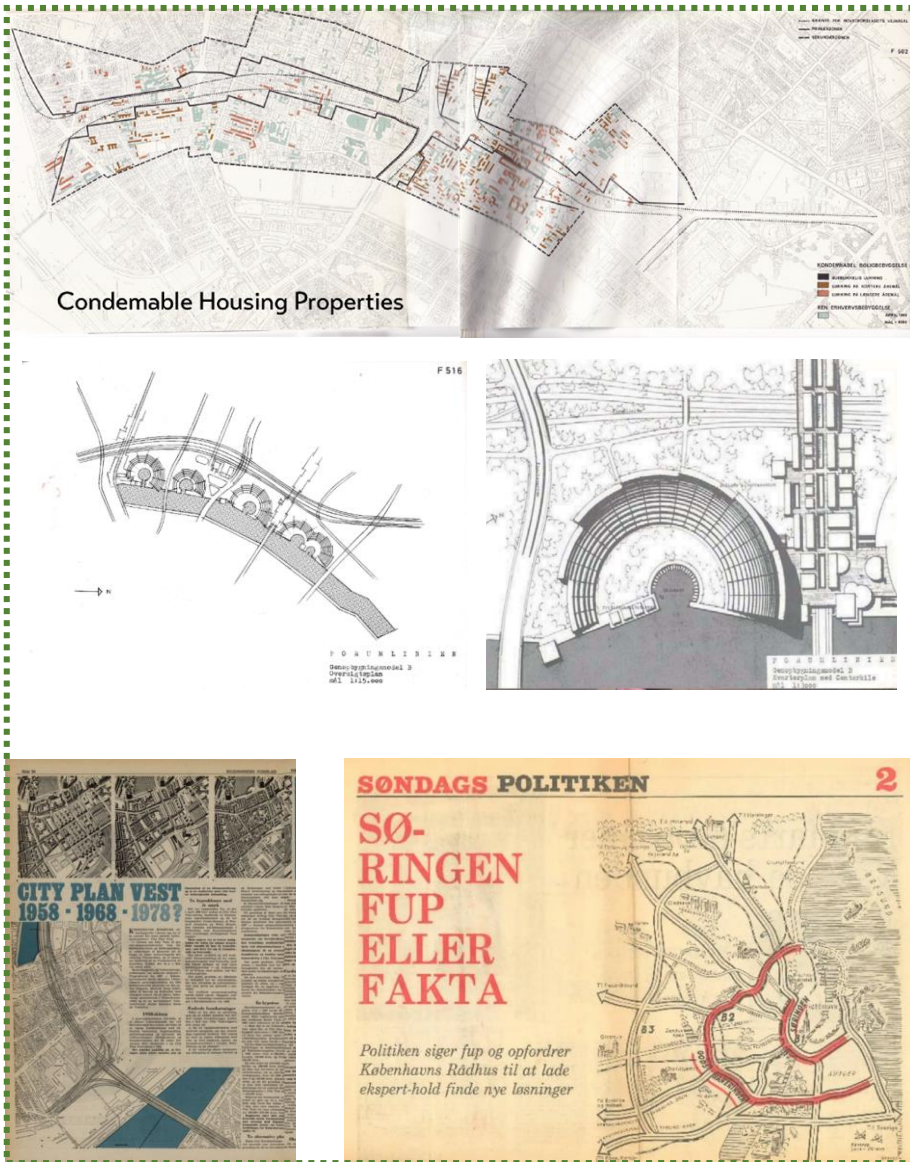


Figure 6.19: The Danish newspaper Politiken opposed Copenhagen's urban development plans in the 1960s.
 Photograph: Copenhagen City Archive. SOURCE: Guardian, 2016

Despite much opposition from local resident groups, architects and urban designers. Enabling works were approved in 1964. Part of these proposals were built in 1972, in the form of the existing Bispeengbuen⁸⁵. This is six-lane motorway through the neighbourhoods of Nørrebro, Bispebjerg, Vanlose and Frederiksberg, that carries vehicular traffic from the outskirts into the city.



Figure 6.20: Bispeengbuen under construction showing how it cut a swathe through the existing neighbourhood
SOURCE: City Archive 50675



Figure 6.21: The river close to the lakes at Åboulevard but now in a culvert below the road. SOURCE: Danish Design Review <http://danishdesignreview.com/kbhnotes>

⁸⁵ Labelled as Hareskovlinien in the original proposals. This structure continues to be the subject of fierce criticism in Copenhagen, due its close proximity to residential areas. Schemes have been proposed to part demolish it to lower its environmental impact, though they are yet to be approved by the Danish Road Directorate (Copenhagen Design News, May 2022. <http://danishdesignreview.com/kbhnotes>)

However, the proposed motorway infrastructure was not the sole cause of disruption to the urban and social fabric of the city. In the late 60's clearances had begun in central Nørrebro, but by 1973 not much new urban fabric had been erected, and many sites remained empty. In 1973 a group of residents spontaneously built a playground in the corner of Stengade and Baggesensgade known as 'Byggeren', which also happened to be a site earmarked for The Forum Line motorway. The playpark soon became a community asset and it was well used by the local community. As the Forum Line plans were shelved, the council initially approved the use of the site and staffed the park with qualified community officers. However, 1980's the municipality priorities changed and a new social housing scheme was proposed on the site. The residents fought back and rebuilt the park overnight after its demolition. The confrontation lasted over a month, including human chains, barricades, large demonstrations, and violent fighting. The police response was aggressive but ineffective, eventually declaring a State of Emergency to suspend the constitution which allow them to regain control by even more hostile means.

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Figure 6.22: 1967 Forumlinien project (The Forum Line).
Extract of Condemnable Sites in Nørrebro, highlighting the location of Byggeren
SOURCE: Vejdirektoratet, Danish Road Directorate (via Colville-Andersen, 2022)

6.6 1973- 1996 Moving forward: Reclaiming the centre.

The National Government had to intervene to save the city from economic collapse. In the 1990's the three main Danish political parties -Social Democrats, Liberals, and Conservatives- approved a bailout plan, that was to transform Copenhagen into one of the most liveable cities on Earth that it has become today (Knowles, 2012).

Ironically, this political manoeuvre, may not have succeeded had not been for three narratives that occurred almost parallel to those that had inhibited progress to the centre districts.

- **1976-1994 Regional growth stabilised:** Whilst the 1947 finger plan had been a guide, in 1973, the newly appointed Greater Copenhagen's Capital Regional Authority issued a revised, enforceable, version. This updated version was more attune with car-centric trends of contemporary American planning. At such, it proposed to connect the nodes

between fingers, transforming the image of fingers into a spider web. This plan aimed to further support decentralisation towards the outskirts (Andersen et al., 2002). However, after the rapid regional boost of the 1960's and early 70's, population growth slowly declined between 1976 and 1994 (Illeris, 2004). Inevitably, as demand ceased, regional councils' thirst for urban expansion decreased. Ironically, this decline of growth, ensured that both the original ethos of the Finger Plan, and the central standing of Copenhagen City endured into the future. This was reflected in the updated 1989 Regional Plan, which restricted new industrial and service developments to 1Km from a radial train station.

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- **1973 Oil crises:** In the 1960's and 70's, despite the determination of Urban Hansen to upgrade car infrastructure, with a diminished tax base, Copenhagen could barely afford these large projects; when the oil crises hit in 1973, the modernist vision came to a sudden halt, never to be completed. In the end, it was 'luck rather than foresight' that minimised the impact of post-war car infrastructure trends, staging an easier transition into car-lite and low-carbon mobility modes. "We thought we were unlucky and very poor. We were actually lucky, but still very poor." (Søren Elle, Ministry of transport, quoted in Cathcart-Keays & Warin, 2016)
- **1990 Political priorities changed from welfare to international competition:** If, in the 1950's to 1970's, Danish urban policy was founded on welfare principles to sponsor "regional equalisation goals"⁸⁶ (Majoer, 2008:103), by 1990 political perspective had shifted towards neo-liberal views (Andersen & Pløger, 2009; Majoer, 2008). This shift followed the change in political climate elsewhere in Europe, embodied by Thatcherism in Britain and the fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany. In Denmark, this translated into an adjustment of policy direction by the dominant social democratic party to encourage entrepreneurial initiatives with a sharp focus for international competitiveness. Opportunity arrived with Sweden's application for EU membership, which could alter Denmark's international influence from peripheral to central in relation to other Nordic countries (Andersen & Pløger, 2009; Majoer, 2008). It seems, that Denmark was determined to enter the "'globalisation/big city competition' discourse, in which Copenhagen was seen as the only international locomotive of the country" (Andersen et al., 2002:50).

In the 1990's, the economic prosperity of the city of Copenhagen was of national importance. To move the city forward, from the downturns of suburbanisation and deindustrialisation of previous decades, national Government agreed to help Copenhagen. Thus the leading social democrat party, imposed certain initiatives; for example, to drastically reduce its debt, "the city was forced to sell off most of

⁸⁶ For example, most of the funding for infrastructure was granted to deprived and rural areas of the west (Majoer, 2008)

its land and dwellings⁸⁷ (Jørgensen, 2004). In addition, Copenhagen had to introduce a strategic growth programme (Majoor, 2008). Four key initiatives⁸⁸ were put forward (Knowles, 2012):

1. Build the Øresund Link to Malmö.
2. Develop the TOD of Ørestad and improve connection to the airport.
3. Redevelop the harbour front (Nordhavn).
4. Cultural Capital of Europe 1996.

The Danish Government not only used the 1996 European City of Culture (ECoC) event as a springboard to put Copenhagen in the world map (Sjøholt, 1999:344), but also as a platform to outline its urban identity and introduce more coherent strategies at neighbourhood level (Garcia & Cox, 2013). ECoC '96 had a long-term outlook, and like Glasgow in 1990, the emphasis was not on one-off cultural events, but on advancing processes and physical development (Davies, 2012; Sjøholt, 1999). Overall emphasis aimed to make the city more liveable, in order to reverse the migration effects of previous decades.

Perhaps the most conspicuous sponsors in the formation of the urban identity of Copenhagen, as a liveable city, are Jan Gehl and Lars Gemzøe. Gehl, as one of the global pioneers of human-centred urbanism⁸⁹, coined the phrase “life before buildings”, which refers to technical solutions rooted in place-based social analysis to enhance social space (Gehl, 2011). As part of ECoC '96, Gehl and Gemzøe published a detailed study of the city centre street life performed by urban design students at School of Architecture at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts⁹⁰. Its aim was to assess the performance of pedestrianisation efforts that started 1968. In doing so, Gehl and his associates provided a clear relationship between increased revenue and pedestrianised areas. Gehl's ideas of human-centred urbanism, published in the 70's⁹¹, had now been justified in the language of the new market-oriented politics of the 90's. This successfully cemented Copenhagen's urban identity of liveability and wellbeing beyond the car-led city that Urban Hansen had envisioned in the 60's. Whilst Hansen model still relied on the welfare state with its large social housing schemes, Gehl's succeeded on presenting a balance between commercial and local interest, by focusing on high wellbeing scores to attract investment and high earners back to the city.

Human-centred urbanism soon became embedded in national policy. A year later, in 1997, the Danish Government Urban Committee introduced the Kvarterløft or Neighbourhood Lift, a place-based participatory urban plan (Larsen et al, 2003). The Kvarterløft encouraged practices of co-design and co-creation to anchor urban planning frameworks at neighbourhood level. Initially tested in 7 areas across Denmark, including Copenhagen, the policy evolved into the Områdefornyelser or integrated

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⁸⁷ According to Jørgensen (2004), 25,000 dwellings were sold to housing associations.

⁸⁸ The Øresund Link to Malmö is outside the scope of this thesis, and will not be discussed further.

⁸⁹ Progressive community-orientated planning strategies, which championed ideas of place from a pedestrian perspective. In addition, cycling became the first choice for mobility.

⁹⁰ For details refer to: Public Spaces - Public Life, Copenhagen 1996 by Jan Gehl and Lars Gemzøe The Danish Architectural Press and the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts School of Architecture, Copenhagen, 2004 ISBN 87 7404 305 2

⁹¹ Gehl, J. (2011). Life between buildings (6th ed.). Island Press. First edition was published in Danish in 1971.

urban renewal strategy; This called for specific criteria for the selection of renewal areas, the participation of local community groups and the inclusion of wider cultural events within neighbourhood; in other words, an integration of the social, cultural, and physical urban dimensions (TMF, 2012). By 2015 this approach became part of the Urban Renewal Act, one of the two national policies⁹² that guide urban development in Denmark (Larsen & Frandsen, 2022).

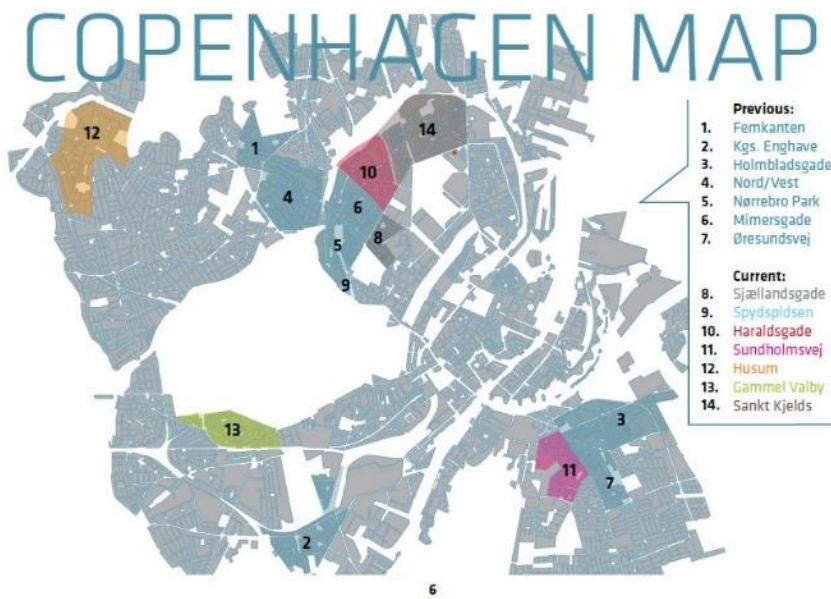


Figure 6.23: Integrated urban renewal in Copenhagen, key project location plan.
SOURCE: City of Copenhagen, Integrated Urban Renewal in Copenhagen Report (2012: 4)

The vision for urban life in Copenhagen was set in the “A Metropolis for People” report, produced by Gehl Architects and adopted by the City Council in 2009, which stated “We will become the world’s most liveable city: a sustainable city with urban space inviting people to a unique and varied urban life. We will become a metropolis for people” (Gehl, 2009). To monitor the progress of these initiatives, the City of Copenhagen publishes an Urban Life Account, which measures annual urban life trends of three key ambitions:

- 1- More urban life for all: Satisfaction across all social spheres (inclusivity).
- 2- More people to walk more: Increasing foot traffic throughout the city (Walkability).
- 3- More people to stay longer: increase positive use of urban space (lingering).

⁹² The second one is the Danish Planning Act, which sets the framework for urban planning and guides implementation of urban policy (OECD, 2017).

Commented [SGA62]: INTEGRATED URBAN RENEWAL - in Copenhagen 2012:4
District development in Copenhagen
Published: April 2012
Publisher: Technical and Environmental Administration
Urban Design Department

Commented [SGA63]: Urban Drama

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Both the renewal strategies⁹³ and city visions⁹⁴ have continued to be revised to consider new challenges and trends. However, the updated documents persist on their drive to increase liveability through people centred design, and community participatory approaches. This is clearly reflected on the data collected for this study (Refer to Theme Analysis and Discussion).

“Copenhagen is a well-functioning city. The city has life between buildings, but this success did not come about by accident. It is the result of years of dedicated effort to develop and improve the city, driven by a clear focus on Copenhageners and on all the people who use, visit, work with or run a business in Copenhagen” (TMF, 2015).

6.7 Summary

Urban development in Copenhagen is characterised by a widespread appreciation of humanistic design, a position that has been adopted by the municipality.

Like many European cities, Copenhagen urban grid bears the traces of its medieval past. From narrow winding roads typical of slow organic growth, to inherent urban patterns derived from defensive structures. The defensive structures, a mark of Copenhagen’s many historical territorial challenges, also constrained its development in modern history, and in particular it hindered the introduction of grand vehicular infrastructure typical of mid-century urban growth, and facilitated the transition into walkable city towards the end of the 20th century.

Nørrebro was formed following the abolition of No Build Zone outside the city limits in 1853. It has historically been a place where new immigrants took advantage of low rents. In a city that is comparatively monocultured⁹⁵, Nørrebro, known for its multicultural population, political activism, and socio-economic disadvantage.

Although social diversity has always been a feature of Nørrebro, from the first wave of Swedish and Russian immigrants of late 19th Century, to the more recent wave of Middle Eastern and North African migrants, diversity has become more visibly “different” (Schmidt, 2016). Disadvantage is no longer spread throughout Nørrebro, but concentrated in pockets of deprivation⁹⁶, which are often also associated with gang activities, as is the case of Mjølnerparken.

⁹³ The comprehensive urban renewal effort in Copenhagen has had several different names: neighbourhood lift, area lift and partnership projects, today they are called area renewals (TMF, 2011, p. 4).

⁹⁴ In 2015 “A Metropolis for People” was replaced by “Co-create Copenhagen, vision for 2025”. The new vision continues to recommend a people centric approach, but now also includes guidelines for new environmental challenges brought upon by climate emergency.

⁹⁵ According to the Harvard Historical Index of Ethnic Fractionalization Dataset (HIEF), Denmark ranks 128 for Ethnic Fractionalisation based on Fearon’s analysis, with a 17.7% of racial diversity, whilst the UK ranks 82, with a racial diversity level of 39.9% (Drazanova, 2019).

⁹⁶ The so-called Ghettos. Listed under a Ghettolisten, published by the Danish Ministry of Transport and Housing once a year. These are areas of high overseas immigration that perform below standards. In Copenhagen, only Mjølnerparken was still listed at the end 2022 list.

The urban projects featured in this thesis were built under Integrated Renewal initiative. The Integrated Urban Renewal Initiative (and its multiple amendments from 1997 Kvarterløft to the current Områdefornyelser) is a participatory approach that stipulates a triple focus to public development: public physical interventions should be supported by social and cultural aspects; In other words, space, people and events are to be forged together out of the same process.

Chapter 7

Urban & Historical Analysis: Manchester & Gorton

7.1 Introduction

“Manchester is a huge overgrown village, built according to no definite plan. The factories have sprung up along the rivers Irk, Irwell and Medlock, and the Rochdale Canal. The homes of the workpeople have been built in the factory districts. The interests and convenience of the manufacturers have determined the growth of the town and the manner of that growth, while the comfort, health and happiness have not been considered. ... Every advantage has been sacrificed to the getting of money.” Dr. Robertson, a Manchester surgeon, in evidence to the Parliamentary Committee on the Health of Towns, 1840 (quoted in Bradshaw, 1987).

It has been argued that Manchester presented the world with the prototype for industrial cities during the 18th and 19th centuries (Rodgers, 2022; McNeil & George 2002; Lloyd-Jones & Lewis, 1988). Manchester propelled the construction of industrial canals⁹⁷ into inland integrated waterway systems, spearheaded the rise of industrial suburbs founded on steam power such as Ancoats, was the birthplace of inter-city passenger railways, was a test bed for free trade practices at the Royal Exchange, and it was in the Reading Room of Cheetham’s Library in the summer on 1845 that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels conceived their ideology, simultaneously placing Manchester at the forefront of capitalism, liberalism and social revolution movements that linked health and wellbeing to urban environment. Despite its global historical significance, Manchester is a relatively new city, and its urban grid barely scrapes 300 years of history (Schofield, 2017).

The following Chapter will analyse the urban and historical development of Manchester.

7.2 Early beginnings: Mamvcium

Similarly to Copenhagen, and to most settlements, Manchester’s evolution is subject to its geo-political location. Located at the south-western foothills of England’s largest mountain range, the Pennines, it benefits from the confluence of three major rivers, the Irwell, the Medlock, and the Irk. The naturally raised plains between rivers made an ideal defensive location and traces of settlements go back to the ice age. However, it was the Romans who first put Manchester, then Mamvcium, on

⁹⁷ Canals were not invented in Manchester. In fact, the history of canals goes as far back as to Chinese and Persian antiquity. However, the first modern era canal, built to be a completely artificial route, that was not associated or followed a natural course, is the Bridgewater Canal. This was built by the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater Francis Egerton, in 1761, with the help of land agent John Gilbert and civil engineer James Brindley to transport coal from the Worsley mines into the city.

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the map by establishing a fort in 79CE on the banks of the river Medlock, where Castlefield is located today.



Figure 7.1: *The Romans Building a Fort at Mancinion* by Ford Madox Brown.
SOURCE: via Schofield (2023)

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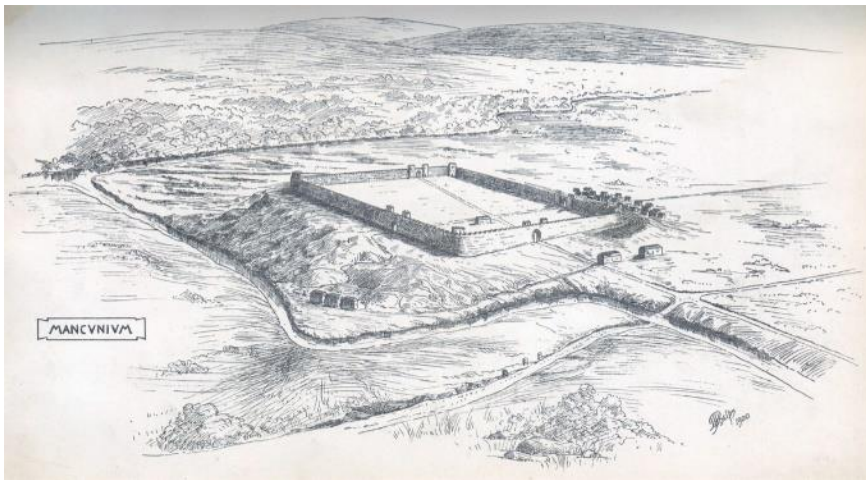


Figure 7.2: *Roman Manchester (1900)* by Charles Roeder.
SOURCE: wikisource

Initially as part of a campaign against Celtic tribes and later on it served as a key post route between the more significant cities of Leva (Chester) and Eboracum (York). Local villagers settled around the fort, taking advantage of security and trade brought by the Romans. When the Romans left Britain in 410 CE, Mamvcium fell back into “regional insignificance” (BHN, n.d.) until the dawn of the industrial revolution.

“But at this time Manchester, as with all Lancashire, suffered from its location, hemmed in by inhospitable marsh and bog to the south, isolated between the sea, the marshes of the Mersey and Irwell rivers and the hills of the Pennines. When the Domesday Book was compiled, after the Norman Conquest in 1066, Lancashire and Manchester warranted a mere one-and-a-half pages out of 1,700, and that as an appendix to Cheshire.” (Schofield, 2023)

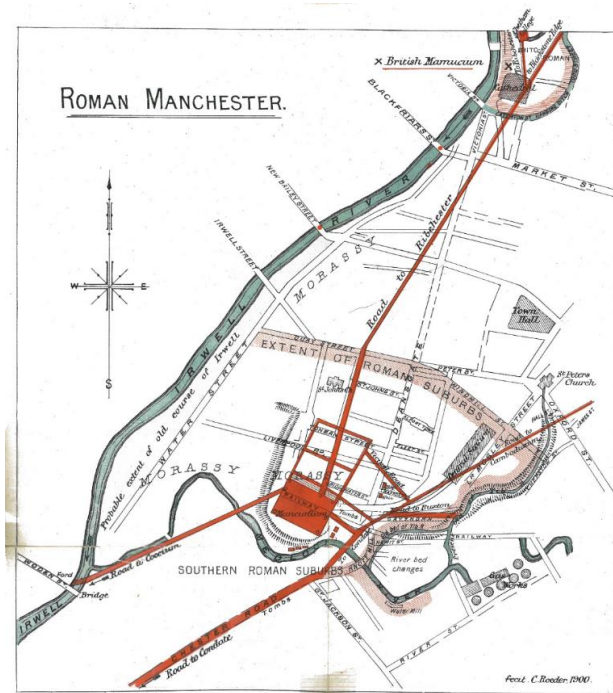


Figure 7.3: Roman Manchester Map by Charles Roeder, 1900.
 Note how the 19th century fabric mostly ignores the Roman grid.
 SOURCE: wikisource

The tangible urban history of the Romans, as well as the dark ages that followed, is scarce. The Saxons moved the town to a more defensible site a mile to the North, where the Cathedral Quarter is to be found today. What was left of the fort was simply flattened during the industrial revolution. Only a stone remains of the original Roman fort, under a Bridgewater’s railway arch. Currently inaccessible to the public, its historical significance is barely acknowledged. Of the Saxon history, a couple of ditches can be found today. Notably, Nico Ditch runs through Gorton, from Ashton-under-Lyme, to Stockport. It marked the boundary between Mercia and the Northern Kingdom of Northumbria, although its true purpose, to this day, remains unclear. Local folklore believes this to be a defensive structure against the Dane invasion of 869-870 CE, although no evidence of such a battle has been

Commented [SGA70]: SOURCE: wikisource
 Roman Manchester. Recent Roman Discoveries in Deansgate And On Hunt's Bank, And Roman Manchester Re-Studied (1897-1900). By Charles Roeder. Manchester: Richard Gill, Tib Lane, Cross Street. 1900.
https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Roman_Manchester

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found⁹⁸ (Nevell & Walker, 1998). What is most astonishing about this ditch, is that it still exists, and in a few sections, it has remained remarkably undisturbed. This, sadly, is more likely to be the result of oversight by developers, rather than conscious conservation efforts to preserve ancient heritage, as only less than 1.5% of its length is protected under the Ancient Monument Schedule⁹⁹.



Figure 7.4: England in the 9th Century. Political map. SOURCE: odysseytraveller.com

⁹⁸ Archaeological excavations were executed between 1990 and 1997. No evidence was found of the Danes-Saxon battle and it was concluded that the ditch was probably a boundary marker (Nevell & Walker 1998:41).

⁹⁹ Only a small section of the ditch located in Platt Fields Park, representing 140m of its 9.7km, was brought under the protection of Scheduled Ancient Monuments in 1997. The rest of the ditch remains vulnerable to development. (See Historic England, Nico Ditch, 1033812).

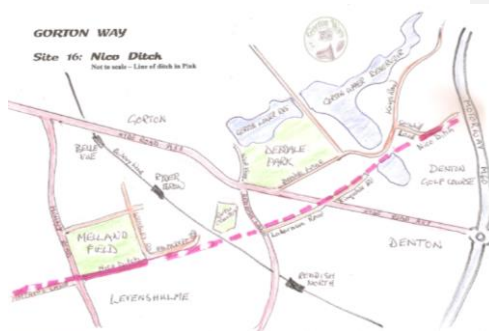


Figure 7.5: Right: Nico Ditch near Mellands Playing Field, Levenshulme, Manchester. "About 200-300 metres of the ditch survive here and little elsewhere". Williamson, 2005. SOURCE: Geograph
 Figure 6.6: Left: Sketch of Nico Ditch location along Gorton, Manchester. SOURCE: GortonWay.co.uk

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7.3 Industrial Revolution: The birth of modern urban development

If the urban development of Copenhagen was to be shaped by its medieval fabric -by first inhibiting development and then accelerating the shift to walkable city-, the urban history of Manchester is marked by a conspicuous lack of tangible historical reference and control that dominates even today's skyline¹⁰⁰. The origins of the Mancunian unfettered development philosophy can be traced back to industrial revolution. For the world, it meant the dawn of modern urban history. For Manchester, it meant much more than that; for it was a period of identity formation that carved the collective social values that colours the overarching attitudes towards planning and ultimately drives urban character of today's city.

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Urban growth and the subsequent architectural evolution presented during the industrial revolution can be summarised in two stages: cradle of the revolution and the birth of mega warehouses.

4.3.1 Cradle of the revolution:

According to Cambridge's Occupational Structure of Britain 1379-1911 project, the foundations for England's transition from agriculture to industry began in the 16th century (Shaw-Taylor et al, 2014), and by 1680's 37% of men were already working in manufacturing trades.

Commented [SGA79]: Oxford Lecturers <https://open.conted.ox.ac.uk/series/manufactures-industrial-revolution> and <https://open.conted.ox.ac.uk/sites/open.conted.ox.ac.uk/files/resources/Create%20Document/Week%203%20The%20woollen%20and%20worsted%20industries%20up%20to%201780.pdf> see <https://www.linkedin.com/in/frances-richardson-309bb8177/?originalSubdomain=uk>

¹⁰⁰ Most notably, Manchester does not have a tall building policy. This likely to be a strategy rather than oversight by the planning department.

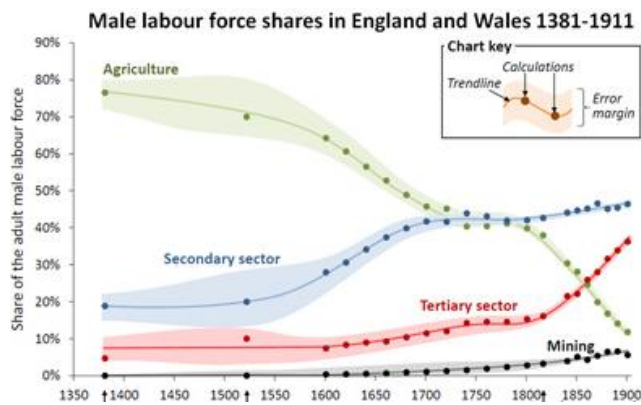


Figure 7.7: Male labour force shares in England and Wales 1381-1911: Patterns of labour force began to shift from agriculture to industry in the 16th century, before the industrial revolution.
 SOURCE: The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure.

Manchester was no exception. A community of Flemish weavers had settled in the city during the last quarter of the 14th Century, introducing their cotton weaving expertise to the township of Manchester¹⁰¹. Whilst wool reigned in the surrounding counties, by 1640s ‘Manchester Cottons’ became well known in the region. This ‘cotton’ started as a fustian, a sturdy woven mix of cotton and flax linen, whilst ‘pure’ cotton appeared later, as raw material became available with the rise of colonial Britain. Initially, the weaving process was a family affair. Expert weavers worked from home, creating an urban landscape was dominated by workshops dwellings. According to archaeologist Dr. Michael Nevell (2011), the largest concentration of weavers’ cottages in 18th Century Manchester, was located in the St Paul’s District, which roughly coincides with the present-day Northern Quarter. The workshop dwellings are distinguishable by their large horizontal upper-level windows, aimed to extent the working day as long as practicable. An example of this typology is the one up, one down and basement terrace, a 3-bedroom house that boasted of a separate ‘back house’ workshop in the backyard. The very last three of this kind, can be found in the Stevenson Square Conservation Area of the Northern Quarter (MCC, n.d.).

¹⁰¹ Manchester remained a Manorial Township until its city charter was granted in 1823. Manorialism is a medieval system of land ownership brought by the Late Roman Empire. It outlasted other feudal systems, but it was eventually replaced by a market-based economy (Sarris, 2004).



Figure 7.8: Kelvin Street.

SOURCE: Thomas McGrath, (2016)

The workshop dwellings responded to proto-industrialisation processes with deeply ingrained hand-manufacturing processes (Nevell, 2011, 2017). Despite their modest dimensions (one room per storey), the accommodation was large if compared to the factory terraces that replace them.

7.3.2 The birth of mega warehouses

From the 17th century, the emerging industry of Manchester advanced uninhibited due to large undeveloped areas supported by a network of rivers augmented by an ever-expanding grid of inner-city canals. "Cotton was the first industry to develop macro-production techniques" (Beinart, 2004). In the second half of the 18th century, innovation in the spinning frames¹⁰² technology increased the production rates and reduced the skill requirements. "By the end of the 18th century, the rapid industrialisation of Manchester had begun to lead a decline on housing standards and a sharp rise in population densities" (Nevell, 2011).

At the turn of 19th Manchester, steam power began to take over the city's cotton production and mobility. As the expert weavers were replaced by mill 'workers' operating new weaving machines,

¹⁰² John Kay invented the 'Flying Shuttle', in 1733. James Hargreaves invented the 'Spinning Jenny' in 1765. In 1769, Richard Arkwright brought forward the 'Water Frame'. In 1779, Crompton's 'Mule' was invented. In 1781 Boulton and Watt's steam engine reduced the need for canal side warehouses. In 1812, the invention of Robert's Power Loom brought all stages of cotton within one factory (Trueman, 2022).

Commented [SGA80]: <https://ifthosewallscouldtalk.wordpress.com/2017/01/14/hidden-histories-kelvin-street-manchester-buildings-of-the-northern-quarter-part-one/>

workshop dwellings were steadily superseded by large warehouses, and their associated dense terraces. The physical separation of work and home soon became an urban phenomenon.

Manchester's growth between the 18th and 19th century, was unprecedented. In 1563 there were 1,800 people living in Manchester; by 1650, it had grown to 3,700, already surpassing the national average growth rate; by 1773, population had increased to 23,000, and by 1801 it reached 75,281. Twenty years later, by 1821, the population rose again to 126,066, and thirty years after that, it more than doubled as in 1851 population reached 303,382 people (Hartwell, 2001). Housing demands also increased sharply; from 3446 dwellings in 1773 to 17,257 in 1821. By 1851, residential properties rose to nearly 50,000.

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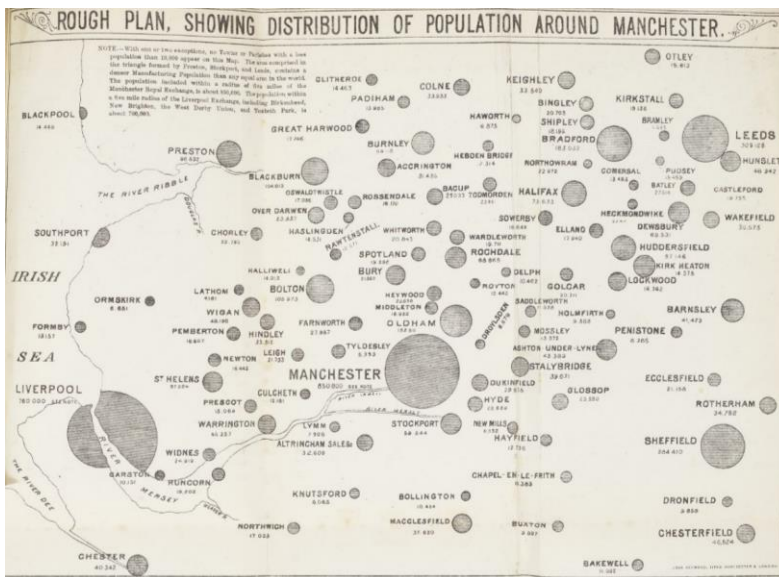


Figure 7.9: Rough Plan Showing Distribution of Population Around Manchester, By Leech, Sir Bosdin Thomas Leech, 1836-1912.
SOURCE: Manchester University Library Map Collection.

However, Manchester was only growing in population, not in size; causing vast pressure on the socio-urban environment. Workshop dwellings were subdivided: one family room was partitioned into four family rooms, by using single brick partitions. In many cases foundations were one brick deep or brick walls rested directly on paving flags. Despite the sharp increase in occupancy levels, sanitary provisions were rarely augmented (Nevell, 2011, 2017).

Engels wrote about the dire living conditions in 1842-3. "350,000 working people of Manchester and its environs live, almost all of them, in wretched, damp, filthy cottages, that the streets which surround them are usually in the most miserable and filthy condition, laid out without the slightest reference to ventilation, with reference solely to the profit by the contractor" (Engels, 2005, quoted from Nevell, 2011, 2017). Manchester had been governed as a Manorial Township until 1823, when it received its

city charter (Sarris, 2004). Nevell argues that the decline in housing quality, coincides with the increase of “small-scale landowners and renters who speculated in building housing in tiny plots. [...] Land ownership was a significant factor in the emergence of slum dwelling” (Nevell, 2011:3). This type of property speculation continues to plague inner city suburbs such as Gorton, in the form of low rent-low quality landlords, as highlighted by all the residents and neighbourhood officers that participated in this study.

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The industrial revolution brought modernity and prosperity to Manchester and Britain as a whole. By early 19th century, cotton products accounted for 42% of all British exports (Brain, 2019). It also seems that some practices were born out of the unprecedented growth, such as the lack of consideration for long term planning strategies, the dominance of piecemeal development and the rise of small-scale landlords.

Commented [SGA83]: SOURCE <https://www.historic-uk.com/HistoryUK/HistoryofBritain/Cotton-Industry/>

The canal revolution gave way to locomotives and railways were introduced to the city¹⁰³. Many warehouses adapted to use both canals and railways in the production processes. Nonetheless, development was no longer subjected to canal side locations and the city began expanding physically. According to the Salford University Archaeological team (Cattell, 2019), Gorton Mill, a mill located in what was still countryside, was one of the first integrated mills.

7.3.3 Promoting health through urban design

A preoccupation for the living conditions and health of the general population began to find expression in the urban landscape, although, unfortunately, not at the same pace or scale of the industrial growth. The scale and location of deprivation across the city was mapped by Marris in 1909. This sparked further inner-city cartographic studies which led to the demolition of the worst back-to-back terraces in Ancoats and the appearance of the first tenements specifically designed to promote healthy lifestyles. Spaces dedicated to recreation and the enjoyment of nature of the general public appeared. The botanical Gardens of Pomona Island and Belle Vue Zoological Gardens were the two biggest attractions in Manchester. Belle Vue in particular, currently in Longsight but at the time considered one of Gorton’s neighbourhoods, attracted 2million visitors a year from across the country.

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Public met in bars – Ancoats number of bars.

¹⁰³ In 1830, the first inter-city railway was built between Liverpool and Manchester.



Figure 7.10: Belle Vue Zoological Gardens 1947. SOURCE: Historic England

7.3.4 Industrial Decline

Industrial growth peaked early in the 20th century. By mid-century, competition from abroad, wars and a national strategic move from industry to commerce, close down most of the industries that had flourished in Manchester the previous century. Although the industrial legacy still dominates the city in the form of Victorian terraces and luxury apartment warehouses, the narrative of the city fabric appears fragmented, as so much of it has been lost to newer waves of development. In 1999 Robina McNeil from Manchester University, prepared a detailed document to protect Manchester's industrial past under the protection of UNESCO's World Heritage Site status. The Manchester Council opposed to the listing and actively campaigned against it. [David Rudlin \(2021\)](#) explains:

As Julian Holder wrote in English Heritage's book on Ancoats in 2011: "Many saw them [the mills in Ancoats] as merely an embarrassment and an impediment to Manchester's attempts to find a new post-industrial role." It is true that the city council sometimes saw the heritage community as middle-class do-gooders prepared to sacrifice the city's future for the sake of a past tainted by slavery, the exploitation of the working class and bad Victorian architecture. (Rudlin, 2021)

7.4 Urban development in Gorton

If the history of Manchester is scarcely 300 years old, Gorton's only just makes it to 160. [The name Gorton](#) is likely to originate from the old English words Gore (Muddy), and Ton (Farmstead), meaning 'Muddy Farmstead' (Cattell, 2019), possibly a reference to Gore Brook which [still runs over ground](#) from Sunny Brow Park to the Gorton Reservoir.

Commented [SGA86]: Why Manchester is not a World Heritage Site
By David Rudlin 3 August 2021

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4.4.1 Location and Ward Boundaries

Gorton's political boundaries, have had many iterations throughout its short history. The account of these shifts and their effect on the town and its people is a worthy discussion, that unfortunately, falls outside the scope of this thesis.

Presently, Gorton is one of five parliamentary constituencies within the City of Manchester¹⁰⁴. As a constituency, Gorton is a large area which stretches from Abbey Hey in the North East to Whalley Range to the South West.

Commented [SGA88]: SOURCE: https://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/200033/councillors_and_decision-making/73/manchester_members_of_the_uk_parliament



Figure 7.11: Location Map of Gorton & Abbey. TOP RIGHT: Greater Manchester Location Map. TOP LEFT: City of Manchester Constituencies. BOTTOM: Parliamentary Constituency of Gorton and its wards stretches from Abbey Hey to Whalley Range. Electoral arrangements for Manchester City Council, and Local Government Boundary Commission for England, 2018. All maps by author. SOURCE: MappingGM.org.uk

¹⁰⁴ The five constituencies from North to South are: Blackley and Broughton, Central, Gorton, Withington, and Wythenshawe and Sale East. Source: *Manchester Members of the UK Parliament*, Manchester.gov.uk (21.11.2022).

It is worth noting that, at the neighbourhood scale, only the North-western section of this constituency, is traditionally referred to as 'Gorton'. Hence, this research has been framed on the Gorton and Abbey Hey Ward¹⁰⁵, with a particular focus on Abbey Hey. The ward is currently bound by the Manchester-Glossop Railway line to the North, the Hope Valley Line and Hyde Road to the South, the outer ring road the West (Lawnswood Road), and Gorton Upper Reservoir and the ancient Nico Ditch to the East.

Commented [SGA89]: ADD BOUNDARIES OF ABBEY HEY

Commented [SGA90]: ADD THIS? It is also worth noting that, socio-urban narratives, are not so strictly defined by strict boundaries, or so readily severed by the political whims that shift boundaries from time to time; hence this thesis considers West Gorton (now partly in Ardwick) and Belle Vue (currently in Longsight) as integral to the overall Gorton story. (TAKE AWAY COMMENT ABOUT BELL VUE?)



Figure 7.12: Greater and Abbey Hey Map (ward boundaries shown in black). SOURCE: MappingGM.org.uk

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7.4.2 Early History

In 1322, Gorton featured as part of the Manchester Manor of a Nigellus, a Norman knight. It comprised 15 houses and a water mill. In 1642, at the start of the civil war, there were 96 adult males in Gorton (MCC, nd). The 1666 hearth tax recorded 44 hearths, with no accounts of 6 or more hearths in a single property. Growth in Gorton was slow.

Commented [SGA92]: https://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/511/conservation_areas/1230/gore_brook_valley_conservation_area/2

Despite the industrial transformation that had been raging in the city centre since the 17th century, Gorton retained its undeveloped rural landscape until mid-19th Century. In fact, most cartographic documents produced in the earlier years of the industrial revolution in Manchester, do not stretch out as far as Gorton.

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¹⁰⁵ Gorton and Abbey Hey Electoral Ward was formed by the Local Government Boundary Commission for England (LGBCE) in 2018. Previously included within of the now defunct wards of Gorton North and Gorton South. For more information refer to: LGBCE (April 2017), *Final recommendations on the new electoral arrangements for Manchester City Council*, and *Local Government Boundary Commission for England, 2018*. Further reviews of boundaries and names of all Great Manchester Constituencies have been proposed by the Boundary Commission of England (BCE). Final report is expected to be published in June 2023.

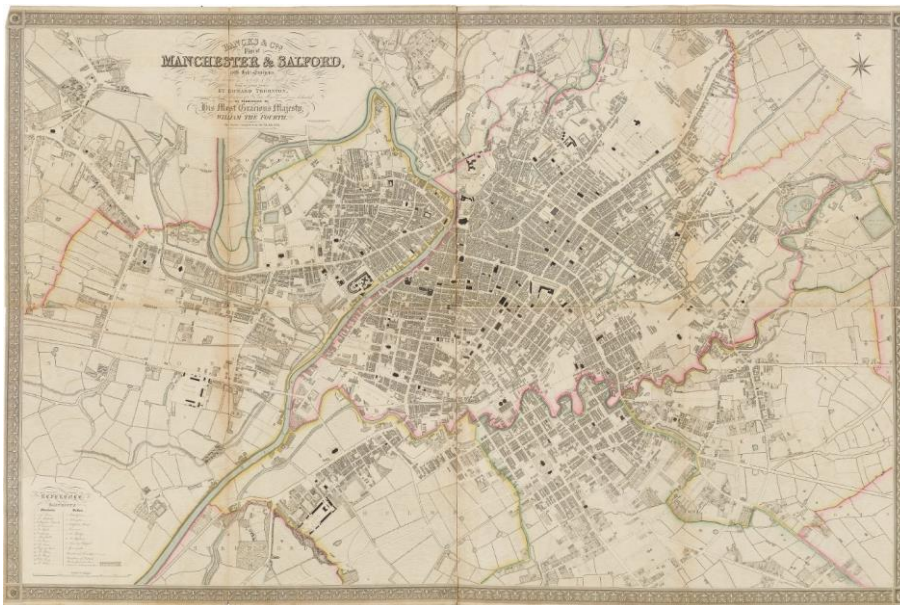


Figure 7.13: 1794 Plan of Manchester and Salford. As the industrial revolution is in full swing in the city centre, Gorton remains undeveloped land, and it is excluded from most urban maps of the period. SOURCE: The University of Manchester Library Catalogue

Remarkably -given its proximity to the city centre- a sizeable area of Gorton has continued to retain a semi-rural character to this day. Walking through the Gore Brook Valley Conservation Area, is a very rare experience of winding roads, and sparse medieval cottages, following a small spring, shielded by large mature trees from the surges of Manchester's industrial and post-industrial history. The conservation listing aims to protect this semi-rural character, of which natural landscape plays a key role. It is not surprising then, that the retention of its context, a mixture of green and bluescapes, is a strong feature in the Council's description. The wording, however, is most peculiar and, perhaps, revealing of a general soft attitude towards preservation of historical context: "the relationship of buildings to landscape and topography is of greater importance than in many of the city's conservation areas" (MCC, nd). And it goes further when it specifies "The few industrial uses [...] should look to relocation rather than expansion" (MCC, nd). In fact, some properties have had "its permitted development rights' removed in order to prevent over development of the site and to retain the open character of the Gore Brook Valley" (MCC, nd).

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Commented [SGA96]: https://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/511/conservation_areas/1230/gore_brook_valley_conservation_area/2

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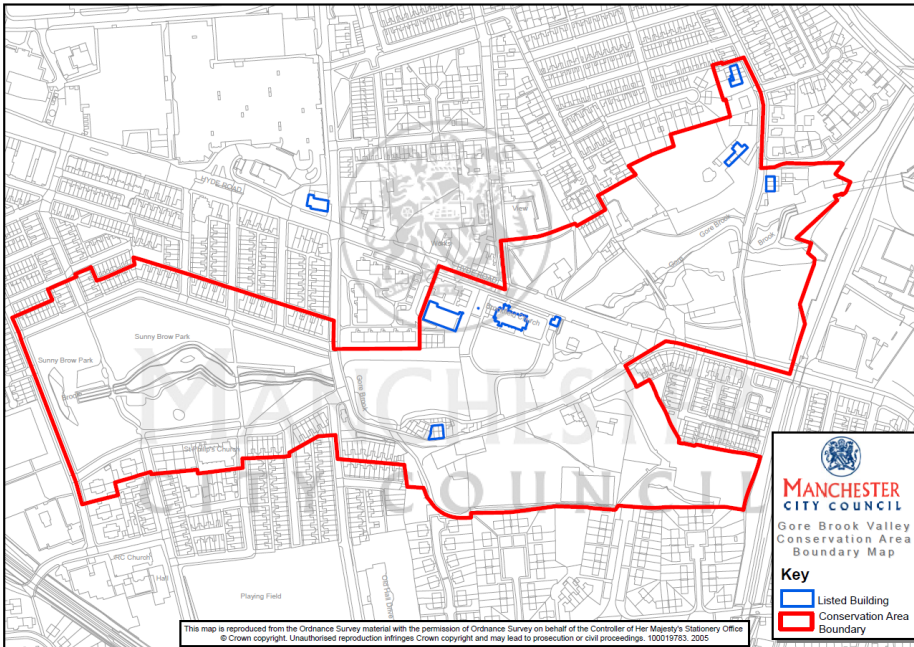


Figure 7.14: Gore Brook Valley Conservation Area Boundary Map. SOURCE: Manchester.gov.uk

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Figure 7.15: Gore Brook Valley Conservation Area.

SOURCE: GortonManchester.wordpress.com <https://gortonmanchester.wordpress.com/2017/09/03/gorton-heritage-trail/>

7.4.3 Industrial Growth

The expansion of the industrial revolution from the city centre towards Gorton was first facilitated by the opening of the Stockport Branch of the Manchester to Ashton-under-Lyne Canal in 1796, which eased the transportation of goods to the villages along the way.

Taking advantage of this infrastructure and the availability of land, Gorton Mill opened in Abbey Hey in 1824, kickstarting the industrial transformation of Gorton. “[...] prior to the construction of the mill, the area contained only a handful of scattered farmsteads placed along rural trackways. However, the influx of hundreds of workers in the early 19th century created a ready-made community which formed the basis of the modern town” (Cattell, 2019:31). By 1832, the mill employed 711 people including 300 children.



Figure 7.16: Aerial view of Gorton Mill site, Abbey Hey, 2019. SOURCE: Google maps

The mill was taken over by John Ryland, Manchester’s first multi-millionaire, in 1844. Ryland took advantage of its sparse surroundings and Gorton Mill it underwent continued upgrades, expansions, and transformations. Recent archaeological evidence has revealed that it was maintained at the forefront of technological advances, which alludes to its importance within the Rylands empire (Cattell, 2019). According to Manchester historian Farnie (1993), the buildings were made the “highest quality of material” and including fire-proofing. In 1843, there were 26,264 spindles, 886 power looms

and 121 workers cottages. The mill employed mostly women and children, as can be seen from the moving pictures commissioned by John Cordwell in 1900.

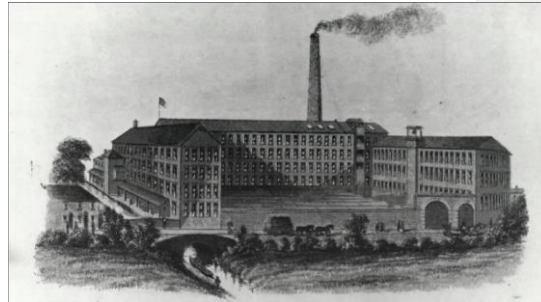
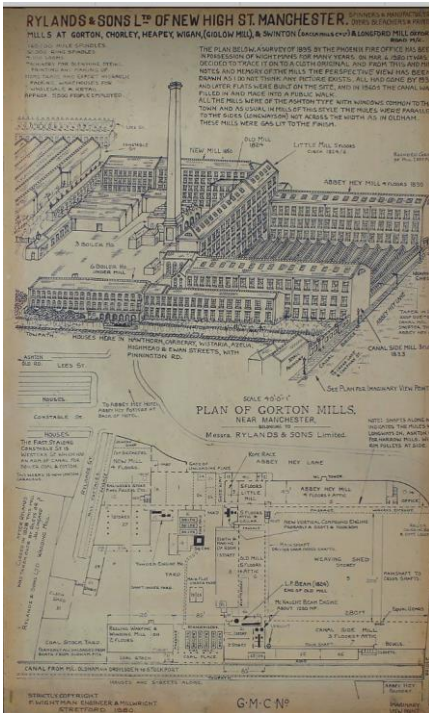


Figure 7.17: Gorton Mill Archives

LEFT: Gorton Mill, 1895. TOP RIGHT: Gorton Mill, 1842, SOURCE: Manchester Archives
 BOTTOM RIGHT: Workpeople Leaving Ryland's Mill, Gorton, Manchester (1900). Screenshot of film
 commissioned by John Cordwell for the Gorton Wakes fair 1900. SOURCE: bfi.org.uk

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By 1863, the mill expanded to accommodate almost triple the number of spindles (63,000) and double the number of looms (1,500). Workers' cottages, on the other hand, were increased by barely a quarter, from 121 to 150. Due to the lack of archaeological studies of worker houses in this area, it is difficult to ascertain if the original cottages were subdivided, as was the case elsewhere in the city centre or if the additional worker force found accommodation elsewhere in the vicinity.

In the second half of 19th century Gorton, John Rylands was not the only, or even the biggest employer in the area. In 1854 Beyer-Peacock set up their locomotive manufacture empire in neighbouring West Gorton, as Gorton still had something the city centre lacked: space. Across the railway tracks from Gorton Foundry, was Gorton Tank (the Manchester & Sheffield Railway's works), another large manufacturing giant.

Some of the most successful innovations in locomotives¹⁰⁶ were produced by Charles Frederick Beyer, Richard Peacock and Herbert William Garratt, at the Beyer-Peacock Company -also known as Gorton Foundry. The company was at the forefront of world-class locomotive engineering from day one, with international orders confirmed before production started. The heavy industry in Gorton continued to flourish, to include boiler shops, smithies, forges, iron foundry, etc. and Beyer-Peacock growth peaked in 1930's with 2,514 employees. In this case, evidence indicates that most of the employees were male adults and children.



Figure 7.18: Beyer Peacock Locomotive Works, Manchester-Gorton, N.D.
 SOURCE: Historical Railway Images via via Flickr_50452295141_121134670c_k



Figure 7.19: LEFT: Gorton Foundry 1927. SOURCE: Historic England. RIGHT: Gorton Works, 1968.
 SOURCE: Loose grip 99. Via flickr

Abbey Hey was rapidly losing its rural character and its urbanscape became dominated by Victorian terraces to accommodate an increasing influx of workers. A large proportion of them, locally known as the 'ladders', continue to be part today of the low quality-low rent private landlord housing market.

¹⁰⁶ "Important designs were the Beyer-Garratt articulated locomotives widely used in Africa (and Australia) and the 4-4-0 condensing tank locomotives used on the Metropolitan Railway, which was part of the newly established London Underground, from 1864 until electrification in 1905. This design then evolved into a 2-4-0 for Norway and finally the famous 3 foot gauge Manx Peacock design for the Isle of Man Railway." Beyer Peacock & Company. SOURCE: Preserved British Steam Locomotives.com



Figure 7.20: 1848 Map of Gorton & Abbey Hey showing the district as a predominantly rural setting with only the Zoological Gardens (green dot) and Gorton Mills (red dot) visible at this time

SOURCE: National Library of Scotland <https://maps.nls.uk/>



Figure 7.21: 1888 Map of Gorton & Abbey Hey showing the district as becoming more urban in character with more railway infrastructure with the Zoological Gardens (green dot) and Gorton Mills (red dot) shown for reference

SOURCE: National Library of Scotland <https://maps.nls.uk/>

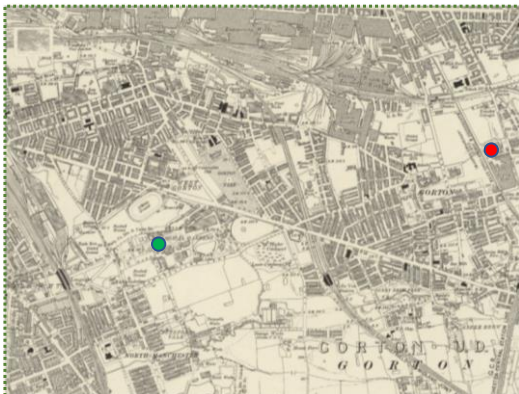


Figure 7.22: 1909 Map of Gorton & Abbey Hey showing the district being incorporated into the overall Urban area with the Zoological Gardens (green dot) and Gorton Mills (red dot) shown for reference

SOURCE: National Library of Scotland <https://maps.nls.uk/>

As the second half of the 19th century approached, Gorton's population growth began to gain momentum: In 1845, there were 3,000 living in Gorton; by 1890, when West Gorton was incorporated to the city, population had increased to 13,500; and only ten years later in 1900, population was almost 27,000 (MCC, nd). The rest of Gorton became part of the city in 1909.

Commented [SGA100]: https://www.manchester.gov.uk/info/511/conservation_areas/1230/gore_brook_valley_conservation_area/2

This influx of people was not only due to the increasing demands of manufacturing market, but also to the Great Irish Famine of 1845-49, which saw the migration of 2,000,000 Irish to the United States, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, and London (Mokyr, 2022). Gorton was now the home of large and ever-expanding community of Irish Catholics.

In 1861, three Belgian Friars, invited by the Bishop of Salford arrived in Manchester to create the new Catholic Parish of Gorton, as part of the 1850 effort from the Vatican to re-established their presence in Britain following the de-criminalisation of Catholicism in 1829. The result was the Church and Friary of St Francis, more commonly known as the Gorton Monastery, built between 1866–1872 in West Gorton. This a fine and imposing Grade II* Gothic Revival architecture building, designed by Edward W. Pugin.



Figure 7.23: Gorton Monastery present day (Manchester city centre in the background) and in the 1960's.
SOURCE: The Monastery.co.uk

7.4.4 Intangible History

The architectural significance of the Gorton Monastery is only rival to its own intangible local legacy. In the words of the local volunteers who today manage the Monastery:

The Gorton Church and Friary are impressive because local people created them. They demolished the house on the site, dug trenches for foundations, and laid many thousands of bricks. They also helped by making the bricks, filling timber moulds with local clay and baking them in kilns. Miss Jackson, who was a pupil at the St Francis infant school in 1892 and later became the headteacher, remembered Brother Patrick and the stories of his work to build the church: "He did his stint of begging too and was a well-known figure in the local pubs with his collection box and his cry of "Let's buy another brick for St Francis." He had his own way of recruiting volunteer labour: he met the men as they left work at midday on Saturday and asked for their help in the afternoon." The site became a busy hub for the local Catholic community. It housed several schools, a training college for friars, a parish library, extensive gardens, a parochial hall for community events. (The Monastery, n.d)

Rapid growth and industrialisation had bred particular societal ills. Violence was common place, often normalised and reinforced through family structures (Davies,1998). This, combined with marginalisation, poverty, and exploitation of minors for unskilled labour, had a particular effect on young boys living in modern Victorian cities. In the 19th century, cities such as Manchester, Salford and Liverpool saw the rise of violent youth gangs, known as 'scuttlers'. "A 'scuttler' is a lad, usually between the ages of 14 and 18, or even 19, and "scuttling" consists of the fighting of two opposed bands of youths, who are armed with various weapons" (Devine, 1890:2).

Stephen Humphries is a social historian who specialises in hooliganism. According to Humphries, scuttling "offered working-class youth the opportunity to conquer its feelings of hunger, failure and insignificance and to assert a proud and rebellious identity through which its members could feel masters of their own destiny." Davies (1998:349), a researcher from Liverpool University goes further, by proposing that 'scuttling' was not primarily linked to depravity, ethnicity, religious or cultural clashes. Instead, Davies continues, its focal point was the "assertion of masculinity" amongst working class street gangs, at the crucial identity formation threshold that saw boys turn into men. Scuttling incidents were often turf related fights. Scuttler's gang identity was strongly associated with place. Davies argues that scuttling was not exclusive to slums or areas with high levels of poverty, but it was also well established in the "prosperous neighbourhoods" such as Gorton and Openshaw. In the 1880 and 1890's scuttler's gangs lost momentum as the Lad's Club Movement and football gained popularity. In fact, Gorton was the original home of Manchester City Football Club. The club was founded at St Mark's in 1880, in an effort to increase social cohesion and offer an alternative to the gang culture.



Figure 7.24: Gorton Working Men's Club, Thornwood Avenue near Gorton Village. Locally known as the 'Bunker', it closed down in 2018 to be converted into three dwellings. Other Working Men Social Club were based in Abbey Hey and West Gorton. Image SOURCE: David Dunnico, 2014

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<https://whatpub.com/pubs/MAS/17033/gorton-working-mens-club-gorton>

7.4.5 Historical Records of Housing Conditions

According to the 1904 Marr's map of slums, Gorton had escaped the worst of the industrial living conditions. Gorton village and South Gorton were deemed to largely comply with modern by-laws, whilst a large amount of properties in West Gorton complied with 'earlier' by laws. Marrs did not record any back-to-back, converted back-to backs or slum dwellings in Gorton. However, large areas of Abbey Hey were not included in the survey, most notably the 'ladders'. In addition, there were no recorded suburban houses with gardens. These were mostly located in the Southern part of the city.



Figure 7.25: Extract of Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford Map, Thomas Marr 1904. Notably, the housing stock supporting both the Gorton Foundry and Gorton Mill are missing from the survey, including Victorian terraces known as 'The Ladders' that still survive today.

SOURCE: AlexSingletonUCL

As the 19th century was nearing its end, Gorton had become a flourishing working-class neighbourhood (Davies, 1998). Many of the descendants of this period are still living in Gorton and the nostalgia, fondness and pride for this by-gone era is a strong narrative throughout the data collected for this research.

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7.4.6 Decline of Gorton

Production at Gorton Mill started to slow down early in the 20th century. By 1920's the decline widespread across the textile industry. Gorton Mill was finally demolished in 1935. The site remained empty until the 1960s, when a housing estate, including six blocks of apartments, was built. These structures remained until 1997, when the site was again cleared. Since then, the Gorton Mills site remained a grassed open land until 2021, when Southways' Housing Association built a supported living housing facility for over 55's.

As railway engineering moved away from steam to diesel engines, the 20th century also saw the decline of locomotives in Gorton. Despite diversification efforts, the Peacock & Bayer continued to shrink until it ceased to trade in 1966. In economic, social, and urban terms, Gorton is yet to fully recover from the loss of its heavy industry.

The Monastery had been a hub of cultural activity for some 120 years, running schools, a theatre group, brass band, youth club and football teams. However, the friars left Gorton in 1989, and the Monastery soon fell in disrepair and became derelict, with stone work and sculptures being stolen. A 12-year fundraising campaign ensued, and the Monastery of St Francis and Gorton Trust was established in 1996. £6.5 million was raised, allowing the monastery to be renovated.

7.5 Manchester: Modern Urban Development

7.5.1 Urban planning: Key theoretical influences

Similarly to Copenhagen, Manchester was influenced by major urban doctrines across both sides of the Atlantic. However, unlike Copenhagen, Manchester has never pursued a consistent city plan or strategy. Instead, Manchester's city fabric displays a patchwork of tactics proposed by a myriad of utopian thinkers diluted by economic and commercial forces across time. This subsection will focus on three key theoretical influences that affected this case study: Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities, Clarence Stein's and Henry Wright's Radburn Estate, and the functionalist ideas of CIAM¹⁰⁷.

As discussed in section 6.3.1, Howard's Garden Cities of To-morrow treatise sought to improve urban wellbeing through the strategic dispersal of population densities. Although Howard was primarily concerned with the estrangement from nature ensued by the rapid growth of industrial centres of the late 19th century, his ideas were also highly influential in the post-war era. To Howard, equitable and manageable distribution of resources and proximity to nature were paramount. His solution was anchored in limiting population density. His model Garden City was composed of 6 satellite towns and

¹⁰⁷ CIAM: Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne.

one central city, totally 250,000 inhabitants in 66,000 acres. Including 52,000 people for central city of 12,000 acres, and 32,000 people for 9,000 acres per satellite town (Howard, 1898, 1902).

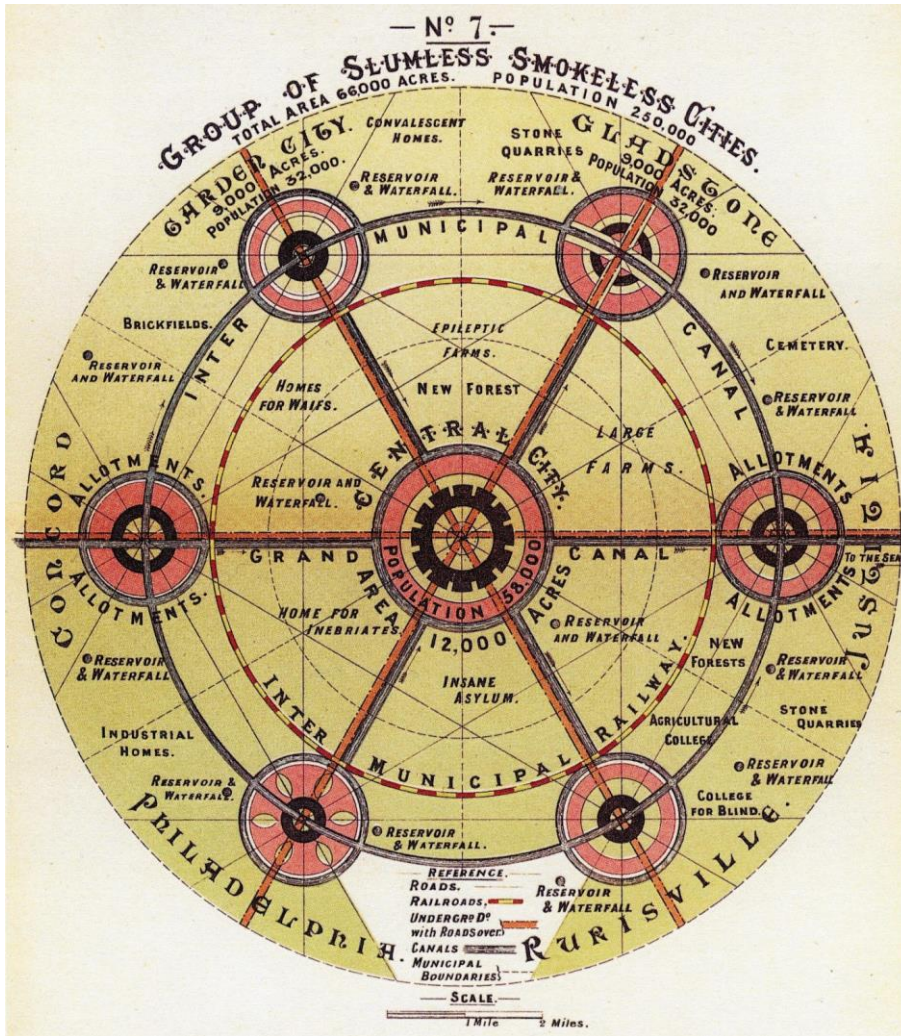


Figure 7.26: Group of Slumless Smokeless Cities: Howard's Garden City Plan, 1898. SOURCE : Wikimedia.org

Whilst Howard vision of a carefully measured balance between rural and urban landscape would remain utopian, his ideas influenced many architects and developments, including Barry Parker, who was employed by Manchester City Council between 1927-1941 to design Wythenshawe, a Howard inspired satellite garden town, and enable the clearance of slums that had spawned out the industrial

growth a century earlier. The managed decentralisation of metropolitan population also meant the forced dissipation of established communities, which is discussed in subsequent sections. (Refer to section 7.5.3).

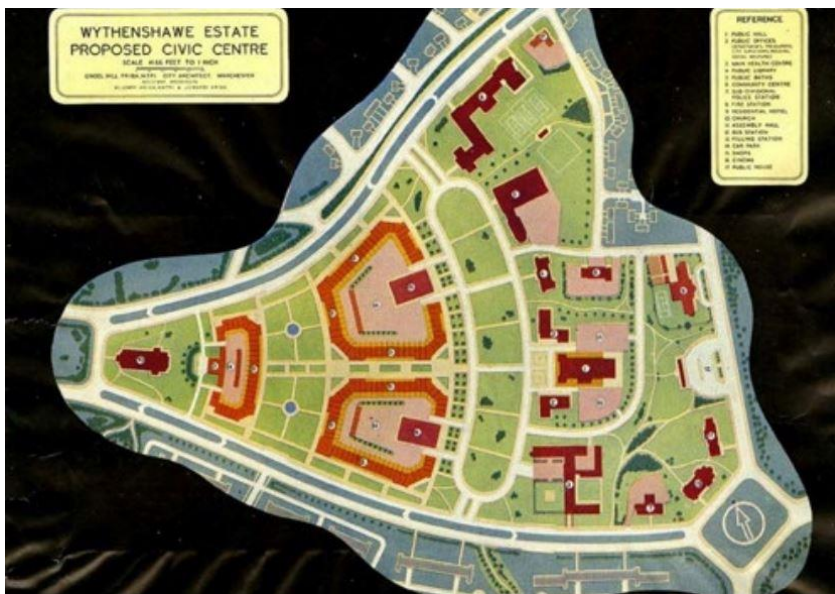


Figure 7.27: Wythenshawe Garden Village Plan, Perry Barker. SOURCE: Manchester.gov

Clarence Stein (1882-1975), together with Mumford, Henry Wright, Benton MacKaye, Stuart Chase, Frederick Ackerman, and Alexander Bing, all members of the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), were key promoters of Howard’s Garden City movement in the United States. “What struck Stein about Ebenezer Howard’s proposal was its spirit of cooperation and community, the balance between open spaces and development, and the notion that distinctive planned new towns served as the building blocks of the region” (Larsen, 2016:17).

Stein and colleagues’ version of New Towns for America (Stein, 1951) was the Regional City. Although explicitly rooted on Howard’s ideas, the Regional City expanded this vision. The Regional City strategically considered natural resources of the region, policies, commercial and industrial opportunities, neighbourhood units¹⁰⁸ limited by size school and walking distance to school, and most importantly, the new motor car revolution.

¹⁰⁸ The Neighbourhood Unit was the brainchild of Stein’s collaborator, Clarence A. Perry. Perry proposed that schools could be a critical physical and sociological building block for the new garden cities of America. He recommended that schools should be built at the centre of the neighbourhood they served, and their size should be adequate to serve that neighbourhood, with facilities and large play area for the use of the whole community. Perry further specified that a child should be able to walk no more than half a mile without crossing a major arterial road (Perry, 1929).



Figure 7.28: Radburn plan by Stein and Wright, 1929. SOURCE: Archiscopio.com

The Radburn project (1929) afforded Stein and Wright the freedom to apply the Regional City concepts. Located at the outskirts of New York in New Jersey, Radburn was designed around three neighbourhood units⁷. According to Larsen, “the true contribution at Radburn was the design and integration of open spaces” (Larsen, 2016: 163). Nonetheless, it was the novel street design to accommodate these open spaces -clustering homes in cul-de-sacs, that faced internal gardens rather than the street- which has become the identifying and most criticised aspect of this scheme. The Radburn Idea accepts the growing prominence of private vehicles in urban design strategies, by providing attached garages and access road networks. Stein and Wright also attempt to counteract the negative effects of the motor car revolution in America, “Going places and enjoying the use of places [are] quite distinct and different functions [...] They require different locations and forms” Stein, 1951). To that end, Stein and Wright turned their houses around so living areas¹⁰⁹ could enjoy views of inward public green space, where neighbourhood networks could be strengthened. The service areas¹¹⁰ would face the surrounding street network. To complement this strategy, a series of footpaths would create permeable access to the green areas to all residences, making a clear distinction

¹⁰⁹ Bedrooms and living room.

¹¹⁰ Garages, kitchens, and bathroom.

between pedestrian and vehicular links as well as individual neighbourhoods unit zones and wider community boundaries.

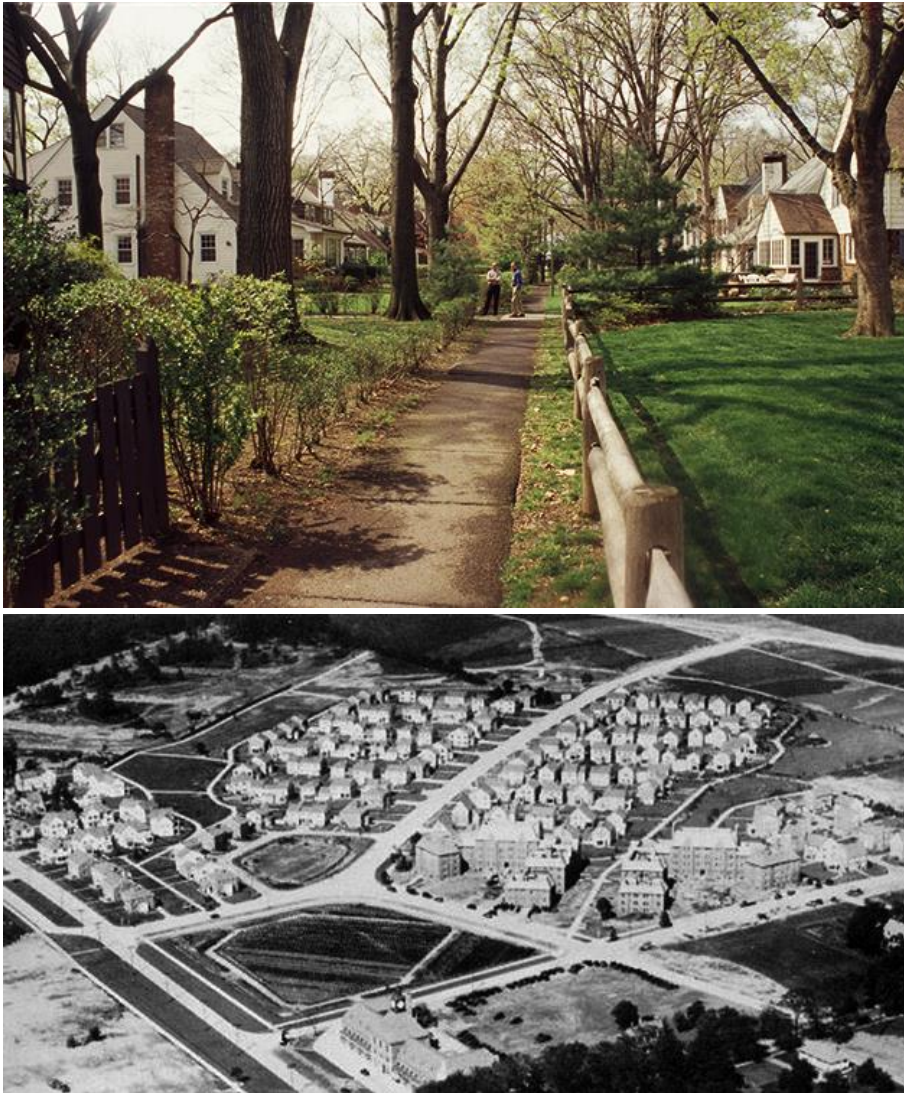


Figure 7.29: Radburn, 1929. TOP: Segregated pedestrian routes that lead to the large central area and placed between housing. BOTTOM: Aerial view of the development of Radburn under construction 1929. SOURCE: Archiscopio.com

In Gorton, the Radburn approach came mixed the functionalist ideas of CIAM. Urban design associated with CIAM's ideologies is often characterised as mass-produced, high-density tower blocks, separated by relatively large landscape areas. Instigated by Le Corbusier in 1928, CIAM was an international congress for modern architecture whose members were the most prominent European Architects¹¹¹ of the time. CIAM offered this coalition of avant-garde architects a forum to discuss new architectural and urban tactics. They rejected historical approaches (such as perimeter blocks), took advantage of technological advances whilst advocating for immediate, affordable, solutions to improve workers living conditions. They believed that architecture had the potential to create social change. CIAM strategies favoured superblocks¹¹², walkable neighbourhoods¹¹³ and high-rise buildings¹¹⁴.

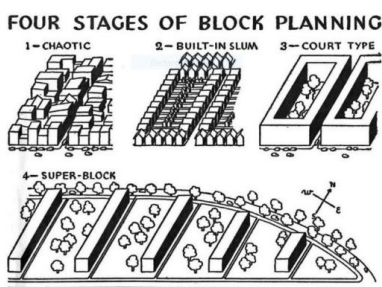


Figure 7.30, LEFT: Four Stages of Block Planning. A 1940 diagram of Zeilenbau planning, showing its advantages for preserving open space near the housing units. SOURCE: Reed and Ogg (1940). Via Eric Mumford, 2019.

Figure 7.31, RIGHT: Helena Syrkus during the 4th CIAM Congress. In the photo on the left Siegfried Giedion (standing), on the right: Le Corbusier (seated). SOURCE: GTA, ETH Zurich, Karl Hubacher documents.

At the controversial CIAM IV in 1933, the group advocated the Functional City. The then president of CIAM, Van Eesteren¹¹⁵, concurred with Le Corbusier in advocating “the replacement of ‘obsolete’ urban districts with new highways and housing, which he argued might very well be high-rise.” (Mumford, 2019:293). Following a positivist analysis of thirty-three cities, CIAM concluded that the social problems encountered in these cities could be resolved by “strict functional segregation, and

¹¹¹ Amongst the early members were Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Karl Moser (first CIAM president), Uno Åhrén, Hendrik Berlage, Victor Bourgeois, Pierre Chareau, Josef Frank, Siegfried Giedion, Gabriel Guevrekian, Max Ernst Haefeli, Hugo Häring, Arnold Hoechel, Huib Hoste, Pierre Jeanneret, André Lurçat, Ernst May, Max Cetto, Fernando García Mercadal, Hannes Meyer, Werner Max Moser, Carlo Enrico Rava, Gerrit Rietveld, Alberto Sartoris, Hans Schmidt, Mart Stam, Rudolf Steiger, Helena Syrkus, Henri-Robert von der Mühl, Juan de Zavala, El Lissitzky, Nikolai Kolli and Moisei Ginzburg.

¹¹² An example of this is Ernst May's 1925 New Frankfurt Initiative, where he broke away from the traditional perimeter blocks to promote parallel rows of rectangular superblocks, improving levels of natural light and ventilation: A place with light, air and sun, Licht, Luft und Sonne.

¹¹³ Such as the Regional Cites of Clarence Stein and the RPAA

¹¹⁴ At CIAM 3 in 1930, the debate focussed on Rational Land Development and Walter Gropius and Le Corbusier argued for the greater benefits and efficiency of widely spaced high rises or point blocks.

¹¹⁵ At CIAM 4, Van Eesteren approach formed the basis of CIAM's “four functions of the city”: dwelling, work, transportation and recreation” (Mumford, 2019).

the distribution of the population into tall apartment blocks at widely spaced intervals"¹¹⁶ (Mumford, 2019:297). This approach was the basis of the CIAM's "four functions of the city": dwelling, work, transportation and recreation.



Figure 7.32: Unité d'Habitation, by Le Corbusier, 1952. SOURCE, TOP: 20th Century Architecture. BOTTOM LEFT & RIGHT: Sabbagh Gomez, 2024.

¹¹⁶ Le Corbusier's 1943 Athens' Charter is Le Corbusier's heavily edited version of these proceedings.

There were nine CIAM congresses, with their last one in 1959. By the 1960's, CIAM's doctrinaire approach was heavily criticised by a younger generation of CIAM called Team X, as well as the general public. Nonetheless, their functionalist ideas continued to be highly influential, and evidence of CIAM's impact can be found across the globe. For example, much of Gorton traditional Victorian urban grain, was considered "obsolete", and demolished in the post war era. This was replaced by affordable and functional version of the Radburn scheme. Whilst Radburn was strategically planned for diverse social backgrounds, in Gorton, the developments were overwhelmed by high deprivation. In these conditions, Stein's back to front houses did not work as intended, contributing to an increase of crime, as the street network lacked soft surveillance from nearby residences; the semi-public internal gardens, with their multiple footpaths were difficult to police and became contested zones. Point blocks centred in widely spaced landscape, also featured in Gorton, with the Wenlock Estate becoming one of the most notoriously outlaw housing estates in the country. Further details of the application of these doctrines in Manchester and Gorton is explored in the following subsections.

7.5.2 Introducing Health: Municipal Interventions late 19th Century

For all the technological advances that propelled Manchester out of the Middle Ages, rapid industrialisation and population growth had created severe housing issues, particularly amongst the working classes and the urban poor (Dodge, 2017). Inequality in living conditions had increased, as the rising middle class moved away into gated communities of suburban neighbourhoods towards the South and North of the city.

Most of the urban development of the industrial revolution had been unplanned, responding mostly to private profit interests. Manchester City Council first initiative to confront slum housing was in the form of a local Police Act in 1844, it seems that "the upper classes who dominated local government then viewed the problem as one, primarily, of public order" (Boughton, 2019). The act banned the construction of new back-to-backs, demanded increased sanitary provisions, and instructed the opening of the "foulest courts". At the end of the 19th, attempts to improve health through the built environment were bestowed to the Manchester City Corporation through legislative powers over housing standards and public health in 1980, and later the Housing and Town Planning Acts 1909 and 1919; which enabled local authorities to build their own council houses. A result of these initiatives is Victoria Square Oldham Road Building (1889-1894), the first council housing development. Victoria Square is a 5-storey tenement building in Ancoats to the North of the city centre, an area that had been plagued with some of the worst examples of back-to-back dwellings in the city. Its design follows the traditional perimeter block European trends at the time.

"Each tenement is provided with a well-ventilated food store and coal locker; dust shoots are provided in convenient positions in the back wall; one WC and sink is provided for every two dwellings, which is a disadvantage; and automatic or 'penny-in-the-slot' gas meters are supplied to each dwelling" (Quoted in Roberts, 1993).



Figure 7.33: Victoria Square Building, 1889 – 1894, Oldham Road, Ancoats, Manchester. SOURCE, LEFT: [Manchester Victorian Architects.org.uk](https://manchestervictorianarchitects.org.uk), RIGHT: Historic England, Ancoats.

Thomas Marr deemed this development ‘successful’, as it decreased mortality rate by 39% (Marr, 1904). However, Victoria Square, in the eyes of the council, failed to meet expectations. It was built to house 825 people, but was never fully occupied, due to relatively high rents (Boughton, 2019). It was only one of three schemes built by the corporation. Early municipal interventions did not reach Gorton, although, due its late development and the application of early by-laws, it also eluded the abysmal housing conditions seen in Ancoats.

In 1904, Thomas Marr completed his Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford book, documenting and mapping the full extent of the housing problem, by assessing the ‘healthiness’ of Victorian dwellings; his map of Manchester and Salford reveals the radial patterns that had risen from reactive market development, with the worst living conditions, immediately surrounding the industrial core.

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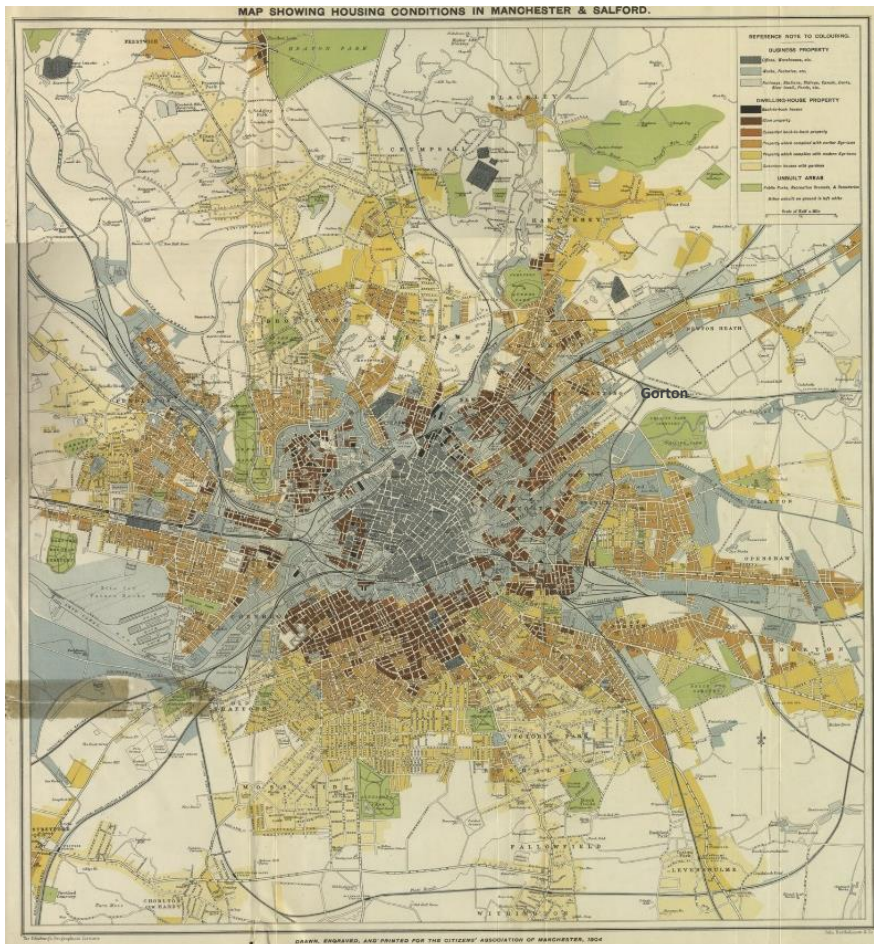


Figure 7.34: Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford, Thomas Marr 1904.
SOURCE: AlexSingletonUCL

Thomas Marr¹¹⁷ also provided evidence, in the form of medical opinion and meticulous house surveys, of a relationship between high mortality rate and darkness, dampness, lack of sanitary provisions, and crucially with high density. It was, perhaps, these early hypotheses which sowed the seeds for the collective social value for low density development and urban sprawl that plagued the mid-20th century cities, cementing aspirational ideas of wealth with images of health, wellbeing, and happiness away from the urban core.

¹¹⁷ Marr's study is not alone, from Engels to Booth's 1889 Poverty Maps of London, similar relationships between housing conditions and wellbeing were found.

7.5.3 Slum clearances and city sprawl

The following Housing Act 1919, gave local authorities, not only powers to tackle poor housing but responsibilities to do so. Nonetheless, it was the private development sector that responded first. The Garden suburbs movement began to take roots in the outskirts of the city centre. Chorltonville, for example was designed with a focus on health and wellbeing, by maximising light, fresh air, and low density. Though socially minded, the movement was aimed at the middle classes, and “had a negligible impact on the wider landscape of the insanitary conditions of the lower-class families” (Dodge, 2017:24).



Figure 7.35: Map of Chorltonville, 1923 Source: National Library of Scotland
SOURCE: National Library of Scotland

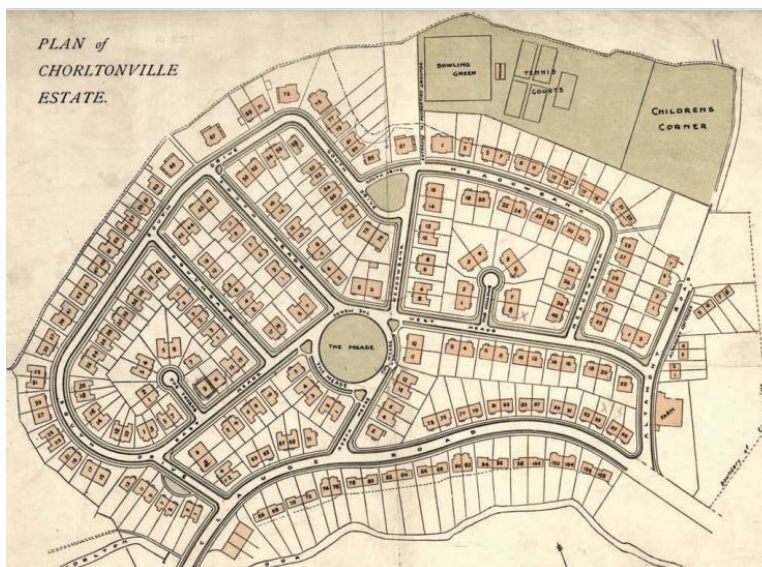


Figure 7.36: Original plan for Chorltonville with homes and gardens around 'the Meade' or village green.

SOURCE: Manchester City Archives via Dodge (2017)

Lack of available land in the city centre, meant that the Manchester corporation focussed its efforts away from the urban core, as illustrated by Max Tetlow Map of 1935. Also depicted on Tetlow's map, is the slum belt, conspicuously similar to Marr's thirty years earlier.

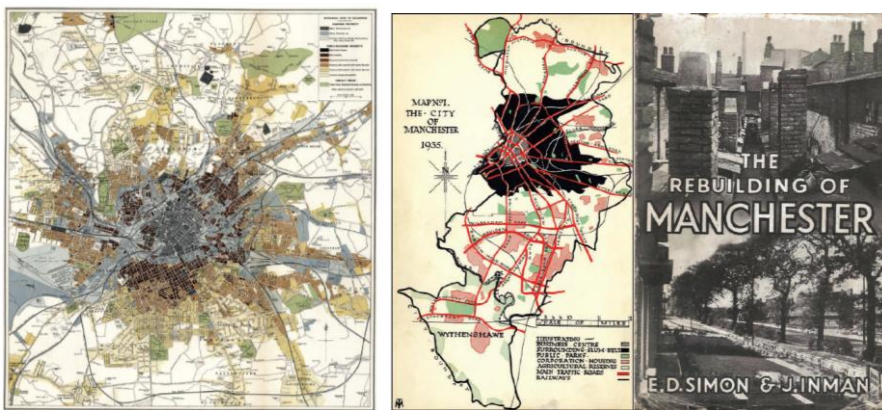


Figure 7.37: Cartographic illustration of the state of housing in Manchester. LEFT: Housing Conditions in Manchester and Salford, Thomas Marr 1904. SOURCE: AlexSingletonUCL Note dark areas around city centre correlating with similar patterns in map taken from the 1935 book 'The Rebuilding of Manchester' Simon and Inman (Right) SOURCE: Dodge (2017)

As in many other British cities, the post war era brought renewed efforts to increase and improve housing stocks. Despite 99 years had passed since the local Police Act of 1844 Manchester city centre and its vicinities, were still overwhelmed with unplanned Victorian slums. The urgency to improve working class condition and re-house returning personnel, increased pressure for clearances.

7.5.4 From Post War to Present Day: Urban Interventions in Manchester and Gorton

The urban sprawl that had started with the suburbanisation of middle classes, was now accelerated by the 1950's decentralisation, following mass relocation schemes to enable slum clearances. 50% of Hulme, some 50,000 people, for example, were relocated to Wythenshawe Garden village (Dodge, 2017). Echoes of the well-meaning, but simple solutions -space, light, air- proposed by Marr and his contemporaries featured as key design drivers for the overspill satellite estates, whilst the more complex phenomena of fragmented social networks and spatial mismatch were overlooked. In the idealistic garden village of Wythenshawe, new residents suffered from loneliness (Dodge, 2017).

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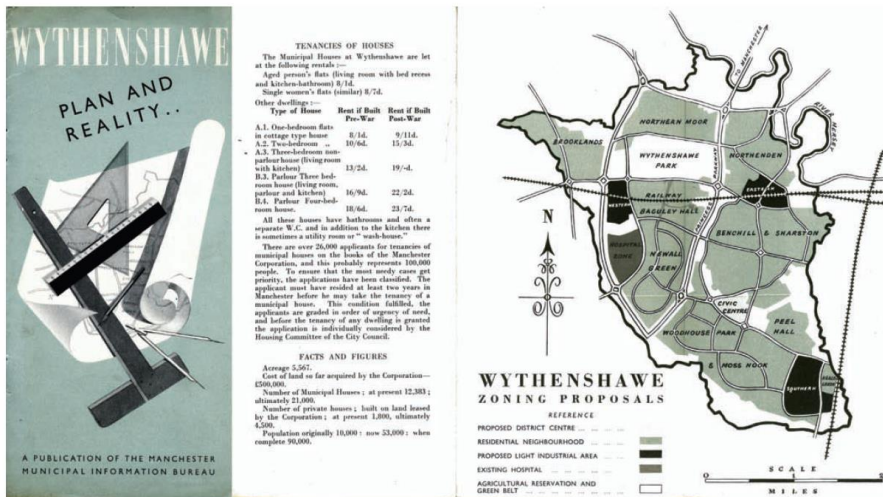


Figure 7.38: Promotional brochure for the new garden suburb of Wythenshawe c.1953
SOURCE: Manchester City Archives via Dodge (2017)

In the 1960's conditions continue to deteriorate, as rapid economic decline was added to the mix. The textile and manufacturing industry that had propelled Manchester into a world leading city, was now irrevocably lost to international markets. In addition to de-industrialisation, mass immigration from commonwealth countries and the growth of female workforce, were also changing demographic patterns significantly.

Gorton had been earmarked for 'comprehensive redevelopment' in 1967, and its radical re-structuring came with the 1960's central Government plans for new towns and overspill estates.

"Families from inner city neighbourhoods like Longsight, Gorton, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Collyhurst, and Miles Platting were moved to the rural outskirts" (Halle-Richards, 2019).

One such an estate was the Hattersley overspill estate in Hyde. Built on 480 acres of greenfield site, it housed 12,000¹¹⁸ relocated residents. Due to the dwindling economic funds and the rapid construction timescales, this generation of satellite towns were aesthetically more austere, and perhaps lack the charm of their garden villages predecessors. The conditions of Gortonians and other relocated inner-city residents did not improve following the relocation, as they had to endure social and economic isolation. Relocations were done piecemeal and, friends and families often found themselves in opposite sides of the estate, shredding existing support networks. Poor transport links kept them away

¹¹⁸ Including infamous Gortonian Myra Hyndley.

from employment opportunities. It is perhaps unsurprising, that Hattersley, and its contemporaries such as Heywood or Longdendale, suffered gravely from deprivation, anti-social behaviour and criminality (Dodge, 2017).



Figure 7.39: The Hattersley estate during the 1960s
SOURCE: Mirropix via Manchester Evening News.co.uk (7.4.2019)

Not all new developments were based on low density estates. High density complexes were introduced to inner city neighbourhoods.

Gorton's most notorious example was the Wenlock Court in West Gorton, which included 826 homes, in the form of point blocks, surrounded by a Radburn inspired estate. Wenlock Court was demolished in 2014 following the TV comedy series *Shameless*, which depict the deprivation, low aspirations, and lawlessness of the tight knit community.



Figure 7.40: Wenlock Court in background and the filming location for the *Chatsworth Estate*. SOURCE: *Liverpool Echo* (19.11.2022)



Figure 7.41: Wenlock Court demolition and new build housing completed. SOURCE: *Manchester Evening News*

Other point blocks in Gorton, Abbey Court in Abbey Hey, continue to be used for social housing to this day.



Figure 7.42: View of Abbey Court from Longford St, c.1987, with maisonettes (now demolished)
SOURCE: Tower Block.aca.ed.ac.uk, The University of Edinburgh

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<https://www.towerblock.eca.ed.ac.uk/>



Figure 7.43: View of refurbished and extended Abbey Court from Longford St, present day, with new build housing. SOURCE: Google Maps

7.6 Summary

The approach to urban development in Manchester contrasts that of Copenhagen by its marginal consideration to the historical and social context, and the lack of a single coherent long-term approach (Canniffe, 2016) . As noted by Dr. Robertson, a Manchester surgeon, giving evidence to the Parliamentary Committee on the Health of Towns in 1840: "Manchester is a huge overgrown village, built according to no definite plan. [...] The interests and convenience of the manufacturers have determined the growth of the town and the manner of that growth, while the comfort, health and happiness have not been considered." (quoted in Bradshaw, 1987). Unlike Copenhagen, Manchester's urban growth during the industrial revolution had little historical pattern to guide -or hinder- commercial growth.

Nonetheless, Manchester presented the blueprint for the modern metropolis, accommodation mass transport of good and people infrastructure and new architectural typologies to responding to birth mass production industrial processes.

Heavy industry declined and left Manchester and Gorton in the first half of the 20th century. During the post war era, a number of urban renewal strategies were tested across Manchester to replace low quality Victorian building stock and increase (vehicular) infrastructure across the city. Established communities in Gorton were relocated to new town away from Gorton and the city centre. At the same time, within Gorton, point blocks and Radburn inspired estates were created, further disrupting the existing social networks and urban patterns. Gorton went from being aspirational working-class location to one of the most deprived areas in England.

On the other hand, Copenhagen's strategic geo-political location led to a well-established and defence orientated medieval urban grid, that later on limited the opportunities for growth -as infrastructure could not be easily accommodated. Instead of following mainstream post-war trends, Copenhagen urban design development moved to the future by looking back. Following original theoretical references, such as Olmsted Emerald Necklace, Copenhagen raised the value and impact of its public space, and transformed the city into one of the most liveable places in the world. For Copenhagen, quality public space has since become a cornerstone of city's liveability agenda, both physically and socially.

In contrast to Copenhagen's consideration for public space, Manchester, the value of public space is less clear. Low levels of investment have meant that the city has offered much of its public land to private developers in return for maintenance. Furthermore, areas of high deprivation such as Gorton, has been littered with ill-considered Radburn and functionalist post-war developments, where low value public spaces have become contested zones, often magnets for incivilities and conflict. It is the believe of this researcher that lessons from Copenhagen could be of benefit to Manchester, and this is the premise of this thesis.

Chapter 8

Theme Report and Discussion

8.1 Introduction:

'Design is the human capacity to shape and make our environments in ways that satisfy our needs and give meaning to our lives' (Professor John Heskett, 1937-2014)

8.1.1 Themes introduction

This theme report presents the discussion of three final themes and their associated sub-themes.

The three themes discussed in this thesis will explore how these values impact relationships between groups and how they order and articulate the urban fabric at neighbourhood level; whether to acknowledge and reflect those values or to omit or suppress them.

Theme 1 – Dynamic Values: will explore narratives at macro and micro scales: from exposing the wider institutional mechanisms that support, or try to control or suppress spatial injustice, such unequal distribution of resources, as well as analysing how spatial injustice is reflected at neighbourhood level by analysing lived experiences of conflict and friction in the community. Followed by a conceptual discussion of values and wellbeing.

Theme 2 – Space to Meet: focus on meso and micro levels by analysing local policy and their subsequent spatial manifestation. Drawing on values and needs of the Gorton community discussed in Theme 1, Theme 2 explores the principles and characteristics of Danish exemplar urban spaces that aim to tackle comparable needs, with a specific focus on spaces to meet, articulating values, and negotiating differences.

Theme 3 – Creative Dialogue: extends the propositions explored in Theme 2, by discussing the engagement processes and power dynamics that support the creation or reorganisation of space at neighbourhood level, with an emphasis on creative dialogue, language, and democracy

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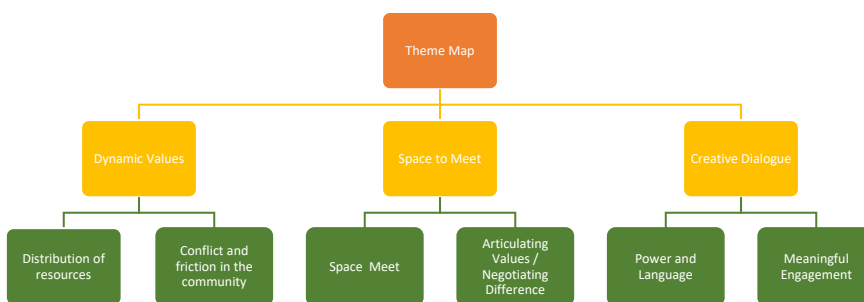


Figure 8.1: Overall Theme Diagram

8.1.2 Contextual factors, data gathering and the role of multiple identities

The three final themes introduced in the previous section were generated predominantly from primary data collected from a total of 22No. participant interviews, including residents, community leaders, council officers, and designers in Manchester and Copenhagen. Primary data was supported by the urban and historical analysis, literature review and national survey data.

In advance of the following theme report discussion, this sub-section aims to briefly reflect on key contextual factors of both cases, with particular attention to the role of multiple local identities played in the gathering of the data set. For example, contextual factors such as trust and commitment to neighbourhood played a key role; in Gorton, where levels of trust are low, opportunistic sampling was largely unsuccessful. Engaging and establishing a positive relationship with community gatekeepers¹¹⁹ played a strategic role at reaching the local community in Gorton, by facilitating introductions of further participants. Snowball sampling was an effective strategy for collecting data and becoming familiar with the subtle social layers of the Gorton community.

On the other hand, Denmark is a country that has relatively high levels of trust (OECD, 2024). This was reflected in the confidence with which members of the public participated in this research without a gatekeeper introduction. Due to time pressures at the time of visiting, and the relative success of opportunistic sampling, snowball sampling was not pursued as intensely as in Gorton. In hindsight, this could have been beneficial in order to engage with hard-to-reach communities. Unfortunately, further visits had to be cancelled following Covid-14 lockdowns.

Although all participants interviewed for this research were fluent in the English language, language was the leading contextual factor that influenced the gathering of the data set.

Language bias was a particular concern when devising a sampling strategy for Denmark (refer to section 4.9-4.11 for more details on methods and limitations). However, the command of the English language across samples was found to be very high, and language did not pose a significant barrier to data collection in Denmark. Participants engaged from all sampling strategies (purposeful, snowball and opportunistic) were able to understand the interviewer with ease, as well as express their views clearly and eloquently regardless of their professional, social or cultural background.

Paradoxically, language as a contextual factor did impact the gathering of data in Manchester. To ease the conversation, vocabulary used had to be adapted when engaging with participants related to Gorton to suit individual identities; key terms had to be explained, their meaning reduced or simplified, or altogether replaced. For example:

All participants from Danish sampling sets demonstrated a confident understanding of key terms such as wellbeing, health, urban design and public space; consequently, and they were able to discuss nuances against their views and lived experiences. Grasp of the same terms appeared to be less comprehensive in Gorton:

¹¹⁹ The community gatekeepers are hugely committed individuals that are well known and trusted through all circles.

- **Urban design:** With the exception of designers and local authority, all other Gorton case participants (9 out of 13) about the meaning of “urban design”, and/or its application in relation to Gorton. To ease the conversation, the term “urban Design” was replaced by “design of neighbourhoods” during Gorton interviews of non-expert participants. This narrowed the lived experiences of these participants to local or micro scale of urban design. For parity in the data set, non-expert Danish narratives were kept to local or neighbourhood experiences too.
- **Public space:** 9 out of 13 participants were felt confused when term public space was used. To ease the conversation, public space was referred to as “parks” (greenspace), which in these instances, reduced the data set of experiences to a single typology of public space. When definition was broadened to encompass other spaces where public could freely gather, participants included private commercial space (Tesco, the Market, or local pubs) into the definition, which widened the meaning and the narratives beyond public space. These controversies are discussed fully in Theme 2.
- **Wellbeing and health:** Wellbeing was widely used across all participants. Although, health and wellbeing were often used as interchangeable terms, there appeared to be no consensus on the definition of wellbeing. The term wellbeing was not adjusted to suit multiple identities, instead the multiple understandings of wellbeing were used to recognise the multiple values across the sample sets. This is discussed fully in Theme 1.

Contextual factors were not limited to the primary data gathering set, as investigating existing data from Copenhagen presented the research with unexpected controversies. For example, the type of policy documents that are published *without* an English translation. On the surface, it appears that most documents are conveniently accompanied by an English version (this was also the expectation of all expert and local authority participants). However, this researcher noticed some inconspicuous, but poignant differences in the institutional documents published *without* translations. Scale was the first factor: neighbourhood scale policies or small urban and public space interventions were often only available in Danish language, in contrast to large, city or national initiatives. It could be argued that this corresponds to the prospective reach of the information. However, this also included neighbourhood scale demographic data. As an external agent probing beyond the surface, this raised questions about transparency, but also control. In addition, policies and public initiatives easily available in multiple languages and sources, overwhelmingly supported positive messages about high wellbeing and social cohesion. Perhaps most controversially of all is the Ghetto listen, which is part of a national policy to identify and list low performing ethnic minority neighbourhoods (which are then subject to special measures). The Ghetto listen is published yearly and exclusively in Danish, despite disproportionately affecting residents with a non-Danish background, living in communities labelled “parallel societies”, where Danish is thought not to be widely spoken. It appears then, that the ability to communicate inside and outside Danish society and the strategic use of English language in Denmark, is perhaps exploited as a tool to promote a certain kind of image of Denmark, but not the whole picture.

8.1.3 Key locations maps

The following maps of Nørrebro and Gortonpark aim to geolocate the key locations of assets and resources discussed in this report.

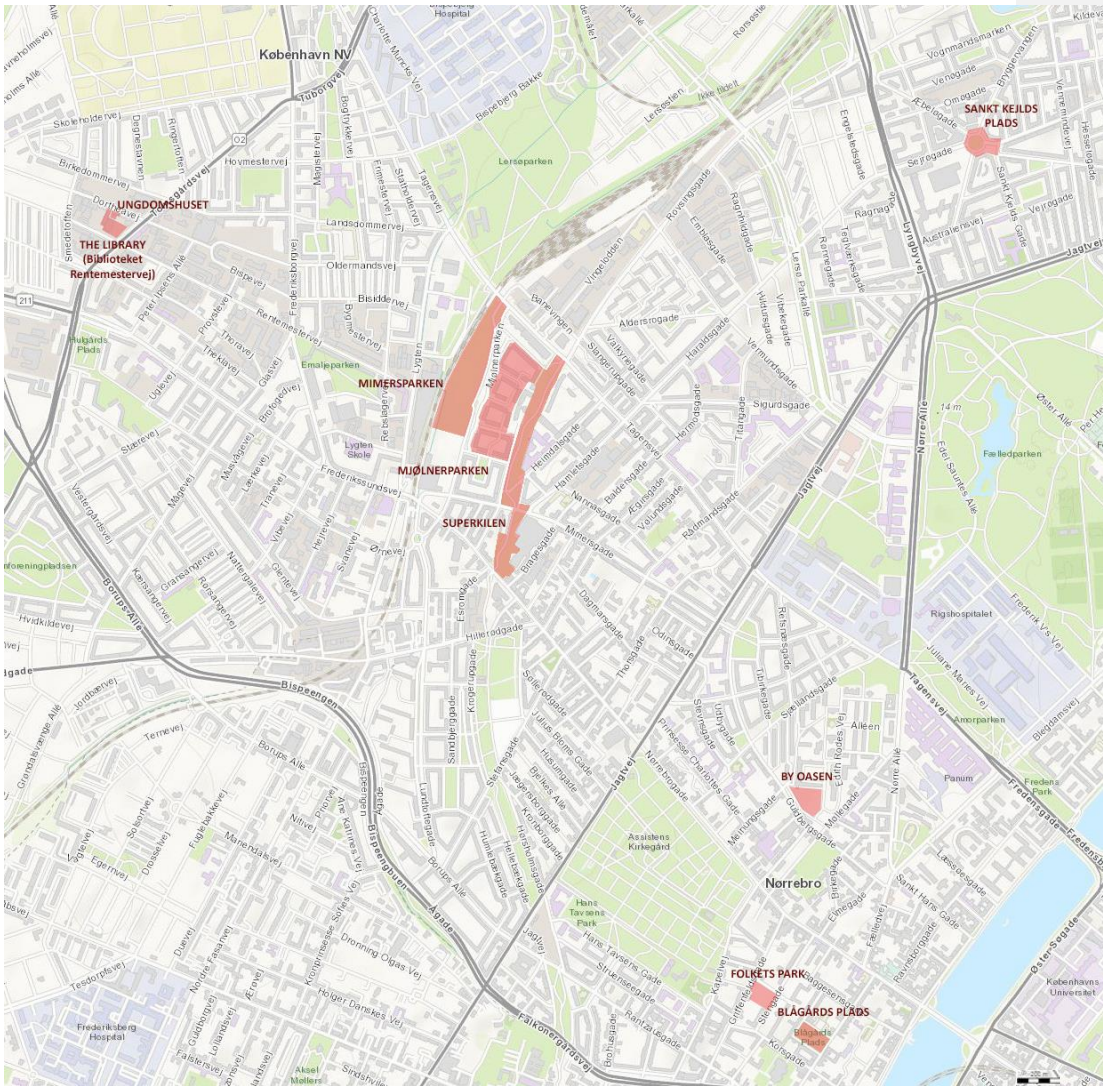


Figure 8.2: Nørrebro key locations map



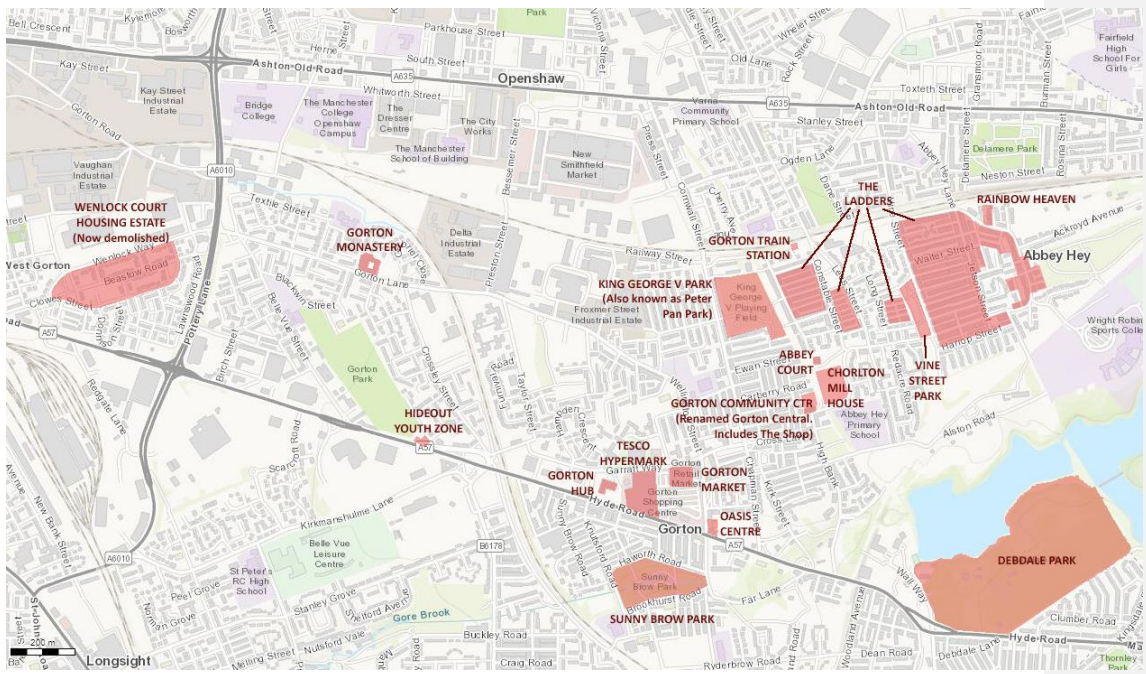


Figure 8.3: Gorton & Abbey Hey key locations map



8.2 Theme 1: Dynamic¹²⁰ Values¹²¹

8.2.1 Theme 1 Introduction

"If anybody's in a public service organisation wishes to argue with me that their purpose isn't ultimately geared towards the wellbeing of residents in the neighbourhood, I would say they shouldn't even be there." GRT_LA1

GRT_LA1 is a senior public servant in the Manchester area, whose job description includes overseeing the implementation of policy at neighbourhood level. In their opinion, increasing wellbeing is at the core of the Council's purpose. This sentiment resonates with other participants. In fact, no participants of this research contested the value of promoting wellbeing at neighbourhood level. This finding, however, may not be entirely unexpected, as a positive interest in wellbeing could have been a driver to participate in this study. Conversely, understanding what that value is, and whose values to promote (and whose values are left behind), was less explicit. The narratives of this theme indicate that, values at neighbourhood level, much like wellbeing, are a multi-dimensional construct.

As discussed in Chapter 2, European wellbeing models are influenced by a theoretical rift that can be traced back to Ancient Greece: from the hedonic notions of pleasure and happiness as absence of pain, to eudaimic concepts that follow Aristotle's pursue of justice, kindness and personal growth as a path to the 'good life' (Henderson & Knight, 2012; Ryan & Deci, 2001), wellbeing is a complex web of multiple dimensions that scholars, Seligman (2011) to Csikszentmihalyi (2014), have tried to unravel into well-defined theoretical constructs.

However, reflecting on the collection of data during for this research, it seems that the understanding of wellbeing at neighbourhood level, is seldom burdened by the desire to unpick or define those dimensions; participants of this research understand and used the word wellbeing as an umbrella term that covered a multitude of concepts, from mental and physical health, quality of life, education, social cohesion or any other indicator or outcome that might lead to happiness through Aristotle's definition of a 'good life'¹²².

GRT_LA1: [...] when you sort of go through this, you know, why are you doing this? What's the point of getting people higher skills? So, you can get a job or get a better job. But why would we want to do that? All of the questions eventually lead to: because it's a wellbeing outcome. Each organization I might challenge, -and I have to chair meetings where we have a range of different partners from social housing

Commented [SGA107]: To describe them as 'fluid' would rather imply that values are formless, and inactive concepts that can be contain and easily take the shape they are given.

¹²⁰ Values are described as dynamic, as it is considered that they respond and transform in response to institutional mechanisms, social processes, and environmental and geographical factors.

¹²¹ The definition of values, in this thesis, follows Granovetter's description: "Value are a broad concept about what the good life and good society consists of, from which the more specific and situationally orientated norms, may in principle inferred" (2017, p. 37) .

¹²² Refer to Chapter 2.

landlords, the police, health, employment, Fire Service- one of the sort of things I've learned is that it all eventually comes back to wellbeing.

The report of this theme seeks not to curtail the complexities of wellbeing, but to embrace its dynamism as experienced and understood by the participants. To do that, this thematic analysis had to take a step back, to consider the individual and collective values of the community that can influence wellbeing outcomes. Key values found through participant narratives are health (physical and mental), basic needs (food, shelter, stability), safety, relationships, purpose, community, social cohesion, privacy, respect, trust, and dignity.

This theme aims to reflect on the motives behind the strategies to promote wellbeing at the neighbourhood scale. This theme argues that key neighbourhood values that affect wellbeing, often overlap and conflict within and between urban scales from neighbourhood, to city, to national levels; and from individual, to group and cultural perspectives. To do so, this theme first discusses lived experiences of (un)equal distribution of resources that might impact wellbeing outcomes, and the affects it has on social relationships across groups in the community. The institutional systems that lead to spatial injustice, frame the needs of the community, setting the context for the discussion of consequent themes.

Following the discussion about spatial injustice in Gorton and Nørrebro, this theme will continue with an analysis of conflict and friction in the community. This section aims to illustrate how the inequality that is sustained by the implementation or omission of wider institutional mechanisms, are revealed at neighbourhood level.

Theme 1 report will conclude with a discussion about the dynamism of values, and how the complex experience of life in Gorton and Nørrebro is position within the conceptual theories explored in the literature review.

“There are many different ways of achieving well-being. How you compare those different approaches on a scale is something I don't know. If well-being is truly multi-dimensional, then policy-makers will have to make judgement calls. It's a value judgement which aspect of well-being you decide is more important” (Kahneman, 2011).

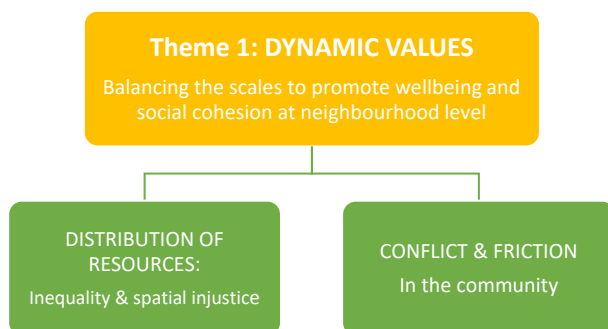


Figure 8.4: Theme 1 Diagram

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8.2.2 Theme 1 Codes:

THEME	T1 - DYNAMIC VALUES		
DESCRIPTION	Balancing the scales to promote wellbeing and social cohesion at neighbourhood level		
CATEGORIES	VALUES	CONCEPT	PROCESS
CODES	Wellbeing & health gap	Conflict: Social fragmentation	Spatial equality
	Greenspace	Social Anxiety: Fear of otherness	Challenging market forces
		Casual contact	Gentrification
			Planning for diversity
			Building evidence

Figure 8.5: Theme 1 Codes Table

8.2.3 Distribution of resources: Inequality & spatial injustice

Local authority participants in both settings highlighted persistent low outcomes in the neighbourhoods of Nørrebro and Gorton. Unequal distribution of resources reveals a pattern of spatial injustice. Although both neighbourhoods are considered amongst the ‘worst off’ relative to their local and national context, Gorton suffers more acutely.

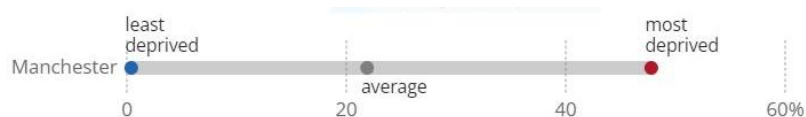
In Gorton, a neighbourhood coloured by a history of limited resources, participants’ experiences on efforts to promote wellbeing and increase health and quality of life, brought up issues of coordination of assets to meet basic needs, and competition for resources.

Participant GRT_LA2, a council officer with in-depth knowledge of Gorton and Abbey Hey, noted:

GRT_LA2: Abbey Hey is a priority [area] that... it kind of sits high up in red in the indices of a lot of things, like deprivation, ill health, worklessness, health and wellbeing, all those things, it is kind of like... it is quite high up on a lot of things. There is a lot of red flags.

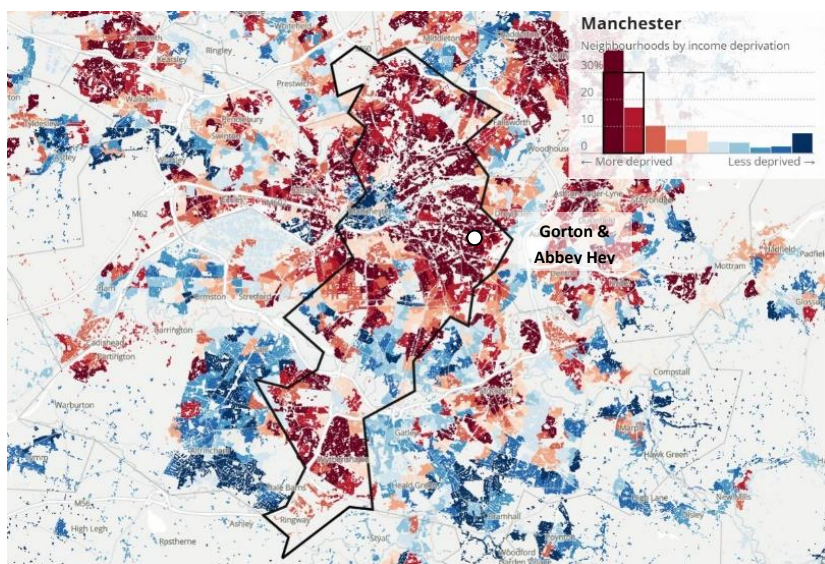
The “red flags” of Gorton and Abbey Hey that GRT_LA2 refers to, reveal the level of spatial inequality across England and within the Manchester area.

According to the ONS Income Deprivation Index¹²³ (2019), Manchester City Council ranks number 8¹²⁴, of the most income-deprived local authorities in England, with 21.9% income deprived population. This figure, however, is not evenly distributed within the Manchester wards. The Income Deprivation Index has an internal disparity of 47.4 percentage points, as it ranges from 0.4% in the city's least deprived neighbourhoods to 47.8 % in the most deprived areas.



Range and population weighted average of income deprivation levels for neighbourhoods within Manchester

Figure 8.6: Income Deprivation in Manchester: Local extremes



SOURCE: ONS.gov.uk Visualisations (2021a)

Figure 8.7: Income Deprivation in Manchester Neighbourhoods

SOURCE: ONS.gov.uk Visualisations (ONS, 2021a)

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¹²³ This index includes people who are out-of-work and those with low income that may qualify for means tested benefits such as Universal Credit or legacy benefits such as Working Tax Credits.

¹²⁴ In addition, Manchester ranks No.6, in terms of Average Score and No. 2 in Average Rank in the 2019 Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) prepared by Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government (MHCLG). IMD includes income deprivation, employment deprivation, education, skills and training deprivation, health deprivation and disability, crime, barriers to housing and services and living environment deprivation. (Manchester City Council, Indices of Deprivation 2019, in consultation with Performance, Research & Intelligence (PRI) Chief Executive's Department 2019.

Looking at the Index of Multiple Deprivation¹²⁵ (IMD), 45% of Manchester districts are amongst the most deprived in the North West (MHCLG, 2019; PRI & MCC, 2019b). Gorton and Abbey Hey rank 4th amongst the Manchester wards, with average score of 51.2%. The IMD is an overall relative measure of deprivation that combines seven domains of deprivation. Below are the Gorton and Abbey Hey Ward ranks¹²⁶ (PRI & MCC, 2019a) in relation to all 32 Manchester wards (1 being the worst, 32 highest in Manchester City Council).

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Intelligence Hub MCC

INDEX OF MULTIPLE DEPRIVATION (IMD) GORTON AND ABBEY HEY WARD	
IMD Domains	RANKING (Out of 32 Manchester wards)
Overall IMD	4
Crime	4
Living Environment Deprivation	5
Income Deprivation	6
Employment Deprivation Rank	9
Education, Skills and Training Deprivation	9
Barriers to Housing and Services	11
Health Deprivation and Disability	12

Figure 8.8: Index of Multiple Deprivation Table: Gorton and Abbey Hey Ward Ranking
Table by author. Scores Source: Manchester City Council Via Intelligence Hub, Manchester Statistics, 2019

Crime, living environment and income deprivation are within the top ranks for the Manchester area. Employment, Education, Health and Barriers to access Housing and services, score slightly better, but still within the top half.

Delving deeper into those three top IMD domains, it is worth noting that over half of all the crimes committed in Gorton (56%), are related to aggressive behaviour against a person/s and/or anti-social values: Violent and sexual offences (29.5%), Anti-social behaviour (13.6%), and Public Order (12.9%). These figures highlight the need to increase social cohesion along with wellbeing in Gorton.

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¹²⁵ All data related to IMD and its domains by MHCLG, 2019. Ward scores prepared for Manchester City Council (MCC) by Performance, Research and Intelligence (PRI). Published via Intelligence Hub Dashboard, MCC.

¹²⁶ MHCLG, Crown copyright 2019 (Via Intelligence Hub, Manchester Statistics). Scores derived by Manchester City Council to measure deprivation in Manchester wards are as a guide only. Ward level data are not officially recognised by MHCLG.

The Living Environment Deprivation Domain which measures the quality of the local indoor and outdoor environment, is over-represented by the indoors measures of quality of housing, ranking 6 out of 32, whilst the outdoor environment (measured by pollution and traffic accidents) ranks much better at 17 out of 32.

The Income Deprivation Domain includes people that are out-of-work, and those who have low earnings (and who satisfy the respective means tests). Gorton's rank within Manchester 32 wards is No. 6, and it is within the worst 10% of England.

To GRT_LC1 & 2, two policymakers who have worked extensively for the local council representing the views of the Gorton community, it was not the extensive number of needs that they found most frustrating, but the steady decline of resources and central Government support to meet those needs:

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GRT_LC2: [...] and we can talk all day about what we need what we want. What we can get is, possibly a different thing. Because, this Government over the last 10 years took £400m out of Manchester, and that in any one's reason, is an awful lot of money, if we could have that £400m, over the last ten years, a lot of what we are looking to do now, would of already been done. [...] There would of been no danger about that.

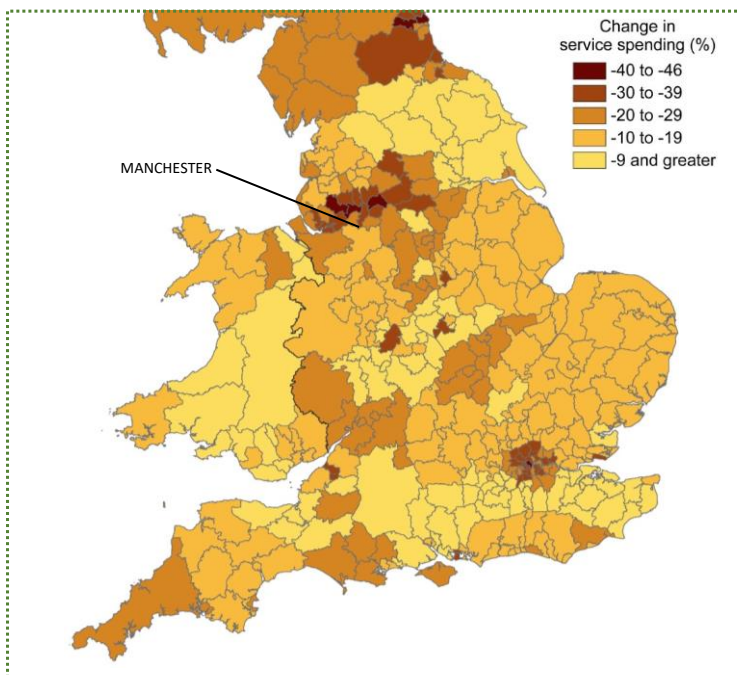


Figure 8.9: Map of change in service spending in England, 2009-10 to 2016-17
SOURCE: Gray & Barford, 2018

All local council participants agreed that the financial support available could not cover the needs of all the residents.

On the other hand, Denmark enjoys a comprehensive welfare policy which has led to one of the lowest poverty figures in Europe. According to the Eurostat indicators, At Risk Poverty Rate in Denmark was 12.7% in 2019, whilst the EU average was 21.1%. This figure has continued to decline in Denmark, although not as sharply as it has in the Euro zone. In 2022, At Risk Poverty Rate was down to 12.4% in Denmark, whilst the EU average reached 17%.

Despite the low levels of poverty at national level, CPH_LA1 architect and senior public servant in Copenhagen, stresses that pockets of low outcomes, such as low employment, and low education, continue to exist in Copenhagen. CPH_LA1 highlights the areas of Nørrebro and Bispebjerg, where these outcomes have seen a marked improvement in recent years, yet the inequality gap is increasing in relation to the surrounding districts.

CPH_LA1: here, we see that the deprived areas that it's going up, but we also see that the rest of the city is going even further up. So, the gap is actually getting even bigger, but it doesn't mean that the deprived areas as such, are sort of going down. It is actually social economically going better, but it's still not keeping up.

According to Københavns Kommunes Statistikbank, unemployment in Nørrebro reached a high note in 2013 of 12.4% following the global financial crash in 2008. For comparison purposes, its neighbours Bispebjerg, Osterbro, and Indre By reached unemployment rates of 12%, 8.23% and 7.4%. By 2019, unemployment had decreased to 9.1% and 9% in Nørrebro and Bispebjerg, whilst the neighbouring districts of Indre By and Osterbro unemployment ratios was reduced to 5.4% and 6% respectively.



Figure 8.10: Copenhagen District Plan
SOURCE: (Cömertler, 2017)

Moreover, the Statistikbank graph below shows a clear over-representation of the total number of unemployed in Nørrebro for at last 15 years when compared the other Copenhagen districts, including neighbouring Bispebjerg.

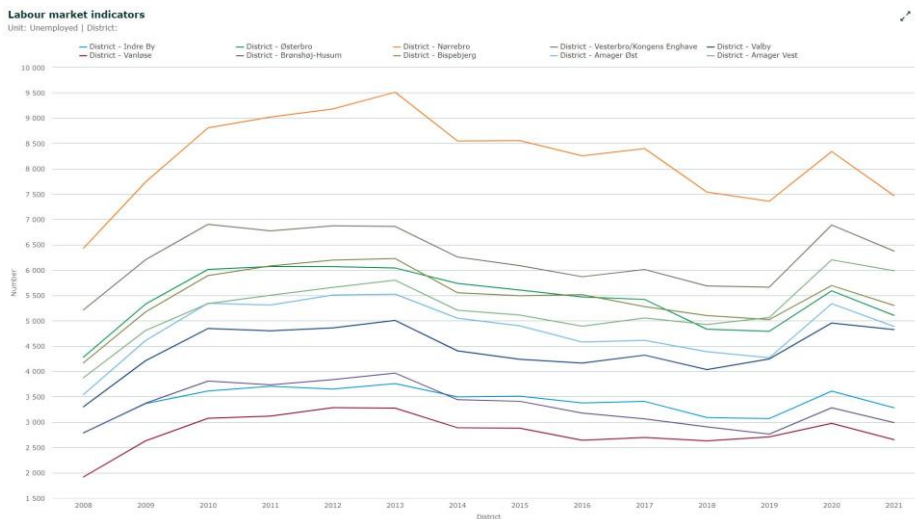


Figure 8.11: Total Number of Unemployed in all districts of the City of Copenhagen (Yearly).
SOURCE: City of Copenhagen, [kk.statistikbank.dk/KKLEDIG4](https://www.statistikbank.dk/KKLEDIG4), 2021

Spatial Inequality is compounded by the low wages of those who are employed, as Nørrebro has the second lowest average income per person (+14 years) in the City of Copenhagen (Statistikbank, 2018).

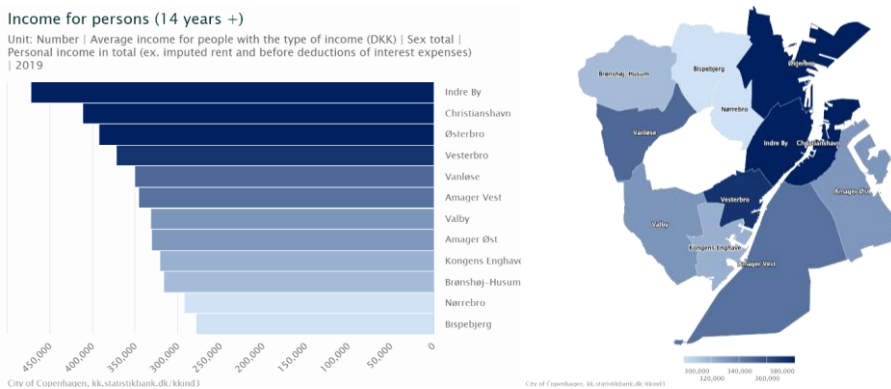


Figure 8.12: Average Personal Income per person (+14yrs) in all districts of the City of Copenhagen, 2019.
SOURCE: City of Copenhagen, [kk.statistikbank.dk/kkind3](https://www.statistikbank.dk/kkind3)

In 2019, the Minister of Transport, Building and Housing identified 40 vulnerable areas across

Denmark. National policy takes particular interest in the ethnicity¹²⁷ of low outcomes areas. 28 of these were given a 'ghetto'¹²⁸ designation due to the high percentage of non-Western and non-Western descendants living in the area. 6 of those (21%) were located in Copenhagen, half of which were in or around Nørrebro, including Mjølnerparken, the only neighbourhood in Copenhagen that still features in the Ghetto-listen of December 2022.

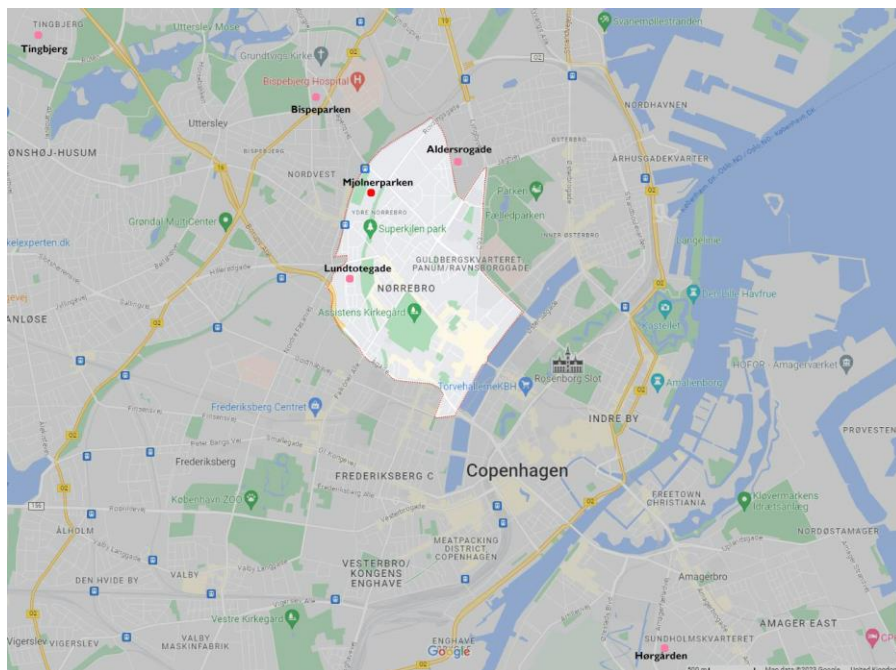


Figure 8.13: Ghetto-listen areas, Copenhagen, 2019 (pink dots) & 2022 (red dot).

SOURCE: Minister of Transport, Building and Housing. Map by author.

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¹²⁷ Under the Public Housing Act, the Minister of Transport, Building and Housing, determines the "Ghetto-listen" once a year. This is a list of areas with at least 1,000 public housing residents where the proportion of immigrants and descendants from non-Western countries exceeds 50% and meet at least 2 of the following 4 criteria:

- Over 40% unemployment amongst 18-64-year-olds (average for the past 2 years).
- The number of criminal convictions exceeds 2.70% of 18 and over (average for the past 2 years).
- Low education attainment exceeds 50% of residents aged 30-59 years old.
- The average gross income for taxpayers aged 15-64 in the area is below 55% of the average gross income for the same group in the region.

¹²⁸ The word ghetto has been revised to 'parallel societies', 'transformation areas', 'exposed areas' and 'prevention areas' in more recent versions of these policy. (BL, 2023)

Mjølnerparken Ghettolisten Criteria	Residents (over 1000)	Unemployed (over 40%)	Convicted criminals (over 2.7%)	Basic education only (over 50%)	Average income below region's average (below 55%)
2018	1694	41.9	2.16	77.4	49.9
2019	1659	38	2.02	75.2	49.6
2020	1493	36.1	2.34	74.5	48.3
2021	1429	36.6	2.69	71.5	49.2
2022	1225	37.8	2.39	70.6	47.9

Figure 8.14: Mjølnerparken (Nørrebro) Ghettolisten Outcomes 2018-2022.

SOURCE: The Minister of Transport, Building and Housing City of Copenhagen, via Ghettolistens (to 2022. Table by author.

The table above confirms CPH_LA1 narrative about Mjølnerparken: "It is actually social economically going better, but it's still not keeping up". Data from the Minister of Transport, Building and Housing 2018-2022 show Mjølnerparken's outcomes improving over the last 5 years. For example, unemployment is slowly declining, and so is the percentage of residents with only basic education. Average income, however has also declined (although this could be related to the increased number of low education residents being employed). Crime has increased, but continues to be below the critical threshold of 2.7%. Notably, the number of residents has seen a steady decline, reaching a drop of 28% from 2018 to 2022.

At the time of data collection for this research, the continued existence of pockets of deprivation in Denmark, found itself at a political crossroads, with introduction of the 2018 Rasmussen's hard-line policies¹²⁹ to end ghettos by 2030, which sought to be implemented from 2020 onwards¹³⁰.

This policy will see a shift towards uncompromising, top-down approaches, that aggressively manipulate the social and ethnic mix of vulnerable residential areas to enforce a target of no more than 40% concentration of poverty.

CPH_LA1: It's the Government pushing the whole ghetto debate and basically making the... forcing the City to go along with that agenda. We would not call it a Ghetto, if we [had the choice].

[...] the Government is pushing so hard that we cannot, we just need to follow along. A lot of the areas that have ghettos [listing] need to be changed so

¹²⁹ One Denmark without Parallel Societies: No Ghettos in 2030.

¹³⁰ In 2020 Tenants of Mjølnerparken started court proceedings against the Danish Ministry of Transport and Housing. This action was accepted for referral to the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) in 2022, whom have requested the Danish Government to halt development sale until the EUCJ forthcoming decision in Dec 2024 (Math, 2023; OHCHR, 2020).

radically [...]. I don't think we are going to have a choice here but, no one knows yet. The demand on change out here is so, so immense, that I almost cannot picture it.

[...] The Government simply has numbers on the criteria of success out here, that it's just different tools. [It] simply means bigger moves. We're talking about demolishing half the buildings, we're talking about... I mean, re-housing people, and so on, so it's all so high. [...]

They only want [...] 40% renting for families, but right now it's 100%. So, if you need to [...] get rid of 60%, then you cannot square that here [Mjølnerparken]. You need to do something radically different. I think their agenda is a radical shift [...]. They've gotten away from talking. For example, I lived in London for a while, and saw a few demolitions of tower blocks in some of East London. And there you would... I mean, it's just a different way of... we never done that here [Denmark]!

None of the participants involved in this research endorsed the prospects of this hard-line approach. As noted by CPH_LA1 “we’ve never done that here”; instead, the collective experiences by council officer and designers promoted the ‘softer’ bottom-up approaches of the Integrated Urban Renewal Strategy. This strategy focusses on the integration of neighbourhood level social programmes, city wide cultural strategies and urban space design projects. As the project particulars are the result of extensive public engagement endeavours, the Integrated renewal strategy presents a democratic tool that aims to increase social cohesion and wellbeing. The specific tools used will be discussed through subsequent themes.

8.2.4 Conflict and Friction in the Community

Faced with limited financial resources, the local council in Gorton is often compelled to make value judgements on whose needs to prioritise, as GRT_LC1 explains:

GRT_LC1: we got more older people, more people living longer, so you know that pressure. The majority of our money, the council goes on vulnerable older people, people with learning disabilities, and children. Cost a fortune to keep children in care. So, people don't see that as spending, is invisible to them. But that's where the majority goes. You know, there is a pothole in the middle of Gorton Lane, yeah, we know you know, you keep reporting it. They think that we don't care about it. Is not that we don't care about it. That's a pot of money. We ended up having to borrow the money, to do all the pot holes. How long can you go on for?

Queries regarding the difference between equity and equality are at the forefront of Gorton's allocation of resources. All the participants in Gorton narrated experiences of competition for resources that exaggerated the friction between groups. Below are two examples:

GRT_CL2 is an experienced community leader who is often involved in organising or supporting action or events in the neighbourhood that promote health and wellbeing. One of such events was the Vine Street Neighbourhood Day. A yearly summer fair organised in partnership between the local council,

housing association and local residents, aimed at bringing different social groups together to increase social cohesion across the range of social groups¹³¹ in Abbey Hey. All participants who attended the Neighbourhood Day were overwhelmingly positive about its outcome. Nonetheless, GRT_CL2 shared some minor critical incidents that illustrate the underlying feelings of institutional neglect is breeding resentment between groups:

GRT_CL2: We've lived here all our lives. We haven't got all of this. Nobody is doing this for us. We haven't got people looking out for us. We haven't got people out trying to help us find work. We haven't got people trying to help us find housing. We haven't got people trying to help us find benefits. So, in a way, what it did was it actually magnified the differences.

Now. I had to say, but look: you don't need the support because English is your first language. You haven't just come over here from a country where you are having to rebuild your life from scratch. [...] I was trying to say to them, these's not people who've just come over here because it's easy. [...] these are people who were here, were here because they worried in their own country, they could be killed. You know, what I mean?

The next vignette features a local food project by Healthy Me Healthy Communities venture, the Gorton Community Grocer, or The Shop, as it is more commonly known. It is located at the heart of Abbey Hey in the Gorton Community Centre; it offers weekly groceries and toiletries for £2.50 to any resident living within 15 min walk of the community centre. Produce is sourced from local donation programmes and goods on offer vary week-on-week. The Shop operates a first-come-first-served basis. Members queue up, as volunteers let them in The Shop individually to choose their groceries. The vignette features a narrative between two Gorton residents who volunteer at the Shop. They recall an incident between two regular shoppers. Shopper1 has a noticeable mental health illness, and is often visibly uncomfortable whilst queueing. The volunteers decide to let him in first, despite the **aggravation** of Shopper2 who worry they might miss out on the limited poultry produce.

Commented [SGA117]: VEXING

GRT_R1: It does upset me. When you get a young [adult] that comes... [Shopper1 is] badly autistic.

GRT_R2: Oh yeah!

GRT_R1: [They have] a carer. [They're] very very... noise gets [them]. Queues up. And sometimes the carer will leave [them] in [the] car and [they]'ll queue up. So that [Shopper1]'s not [upset]... and [the carer] comes in. And [Shopper1] sits there and [the] carer [queues up]... And one day [Shopper1] came in on [their] own. For what reason, we won't know. And [they]... sat at the back there, and we could see [them getting upset]. And we said, let's get [them] in. We got one [person - Shopper2]... In our opinion, alright, [they] are entitled to shop. But in our opinion, I don't think [they're]... not

¹³¹ From the long-standing, typically over 65's descendants or representatives of the original Irish settlers, to the more transient population of asylum seekers, and other low-income residents.

GRT_R2: in need...

GRT_R1: In as much need as some of them. But [they're] entitled to shop.

GRT_R2: And [Shopper2's] always first. In case [they] miss out.

GRT_R1: Yes, [they're] always first. Always first. And [they] get very greedy.

GRT_R2: Yeah.

GRT_R1: And this young [shopper1]... Anyway, I said, in future, [they] go first. [They] do. [Shopper1] queues up. But [they'll] go first.

GRT_R2: If you go on the train, if you go in an airport. Anyone with special needs always gets priority [...] and we just follow the same procedure. [...]

GRT_R1: One day I was on the desk. [...] And [Shopper1], obviously has gone down. And I saw [Shopper2] jump up. And I thought, where're [they] going? that's unusual for [Shopper2] to do? Anyway, the next thing, was [volunteer], who helps, says, [Shopper2] is just been down there, kicking off [...] over [Shopper1] going down. [...] And, we had chickens that day, didn't we? And this other lad, [...], he was the one before this particular day, [...] and [Shopper2] come back and said: "you'll be alright, there's chicken down there, you'll get one because you're next". I was fuming! Anyway, next week I was determined that [Shopper1] would go down [...]. I sent [them] down again first. [Shopper2] started: I'm going to get a petition up! I'm not having this! [Them] going first! [...] What if I had a son in a wheelchair?! If you had a son in a wheelchair, you'd go first! you wouldn't even queue up that, I let you go up in the bottom door. And [they're] still... Ain't [they]?

[...]

GRT_R2: [...] [they're] not listening. [They] don't want to know.

GRT_R1: [I] explained to [Shopper2], I said, because, [Shopper1's] a sick [person]. That's not the point! [...] you are making excuses! I'm not making excuses; I'm telling you the truth. Another lady came up and she said [...] Why does that young [person] go before everybody else? So, I said... [because of their mental health issues]. Fair enough [GRT_R1], I agree with that. See the complete difference?

GRT_R2: We had to put notices up!

GRT_R1: We had to put notices up, for zero tolerance. Because [Shopper2]... I'm getting a petition! I'm not having this! I'm not having that....! [...]. So, what I said to the carer: In future, don't get out of the car, stay in the car. When I let them in at 9 o'clock, you come to the bottom door, so [Shopper1's] been here, served and gone home, and none of them know it. And I've done that for the last three weeks. In [Shopper2's] opinion, [they] think [Shopper1's] not coming anymore. And [they're] quite happy at that.

GRT_R2: Ain't it disgusting?

ASG: It is.

GRT_R2: And this is all the sort of issues that you don't get trained for. You have to use your own initiative.

This vignette illustrates the depth of competition for resources and the ensuing friction that spatial injustice¹³² causes between neighbours on a regular basis.

The three experiences portrayed above depict conflict of values at neighbourhood level, where severity of needs is constantly balanced across different aspects and services in the community, to support those who are most vulnerable. There is, however, a support gap that creates competition for resources and fuels friction and resentment between groups. Those that may still have significant needs are often eclipsed by those vulnerable people who have even greater needs:

- "There is a pothole in the middle of Gorton Ln [...]. They think that we don't care about it" (GRT_LC1);
- "We haven't got people looking out for us" (GRT_CL2);
- "There's chicken down there. [...]. I'm not having this! [Them] going first!" (GRT_R1).

Their unsupported needs may not be the greatest or most urgent, but they are a regular source of frustration towards institutions and conflict between groups at the neighbourhood scale, which can undermine social cohesion in the community.

On the other hand, in Copenhagen, friction between neighbours was not immediately visible to this researcher during site visits, but it nonetheless featured heavily in all the resident narratives.

Similarly, competition of resources was not evident from the data collected despite the disparity of outcomes between Nørrebro and the rest of the city. Instead, the narratives of all residents indicated friction in relation to social or cultural differences, what Richard Sennett describes as "Fear of Otherness" (Sennett, 1970).

For example, CPH_R4, a pizzeria owner in Nørrebro, welcomed this researcher into their establishment proudly announcing that theirs was a "good restaurant". Having immigrated from Sicily in the 1970's, CPH_R4 had lived in the area most of their life. As the conversation progressed, it soon became apparent that by "good restaurant", they were not referring to the food (which was excellent), but the clientele:

CPH_R4: They [Muslims] never come in here. This is a good restaurant. I don't let them in my shop. They won't come here.

ASG: Never? How can you stop people coming in?

CPH_R4: Is no problem. No problem. They don't come in my restaurant. I don't have Halal. Nothing is Halal, so they can't eat here. See? My pizza shop, They are not allowed here.

CPH_R3, a resident and local librarian, expressed discontent with living in the area, when asked why they responded:

¹³² See previous section: Distribution of resources: Inequality & spatial injustice

Commented [SGA118]: Is this about the fluidity / dynamism of values???

Commented [SGA119]: who might lack secure means to be self-sufficient or empowered

CPH_R3: Because it's dangerous. This area is not safe¹³³. [...] Too many gangs.

In 2017 a gang war broke out in Copenhagen. The gangs involved, Brothas and Loyal to Familia, are reported to have their roots in Nørrebro's¹³⁴, Mjølnerparken and Blågård's Plads respectively (Dalsgaard et al., 2021). After 6 months, almost 40 shootings, 25 wounded, and three deaths, (Wenande, 2017b), Danish TV2News announced that the parents of key gang members had reassessed turf boundaries and established a truce, breaking the surge of violence between gangs (TV2News 2017, via Wenande, 2017a).



Figure 8.15: LEFT: Brothas Gang. RIGHT: Loyal To Familia (LTF) Gang

SOURCE: (LEFT) Brothas Souljas Via CPHPost.dk, 2016. (RIGHT) Ritzau Scanpix, via DR.dk, 2017

Despite the gang activity, overall crime figures in the so-called ghetto areas had been dropping dramatically, from the original Ghetto listen in 2010 when 25 out of 26 areas surpass the 2.7% threshold to 2 out of 22 seven years later (2.52% at Mjølnerparken). Nonetheless, the Nørrebro gang war featured heavily in Rasmussen's 2018 speech in order to justify the introduction of the national end to ghettos policy: One Denmark without Parallel Societies: No Ghettos in 2030 (BL, 2023).

Competition for institutional resources may not be as clearly exposed in the data from Copenhagen as in that collected in Manchester. However, competition for space does play a salient role in the narratives of these participants. Friction at neighbourhood level in Copenhagen has a racialised spatial dimension.

¹³³ As a reflection of my own experience, and having stayed in this area several times over the years (not always in relation to this research) this researcher or her companions have never witnessed any violence or experience any issues with safety. This is noted not to discredit the account of this participant, but to highlight differences in the meaning and expectations of safety from Manchester to Copenhagen.

¹³⁴ According to Dalsgaard et al (2021), gangs are not exclusive to these territories.

8.2.5 Balancing scales of dynamic values

Framing the above experiences and data discussed within the wellbeing models discussed earlier in this thesis, we find that Gorton can be placed at “Basic Needs” level in Maslow’s Pyramid of needs.



Figure 8.16: Maslow’s Hierarchy of Needs Theory (1954)

SOURCE: [Psych-Mental Health Hub](#)

GRT_LA1 recalls a conversation regarding the lack of residents’ interest on responding to surveys that related to ‘growth needs’:

[A housing association in the area], one of their tenants’ surveys and we were asking about “How interested are you in your environment?”, “How interested are you...” lots of interesting things. [...], one of the directors, he said, “[GRT_LA1], they just want to get to the end of the week and have food on the table. They’re so worried about debt, and about other things, you know like... but that’s the best they can do”. And that’s partly... it’s a bit of an indictment of the system when people are too poor, or badly supported, to be able to have a stable family life.

Commented [SGA120]: <https://pmhealthnp.com/maslows-hierarchy-of-needs/>

Commented [SGA121]: THEME 2: NOT INTERESTED IN DISCUSSING PLACE AS they struggle to make ends meet. However it all points out that

Through Dodge et al.’s definition of wellbeing¹³⁵ as “The balance point between an individual’s resource pool and the challenges faced” (Dodge et al., 2012:230), according to all the participants in Gorton, the challenges overpower the resources. In GRT_LA1 words “people are too poor, or badly supported, to be able to have a stable family life”.

¹³⁵ “Stable wellbeing is when individuals have the psychological, social and physical resources they need to meet a particular psychological, social and/or physical challenge. When individuals have more challenges than resources, the see-saw dips, along with their wellbeing, and vice-versa.” (Dodge, et al., 2012:230).



Figure 8.17: Dodge et al.'s Wellbeing Definition Diagram (2012)

SOURCE: *The challenge of defining wellbeing. International Journal of Wellbeing, 2(3), pp. 230*

Values of wellbeing, environmental mastery, personal growth seem muted when “they just want to get to the end of the week and have food on the table” (GRT_LA1). Nonetheless, as institutional support is limited, local authorities are relying on increased autonomy to decrease dependency.

GRT_LA1 comments, and the GRT R1 & R2 earlier vignette highlight the challenges of managing long and short-term needs. They also identify the need for a wellbeing model that recognises the dynamic nature of values that determine that balance. Values, despite the strong links to the geography of shared identity (Pratt, 1998; Fergusson, 1993), cannot be regarded as static. Instead, they appear to shift, adjusting, reinforcing and breaking boundaries of those shared norms to find that balance point of stable wellbeing. As noted by GRT_R2 “And this is all the sort of issues that you don’t get trained for. You have to use your own initiative.”

Low outcomes of areas highlighted by the Ghetto listen in Nørrebro, also present barrier to personal growth and self-actualisation, out of sync with most of other districts in Copenhagen. Recent policy changes seek to disrupt this cycle by severing the links between geography and cultural values. This approach is reminiscent of the post-war clearances enacted across the UK. In Gorton, established communities were displaced following the comprehensive development plan of 1967, as discussed on earlier chapters. The disruption of social networks continues to be recalled with bitterness (Smalley, 2015).

As discussed, all Danish institutional and designer participants favoured the Integrated Urban Renewal Initiative, which champions empowerment at neighbourhood level through a mix of social, cultural and physical urban interventions.

CPH_LA1: At least that’s what we’ve always talked about [...], empowerment, basically. I mean, we don’t want to create like a waterbed where we just, you know, “you sit down there, the water goes over here...” so that we just push people out to a different neighbourhood. That’s never been the point. Of course, that’s what the private development do to some extent, is doing. So, I think that’s why the cultural social is important because that is part of that empowerment that actually makes people stand up and take charge of their neighbourhood.

The purpose of the integrated approach is to address site specific challenges by promoting trust, participation and positive relationships through the design of public space, which has an application in Gorton. Approaches are discussed in following themes.

8.3 Theme 2: Space to Meet. Urban space as a tool to articulate values

8.3.2 Theme introduction

“A good city is a city where we spend time outdoors, and where the city’s parks, squares and shopping streets are a natural extension of Copenhageners’ homes. Spending time outdoors signals that we view the city as a safe place, and that we feel the pull of the possibilities and experiences that urban life has to offer. Briefly put: we feel at home in Copenhagen’s urban life. And Copenhagen is at its best and most vibrant when we meet each other in urban life.

Some urban life is ‘simply’ a necessity. We go shopping, pick up the children, go to and from work and school. We do these things whatever the city is like. But the fun things – recreational urban life, street parties, calm reflection, engaging activities and creative experiences – only happen if the city is inviting”

(Morten Kabell, quoted in Copenhagen Urban Life Account, 2015).

This theme explores how spatial systems can promote social cohesion by enabling positive encounters between social groups, facilitating communication and reducing urban expressions of economic disparity. The topics of lived diversity and contact theory also suggest that urban space may act as a catalyst for tolerant attitudes which can be enhanced through casual contact (Wessel, 2009:5). Tolerant attitudes can in turn increase wellbeing by promoting empathy, and reducing anxiety and group threat (Dixon et al., 2005).

This is something that resonates strongly with the urban design attitudes of Danish participants. Highly influenced by the human-centred urban design notions of Jan Gehl, narratives from Denmark illustrate approaches where social life precedes physical interventions. All designer and institutional participants from the Copenhagen Case Study, stressed the importance of public space as a place to mitigate, and negotiate differences between social groups.

CPH_LA1, a senior public servant in Copenhagen, noted: “Some of the areas don't have any public spaces in which to meet. If you don't have anywhere to meet your neighbour, you don't know your neighbour”. These words resonate with the public sphere of Gorton. Gorton’s urban landscape presents assorted leftovers from historically unsuccessful attempts at urban renewals, from the callous placement of rail work and vehicular infrastructures, to the fragmented Victorian grid, to the large unplanned, unprogrammed lawns of modernist era, to the more recent secure-by-design led micro-strategies. On the whole, lingering in Gorton’s public space is discouraged.

GRT_D1: [...] The Wenlock Estate, there were vast areas that were communal basically. And they were seen as the areas that didn't work. [...] I think it is from a fear of crime, probably. Or antisocial behaviour, probably more crime. Groups of people congregating, intimidating people that sort of thing. And the planners and the city are very keen for that not to be the case

Narratives from Gorton show that green space, as a space for activity that leads to wellbeing is well understood. However, public space as a mediator of differences is less so and experiences of public space and lived diversity through public was often negative.

This theme proposes that wellbeing and social cohesion are interconnected, and that space for activity can also be understood as a space to create conversations and articulate values. As such, place-based approaches introduced to increase wellbeing should be strengthened by a clear, spatial vision and social interaction. We start with Gorton, discussing how place-based strategies are being implemented as a way to reduce pressure on services.

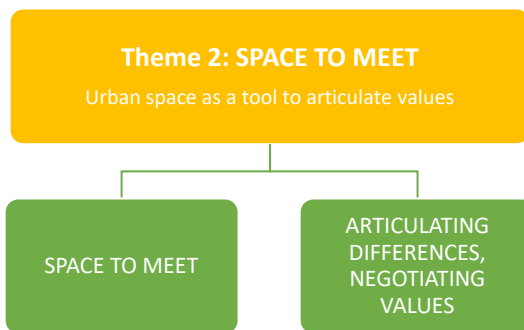


Figure 8.18: Theme 2 Diagram

8.3.2 Theme 2 Codes:

THEME	T2: SPACE TO MEET		
DESCRIPTION	Urban space as a tool to articulate values		
CATEGORIES	VALUES	CONCEPT	PROCESS
CODES	Quality of Built Environment	Process Innovation	Challenging Attitudes
	Synchronising Social Needs and Public Space	Design Innovation	Space to Meet
	Design WITH people	Urban Renewable & Physical Development	Creating a language between people
	Design FOR people	Temporary	Promoting Dialogue
	Design freshness	Promoting activity	Creating trust
	Inclusiveness		Articulating values
	Social cohesion		Designing for Diversity
	Coexistence		Democratic Design
	Safety		Creating Ownership
			Integration
		Designing out crime	

Figure 8.19: Theme 2 Codes Table

8.3.3 Space to meet

As discussed in Theme 1, Gorton suffers from deep-rooted economic deprivation. Although the institutional support provided has not been sufficient to cover Gorton's needs, all local authority participants expressed reservations about council budgets for Gorton in the future. Their narratives revealed strong pressures to further reduce dependency on the state and expenditure from the local authorities in the future, particularly in relation to health and social care. Senior public servant GRT_LA1 explained:

GRT_LA1: Our objective is to actually reduce the pressure on services. So long term, we can't say simply rely on more doctors and nurses or send more people to hospital. It's to get people on a way of life that enables [wellbeing], where they won't need to see doctors as regularly; [...] reducing pressure on services because growing population, increasing elderly population means our costs raises. And if that goes on, we simply can't afford it. [...]. There's not going to be anyone that says: we anticipate increased public spending in the long term.

This narrative suggests that, wellbeing is not an aspirational state of being. Gorton residents, put simply, cannot afford illbeing.

Beyond Gorton, the effort to reduce pressure on public health services, can be linked to a much larger national narrative that took form alongside the drive to devolve central power in the early 2000's. By 2010, the then coalition Government led the introduction of The Cities and Devolution Bill, which was approved by Parliament in 2015. Taking advantage of this Bill, Greater Manchester set off to create a Health and Social Care Partnership (MCC, 2015), and endeavoured to "shift the focus towards people and place rather than individual organisations, [seeking] to go beyond just health and social care to include other services" (McKenna & Dunn, 2015). Manchester was looking to radically innovate its institutional processes.

The city's vision for the transformation of Health and Social Care was set out in the Manchester Locality Plans (2016, 2018, 2020). These plans propose new care models, with the aim to integrate service delivery, and move care from a hospital setting into the community (Clahrc et al., 2019). At city level, the Manchester Locality Plans aim to establish a financially sustainable model for health and social care by facilitating the integration of services at neighbourhood level to increase efficiency of delivery and reduce demand on health services. This vision has been continued by the current Integrated Care Strategy: "This strategy needs to enable individuals, families and communities to feel more confident in managing their own health. This is about helping communities support each other" (GMICP, 2023, p. 70).

The urge for process innovation at neighbourhood level, featured heavily in the data collected for the Gorton Case study being discussed by all participants. One of the key strategies discussed, co-location of services, directly responds to Manchester Locality Plans policy:

Co-location of services: Under the integration of the health and social care initiative in Manchester, 12 collaborative teams were created and co-located to provide linked services across the city. Due to

Commented [SGA122]: It is worth noting that the Manchester interviews were conducted in the aftermath of Brexit and at the height of Johnson's Conservative leadership

its high deficit in health outcomes, a new, purpose-built, Integrated Hub was signed off for Gorton in 2017. Located in Gorton town centre, the hub was completed in November 2022, to host the local library, a new GP practice, the Jobcentre Plus, Adult Education Services (MAES), One Manchester Housing Association, and Manchester Local Care Organisation (MLCO) (MCC, n.d.). Other functions, including a café were to follow in 2023.

Below is GRT_LA1 account of briefing and initial building concept meetings:

GRT_LA1: The City Councils used one of its framework contractors, [...], and then they go around and talk to the individual occupiers. [...] So, [...] in the first instance [...] Health, our library service, [...], the housing [association] people, Work and Pensions, and they've all described what they want. But our first layout for the Ground Floor, I thought, "well, this doesn't look right. It just looks like office space with corridors and doors. What happened to the vision?" So, we had to go back and re-brief, to say, this has to support integrated services.

This 're-brief' exercise then sparked more fundamental queries about co-design and community engagement, which will be discussed in the next theme. The 'vision' that GRT_LA1 was looking for, was a greater focus on interaction between people and enhanced visibility across the building, to promote new networks and facilitate information flow between services.

GRT_LA1: The key piece of work that we're doing at the moment is the sort of work, we call it "the service integration work stream". And that is to be able to describe customer journeys to show why we're investing in this, because if nothing's different, there's no point in investing in it.

GRT_D2, a Manchester based designer mentioned the use of 'poetry pharmacy' when discussing a parallel Integrated Hubs initiative:

GRT_D2: there's like a poetry pharmacy as well as a traditional pharmacy in the building, and GPs might be able to prescribe poetry or a book for somebody [...]. It's an idea, we've got to see if we can [...] go for a non-medically based prescription, in the first instance, and see how that affects somebody's wellbeing, if say they are suffering from depression or anxiety, that type of thing. Also, would it be possible to invite that person to actually go on a fitness class as well.

The ambition of this flagship hub went beyond efficiencies related to centralisation of services. It aimed to increase footfall, "radically improving health and care outcomes, through key partners coming together in new ways to transform and integrate services" (MCC, 2017:4).

GRT_LA1: One of the health experts who we spoke to earlier on said: if it's simply, that you come to a new building and queue to see a doctor, that's exactly the same as what you have already. There's no point, you know, what's the difference? If when you go to see the doctor, what you walk into is an indoor space, where there's some art exhibitions, other classes, a library, Job Centre, with training and so on. Then that becomes different; it maybe that people who go to see the GP, do something else while they there. The GP might say, "why don't you try this class?" or, "we can get you in touch with some other service", and that changes it.

Commented [SGA123]: Manchester City Council
Executive 8 March 2017
Manchester City Council
Report for Resolution
Report to: Executive – 8 March 2017
Subject: The Development of an Integrated Hub in Gorton
Report of: Strategic Director (Development) and Joint Director, Health and Social Care Integration

The vision of the integrated hub strived for cultural change in collaboration of public services, by removing barriers bred from silo processes and shifting the focus towards place and people in order to increase autonomy, promoting non-medical treatments and prevent illbeing; "If nothing's different, there's no point in investing in it." (GRT_LA1)

These narratives also suggest that process innovation requires more than a change in policy: a parallel shift in design thinking to generate a "different" social space; a space to meet that, not only enables new conversations, but nurtures new relationships.

Field research in Copenhagen, revealed urban and architectural design strategies aimed at promoting positive contact between groups by prioritising social space. CPH_D2, senior designer at a flagship architectural and urban design practice in Copenhagen explains:

CPH_D2: The brief was just to design the bridge. But then [...] we wanted to have some kind of public function on the bridge, [...] the social thing that we [...] always include. Quite simply we expanded one side and made a little bump out, and created a very long bench. So, you can sit on the bench and enjoy the view. It's just finding something very simple that turns a transport corridor into a public space [...]. It shows the [...] dedication to always having social aspects [to] projects.

ASG: Where does this dedication come from?

CPH_D2: [...] I think it's a very Danish thing to be democratic and inclusive. [...] Jan Gehl, [...] He's talking a lot about [...] that the city is for people first and foremost. So that's ingrained in our DNA, that everything we do is for people. So, we should really think about how do people use space? Or how can we change space? So, people use it more [...] how can we create places for people to meet [...], or just enjoy a quiet moment or enjoy the sun or the sea [...]. I think it's just part of the Danish way of doing stuff.



Figure 8.20: How do people use space?

Source: <https://www.cobe.dk/projects/landqaqen>

The influence of Jan Gehl on Danish architecture and urban design thinking cannot be overestimated¹³⁶. During this study, all Danish designers and public servants discussed Gehl's design principles as the foundation for their personal and their organisation's¹³⁷ design approach. Gehl's theorem of "life before buildings" (Gehl, 2011) calls for an analysis of existing social practices before considering functionality of space: "Only after establishing a vision of what kind of public life is desired in a given space, can attention be given to the surrounding buildings and the ways the spaces can productively interact" (Gehl 2008). According to Jan Gehl, the "vision" for social interaction should have precedence over spatial function. This design approach allows the for public space to be used as tool to promote and nurture social relationships between diverse groups. This design thinking can lead to the "something different" GRT_LA1 calls for, a key component for the implementation of place-based frameworks proposed by the Manchester Locality Plans.

CPH_D1, is a Nørrebro based designer, whose focus is facilitating participatory frameworks to increase interaction in public spaces. Like Gehl, CPH_D1 calls for architects to have a clear vision for the social aspects, but also to have clear understanding of the different levels of interactions and the type of spaces these entail:

CPH_D1: [...] There are spaces that can cater for different kind of interaction. There is the peaceful coexistence, where you just you inhabit the same space you don't have any interaction. You just see each other. And then there's also situations where spaces can cater for creating contact; and maybe, even conversation across different generations. And it's not just generations, also across gender, across different societal positions, or rich and poor, or whatever. If we had that in mind when we, as Architects, design the spaces: [that] there is different levels of interaction, and it's fine to just coexist - you still see each other, you still get the idea that someone else is different from me. But there are social situations where you have to have a conversation, or at least just be closer to each other. It's very important, because in this society today we need to coexist with people that are different from ourselves. We need to, at least, see each other.

CPH_D2 discussed the social vision for The Library project which, similarly to the Gorton Hub, features co-location of services (although not related to healthcare). Located on a key vehicular intersection in Nørrebro, The Library was conceived as a culture centre and community hub. The social aspect of the design aims to dissipate social tension between different cultural and political groups that exist in the community. CPH_R1 is long standing library user, explained:

CPH_R1: That building over there is like a communist house. They have meetings and sometimes parties. A lot of Bibliotek users don't like [The Youth House], they feel uneasy with the people who frequent the Youth House.

Commented [SGA124]: Project for public spaces:
<https://www.pps.org/article/jgehl#:~:text=For%20Gehl%2C%20design%20always%20begins,the%20spaces%20can%20productively%20interact.>

¹³⁶ In Copenhagen, Gehl's influence has gone beyond academic, as his practice were lead consultants for the "Metropolis for People" (2009) document, which set out the development principles for the city.

¹³⁷ CPH_D1, went further, their practice was set up as a spin-off of Jan Gehl Architects, with the purpose to improve on Gehl's framework, which will discussed at greater length in Theme 3.

The Library is located next to the Ungdomshuset (The Youth House), which is home to radical left activists that grew out of the squatters movement in the 80's, and seeks to create an alternative, autonomous, anti-capitalist society (Ungdomshuset, n.d.). Despite the controversial neighbours, the participants described a positive lived experience of using the library as they highlight the quality of space:

CPH_R1: The library is well designed, the space is interesting, different, creative, unusual, is not boring grey, traditional. What I love about it is that uses art and design to promote wellbeing.

CPH_R2: I come to the library, or I try to come almost every week. I like reading the paper, is very peaceful. The design is very open. I can see other people but I can sit on my own.

The design of The Library exploits the metaphor of a stack of books to create a series of overlapping living rooms, which extends to the outdoor courtyard shared with the Youth House, creating both privacy and enhanced visibility across and beyond the library: "so there is a space for everyone", an inviting space where it is safe to "coexist with people who are different from ourselves" (CPH_D1):

CPH_D2: We've done a public library a little bit further out in an area called Nørrebro. It's a very cultural diverse neighbourhood. It was just very important for us to create a building that would make people feel comfortable [...]. Is a little bit more like a culture house, you have the library, but you also have a workshop and a cafe and talks.

The golden boxes stacked on top of each other [...] works very well, because [...] there's something for everyone: [...] young people, old people, students, [...], people who are just looking for sort of a quiet space in the city. We wanted to create, in one building, many different living rooms.



Figure 8.21: The Library
SOURCE: Transform.dk

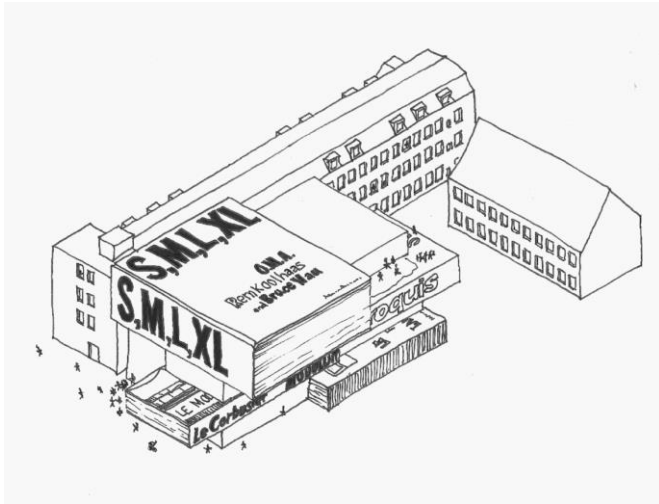


Figure 8.22: The Library concept diagram
SOURCE: COBE.dk

The next example, The ByOasen Park in Nørrebro, is a petting zoo that has been strategically located at the heart of Den Gamle (The Old City), a neighbourhood characterised by over 65's with a range of independent and assisted living provision. The park aims to increase intergenerational contact through community projects involving neighbouring nursing homes and local schools. To further the dimensions of contact between groups, ByOasen Park also includes a recycling zone and community goods exchange hub, and an area frequented by people with alcohol dependencies. CPH_D1, describes the strategic design approach:

CPH_D1: It's a big area where there's a lot of nursing homes for seniors. And in the edge, you've got different daycare centres [...] And [in the centre] we've got a green space, a petting zoo with goats and rabbits and chickens [...] students come there, or kids from the daycare centres [...] and spend an hour there digging up worms for the chickens, [...] And because it is set in this situation where you've got the old people, [...] you are stimulating [...] interaction with each other. [...]. Those spaces are not too big, it's carefully thought out how big it is. [...] With these simple tricks, you start [...] some kind of interaction, I think it's very important.

[...] also, the municipality has designed this small square [...] where there's trees and benches and stuff like that. There is a like a trash sorting place [...]. You can throw out stuff, but you can also recycle and reuse. And the idea of bringing these different functions into a fairly small space. You start bringing different users in to the same site. And that's what you start seeing: "Okay, people are very different." They also catered for alcoholics: sitting, putting benches up in the sunny places of a site [...]. That's also important to show our kids that that's also part of society. That you have a lower class, that this is their every day, and just seeing it...

The public space experience at ByOasen, offers a wider range of interaction, from coexistence with strangers to conversations and inter-group activity. In addition to conceptual spatial overlays, design strategies also feature overlaps between distinct functions, social local networks directly associated with the space, and regular organised events. In the example above, the social and physical aspects of the park and the organised events reinforced one each other, to present the municipality with a tool to increase positive contact across disparate groups in the neighbourhood of Nørrebro. This formula: physical intervention, social network and event is supported by national and local policy through the various embodiments of the Integrated Urban Renewal programmes¹³⁸,

CPH_LA1: Yeah. [...] Some of these areas have low physical standards, [...] less of a neighbourhood feeling, [...] less neighbourhood networks [...]. Some of the areas don't have any public spaces in which to meet. If you don't have anywhere to meet your neighbour, you don't know your neighbour. [...] This is what I love about how the social and the physical interlocks. Because, when you do make physical spaces, that enhances the social, the chance of meeting your neighbours.

According to the narratives from Copenhagen, neither design, nor people, nor organised activities alone can make meaningful and lasting change at neighbourhood level. These three aspects must be simultaneously constructed.

The Danish narratives can have an application to the place-based approaches advocated by Manchester City Council, suggesting that these initiatives may require more than policy innovation: if the goal is to increase autonomy at neighbourhood level, then neighbours will need an inviting, inclusive, safe, free space to negotiate their differences, to coexist, to meet, to strengthen ties and increase networks, to facilitate the transfer of dependency from the state onto the neighbourhood. In Denmark, this type of urban space has a name: democratic public space.

CPH_LA1: Having good democratic urban spaces that can provide that chance of meeting someone, is crucial for the social coherence of the city. [...]

If there's nowhere to meet in your city, [...] then you will not meet anyone.

8.3.4 Articulating values negotiating differences:

A healthy city can embrace and make productive use of differences of class and ethnicity and lifestyles it contains, while a sick city cannot. (Richard Sennett, 2011. *Cities, Health and Wellbeing Conference*, Hong Kong)

The Danish urban model is often described, by scholars and practitioners, as 'democratic public space' (Amin, 2008; Gehl, 2011; Nielsen, 2019; Thau et al., 2016). The definition of (urban) democratic space is different from that of its political counterpart (both in concept and in practice). Democratic public

¹³⁸ From the original format Kvarterløft 1997, to the ongoing Områdefornyelse i København initiatives Refer to Chapter 6.

space is 'physical'; and it is in this physical dimension where multiplicity of the world of 'every day' and the 'world of strangers' can be experienced simultaneously. Prof Nielsen (2019, pp. 41, 42, 44, 46) has listed five basic principles¹³⁹ upon which democratic public space in Denmark is built:

1. Create connection between the city and its inhabitants
2. Free and equal access for all (it should be attractive and used by everyone);
3. Extended user inclusion (where people tolerate and tacitly negotiate multiplicity);
4. Universal invitation directed, not at cultural differences, but at universal human needs; and
5. Accommodating both 'the everyday' and 'a world of strangers'.

For example, at Mimersparken, the park adjacent to Mjølnerparken¹⁴⁰, outdoor kitchens with barbeque facilities are used almost exclusively by residents of immigrant origins, allowing positive casual exposure between cultures. As described by a community leader and local resident:

CPH_CL1: "People come together for barbecues from different buildings and meet other families. Every time there is a little bit of sun, they are out here with their pots, cooking, whole families, coming together with all their neighbours. But it's only people from the buildings along the park, the immigrants. Danish people don't do that. [...] It is just not what Danish people do. I work here so I see it all the time, and I can see how nice it is being out with your neighbours, the park is full of families having fun and it feels very nice. I would like to do that too but my wife doesn't understand. "Why would I take my food to the park when I can eat in my backyard?". I see her point, but it looks very nice".



Figure 8.23. Barbeque gatherings at Mimersparken.
SOURCE: Den bemandede legeplads i Mimersparken.

CPH_CL1 continues to talk about how Mimersparken park, and the better known, and nearby neighbour Superkilen have influenced the immediate area and Nørrebro as a whole:

CPH_CL1: I really like the park. One of the successful things about the park for me, I live near, is seeing people doing things. We [Danish] like to see people doing a lot

¹³⁹ In his 2019 study, Nielsen admits that seldom one public space "strongly shows all five principles", nonetheless "together they help to characterise the current Danish version of democratic urban public space" (Nielsen, 2019, p. 46).

¹⁴⁰ As introduced in Theme 1, Mjølnerparken is the only Copenhagen area listed in the Ghettolisten Dec 2022.

of things in the parks. Gangs give bad reputation [to Mjølnerparken], and a lot of people avoid this area, leading to 'unused spaces'. Now a lot of people from other areas use it as a training facility for Parkour, run[ning], power work, roller blades, football.

CPH_CL1: The parks Mimersparken and Superkilen have helped to bring a lot of new people [to this area]. 10 years ago, there was nothing here to take a picture [of]. Now there is a constant flux of people from all over the world visiting the area, taking pictures of Superkilen. It seems amazing to me that there is a constant stream of tourists from as far as Japan coming to this area, because of Superkilen.

A Danish democratic public space, presents an everyday space that is safe and freely accessible, that attracts specific but diverse groups, and can offer the opportunity for people to become familiar with the complexity of 'otherness' that is characteristic of urban settings (Nielsen, 2019). Nielsen's definition concurs with the participants of this study:

CPH_D2: To make everybody feel welcome in the urban space and try to accommodate a wide range of different needs, across demographic, and an age group.

CPH_D1: if these spaces are created to hold both young people, and seniors, and families, then we start creating an arena where people meet, and people understand that it's a [positive] quality that people are different.

CPH_D3: So public space is of course, covering all the broad aspect of public spaces. But we are talking about the collective spaces, [...] where you have multiple programming, multiple groups, and you are squeezing them together or actually working with some kind of a proximity aspect so that it actually becomes, of course designed, but how it becomes this democratic public space where you meet people that you... from society that you don't necessarily would not necessarily meet in your normal patterns.

Attitudes towards public space in Gorton were less consistent. On one hand, the participants lived experiences show evidence of a positive understanding the relationship to wellbeing, physical and mental health. On the other, the potential role of freely accessible public spaces (no commercial activity or membership required), as a space to meet and offer positive contact between groups is often undervalued. A space to meet, where positive relationships may be harnessed, are often associated with either commercial activities or social memberships (i.e., lack free and equal access):

GRT_LC1: Cos there's not somewhere that people, when talking about contact, where people can gather, that's... Like I said, the market, and the [new] coffee shop [at the hub] will be places where people are able to regularly meet.

GRT_CL1: Tesco's! I know is not... but Tesco's is where I bump into most people. You'll always meet someone in there. And the market too...

GRT_CL3: People go to the market, they go to Tesco [...] It contributes to safety of the community as well. If Tesco's wasn't there, what would be there? I've seen areas Gorton where is just rubble. And I know, everybody's like, "oh is okay", so 10 years later, just rubble again, no development on an area. So, what does that say to people?

As an example of wellbeing, GRT_R1, discusses the Growing Together Project, a successful initiative by Manchester City of Trees, where a series of raised planting beds were installed, transforming the back of the Gorton Community Centre into a community food growing area. Due to its size, membership is limited, nonetheless, narratives collected indicate that it is a powerful tool to tackle loneliness amongst over 65's residents.

GRT_R1: We got an old [person] 'round the corner, [they] used to have big allotment years ago. [They] suffer badly with his chest, but the GP thinks [they] can manage that. And [they] love it! [...] In the summer [they're] probably on it at six o'clock in the morning. [...] tending [...] beds and then goes and [...] come back perhaps in the afternoon, if it's nice. The lads who are working or anyone there [this person will] sit and have his lunch with them, you see? Well, I always take a tray of tea out [them]. I always do that. But they always have their own little thing. So that's what it is. They grow their own.



Figure 8.25: Growing Together Project: Community food growing initiative at Gorton Community Centre. SOURCE: cityoftrees.org.uk

GRT_LA1: On Monday, we went out with our [high level public servant] here on the ward. One of the sites we looked at was some allotment scheme in Ryder Brow, near Sunny Brow Park in Gorton. Two or three people have just started developing

Commented [SGA125]: A commercial space such as Tesco's and the enclosed market offers an element of expectation of safety, for the very reason that it lacks /omits/ deletes the uncertain negotiations/ results of democracy. But two issues with this, it just to a consumers, so excludes non-consumers, so limited opportunity to negotiate differences. also, if the commercial activities are subject to market forces, the meeting space disappears too, and public space should be successful even if the commercial activity fails

Commented [SGA126]: MAP

allotments. It is a council owned piece of land. [...] Straightaway the people who are working on this, who had difficulty to get through council gatekeepers to be allowed to do this, who've moved rubbish, and debris themselves by hand, were coming with some brilliant ideas about, you know "Oh we think sometimes some of these plots are too big for one person, so we've broken them down into little vegetable plots, or flower beds that are raised up, and you can get five or six on a plot." And I'm thinking, "I should be going to my health service counterparts and saying: fund THIS. Fund twenty of these!", because on a day like Monday, when it's warm, the American maize is growing and everybody serves them. [...] that's got to be a good use of an asset that will have a health and wellbeing benefit. [...] We're obsessed with community safety and surveillance, not surveillance, that's the wrong word...

ASG: *Secure by Design?*

GRT_LA1: Yeah, yeah. Those should really be the areas where the question is: well, who's using the space and how do we promote those? because an empty space causes that connection to anxiety to use space.

Site observations in Gorton revealed that urban strategies are heavily weighted by the desire to minimise maintenance, increase security and reduce crime. As such the urban form appears fragmented, fostering segregation of functions and groups and minimising lingering. Public space appears neutral and unprogrammed: designed for everyone but addressing no-one. The result is a self-reinforcing cycle, where "empty spaces" feed the "anxiety to use the space".



Figure 8.26: Public space in Gorton appears neutral and unprogrammed. SOURCE: Author



Figure 8.27: Urban design in Gorton reinforces low levels of trust and aspirations. SOURCE: Author

GRT_LA1: We had [housing] estates with play spaces designed. And, there was a question about whether it's going to cost us so much money to replace the play equipment. Let's consult with residents about what would they like? And the sort of depressing response to that, in many cases was that "Oh, it's only teenagers drinking cider and smoking weed, whom ever use it". And in response to that, I suspect what we did was to remove play equipment, not to do something differently. [...] I can go on; you often got a request from residents to remove the green space and replace it with car parking space. And if you said, wouldn't it be nice for kids to be able to play there? the depressing response which, is, why should my car get damaged? [...] Some people have fears or prejudices that are difficult to move.

This spatial design strategy, to avoid conflict rather than to resolve it, adversely affects the feeling of community and neglects deeper social issues such as low levels of trust, low aspirations, low engagement, fear of otherness and reduces opportunities for contact as long-term strategy to reduce anxiety and group threat.

GRT_LA2: In the evening, the Eastern European community sat out on their doorstep and enjoy the summer, [...] talking to each other. And that has actually [caused friction]. And that is what we used to do, but you see, the traditional white communities don't do that anymore, so again is like... Why are they out enjoying themselves? You know like a family? And we say, well they've got every right to..."

CPH_D3 is a senior designer at a flagship design studio with a high-profile portfolio of urban design projects across Denmark, including Copenhagen and Nørrebro. To illustrate the concept of articulating differences through democratic urban space, CPH_D3 discussed an ongoing urban renewal project for the Municipality of Aarhus, where a new bank district would be introduced at an existing meat packing market, which boasted of a vibrant community of artists and start-up businesses, but was also commonly frequented by a wide range of people experiencing homelessness. From the outset, the

city was supportive of a democratic space that champion inclusivity. Their brief stipulated that urban renewal should not discourage the existing users (the market, the artists, the start-ups as well as those people experiencing homelessness).

CPH_D3: It actually started with the municipality, saying, “Okay, we have this area and it is essentially a home for the homeless”. And that, was an aspect in their development that they wanted to keep. So that was part of the starting point. It has become quite a central point in the development plan for the area and they write that: “Okay, we want this area to be diverse; and if you want to be in this area, then you have to subscribe to that mindset¹⁴¹”.

According to CPH_D3, working with people experiencing homelessness, an assorted mix of at least five distinct and conflicting groups, required a shift in the design approach, where social aspects had to be cemented before building could commence:

CPH_D3: They wanted to reverse their approach to urban development [...] with this project: “Urban life before urban spaces, before buildings”. So, instead of starting to putting up a lot of buildings and then figuring out what should happen between the houses afterwards. They tried to create some grassroots [...]: You start with what's there already and strengthen that to create the public urban life, and then you create the urban spaces, and then, in the end, the buildings.

A democratic public space is more than a space to meet, but is a space to negotiate differences and negotiate values at neighbourhood level.

One of the consultants advising the city and CPH_D3 team, was Kenneth Balfelt¹⁴². Kenneth Balfelt Team are amongst the few people in Denmark with experience of engaging with obscure or illicit social groups for the purpose of urban renewal.

Similarly, to Gorton hub, the municipality found themselves at a cross roads where they needed a “something different” to translate their brief into a physical design intervention. The different perspective was provided by participatory artist Kenneth Balfelt:

CPH_D3: Balfelt [...] has been working with the homeless people for many years now, and he was an advisor for the municipality in the competition. [...] When we started to come up with [proposals, we thought:] “okay how are we going to address these homeless groups of people in a matter of urban design?”, He [and his wife] were actually the only Danish clear example on actually working with these [groups]. [...] putting a lot of effort into understanding, and acknowledging the needs and then acting accordingly to those findings.

¹⁴¹ Worth noting, that the requirements went beyond physical design terms to include training and employment to existing users as well as policing.

¹⁴² Kenneth Balfelt Team are not participants to this study. Due to the onset of Covid-19, most data collected in relation to Kenneth Balfelt and his Team is from secondary, publicly available sources, which are acknowledged accordingly.

Commented [SGA127]: Designers identified specifically design measure / tools? Strategies? But architecture is not enough, and the way these spaces are create and ho creates them is also important. The social side or not just the what but also the who.

According to narratives explored from Manchester's case study, Gorton has found itself at a crossroads where they can no longer afford illbeing, but it is also unlikely to see an increase of institutional support. If neighbours are to become more autonomous, a suitable public space to negotiate differences could become conspicuously relevant.

According to Balfelt (2016):

Commented [SGA128]: CHECK DATE!!!!

“There were problems with the socially disadvantaged. They had been pushed away from all other places in the city and eventually only had Klostertorvet left to stay. The number of vulnerable people in the same place was therefore high and so was the level of conflict - both internally in the environment but also with neighbours, the business community, professionals etc.”

Following an in-depth community engagement programme, Balfelt and CPH_D3 team proposed creating “grassroots”, which involved temporary physical projects, and social strategies such as job creation.

As mentioned by CPH_D3, Balfelt had previously worked with vulnerable groups, including Folkets Park (People’s Park) in Nørrebro, a place not only frequented by people experiencing homelessness¹⁴³ but, also a known spot frequented by Loyal to Familia (LTF) gang members, and home to Folkets Hus, a group of anti-development left-wing activists (KBT, 2015).

At the core of the project, was the desire to reduce conflict and violent crime, and increase use of the park by all members of the local community (KBT, 2015). His contract had only one specific goal: “work towards a greater sense of unity and love in the neighborhood” (Tholl, 2017)

“I think is the only municipality contract in the history of Denmark that has the word ‘love’ in it” (KBT, 2015)

After a lengthy engagement process with licit and illicit groups, similarities and differences between the groups began to emerge; safety and security was high on everyone’s agenda (Tholl, 2017). However, whilst some groups required visibility and light, others had opposite needs:

“The young men with gang relations [...] wanted to be able to do their business in peace, as did the African migrants. So, we decided to make dark nooks for these groups to feel safe.” (Balfelt, 2017, quoted in Tholl, 2017)

After a lengthy discussion with the local authorities, a compromise was reached, where paths across the site lit activity areas to meet the city’s safety standards, but distinct areas would be left in darkness, acknowledging the safety needs of vulnerable users, such as those experiencing homelessness and transient groups. (Pineo, 2022)

¹⁴³ Homeless people, identified here, perhaps callously, by the lack of permanent residence are not a homogenous group, nor share common identity, background, circumstance or purpose. It is acknowledged here that these distinctions matter. Unfortunately, however, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss it further or in more detail.

8.4 Theme 3 Creative Dialogue:

8.4.1 Theme introduction

"We like to have this social fabric really well integrated with the buildings where we can."
(CPH_D2)

As discussed in Theme 2, Nielsen (2019), defines Danish public space through a set of key principles and common physical qualities, leading to the distinct nature of democratic public space. Those physical qualities are one of three key aspects. The other two, involve the social fabric.

CPH_LA1: When we have these renewal areas we always work with, three things: we work with the physical and the cultural and the social. That's sort of the Golden Recipe.

The drive to integrate the social fabric of the neighbourhood to urban design strategies in Gorton and Nørrebro, will be the subject of this third and final theme.

In Denmark, the discourse on public space developed in parallel to societal changes. Since the 1990's, place-based participatory renewal programmes performed a key role¹⁴⁴ in the regeneration and rebranding of Copenhagen as world leading liveable city (Agger & Larsen, 2009). The current Områdefornyelse or Integrated Area Renewal programme is a place-based initiative where "local actors are often highlighted as core components for facilitating and encouraging local engagement, responsibility and sense of ownership both generally in the neighbourhood and specifically towards the new investments of the urban programme in question." (Agger & Larsen, 2009).

The participatory elements of this initiative or 'social aspects' -as it has been often referred to by Danish participants-, have an urban scale component, where the 'social' seeks to involve the community at micro scale, that is the immediate users; whilst the 'cultural' addresses the macro scale by extending that invitation to participate to the wider community¹⁴⁵.

CPH_LA1: The cultural is often some kind of events that takes place. Whereas, the social is about the networks, or sort of *THE PEOPLE* more than *THE EVENT* or the activity. There's not necessarily any activity. I mean, of course, there's often *SOME* activity, like a meeting or something. But, it's not *THE EVENT*.

The strength of the strategy, Danish participants insist, is that the social, cultural and the physical are intertwined in both their facilitation and their delivery: the three elements underpin each other:

CPH_LA1: That is the whole aim of the initiative: the social, and the cultural, and physical, relying on each other, and also empowering each other [...] the strength is that we do the three together.

¹⁴⁴ Refer to Chapter 6 for further details.

¹⁴⁵ This can be across neighbourhoods, but in some case beyond city limits or even globally, as it is the case with Superkilen, Nørrebro.

Theme 2 argues that Manchester City Council’s own people centred, place-based initiatives, which pledge to “strengthen our communities” by “helping communities support each other” (GMICP, 2023, p. 70) fails to fully consider the complex relationship between physical environment and social fabric. Theme 3 aims to extend that argument further by proposing that the efficacy of these initiatives could be enhanced through the meaningful introduction of bottom-up democratic processes to neighbourhood level physical interventions, as championed by Copenhagen Integrated Area Renewal programmes.

“It was clear that what was important wasn’t the exact physical changes of the park and the tripod, but who built it” (Krøyer, 2017, quoted in Tholl, 2017).

Commented [SGA129]: Add quote to final summary of conclusion????about “ **Wider health impacts** Many of the factors that influence health are out of the direct control of the health and care system – these factors are often called *social determinants of health*. This third iteration of the Locality Plan identifies the need to positively influence these social determinants by working more closely with other public sector services through the city’s Our Manchester Programme.” Locality Plan 2020 refresh.

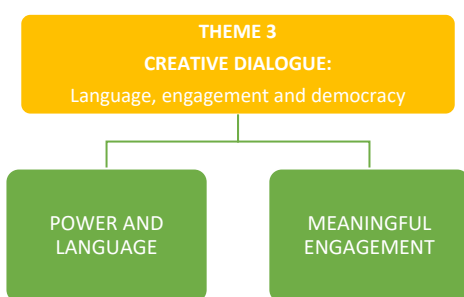


Figure 8.28: Theme 1 Diagram.

8.4.2 Theme 3 Codes:

THEME 3: CREATIVE DIALOGUE			
THEMES	Language, engagement and democracy		
DESCRIPTION	Language, engagement and democracy in the design process.		
CATEGORIES	VALUES	CONCEPT	PROCESS
CODES	Common language	Aspiration	Creating a language between the built environment and the public
	Creating the Dialogue of the future	Stimuli	Articulating transitions
	Criticising the profession	Education	Activity profile
	Future citizens	Communication	Thinking, developing
	Shared objectives	Community engagement	Listening, interpreting
	Synchronising social needs and institutions	Public Consultations	Creating a language between institutions and community
	Commitment to neighbourhood	Public participation	Using community groups strategically
	Norms	Public empowerment	Raising aspirations
	Key Residents gate keepers	Democracy	Briefing
	Existing networks	Selective inclusivity	Creating networks
	Breaching the gap		Using Schools strategically
		Promoting participation	

Figure 8.29: Theme 1 Codes Table

8.4.3 Dynamics of Power and Language: Coordination of existing assets

Gorton boasts of an extensive network of local community groups. These groups are often well-established institutions, set up and run on a voluntary basis by very committed local individuals. These individuals are the community gatekeepers, regarded by all local participants, as the greatest assets of Gorton.

ASG: What would you say are the assets in Gorton?

GRT_LC1: Assets? The people!

ASG: The people?

GRT_LC1: Oh, absolutely! The community; those people that make things happen.

[...] There is a lot of volunteers that do an awful lot. Without the volunteers, after 10 years of cuts, conservative cuts, we wouldn't be able to do what we do.

As an example, GRT_LC1 describes participant GRT_R4 a volunteer for the Debdale Park Bowling Club, who is keen to introduce gender and social diversity amongst members, to promote the sport and increase the club membership base beyond its 'traditional demographic'¹⁴⁶:

GRT_LC1: [GRT_R4] has proactively gone out to the housing associations and [they've] gone to shelter accommodation and [they've] gone and got people, to come and engage in bowling, which is brilliant. And so, that's fantastic, what's [they've] done.

Other resident from Abbey Hey, are concerned about the condition of historic Gorton's housing stock and aim to raise fund for restoration:

GRT_LC1: This [person is], trying to restore Gorton houses that should have to cost about £5m. We got another couple of people who are going to try and access heritage funding, [...] It's a big ask. You are talking about people giving up a lot of their time. [...] I mean, it's fine if you are retired; but when people are working, it's quite difficult to spread yourself so thinly.

Cross referring 2019 data from the ONS, the Charity Commission for England and Wales, Small Charities Data¹⁴⁷, and the Intelligence Hub from Manchester City Council Statistics Department, confirms that the voluntary sector in Gorton is indeed significant. Gorton has 54 registered charities of which 52 or 96% are small charities¹⁴⁸. Although the proportion of small charities matches that of

¹⁴⁶ According to **GRT_R4**, in the past, the board had been led and overrepresented by over 65, white male members, and their interests dominated the club's priorities and lawn timetable.

¹⁴⁷ Small Charities Data is a digital research hub that compiles data on small charities in the UK, developed in partnership by the Small Charities Coalition, the FSI, NCVO, 360Giving, LocalGiving, Locality, and Sheffield Hallam University.

¹⁴⁸ The Small Charity Data defines a small charity as a voluntary or community organisation with a total annual income of less than £1m.

England and Wales, Gorton has 18% more small charities per head¹⁴⁹; whilst the national average of charities per 100,000 people is 220, in Gorton is 260. This difference increases to a third (33%) when compared to the North West region, where there are 195 small charities per 100,000 people. The voluntary sector is indeed a significant aspect of Gorton’s social fabric.

Through the Locality Plans (2016, 2018, 2020) and the Integrated Care model (2023) discussed in Theme 2, Manchester City Council is seeking to maximise the impact and reach of existing local community groups: “This strategy needs to enable individuals, families and communities to feel more confident in managing their own health. This is about helping communities support each other. [...] We want to further develop how we work together to improve outcomes for Greater Manchester’s residents, enabling good lives for all and strengthening our communities” (GMICP, 2023, p. 70).

Facilitating the community groups is at the heart of the local authority neighbourhood strategy in Gorton:

GRT_LC1: “There is a group, round the corner from here, who... because we haven’t got much money, we can’t restore buildings. There’s an awful lot of assets transfer going on. [...] They taking over what was an education centre.

Because we’ve got less money, it’s kind of more creative things going on. So, like the older people bowling club, they’ve got the housing association to decorate it, they’ve been putting on activities. They’ve been doing a lot of it themselves! Which, you know in some ways is like David Cameron’s Big Society.”

We have this Our Manchester principle [...]; which basically means do it yourself! you can put a gloss on it if you like, but that’s what it means! Because our leader Richard Leese, it’s got a big thing about behaviour, about people’s behaviour, that’s his big thing. So, people should, you know, behave and do as they told, and look after their community, which is great. And a lot of communities do, don’t they?

GRT_LC2: Yes.

GRT_LC1: But some areas, they can’t. Or won’t, engage. [...] Because they don’t have no ownership of the area. They don’t know their neighbours.”

The “Our Manchester principle” discussed above, refers to a vision drafted under Sir Richard Leese’s¹⁵⁰ leadership in 2016, which set the groundwork for the current Health and Care strategy (2023). These documents seek to “unlock the potential that exists within the city” by promoting “people’s strength” (MCC, 2015, p. 7). Leese’s vision laid the foundation for the subsequent Locality Plans and their ‘place-based approach’, which promotes strategies tailored to local community outcomes, and concedes that some challenges could be better addressed through collaboration and engagement with the community, relieving pressure from public services (MCRactive, 2019). For example, according to the

Commented [SGA130]: THIS IS ABOUT NORMS? ENGAGEMENT???

Commented [SGA131]: Place is not understood as a physical location, but is more about the demographics and outcomes attached to a neighbourhood – should distinguish between people and physical context. Because people are more mobile than their locality. Lift the place, so when people improve they stay, improving the place.

¹⁴⁹ The full size of the voluntary sector at national or neighbourhood level is unknown, as registration with the Charity commission is only compulsory over a certain income threshold.

¹⁵⁰ Richard Leese: Manchester City Council’s leader 1996 – 2021. Currently, Leese is Chair, NHS Greater Manchester Integrated Care Partnership, the body responsible for the 2023-28 Health and Care Manchester Strategy.

Gorton and Levenshulme Neighbourhood Health Care Profile (2019), only 21% of adults (19-64) have good health, whilst 64% of adults have wider determinants of needs. This level of health deficit could not be addressed through health and social care services alone.

GRT_L2: I work closely with a lot community groups, residents' groups, it is a real grey thing, two sides of a coin, when you got a very committed residents' group, they get things done, but they also want things to be done. So, I'm there putting calls to the housing officer, from the council if things don't get done, or if they want to proactively do sort of like engagement work, I'm there as well, so I am their conduit to their services. I also work with partners like housing providers, I work with business groups, [...] I am like a conduit for stuff so that stuff gets done.

The task of coordinating community assets in Gorton can range from the provision of chairs and tables for an event, providing essential training and assisting with micro grants applications. As highlighted by participant extracts above, by increasing autonomy of the voluntary sector, the community is enabled to play a significant role in improving its own wellbeing outcomes.

The shift to a place-based approach and increasing reliance on the voluntary sector, has also driven a change in the role of the traditional role of the local authority, from service provider to facilitator of community services.

The strategy to provide public services through the voluntary sector is not unique to the Gorton community.

According to Small Charities Data (2019) 25% small charities deliver public services 'a great deal' or 'a fair amount' as part of their work. This is for example, the case of The Community Green Grocer, that operates from the Gorton Community Centre, presented earlier in this chapter. The Community Grocer not only tackles food poverty in the neighbourhood, but it also aims to introduce healthy eating practices. Food is offered in 5 different food groups, and shoppers chose limited amounts of items from each group. Ensuring that members walk away with basics of a healthy and balance diet for a seemingly affordable price of £2.50 a week¹⁵¹.

GRT_R1: we have got some really poor ones and they are just so grateful for it.

GRT_R2: Oh, that young [person] "I wish this was here, when my mother was alive". "You would not believe what we had to eat over the years"

GRT_R1: We have this one [young person], [they have] dogs and he lives in the area. And people say, [they're] a right one. But when he's in here. He's so pleasant, so polite. [...] You know I judge him in what they are in here. [...] the other week, [...] we was down at the bottom sorting out. And [they] came in the bottom door and [...] just said, "erm we are not coming today, we got no money". I said, please don't do that, just go and queue up and we can sort money out. [...] OneManchester [Housing Association] [...] advised us: "Let them register, and we'll pay the £2.50". And I always say, "I'll sort £2.50 out of my petty cash". [...] I rather [give them my own money]... And I have done. [...] We got this young

Commented [SGA132]: But with the income deficit / level of deprivation in Gorton. Is the community in a position to tackle this?

Commented [SGA133]: ADD SOMETHING ABOUT COORDINATING THE GROUPS - THE MEETING and keeping the vision - Pandolfo

¹⁵¹ This initiative is separate from the meal vouchers services, where the food is free of charge.

[person], that comes. [Lives] in a house up here. Out of work. A really lovely young [person]. [...], [they] came in, and I said "Oh I've not seen you for a couple of weeks, where you've been?". And [they] went. "I had no money, and I haven't got any money. But I'm coming with a friend". So, I said, "No, you don't do that, please". [...] Then [they] was telling us, that [the Council] stopped [their] benefits. So [they] had tea a toast and I went I got him £10 out of my own purse. [They] went, "No please" I said. "Please do it. Please have it. Just to tie you over. I don't want to see you...[going without], just go and shop".

Anyway, [they've] sorted [their] payments out. [...] First thing [they] did is went and paid in advance, [...] So that [they] know, that for the next six weeks, [they've] got [their] shopping, haven't [they]?

GRT_R2: You are right. You've got people that are working, but the rent is so high, they got children. So, you know, food is the last thing to think about. The problem is the rent. And we've got nurses, who work nights, cos they got children. [...] As I say, it's not a foodbank, so people whose eligible for foodbanks get a branch shop to go to, but we are getting more and more referrals. Right? from Sure Starts, people with young children, local churches are sending them here...

The narrative above illustrates the significance and the level of commitment of the voluntary sector in Gorton. Small Charities Data (2019) has found that small charities in the UK are less likely to withdraw from public contracts because of operational risk or mission drift compared to large charities. In fact, one in five say they have delivered a project beyond their core mission. This level of commitment can endanger most of the small charities finances, as only three in ten make a profit on their public sector contract, half break even, and 22% make a loss; furthermore, 61% of small charities subsidise public service contracts with income from other sources (Small Charities Data, 2019).

What is conspicuous about these narratives is the efforts the community networks and their supporting institutions go to ensure the efficacy of services or events. However, these efforts seldom reduce demand. On the contrary, according to the narratives, as accessibility improves, so does the load -which is a positive effect, increased reach is a desired outcome. Nonetheless, to protect the long-term delivery of services through the voluntary sector and continue the positive impact across the Gorton community, this thesis proposes that the introduction of democratic urban design processes can offer that "something different" to the current place-based framework, to empower the neighbourhood, fostering the shift beyond the cycle of low outcomes.

CPH_LA1: I mean, there's two things: People can move away from an area because they are pushed out, that's one thing; or they can move away from an area because they start to have a bit of income, and then they want to move out [...]. That's what we call the elevator effect: [...] you raise people up, and then they move up, and then someone [...] moves in, and they have a lower income. And then the numbers are the same in the area. [...] Our belief is that [...], if we improve the public spaces and the social networks, then people tend less to move out when they when they raise up in the hierarchy, because there is someone [they know], and they see that their neighbourhood is [...] growing with them. Right? That's been the belief and I think that's also to some extent, what we're seeing.

Commented [SGA134]: CPH_LA1 suggests to create a language that creates connections across the social and physical neighbourhood to disrupt the cyclical of patterns of deprivation, and offer the residents where, although they arrive through institutional forces, they might want to choose to stay.
There has to be greater representation of
ADD LANGUAGE – UNDER & OVER REPRESENTATIONS –
NORMS – IDENTITY – CONNECTION TO PLACE - CONFLICT

As discussed, the volunteer sector plays a pivotal role in the promotion of wellbeing at neighbourhood level. These volunteers have also seemed to have claimed their “rights to the city” (Harvey, 2003), and are remaking Gorton to honour its former glory. What is also conspicuous is that nearly all the Gorton key volunteers discussed during the course of participant interviews, were retired local women, often identified as ‘the original residents’. Their motivation and commitment to the community of Gorton was well recognised by all involved in this research. However, such a large representation of a single group would dominate the discourse on community values, regardless of the motivation, it can raise queries about the values of those who “can’t or won’t” participate. This thesis argues that is crucial language and power of all the (newer) groups within the community are given a voice in the making of the neighbourhood that also reflects their values, so they can start feeling -and caring- for Gorton like if it was their home too.

The next section discusses public engagement process, that are driven by a meaningful attempt to empower diverse groups in the neighbourhood.

8.4.4 Creative Dialogue & Public Engagement: Building Life Before Building (Buildings)

Danish narratives also advocated efforts to increase community involvement in institutional processes, however more than the delivery of services, this drive was often associated to the delivery of public urban projects. Facilitating influence and responsibility between people and their immediate geography can be seen as a salient component for the disruption patterns of deprivation.

CPH_LA1: When we start making squares like this, we also think about, in the long run, how can that be part of change? How can the urban space drive a change?

CPH_LA1: we also need to plant seeds, [...] metaphorically; and make sure that we plant seeds for projects that will happen after those five years. But maybe they will happen because we were there. We started to empower people.

Across the narratives about public engagement process, three goals were revealed: to strengthen community ties across social groups, to nurture adoption of physical changes by the community, and to cultivate a social network that could take charge of the space post hand over. Thus, empowering the local community, and extending the reach and impact of the urban investment. Below, CPH_LA1 talks about Sankt Kjelds Plads; an area neighbouring Nørrebro that was dominated by a large roundabout, when a small group of local actors contacted the local authorities to improve the quality of urban space:

CPH_LA1: Try to make a square that has some events, but also, include tenants that will maybe make sure the events take place. [...]

So, when we make a square like this, there will also be a group of people that will already start talking about what is it meant to be taking place here, or should we have a group of people that are part of the gardeners that make the flower beds or whatever, so always think about sort of the activities and the physical layout, and sort of in the same in the same process [...]

Commented [SGA135]: Not curtailing cost, because there are hidden costs to managing resident looking after urban space. But the important thing is that the space is activated.

[...] This was just a big roundabout. And then [two or three people] said: “Can we do something about this?” [...]. So, getting together that group of 10, 20, 30 people that [...] can see what this potentially could be, and then writing the briefs and so on. Making it a real project, getting a consultant to getting the funding, [...] and so on, you know, so it's a lot of the work is also about empowering these people on a very micro scale, to get it up and [...] making it a project. Because it starts with that loose idea, and how would that loose idea become something in the end.

The Manchester based narratives¹⁵² reveal that construction projects are driven by value for money not empowerment. Designers are often excluded from engagement processes and direct conversation with the users are limited. Information is often relayed through client agents¹⁵³ and other representatives¹⁵⁴ including council members. The following vignette features GRT_D1, a Manchester designer from an award-winning architecture and urban design practice. They are discussing a new flagship medium density affordable housing project located in brownfield site in West Gorton¹⁵⁵, that had been a designated as an open public space:

GRT_D1: We got into the project from [a local housing association] who were offered the site by the city. So, it was basically, probably, a little dose of realism, really, it was: “Can you have a look at these sites and see how many units you can get on them?” It's as simple as that. It was NOT: “This is the community we want to serve with these homes, and this is how we want to interact with them... What do you think we can do?” And that's that was the brief basically.

We knew they wanted a mixture of house and apartment. But they wanted to get a relatively dense development onto the site. And this is coming from a Home's England Grant, which is a grant [...] for affordable housing in the rent-to-buy and shared-ownership tenancies [...]. So, [the housing association] have a grant to deliver, say 500 of these types of property. Anywhere they want, they just got to do it, and they get the funding, right? So, numbers are important. This site, was seen as somewhere where they could get some density. So, there was always a desire for apartments or for something above two storeys and when you see the site, it does lend itself to that. With it being on a major junction. And the planners were always on board with that. So that was really the brief.

We knew the area that we were in. We knew that there were issues with crime and antisocial behaviour surrounding the site, on the site, as well! So, we knew that security will be a big issue for the planners. And that, in effect, we were coming from a starting point where anything we do has a secure boundary to it. And that the street is effectively the public space. Once you get beyond the street, that's

¹⁵² This is also my own experience of the working in the UK construction sector for the past 20 years.

¹⁵³ Such as GRT_CL1, GRT_CL2, and GRT_CL3,

¹⁵⁴ For example, GRT_LC1, GRT_LC2, GRT_LA1, and GRT_LA2.

¹⁵⁵ Under construction at the time of writing.

residents only. [...] in effect, it was a clear definition of between public and private space. There wasn't going to be an offer of public space in development.

ASG: And that's even when [considering] the surrounding properties also belonged to [the same housing association]?

GRT_D1: Yes.

[...] It's just not something that [they] really that interested in doing. There was a point in time where we were, actually for technical reasons, looking at a scheme which we couldn't develop a building, on the end of this site. So, we were looking at that as a bit of open space, with houses overlooking it. And [...] the planners were less keen on that than anyone really. They're very keen to get building up on the end of the site.

ASG: Do you know why?

GRT_D1: [...] I think they're just thinking any bit of non-private space, is open to problems, basically. [...] there've been travellers on the site. [...] So, the city is desperate to get that enclosed [...] There was never a desire to not contain that area.

ASG: And do you think there might be an opportunity do that in the future?

GRT_D1: Not on this site, really [...].

Public open space was looked at, because in planning terms these sites were public open space, they were dedicated public open space. Even, though the planners don't see them as that. They see them as a derelict nuisance site. They were strictly speaking public space. So, we had to demonstrate why there wasn't a need for these sites to be public open spaces. That's in the Design and access statement. [...]

ASG: Did you have some objections from the residents?

GRT_D1: We did, yeah. Mainly from two or three residents from [across the road]. Who, well... what's in front of them here is probably on one day, a magical oasis that's the most wonderful thing you've ever seen, to... It's a dumping ground, that needs to go. It doesn't tend to be somewhere in between. So, I think it was a little bit disingenuous in the commentary, that it was described in comments of both a crime hotspot and nature reserve. It was that sort of thing. [...] Actually, it's probably more towards a crime hotspot than the nature reserve really. It was looked at from an ecological standpoint and it's got very little value. There is a ribbon of trees here, which need to be taken down to because this this is a run of houses along here. Basically, we're producing the other side of the street, here that's been missing

So, you could see why someone might object to that. If they prefer to not talk about the other side of the street, but in urban design terms is most definitely the right thing to do. Because that's part of the problem. Things aren't overlooked properly. Streets are very baggy, very "gappy". And there's no tightness to anything. Things

just bleed off into nothing. Where it's not developed, there's nothing happening. [...]

I think, [the housing association] probably as client and more than us architects are looking at the need in a particular area. And then dictate it to us, what they want to see in terms of the properties and the mix and the height. We're working on their behalf to deliver that, to design that for them.

ASG: I understand that. I just wondered what needs were translated [into architecture] or what needs were required in your brief?

GRT_D1: Well, there weren't!

ASG: Security was quite high up on the agenda?

GRT_D1: Yeah, yeah. Security and numbers, but also an appropriateness of scale. [...]

ASG: And did they ever talk about wellbeing?

GRT_D1: Not really! This is probably a bit of a brutal conversation but yeah, I'm telling you the truth, really. Not really.

I think the way we looked at it, and probably the [housing association] looked at it, is that we think we can bring positive change, by what we know, and by producing good quality buildings that work. That's what we can bring to it. I think. And trying to make a successful building which stand out above what's around in terms of quality and can drive design conversation that improves an area, that can help improve an area. And that's probably the way we were looking at it.

Really, we are looking at things in design terms, how the buildings address the streets, how that can improve things, for residents generally make it safer, make it more welcoming, make it more attractive. But in terms of how it addresses particular needs of certain individuals, not really, no more than it's accessible, you know, physically accessible...

As noted by GRT_D2, the new development will bring much needed quality affordable housing to the area. It will also activate a neglected piece of open land that has long been a setting for social conflict and incivilities. Described as a "nuisance to the planners", this site never had the opportunity to become space of social and urban convergence.

GRT_D1 also highlighted a preoccupation to avoid "the mistakes of the past". It appears that "lessons" have been learnt regarding features of physical design, however, for this example these lessons are not extended to the processes of design: the top-down approach described in this vignette, purposefully limits the direct contact of local residents and the design team. Thus, the design focus is restricted to the interpretation and selection of needs by the client team. This vignette illustrates how easily community needs, as expressed by the community, are 'lost in translation', rather than forming part of meaningful conversations and the community is not afforded the chance to participate in the design of their neighbourhood.

Commented [SGA136]: I had my own experience of conflict in this area as within the first 10min of a field work session. My presence agitated the local youth who, as I soon found out, are very protective of their environment. Inadvertently, it appears that I trespassed into their territory, and I was asked to leave in no uncertain terms. Fieldwork protocol was revised and an amendment to Ethics approval was approved on 07/04/20. POST PANDEMIC APPROVAL TO DO FIELDWORK!!!!

Commented [SGA137]: ADD APPENDIX TO TALK ABOUT PRIMROSE HILL OMI & COMMUNITY CENTRE

Commented [SGA138]: Community needs lost, not discussed.

Although the design addresses the massing, security and wider housing needs of the area, in contrast to the Sankt Kjelds Plads example, the process of the design discards the opportunity to empower the local residents, to get the sense that the neighbourhood can grow with them (rather than in spite of them) strengthen community ties across social groups, embrace the upcoming physical social changes of the neighbourhood, and cultivate future networks between new and existing residents. As noted in theme 2, it is not always about what is built, but who builds it (Krøyer, 2017, quoted in Tholl, 2017). The

Commented [SGA139]: We may have learnt to avoid the physical failures of past, but the operational shortcomings continue.

CPH_D1 goes further, and criticises the architectural profession. Their design practice has roots at Gehl Architects, but they question if Gehl's methods of observing people, designing for people are enough:

CPH_D1: We founded [our practice] on the principle of designing cities *with* people. [They've] got a background with Gehl Architects. So, the whole people focus was sort of natural for us to build [...] our office on. But we also criticized a little bit [...] Is that enough? Is observing, counting enough?

Instead, they set out to a framework that values designing *with* people

CPH_D1: When we started, we questioned the *role* of the Architects, as not being the expert but, being the facilitator or the midwife - we also call us midwife sometimes, you know!

Designers, local authority, and community leader participants in Denmark described a number of projects with meaningful community engagement frameworks that respond to participatory urban policies discussed in Chapter 6. The project varied in scale and budget. Some of the projects were substantial, such is the case of Superkilen and The Soul of Nørrebro, and others were micro interventions that responded to a particular local need (for example Folkets Park and Sankt Kjelds Plads). Nonetheless the participant accounts revealed common traits in their user engagement frameworks. Namely they followed 5 principles:

1. Start at the beginning and continue until the end;
2. Raise aspirations for the creative dialogue of the future;
3. Language matters;
4. Build trust with accountability; and
5. Organise activities: maintain the networks, maintain the space.

8.4.4.1 *Start at the beginning and continue until the end:*

One the key features of these engagement efforts, is the early involvement of public stakeholders, starting from preparation of brief, through to concept design and in many cases, public involvement continues through construction phases to post-completion¹⁵⁶.

CPH_D2: a common thing we do is when we start up these projects, we have user involvement meetings. So that's an opportunity for the local people, who live in

¹⁵⁶ Equivalent RIBA construction framework stage. Refer to RIBA Plan of Works (2020), Appendix 7

that neighbourhood to come and listen to the project. We'll explain like our thoughts and ideas about what it is, and then they can give in inputs. So, if they have any wishes or any comments, it's not everything that can be accommodated, you know, some people have very outlandish wishes and some people have more realistic wishes. [...] It's [about] finding a balance in [...] what can you include. [...] That's a typical Danish thing [...] when it's public projects, we have to have these user hearing meetings.

Not all needs can be accommodated, but meaningful engagement allows for meaningful conversation between local users and designers throughout the length of the process where realistic needs can be prioritised and become embedded in the brief and translated with the design proposals.

In the case of Folkets Park, presented in Theme 2, Balfelt (2017) insisted that: "quality and time are the two key concepts in creating a sustainable development" (quoted in Tholl, 2017) at neighbourhood level. Up to 30 successive workshops of small and large groups were set up as a series of feedback loops (KBT, 2015). The engagement, gave time to the design team and the community to understand the needs from different social perspectives, and to find a practical solution (eg. The light zoning strategy). It also offered the opportunity to build or strengthen networks within the community, reduce group anxiety, and it help the municipality understand the life in the park:

"The fact that we sat down with them actually had an enlightening outcome," he says. "Before then, young Arab Danish men hanging out in the park were conflated with gang members and the municipality did not have a clear estimate of how much gang-related drug dealing was taking place."

Balfelt and his group realized that there was in fact only one hash dealer stationed in the park, and that many of the young men using the space were not part of the gang. (Tholl, 2017)

To extend the reach of the engagement, CPH_D1 recommends to use multiple communication methods, from participants calls, to comment boxes, to adding a regular presence on site:

CPH_D1: So, we were present¹⁵⁷. There was a sort of a physical laboratory. So, people knew where they could find us. There was a physical platform for this change in the city. And in this platform, we had -for half a year-[...] all the students from the schools in the community, coming down, and helping us; actually doing the data treatment, and giving us knowledge, but then also learning about how to work as an architect, doing the site analysis, going out interviewing people. So, they were sort of small clones of us, learning [...] about society and being aware of their surroundings. And through that process we also created ownership for these spaces in the city.

According to the narratives, starting the engagement process at briefing stage helps create a sense of ownership, whilst continuing the engagement throughout the length of the project can offers the time to build networks. If Balfelt highlights 'time' as a key component to building a socially sustainable

¹⁵⁷ This public engagement project t was based in Asnæs.

space, CPH_D1 warns against withdrawing public participation before completion. The sense of closure and achievement should not be underestimated:

CPH_D1: We have an example in [...] Copenhagen, where we [...] were cut loose, when we had gathered all the data, and all the knowledge. Then all the conflict started happening again in the community and [...] the project sort of fell apart. And then the Municipality admitted it: "Okay. Now we understand why it's a good idea to have you as part of the process [...] until we deliver the final space.

Beyond collecting information, the meaningful engagement starts creating bonds between neighbourhood groups but also between people and their environment, introducing them to institutional processes, thus empowering the community to look after their neighbourhood.

8.4.4.2 Raise aspirations for the creative dialogue of the future

CPH_D1: What kind of future citizens would we need in order to create a constructive and creative dialogue in the future? Then we need to start with the kids. Start to incorporate some kind of common language about our physical environment.

CPH_D1 has worked extensively with schools as a tool to increase the impact and reach of public engagement process.

CPH_D1: When we start working with several students in this classroom, it is like a gateway to the local community. So, they start talking about it: "Hey Mom and Dad, [...] I've been working with the local park as a school project. It's going to be changed because there's an area renewal funding it, and *my voice* matters. What do you think, Mom? What do you think, Dad?" so they start talking, creating a language, and creating an awareness about changes in local neighbourhood.

Working with school children gives them the opportunity to create conversations beyond the scheduled workshops between the children and their family networks. It starts to generate a sense of ownership and responsibility for their environment. Start building an urban design vocabulary of the future.

To stimulate the creative dialogue, in particular when dealing with deprived areas, participants believe raising aspirations at the start of the process is key:

CPH_D1: So, if they're used to moving around in a deprived area [...]. What do they have to measure it up against? [...] They need to be fed with some ideas of how it could be, or how it should be, and you have to do that in the in the period where, [...] you create trust. And that is in the beginning. It's a crucial part of the process.

The workshops often start with a study trip:

CPH_D1: So, I have an example we worked with a youth club in a socially deprived area in Copenhagen and their surroundings were poor. I mean, the youth club and the surroundings [...] dull, poor, and run down. A lot of vandalism also happened there. [...] That was their everyday stimuli, right?

So, we had to, in the beginning, take them out on the study trip. Show them how it could be, how it should be! And start creating curiosity, and start creating a conversation with them where they are able to draw from different projects, or things they have experiencing. "Oh, yeah, it would be great to have swings that are for adults or you know bigger than small kids. It would be great to have trampolines that could carry the weight of young people. It would be great..." So, we have to give them something to talk about from the beginning, and then, we start the creative dialogue.

So, it's... it's more than just as an architect carrying your pens and your paper and saying: "Hey kids! What do you want?" They will often say they want what they know already; if they have a football court, they will say we need a football court. And then you remind them, "but you have that already!" "Oh, yeah..." So, you need to give them something to draw from, right?

8.4.4.3 - Language matters

CPH_D2: we explain everything with a lot of diagrams first, you know. I think which makes it perhaps more easy to understand [...]. So, we don't just come and say, oh, here's the final design, we released. Explain why we're doing, as we're doing.

Language as discussed in Chapter 4, has a crucial role to play to either prolong or question dominant meanings (Klotz & Lynch, 2007). As the role of designer shifts towards facilitator from top-down to a bottom-up approach, language should also shift to offer a creative discourse that local actors can, not only relate to, but participate.

CPH_LA1: Making sure that people are part of a project like this, [...] is part of the empowerment strategy.

For example, CPH_D1 have create a board game called Arkinopoly, based on the traditional monopoly game, that they customise to specific group or mix of groups:

CPH_D1: So, we have to carefully look at what are the groups are working with. Is there conflicts? Is it adults and kids? Is it seniors? [...] slowly, working their way into identifying where the challenging areas in their neighbourhood is, or where the potential areas are [...] at the end, you have to collaborate on creating solutions for those areas that you have mapped out. [...] So, inviting with few tricks like that, people [...] start sharing their everyday experience and opinions about their local area, start listening to the rest of the group's everyday life.

[...] We have a group that has a lot of conflicts. Sitting them together around this board game. [They] start sharing their ideas throughout the game. Creating a sort of collective notion of their area. And then people start shifting [...]: "Okay. My problem is not really the relevant one here. I can, I will agree with doing something over here. That's a good idea and..."

By employing a neutral creative language of the game, CPH_D1 and their colleagues have created a democratic space for the negotiation of meaning, where dominant values are constructed rather than inflicted.

The urban language that spawns from the engagement process also matters. The next example is the Superkilen in Nørrebro, discussed by CPH_D2. In this case the results the participatory efforts focussed on coexistence. The award-winning design is well-known across the world of architecture and urban design. Some scholars, (Daly, 2020; Yeoman & Peters, 2020) have criticised the multicultural rather than intercultural expression of Superkilen. Unlike the previous example, meaning is not negotiated nor dominant values constructed. Instead, the engagement process and project aimed to acknowledge and expose the diversity of values and meaning across Nørrebro, by creating a new urban language, a landscape of global artefacts proposed by local agents that celebrates multiculturalism. Sometimes “it’s fine to just coexist” (CPH_D1):

CPH_D2: I think to make everybody feel welcome in the urban space and try to accommodate a wide range of different needs, across demographic, and an age group. [...]. And so, I think [...] Copenhagen really tries to be inclusive of everybody. [...] the Red Square [...] by Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG) [...] They tried to show the diversity of the inhabitants by bringing in urban elements from all over the world. So, they have a fountain from Turkey and light poles from, you know, all kinds of different places, even the Thai boxing arena and the playground squid from Japan, [...] to really show that space for everybody.

8.4.4.4 - Trust and accountability

CPH_D1: We often find that it’s a in the first phase of the project working with any citizen, old or young you have to work with the creating trust, creating a relationship, especially with young people. They’re not used to being asked by adults what they want, or need for their local area.

CPH_D1 notes that, in order for the engagement process to be fruitful, trust must be earned in the early stages, a gateway to build a relationship. Building trust can be an outcome of trips to raise aspirations, through creative dialogue at the workshops, however it is in the process of listening, understanding the needs and interpreting and translating that trust is established.

CPH_D1: we as architects [...] we start [...] translating. That’s where our expertise is activated. [...] Being very true to the need. [...] Analysing, and interpreting the ideas of the citizens, and the needs. [...] Shaping things. Not just listening, but actually start interpreting. And that’s the crucial phase.

Similarly, according to CPH_D3 narratives of designing for people experiencing homelessness, the project started by listening, learning and gaining the trust of the vulnerable users, to understand their everyday experience of the urbanity.

CPH_D3: We’ve done business districts before and more or less know how they

behave, what patterns they move in and so on. But working with the homeless people was actually much more difficult because, first of all the homeless persons living there, it's not just like one homogenic group.

[...] The way we work with it, was we actually took part in, analysed the overall cities places where they could be, or the kind of problems that could appear, that could have occurred with the homeless people. [...] Then we try to make this... like some of the spaces in our plan, or in our urban space attractive to the alternative to the other spots in the city that they have. That's an important aspect in creating these spaces.

CPH_D1 Asnæs project featured a temporary furniture installation to activate the site whilst the new urban space was being completed. At the inauguration party one of their young participants wrote a celebratory poem:

CPH_D1: [They had] written a poem, and [they were] rapping it, [...]and everyone was listening [...] "I've been part of these kind of processes before, I've been asked as a young person to contribute with my knowledge. Nothing happened. So, I was so sceptical when this project started up. But the minute we started asking to be designers, and it got built, then I understood: This is *REAL*. This is *SERIOUS*. And now I'm standing here, on my own piece of furniture, in this city. I get it, and I'm excited..."

In CPH_D3 example, accountability was demonstrated in design terms and through job creation initiatives:

CPH_D3: So, how could you actually create a public space [...] that would appeal to them and [...] these businessmen in suits in the very near proximity? and we [...] addressed it [...] trying to make differentiated spaces, like they could have different kinds of appeal. And then we actually suggested this program that they could earn a little money by helping out; caretaking in the area, like picking up garbage, help maintain the park, etc. And of course, you can't rely on it; it's not a stable workforce. So, you have to think of it as, more or less, like a day-to-day basis thing. [...] But the nice thing is that the first inhabitants are actually [...] creating small jobs for the homeless people. So, there is some kind of acknowledgement.

8.4.4.5 - Organised activities: Maintain the space, maintain the networks

As discussed earlier in this theme, an appropriate engagement framework can strengthen community ties across social groups, nurture adoption of physical changes by the community, and to cultivate a social network and long-term activities or events that will continue to activate the space beyond the engagement process.

For the Soul of Nørrebro, a new urban park in Nørrebro part of a Cloud burst initiative, CPH_D1 team proposed the creation of a Green-Lab in collaboration with local schools and wider community:

CPH_D1: This Cloud Burst proposal that was called the Soul of Nørrebro, which was built on the idea [of] three cycles. There was a Blue Cycle of water. There was a

Green Cycle of the nature and there was the community cycle. And of course, we talked about how they all had to co-exist, [...] co-creating their nature. [...] This kind of laboratory, Green Fab-Lab, where you could bring your bio waste, you could collect soil, [...] and you helped actually plant the trees and [...] that was one way of connecting the social infrastructure with the green infrastructure. [...] Also [...] the park as an extension of the classroom. Saying: “How can we get students out of the of the building, and into the park, into the spaces? How can we design these spaces so they can frame a learning situation?” That is, of course, very different whether you are going outside doing exercise, or doing math, or language [...] So, the park as a classroom, and the city as a classroom [...].

However, CPH_LA1, acknowledges that those newly formed networks require ongoing monitoring, for the space to continue to thrive. “No urban space is better than its maintenance”:

CPH_LA1: I think it's a fine, fine balance because, any urban space is no better than its maintenance. You can have the greatest ideas but, if it's not being maintained well enough, it will fall apart. Then it won't be used, and the whole idea is gone. So, I think it's vulnerable. You can leave it to volunteers, community, but that dialogue should be maintained [...] It has to be controlled. But if you have a feeling that is not being done, there has to be someone who's making sure that someone does what they should do. Sometimes we put so much money in making a new square, and then you see that it's not maintained and then I'm like... Then all our work is all kind of... I mean, we're not gonna lift any deprived areas out of deprivation if we don't maintain it. Maintenance is such a big issue.

8.5 Summary

This theme report presents the discussion of three themes. Below is a short summary of each theme. This section is followed by the concluding chapter to this thesis.

T1 Dynamic Values: This theme describes values as “a broad concept about what the good life and good society consists of, from which the more specific and situationally orientated norms, may in principle inferred” (Granovetter, 2017a, p. 37). Values are considered dynamic in the context of this research can shift in response to context or challenges.

This theme considers the depth of deprivation of Gorton and Nørrebro, and argues that in both locations, the persistent levels of inequality can be defined as spatial injustice. The experience of this injustice at neighbourhood level is amplifying friction and conflict between individuals and groups. Gorton in particular has very severe deficit of outcomes (particularly health) as well as resources; in short, Gorton cannot afford illbeing, and local authorities are keen to increase wellbeing to reduce pressure on public (health) services.

T2 Space to Meet: Limited resources is compelling local authorities to think outside the box to drive self-sufficiency in Gorton, on example discussed in this chapter is co-location of services, to accelerate the information flow across agencies and increase footfall on services that support health services.

The design of this cross-communication spaces requires “something different”, that can disrupt Gorton’s cycle of low outcomes. This study proposes that integrated urban strategies used in Nørrebro to increase contact and/or interactions between groups, can present Gorton with a “different” kind of space: A democratic space (Nielsen, 2019) designed to articulate values and negotiate differences.

It is worth noting that in these strategies all parts of society are acknowledged. Even those that might be considered illicit.

T3 Creative Dialogue: Theme 3 highlights Gorton’s reliance on the voluntary sector, which is over the national averages (refer to section 8.3). The volunteers are considered Gorton’s greatest asset, and the local authority is keen facilitate the strategic use of this sector to provide support services in the community, and drive local policy agenda. This thesis questions the over-representation of some groups and under-representation of others in these efforts. It may not be an intentional occurrence, as it appears to be driven by those who “can help” and “want to help”. This report argues that, regardless of motivation, this monopoly of values and language can limit the breath of the discourse and discourage hard to reach groups and individuals.

Finally, this report presents a set of creative dialogue principles, derived from co-design practices that steer the production of democratic spaces to meet in Copenhagen. This meaningful public engagement processes are “designed” to encourage participation and dialogue between groups, address issues of trust, empower the community. Democracy in urban design must be express in its outcome as well as its process.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

“The right to the city is not merely a right of access to what already exists, but a right to change it. We need to be sure we can live with our own creations. But the right to remake ourselves by creating a qualitatively different kind of urban sociality is one of the most precious of all human rights”.

(Harvey, 2003, p. 939)

9.1 Introduction: Summary of the research journey

This research started by exploring and questioning existing definitions of wellbeing, which was a key focus in the Liveable Cities Project. The literature highlighted the complexity of wellbeing as a multidimensional conceptual construct. Dodge et al.’s (2012) proposed a definition of wellbeing as the balance between resources and challenges (See Chapter 2 for details), which was taken forward for its potential applicability to urban design. In recent history Copenhagen’s public space has become a key resource to increase wellbeing. In contrast, for Manchester, and in particular Gorton, managing public space is often a challenge.

Dodge et al.’s definition, raised questions about the geographical distribution of resources, and by association, the distribution of wellbeing, driving literature review towards spatial inequality and spatial injustice. Spatial injustice is understood in this research as, the intentional efforts to maintain or reinforce spatial inequality (Galster & Sharkey, 2017, p. 2). Research performed for this study revealed that both case studies, Nørrebro and Gorton, are subject to spatial inequality as their outcomes are considerably lower than surrounding areas. Furthermore, these low outcomes were found to be persistent, and data collected demonstrates that both cases suffer from spatial injustice, as existing inequality is exaggerated by wider institutional processes (See Chapter 8, Theme 1 for details).

Reviewing different literature on neighbourhood effects helped to expand on the key mechanisms, factors and processes that can maintain and/or exaggerate spatial inequality and injustice (See Chapter 3 for details). The literatures revealed that, out of the four key components of neighbourhood effects¹⁵⁸, institutional processes could have the biggest impact: institutional processes present and represent the underlying systems that can, in turn, amplify or reduce the other three categories. Additionally, the literature revealed a gap in the knowledge concerning wellbeing outcomes and the design of urban space and particularly related to the neighbourhood effects category of social processes; leading the research towards questions regarding the role of design in urban space, could it be used as a tool to reduce spatial injustice, and in turn improve wellbeing?

Commented [SGA140]: “A **mechanism** is a plausible account of the process that causes a systematic relationship between variables. Strategy researchers particularly need to understand the mechanisms that drive firm behaviour and outcomes because we seek both to explain and offer prescriptions”. (SOURCE: [https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1016/S1479-8387\(05\)02002-3/full/html?skipTracking=true#:~:text=A%20mechanism%20is%20a%20plausible,to%20explain%20and%20offer%20prescriptions](https://www.emerald.com/insight/content/doi/10.1016/S1479-8387(05)02002-3/full/html?skipTracking=true#:~:text=A%20mechanism%20is%20a%20plausible,to%20explain%20and%20offer%20prescriptions))

¹⁵⁸ Neighbourhood Effects: Social processes, geographical mechanisms, institutional processes, environmental factors (Refer to Chapter 3 for details).

One example where this appears to be happening is Copenhagen: Copenhagen is well known for its high liveability standards. It was brought forward as a positive case study where urban design plays an active role in promoting and maintaining those high levels of wellbeing and social cohesion (Sabbagh Gomez, 2015). However, the key question is, how transferable are these principles to a UK setting? Denmark has a considerable strong, stable economy, some of the lowest poverty thresholds and highest social cohesion in Europe (Eurostat, 2019b, 2019a). It also has a comparably low racial diversity¹⁵⁹(See Drazanova, 2019). Considering this context, is there an application of Danish urban design practice for a British diverse setting? If there is an application, would this call for a paradigm shift in the role of urban design?

This chapter will outline the conclusions generated from the Theme Report and Discussion in Chapter 8, as well as implications for practice and policy. It will start by summarising the historical urban setting analysis of the two case studies (Chapters 6, 7 & 8). It will then continue with conclusions to the exploratory and umbrella research questions; followed by contribution to knowledge, impact of research to date, limitations, strategy for future research development and it will end with a final, overall reflection.

9.2 Case Studies: A summary of urban approaches and discussion so far

9.2.1 Copenhagen and Nørrebro

Urban development in Copenhagen is characterised by a widespread appreciation of humanistic design (See Chapters 4 and Chapter 8, Themes 2 & 3 for details), a position that was adopted by the municipality, once it became clear that plans to promote vehicular infrastructure were not financially viable (See Chapter 6 for details).

“We thought we were unlucky and very poor. We were actually lucky, but still very poor.” (Søren, Ministry of Transport, via Cathcart-Keays & Warin, 2016). In a drastic change of urban tactics to boost Denmark’s status in Euro Zone, Copenhagen was to be transformed into a world city. Lack of funds and, design challenges posed by the historic urban grid, thwarted Urban Hansen’s 1960’s grand plans to promote vehicular infrastructure in the city. Instead Gehl & Gemzøe’s (1996) humanistic approach was pushed to the forefront of urban design thinking by supporting walkability, and placing a greater focus on public space. Copenhagen was to become one of the world’s most liveable cities. The drive for liveability is now reflected in national and municipal policy.

The district of Nørrebro in Copenhagen, stands out by its multicultural population, political activism, and socio-economic disadvantage. The urban projects featured in this study were built under Integrated Renewal initiative. The Integrated Urban Renewal Initiative (and its multiple amendments from 1997 Kvarterløft to the current Områdefornyelser) is a participatory approach that stipulates a triple focus to public development: public physical interventions should be supported by social and

¹⁵⁹ According to the Harvard Historical Index of Ethnic Fractionalization Dataset (HIEF), Denmark ranks 128 for Ethnic Fractionalisation based on Fearon’s analysis, with a 17.7% of racial diversity, whilst the UK ranks 82, with a racial diversity level of 39.9% (Drazanova, 2019).

cultural aspects; In other words, space, people and events are to be forged together out of the same process.

This urban approach results in a democratic space where different people can coexist peacefully, create new networks, increase participation, and empower residents through an iterative public engagement process, by building local networks, creating long term activities, whilst co-creating public space. In this instance the role of designer is changed to facilitator. In other words, democracy is both expressed through the design and through the process of design. This research argues that this approach can increase wellbeing by increasing positive relationships and reduce spatial injustice through empowerment.

9.2.2 Manchester and Gorton

The industrial revolution brought Manchester an unprecedented progress. Population growth exploded beyond control, reducing living standards dramatically (See Chapter 7). This research argues that the attitude to prioritise commercial development over quality of living and the continuity of urban fabric has persisted in Manchester until the present day (Canniffe, 2016).

Modern urban development in Manchester is characterised by the lack of a single coherent long-term approach. Heavy industry declined and left Manchester and Gorton in the first half of the 20th century. During the post war era, various redevelopment plans were tested across Manchester to upgrade the Victorian building stock and increase (vehicular) infrastructure across the city. In Gorton, "original" communities were relocated. Point blocks and Radburn inspired estates were created, disrupting the established social networks and urban patterns. Gorton went from being aspirational working-class location to one of the most deprived areas in England. This perception of loss of identity continues to be present in the participant narratives.

Today's Gorton is characterised by low economic and health outcomes, low quality building stock and the low rent market; participants highlighted that many of Gorton's residents "do not choose to be there" (GRT_LA1), but find themselves there out of difficult circumstances, without a support network resulting in high turnover and lack of engagement. This type of neighbourhood effect has its roots on wider institutional processes, with many of the participants drawing attention to changes in the benefits system.

Participants related to the local authorities highlighted the lack of resources available -short or long term- to support outcome deficiencies in Gorton, with low outcomes in relation to health causing particular concern. The voluntary sector in Gorton is strategically relied upon to counteract the lack of institutional support. This strategy is embedded in local policy. Manchester locality plans propose place-based solutions that seek to coordinate community assets (people), and promote council driven agendas to increase wellbeing and health autonomy to reduce investment. The role of local authority is transforming from providers to facilitators. Although some these initiatives involved physical interventions (e.g. Gorton Hub), participants narratives refer more often to the arrangement of events. 9 out of 13 participants failed to understand or disregarded the role or potential role by the arrangement or production of public space plays or could play to augment the impact of place-based initiatives. There is however a sense that the situation in Gorton requires "something different".

Commented [SGA141]: ADD??
Private development is often beckoned to adversities with a spatial dimension (such as lack of spaces to meet). This contrasts with Copenhagen's attitude, where design is used to activate a space, and although commercial development may be included as part of that development if it not relies upon "if the business fails, then the space fails" as the and can be noted in the participants narratives:
"The Council views open land as conflict"
"There is an awful lot od transfer going. Building on every piece of land
Why should my car suffer?
I've seen a lot of assets diagrams, no one picked up that there is an allotment here.
"We need to increase the offer. Card XXXXX XXXXX XXXX"

Commented [SGA142]: (ADD REF OMI)

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9.3 Research Questions: Conclusions

This research has been designed to generate data in the form of narratives through the weaving of themes and subthemes rooted in lived experiences collected at neighbourhood level. This research is positioned to enrich place-based approaches that are primarily modelled on macro scales of large demographic evidence.

This study has three research questions, listed below

RQ1	What is the role of urban design in promoting wellbeing and to reducing spatial injustice in deprived neighbourhoods that are also socially diverse?
RQ2	(How) Can Danish urban design approach implemented in Nørrebro be applied to promote wellbeing at neighbourhood level in Gorton & Abbey Hey?
RQ3	(How) Can Danish urban design approach implemented in Nørrebro be applied to reduce spatial injustice at neighbourhood level in Gorton & Abbey Hey?

Figure 9.1: Research Questions table.

1. **Research question RQ1:** is the umbrella research question. It proposes a reconsideration of the role urban design can have in promoting wellbeing and reducing spatial injustice in socially diverse neighbourhoods, following the lessons learnt from exploratory questions RQ2 and RQ3 questions.
2. **Research questions RQ2, and RQ3** consider the all aspects of Danish urban design approaches in Gorton from two perspectives that follow the initial literature review: wellbeing and spatial injustice. The Danish urban design approaches have been viewed through the lens of lived experiences of their implementation in the district of Nørrebro, Copenhagen. This research does not propose that all aspects Danish urban design tactics are applicable to Gorton, or indeed a North West of England or even British settings. However, those aspects that, through the research process of this study have been considered to be of benefit to the UK urban landscape, are duly exposed by this research.

Two additional conceptual foci evolved through the narrative analysis and weaving process. Conceptual notions of Social Cohesion and Democracy were generated out of the interpretation of data: there are fundamental links and overlaps between and across all four conceptual foci - wellbeing, spatial justice, social cohesion and democracy- that should not be underestimated.

Commented [SGA144]: experiences related to wellbeing tacitly led to narratives social cohesion, and experiences of spatial inequality and injustice often challenged perceptions of democracy at neighbourhood level. The following discussion of exploratory questions below (RQ1 and RQ2) draws on these tacit associations between wellbeing and social cohesion, and spatial (in)justice and democracy

9.3.1 RQ1 - Research Question 1

What is the role of urban design in promoting wellbeing and reducing spatial injustice in deprived neighbourhoods that are also socially diverse?

This research proposes that urban design can play a role in promoting wellbeing and reduce spatial injustice in deprived neighbourhoods that are also socially diverse, by fostering democracy both as a designed outcome and as a process.

In the drive towards an equitable and just urban environment, the role of urban design can be strategic empowering deprived communities and enabling them to change their environment. This proposition is ideally positioned to implement place-based policy, as it encourages a close engagement with the community through democratic co-design and co-design processes, increasing levels of trust, and social cohesion.

This research also calls for shift in the role of urban and architectural designer away from traditional top-down approaches, towards facilitation of participatory processes that enable and encourage interaction between groups. As facilitators, designers can foster conversations and collaboration that articulate values across the community that can then be translated into a physical intervention or democratic reordering of space. In these terms urban design can play a key role in:

- Acknowledging and supporting hidden or hard to reach groups by facilitating engagement processes driven by creative dialogue, and by translating the outcomes of that engagement process into a space that articulates values and moderates differences.
- Creating networks: Creating space that enables and encourages conversations between different groups.
- Empowering people “to take charge of their neighbourhood”, that is, to have the autonomy to mitigate the environmental and social processes that amplify their low outcomes.

“Reordering urban spaces, it is also a matter of attacking the wider processes and relations which generate forms of injustice in cities” (Iveson, 2011).

9.3.2 RQ2 - Research Question 2

(How) can Danish urban design approach implemented in Nørrebro be applied to promote wellbeing at neighbourhood level in Gorton & Abbey Hey?

This investigation proposes that Danish urban design approaches can have an application to Gorton & Abbey Hey to promote wellbeing at neighbourhood level.

In Gorton, traditional patterns of governance do not present a viable solution to the current outcomes' deficit (Refer to Chapter 8, Theme 1 for details). To disrupt this cycle of low outcomes, the local authorities require process innovation, to disrupt high dependency social patterns in order to increase autonomy in the community, leading to reduced expenditure on public services (health services in particular).

Participants narratives at both Copenhagen and Manchester are driven by place-based approaches to local policy. In the case of Gorton, place-based solutions appear to be compelled by need. In the case of Copenhagen, they are motivated by humanist principles. This research proposes that this latter perspective can contribute that "something different".

The literature review of this thesis described wellbeing as a multi-dimensional construct. At neighbourhood level, this degree of conceptual complexity was problematic. In Gorton, for example, participants often used notions of health and wellbeing interchangeably, obscuring other dimensions such as sense of purpose, freedom of expression or relationships. In Nørrebro, conversations often led to social cohesion. This research proposes the use of balance of values as a conceptual construct to manage the complexities of wellbeing at neighbourhood level.

In Copenhagen, some of the values highlighted included equality, inclusivity, social cohesion, design quality, dignity, identity, space. In Gorton, some participants valued purpose, relationships, trust, community, commitment to the neighbourhood, but other values were much more basic, such as food, shelter, safety, and dignity. These wide-ranging values often causes friction and/or conflict between and within groups; for example, in Gorton, all participants had lived experiences were individuals challenged or volunteers' efforts to support the community when their needs could not be prioritised, in turn, undermining social cohesion in the neighbourhood (See Chapter 8, Theme 1 for details). It appears that although health and health autonomy was expressed as key need in Gorton, lack of cohesion between groups is a salient barrier to that goal.

The built environment in Gorton is characterised by a secure-by-design (SBD) strategy that reduces opportunity for crime and lawlessness (Colquhoun, 2004). Part of this strategy is to reduce lingering and opportunities to meet. Only encouraging encounters where they can be supervised or controlled. For example, participants highlighted Tesco's as one the cornerstones for social interaction. Under the apparent safety of commercial activity and non-negotiable corporate values, residents feel safe to commune with otherness. This study argues that, although SBD strategies are understood to prevent crime (Cozens et al., 2004), they also prevent opportunities for conflict resolution. In other words, conflict is controlled but not resolved.

This research proposes that the Gorton community could benefit from a public space that articulates different values, where coexistence with otherness can become familiar, a space that offers the opportunity to resolve friction (if not conflict) by creating and strengthening social networks. Participants in Copenhagen described this space as a distinct urban typology known as "democratic space" (there is no equivalent label in the UK). This type of space follows a specific set of principles such as "free access to all" (refer to Chapter 8, Theme 2 for details); and is explicitly designed for

interaction, with a series of contact settings ranging from peaceful coexistence to promoting conversations between groups that creates *a balance of exposure*.

Analysis revealed that democratic space design in Nørrebro was applied with the support of policy through Integrated Renewal Strategies, which mandate the use of social and cultural initiatives (i.e., local networks and events) to anchor physical interventions of public projects. This differs from standard UK practice, where commercial activity is often encouraged to anchor or activate public space. In contrast, the proposed democratic space should provide “free and equal access” (Nielsen, 2019), to reduce dependency on market forces: “because if the café or the shop fails, the space fails [...] and then we spent money on a space that causes problems because it has no activity” (CPH_LA1).

A democratic space acknowledges a wide range of users beyond consumers classes and is led by community values rather than controlled by corporate ethics. In Nørrebro, the provision of democratic spaces has been described as a vital strategy for the acknowledgement and normalisation of otherness at neighbourhood level. Narratives emphasised space designed to negotiate disparate values, to reduce social conflict and increase social cohesion. This research proposes that a similar strategy can have an application in Gorton to mitigate some of the social processes that currently exaggerate low outcomes and promote wellbeing at neighbourhood level, by addressing barriers to trust, social cohesion and democracy.

9.3.3 RQ3 - Research Question 3

(How) can Danish urban design approach implemented in Nørrebro be applied to reduce spatial injustice at neighbourhood level in Gorton & Abbey Hey?

This study proposes that Danish urban design approach can have a role to mitigate some of the effects related to spatial injustice at neighbourhood level in Gorton & Abbey Hey.

Demographic data from Gorton and Copenhagen confirms that both case study sites suffer from long term economic disadvantage. Participant narratives on both locations also reveal high levels of deprivation¹⁶⁰ leading to spatial injustice. Whilst deprivation in Gorton appears widespread, in Nørrebro, it seems to have a racial dimension (See Chapter 8, Theme 1).

This study acknowledges that (urban) design cannot lift people out of poverty on its own (Marcuse, 2009, 2010; Soja, 2010a). “[...] and that’s not the purpose of the initiative, either” (CPH_LA1). Furthermore, whilst the initiatives endorsed here have micro, neighbourhood, focus, participant narratives reveal that, neighbourhood effects are being exaggerated by wider, macro, institutional processes. In Gorton, for example, participants highlighted that low wages and changes to the benefit system has significantly increased the volume of people lacking economic autonomy. In addition, national politics and world events have led to significantly reduced public funds. In Gorton, all

¹⁶⁰ Deprivation is understood here as exclusion that occurs regardless of disadvantage (For more information see UNESCO IE & Passow, 1970).

participants agree that local authorities lack the resources to adequately support those in need (See Chapter 8, Theme 1 & 2). In Nørrebro, national immigration policies appear to disproportionately target Muslim population¹⁶¹ (Math, 2023) (See Chapter 8, Theme 1).

The narratives discussed through Chapter 8, suggest that in order to disrupt the effects of spatial injustice, physical urban interventions should be sustained social action: the examples reviewed in Nørrebro (See Chapter 8, Themes 2 & 3) revealed that meaningful public engagement efforts preceding the physical works (in the form of co-design and in some cases co-production processes) and the ensuing activities set up to follow the completion of works, often led to the creating of new network and strengthening or expansion of existing ones. Their direct association to a physical intervention in their neighbourhood, can help establish a relationship between the groups and to the space beyond the engagement process, and generate a feeling of connection and responsibility for the neighbourhood.

This outcome is of particular interest to Gorton, where incivilities¹⁶², friction, conflict, are a constant source of distress to the residents and public services. CPH_LA1 highlights the importance of maintaining the relationships, and the space post hand-over: "Dialogue should be maintained [...]. Sometimes we put so much money in making a new square, and then you see that it's not maintained and then I'm like... [...]. I mean, we're not gonna lift any deprived areas out of deprivation if we don't maintain it. Maintenance is such a big issue".

Using this combined process of physical and social action can also "Lift the neighbourhood, so that people stay" (CPH_LA1): As highlighted earlier in this chapter (see section 9.2.2), Gorton suffers from high turnover of people. Many residents find themselves in Gorton, not out of choice, but due to circumstances, and when those circumstances change, they often move out, and someone else of similar needs moves in, perpetuating the cycle of low outcomes in the neighbourhood. All participants in Gorton complained about the private low rent market, often linked to the high levels of turnover. A significant part of the discussions centred around the low quality of the building stock (and the policies required to tackle this issue). It was also noted the difficulties of building an engaged community when so many residents felt left out so have had little emotional investment in the area. GRT_LC1: "Some areas, they can't. Or won't, engage. [...] Because they don't have no ownership of the area. They don't know their neighbours." Narratives from Nørrebro illustrate how introducing participatory co-design and co-production processes associated with physical changes can build connection to the neighbours and the neighbourhood.

Narratives from Gorton also reveal that a meaningful engagement process can lead to empowerment (See Chapter 8, Theme 3). Through the engagement, communities that suffer from deprivation can

¹⁶¹ In 2020 the Danish Ministry of Transport and Housing was referred to the Court of Justice of the European Union (CJEU) by Tenants of Mjølnerparken for unfairly targeting of Muslim population. The use of the "non-Western immigrants and their descendants" denomination in the Ghettolisten has raised "serious concerns of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, national origin, and other protected grounds" by the UN Human Rights Council. Proceedings are currently ongoing (Math, 2023; OHCHR, 2020) .

¹⁶² Such as dog fouling and littering.

become familiar with institutional processes to become, “empowered on a micro scale” (CPH_LA1), increasing independence and autonomy.

CPH_LA1: At least that's what we've always talked about [...], empowerment, basically. I mean, we don't want to [...] just push people out to a different neighbourhood. [...] that's what the private development do [...]. That's why the cultural and social is important because that is part of that empowerment that actually makes people stand up and take charge of their neighbourhood.

This study proposes that, a democratic design process in urban design could serve as a tool to reduce spatial injustice in Gorton & Abbey Hey.

9.4 Contributions to Knowledge

This research is part of a wider project for the Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC); funded by EPSRC, the Liveable Cities Research Project seek to “transform the engineering of cities to deliver societal and planetary wellbeing” (Yates, n.d.). This PhD research contributes to the Liveable Cities Project discourse by offering a new perspective on the relationship between urban design, people, governance, which could support wellbeing, and spatial justice in communities that are deprived and socially diverse.

9.4.1 New conceptual framework

This research proposes a new conceptual framework that responds to the need for greater understanding of how design can be used as a tool to promote wellbeing by fostering positive relationships, particularly in deprived neighbourhoods that are also socially diverse (Granovetter, 2017a, 2017b; Harvey, 2012)

The framework presents an informed perspective for the interpretation of lived experiences at neighbourhood level. Whilst it supports the understanding of spatial (in)justice as a twofold construct of physical and power mechanisms that are self-reinforcing (Marcuse, 2010; Soja, 2010a), this research argues the need for a third element: community values. An understanding and balanced acknowledgement of values at neighbourhood level can provide a guiding structure upon which to build a sense of equity between process and outcome.

The framework can provide a key resource for place-based, physical urban intervention as a guiding frame to drive the production of space through community values. Placing community values at the core provides dynamism to the framework, allowing it to evolve and shift with the community. To increase the efficacy of the framework, community values and voices should be understood as fluid, and the relationship between agency and time be considered. “As actors move within and among different unfolding contexts, they switch between (or “recompose”) their temporal orientations—as constructed within and by means of those contexts—and thus are capable of changing their relationship to structure” (Emirbayer & Mische, 1998:964).

Commented [SGA145]: ADD :

9.5.4 Contribution to Policy and Local Agents

•This approach is ideally placed for place-based policy. Because it can augment demographic model and evidence with narratives of how this is experience at neighbourhood level. Number can tell us what but not why. Because not all at neighbourhoods' level is rational, but there is great deal of emotion in decision making (Granovetter, 2017a). It is important for place-based model to understand this to make efficient and long-lasting change.

•Give perspective. Find solutions outside policy, that - to understand how group relationships linked to policy, bridge the gap between looking at a place from demographics to the everyday experience of neighbourhood level

an in turn drive policy change??

Neighbourhood data for Gorton Provided data, a fresh perspective on how to tackle place-based initiatives.

Examples of urban space and processes. That can guide local authorities and local agents

1-Helping Local agents to: Empower communities.
Negotiate differences

The framework aims to provide a space in policy to reflect and manage the diversity of locality, where creative dialogue can be nurtured. A political space to create a physical public space that reflects the complexity of multiple voices. A framework centred on values can amplify the non-dominant voices as a meaningful effort to include hard to reach communities. Increasing the range participation is a particular challenge in Gorton as it often is in low trust, low outcomes, deprived areas.

This framework is not intended as an exclusive initiative, but as an ongoing conversation between multiple actors (institutions and communities, between different community groups or individuals, etc), that in time will strengthen the ties across the community, enrich the physical “thingness” of the fabric of the neighbourhood with the vocabulary of those ties, increasing wellbeing, social cohesion and spatial justice.

This framework can be used by architects, urban designers, policy makers, and local authority officers and other local officers (such as housing association officers) for the interpretation of narratives at neighbourhood level. This understanding can, in turn, be used for a meaningful drive to add social value to a proposed physical intervention.

BALANCE OF VALUES: Balance of values is a conceptual construct that seeks to problematise the diversity of values at neighbourhood level. Embracing the complexity of place as defined by its physical arrangement as well as the wealth of values of its community – from values of dominant voices, to values of hard-to-reach and hidden groups-, can lead to a richer understanding of the mechanisms that produce and/or sustain “unjust geographies” (Soja, 2010b), such as barriers to wellbeing and social cohesion. This is particularly poignant in socially diverse deprived communities, where there maybe multiple levels of “unjust geographies” that may also be experienced differently by different groups.

BALANCE OF EXPOSURE: This research proposes that urban design can mitigate some of the social processes that amplify low outcomes in deprived and diverse areas. From contested spaces or places of conflict that limit social cohesion of the neighbourhood, public space can become a space to acknowledge, accept and negotiate differences. The Balance of Exposure construct calls for designers to use interpretative design skill to translate ‘Balance of Values’ into a coherent space arrangement with a deliberate range of interaction spaces, from peaceful coexistence to dialogue. A democratic public space that is inviting and affords equal safe access to all, regardless of social hierarchies. A space that changes the stimuli of deprived spatiality and reflects and articulate values of the community.

BALANCE OF POWER: Balance of power aims to uncover and increase levels of equity to the social and institutional processes that create or sustain unjust geographies. Through a meaningful public engagement, characterised by creative dialogue, balance of power goes beyond the passive role of information gathering, and plays an active role in empowering the community as well as creating and reinforcing neighbourhood networks. Together with community officers¹⁶³, designers are asked to assume the role of neutral facilitators, to enable a conversation that is not dictated by dominant

Commented [SGA146]: Or data??? Can this be used with big Q or just little q?

Commented [SGA147]: In Gorton, for example, narratives illustrated long standing deprivation and competition for resources coloured relationships between groups amplifying friction and conflict in the community. In Nørrebro, values of inclusivity are often challenged by racial and political tension. Understanding values a frame can help process and plan / identify needs to use to rearrange space and the power dynamics that creates unjust geographies – disrupt the neighbourhood effects?

Commented [SGA148]: ADD REF WHO SAID THIS?

Commented [SGA149]: Expended in comparison to the public consultation requirement in the UK.

¹⁶³ From local authorities, housing associations, etc.

voices, but also offers a platform to less prominent, or hard-to-reach groups, to address barriers of trust and negotiate common values for the production of democratic space. Amongst the benefits of participatory design approaches, the narratives discussed in this research (Refer to Chapter 8) mentioned reducing conflict and group anxiety and increasing social cohesion, early activation of space, adoption of physical engagement leading to greater responsibility for physical environment, but most significant all of was the introduction to institutional processes and empowerment of the community.

Commented [SGA150]: ADD REF FOR EAH ONE OF THIS

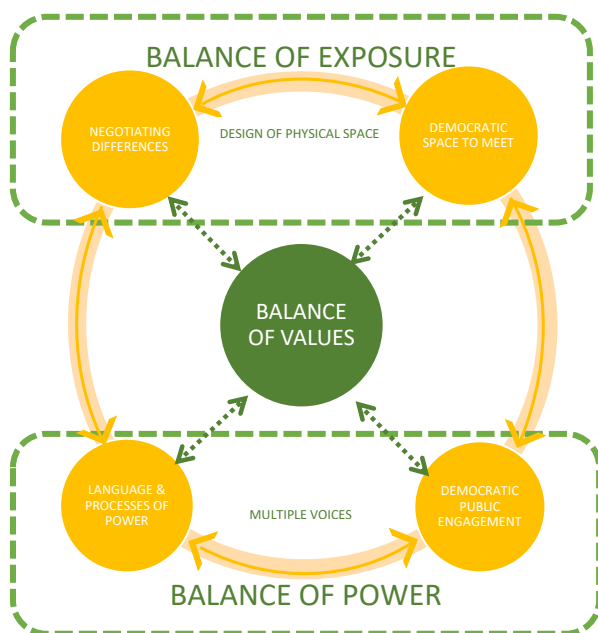


Figure 9.2: Conceptual framework diagram.

In this theoretical framework, the balance of power and space are regulated by a balance of dynamic values.

9.4.2 – Contribution to Design

This study emphasises the importance of associating urban public interventions with meaningful, and iterative, public engagement processes. This research has also proposed a new set of principles for this engagement process, outlined below and described fully in Chapter 8, Theme 3:

PRINCIPLES FOR A MEANINGFUL AND ITERATIVE DESIGN PROCESS						
No.	PRINCIPLES	OWNER				HOW
		LA	D	CL	R	
1	Start at the beginning and continue until the end	x	x	x	x	All should be involved through the process. Continuity is important to build trust and relationships. There should be a range of workshop, from small exploratory works and larger meetings, programmed as iterative feedback loops. LA at key reporting meetings.
2	Raise aspirations for the creative dialogue of the future		x			Co-design workshops to encourage creative dialogue and participation across and between groups facilitated by designers. Should be customised to appeal and inspire the participating groups.
3	Language matters	x	x	x	x	Making sure all groups can have a say and are equally considered.
4	Build trust with accountability	x	x	x	x	Promises must be kept. Physical intervention to serve as reminder and symbol of new relationships.
5	Organise activities: maintain the networks, maintain the space.	x		x	x	The relations that have been built should be maintained through regular organised activities. This can be organised or facilitated by the local authority, community leader, or voluntary organisation. LA should maintain an overseeing role to ensure continuity of action.

Figure 9.3: principles for a meaningful and iterative design process.
LA=Local Authority; D = Designer; CL=Community Leader; R=Resident

This research also proposes that architects and urban designers should reconsider their role in the production of space, and themselves become more ‘meaningfully’ engaged with the users as facilitators, from the point of brief writing through to post-completion (RIBA Stage1-7) to enable, and ensure a direct translation from community values and design proposals.

Overall, these principles aim to present a proactive new approach for designers and policy-makers for shaping the future, with the ultimate goal of fostering positive long-term change and outcomes.

9.5 Limitations to the Research

9.5.1 Covid-19

As with most people across the globe, the 2020 pandemic caused a significant impact to this researcher’s daily life challenges during and in aftermath of the pandemic, resulting in substantial delays to the analysis and writing up periods of this research.

In terms of the research itself, pre-pandemic field research in Gorton had been hindered by difficulties ensuring the safety of the researcher. Although an amended lone-researcher protocol was approved by Ethics Department, all planned field activities were disrupted and further contact with participants to avoid endangering the health or wellbeing of the participants, and the researcher (as well as their associated social ‘bubbles’). Nearly all participants either fell under, or worked in close proximity to Covid-19 vulnerable or ‘high risk’ categories.

External circumstances also impacted field research in Copenhagen. Although an initial exploratory field trip was conducted in 2019, when most interviews were conducted, it coincided with severe weather conditions which affected field observations. Subsequent field observations planned for 2020 also had to be cancelled due to lockdowns and the rapid changing landscape of the pandemic.

The pandemic not only impacted the ability to collect data, but significantly altered the nature of the information that could have been collected, as fundamental perceptions of life and space shifted across all levels. Even academic literature between 2020-2022 was saturated with pandemic related topics. To ensure parity with the data and narratives that had been gathered up to March 2020, no additional data was collected during or after the pandemic. The limitations implied a greater reliance on secondary sources for infrastructure aspects than initially anticipated. The understanding of challenges and resources presented in this thesis is supported by both primary and secondary sources.

In response, to the field observation limitations, the methodology and analysis were adapted to reflect the data available. As noted in Chapter 4, the alternative research approach presented a shift in the focus of this inquiry away from site observation data, which typically focuses on understanding and analysing patterns of behaviour and physical infrastructure recommendations. Instead, the participant interviews became the primary method of data collection, shifting the focus towards analysis of lived experiences at neighbourhood level. The emphasis moved away from simply documenting “thingness” towards questioning the fundamental role and influence of design, design processes and strategies for design thinking and policy-making. The research design shifted from deductive content analysis to inductive thematic analysis used to interpret values, concepts, and design processes, to conclude with a guiding strategy for engagement and policy making.

The main advantage of using the interviews as the principal method was its rich data. Facilitating for analysis at different social levels, and from multiple social perspectives. The main disadvantage was a greater reliance on existing information and previous researchers’ line of enquiry, to cross examine the analysis of lived experiences than originally envisioned.

Overall, the alternative approach offered the opportunity to place this research in the context of practical policy development and strategic design, and to seek a more holistic understanding of not just behavioural and infrastructural, but also political, economic, social and cultural positions.

9.5.2 Language

There were some limitations due to language, for example participants were restricted to those with a reasonable command of the English language. This caused no significant limitations with the Danish participants, but in Gorton, a small number of participants accounts had to be discounted, as the researcher was not fully satisfied that the premise of the study could have been understood due to communication barriers.

A number of Danish policy documents had no English translation. In this case, online translation engine was used to translate relevant sections.

9.6 Future work

To further the progress of this study, future work will focus on testing the theoretical framework and principles generated by this study. Below is a research plan to find and approach potential external partners:

- 1- **Planning:** Investigate and map out stakeholders /partners of interest, including a broad understanding of their influence in the field (academic, public or commercial). Starting from those participants who expressed an interest on ideas generated by this research.
- 2- **Produce material information sharing:** Create shorter papers for publishing in academic and industry journal, conferences, and for sharing with key stakeholders. Further lectures, presentations, and seminars can be prepared for sharing with undergraduate, post-graduate and PhD students of design, architecture and urban design. For architecture practitioners, I would like to create training material to fit in with RIBA and ARB continuing development practice (CPD) goals to deliver as part of ongoing seminar series.
- 3- **Co-operation:** Roll out CPD training. Contact and create networks with stakeholders and partners of interest, or those who share similar goals, to share and/ create new content. Investigate possible route for collaboration.
- 4- **Collaboration:** This is looking to long-term relationships with key individuals and groups to co-create research or dissemination material, facilitate public engagement workshops with the goal to co-create physical interventions.

In addition, below is a discrete list of further future studies to pursue. The following topics emerged through the course of this research but unfortunately fell outside the scope of research:

1. **From Gorton to Copenhagen:** This study has focussed on a one directional information flow: What urban design practices from Copenhagen could be applied in Gorton? This question has been answered through the course of this research. However, what the narratives also began to show is that there may be some lessons from Gorton, that Copenhagen could apply to Nørrebro. Additional data would need to be collected to suit the new Research question, but the research design and objectives could remain the same to present a twin research study.
2. **An in-depth UK planning guidance review:** to understand how the ideas generated in this research align with planning policy goals and priorities for the built environment in the UK. This study called for a shift in the role of designer. As an ARB registered architect, this researcher is well aware that this is not feasible without change in planning policy, RIBA recommendations, and amendment to the obligations listed in the architect's or urban designers Agreement. The review suggested here, is proposed as a follow up research question, that would lead to an outline report outlining changes to be made to current practices for a paradigm shift in the role of design towards spatial justice to be adopted widely.

Commented [SGA151]: What can Copenhagen learn from Gorton? About dealing with differences? acknowledging/understanding social networks that exist and function outside/in spite of dominant voices. (eg not many people think so, but there is a good community)
Other papers:

1. How is urban renewal in CPH driven by gang wars. (Fear of otherness or exploiting a loop-hole for neo-liberal / right agendas?)
2. Defining community boundaries by walkability/accessibility/mobility vs catchment area of services. A case of Manchester's initiatives to centralise public amenities (Gorton's youth club / hub).

Commented [SGA152]: WRITE SOMETHING ABOUT how the political landscape has changed in Copenhagen. How important the data that we collected in terms record of what a tolerant strategies are.

Commented [SGA153]: RIBA Plan of work Overlay for extensive community engagement processes and planning toolkit.
Also a review of Secure by design for conflict resolution??

9.7 Final Reflection

We must imagine a more inclusive, even if continuously fractious, city based not only upon a different ordering of rights but upon different political-economic practices. If our urban world has been imagined and made then it can be re-imagined and re-made. The inalienable right to the city is worth fighting for. 'City air makes one free' it used to be said. The air is a bit polluted now. But it can always be cleaned up.

(Harvey, 2003, p. 941)

As more places on Earth become uninhabitable, cities and their processes will have to evolve to sustain the ensuing human displacement. This research draws attention to the role of urban design, designers and policy makers in creating a space that can be used to manage the social challenges that are upon us. This study contributes to the debate to reduce spatial injustice and create more equitable cities where wellbeing can flourish across society. It calls for a shift in urban design thinking, from a place designed to reflect the needs and values of dominant voices, to a series of spaces that are born out of a democratic process, reflecting the balancing of values across the neighbourhood; a place where negotiating differences can lead to new positive relationships. It also calls for a shift in the role of architects and urban designers: it is not enough to be a designer; we must also be facilitators.

We invented cities to live closer together. Those differences and that togetherness is what drives the innovation and makes humankind thrive. The ability to adapt and change our environment, to accommodate it to our purpose is both the gift and curse of humankind. Yes, cities can be re-made, processes can be re-imagined. And air can be cleaned up.

About living closer together with difference? No, we no longer have a choice about that. Not on this planet.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Post Graduation Research Confirmation Report

Aissa Sabbagh Gomez - Upgrade Panel

Internal Examiner Report 29.11.2017

Professor Stuart Walker

Imagination Lancaster

The evidence submitted to the upgrade panel included:

A research plan: Wellbeing, Spatial Injustice and Urban Design

Chapter 1: Defining Wellbeing

Chapter 2: Space, Inequality and Injustice

The work was very well presented, well written and comprehensive. There were no major problems identified. However, currently, the proposed work is rather too broader and far reaching and would benefit from a more precise focus. Clarification of some of the terminology would also be useful, and the provision of rationales for key decisions and areas of focus. However, overall, this is an impressive piece of work, which bodes well for the completion of the PhD.

A list of specific queries and points for the candidates consideration are given below:

Queries and Points for Further Consideration

Related to the Research Plan document: *Wellbeing, Spatial Injustice and Urban Design*

p.3 2.1- Rationale

You say: **We can think of wellbeing as the ultimate goal of human endeavour** - quoting from a New Economics Foundation Report

However, this is only one way of thinking about the goal of human endeavour and it seems like a rather scientific approach based in a philosophy of secular humanism that seeks individual happiness and recognizes that that happiness is linked to the wellbeing of the general population.

While there might not be any problem with that as a general philosophy, I think it has to be declared as such, because there are other, different philosophical approaches to human purpose, which also may bring a sense of wellbeing and fulfilment but *INDIRECTLY*

For example,

- in Socratic thought, life's purpose is seeking knowledge of the GOOD,
- in Aristotelian thought it is pursuing VIRTUE
- in Enlightenment thinking it was seeking of freedom, equality, and citizenship

There is also a strong link between a person's level of spirituality and their sense of life satisfaction. See:

Raney, A., Cox, D., Jones, R. P. (2017) *Searching for Spirituality in the U.S.: A New Look at the Spiritual but Not Religious*, Public Religion Research Institute, Washington, DC, 6 November 2017, available at: <https://www.prri.org/research/religiosity-and-spirituality-in-america/>, accessed 29 November 2017.

p.4 You say: **The pattern of disparities in wellbeing reveals an unequal geography where prominent spaces of injustice have formed.**

What PATTERNS are you referring to?

You seem rather too quickly or implicitly to connect UNEQUAL GEOGRAPHY with INJUSTICE - there seems to be the presumption of injustice here, where there could be many other contributing factors. This needs for further elaboration

p.4 You say: **This investigation will explore both of these terms [spatial inequality and social injustice] but will focus on spatial injustice**, but you don't give the rationale for this focus - this will need some elaboration.

p.6 In the theoretical framework there is no mention of **INCOME** – doesn't this play a role in one's sense of economic security and therefore one's sense of well-being?

The term '**SOCIAL EXCLUSION**' seems to be a rather biased term to include in this framework - the other terms here – EDUCATION, MOBILITY and HEALTH are all NEUTRAL - shouldn't this term also be neutral - (you don't have LACK of EDUCATION, or LACK of MOBILITY – which would be equivalent).

There is no mention here of a sense of **SELF-DETERMINATION**? (i.e. freedom, in charge of one's own decisions, in control of one's life) - where does this figure in the diagram? A lack of being in control of one's life is associated with stress. (And lower skilled/income jobs often offer fewer opportunities for decision-making or determined what and how one arranges one's working life).

p.8 At the top of the page you say: **notions of 'wellbeing' are not universal or definite.**

BUT, further down the same page you talk about '**measures** of wellbeing'

Wouldn't **indicators** or **interpretations** be more appropriate than **measures** when the thing being scrutinized is not definitive in nature? (further down you talk about meaning being interpretive - rather than scientific. You say your approach is post-positivist and not objective but still say you are going to 'measure' wellbeing - which is a very positivist, objective, scientific way of putting it.)

WHY CASE STUDIES - why not key informant interviews mixed with observational research (of urban spaces), for example, or FOCUS GROUPS?

Where in the process do you engage with and talk to people? Would this be part of the case study?

The FOCUS OF THE STUDY IS NOT CLEAR - DIFFERENT IN DIFFERENT PLACES

p.3 This thesis will focus on the physical context around wellbeing, specifically neighbourhood settings, to ascertain key distinctive features that may foster wellbeing, but specifically equality of wellbeing.

p.7 The study will focus on social processes, specifically those related to diversity and social cohesion.

THESE TWO ARE QUITE DIFFERENT AREAS OF FOCUS

OBJECTIVES pps.9-10

To critically study and establish the role of urban design in fostering social cohesion, spatial equity and wellbeing in diverse and non-diverse neighbourhoods.

- To critically explore the role of urban design in fostering social cohesion, spatial justice and wellbeing
(But, how will you know when you have explored enough?)
 - To critically analyse how urban design can increase wellbeing and social cohesion by embracing diversity
 - To identify correlational relationships between urban design, wellbeing and spatial injustice.
 - To develop set of urban design guidelines that embrace diversity, fosters social cohesion and increases wellbeing.
-

Should not the Research Questions be discussed *before* the Objectives?

- the RQs state what you want to study
 - the objectives state what you have to do to answer the RQs
-

p.10 RQ

What is the role of urban design in fostering spatial cohesion, social equity and wellbeing in diverse neighbourhoods?

THIS SEEMS A VERY LARGE COMPLICATED RQ

I think you need something more specific

spatial cohesion? what does this actually mean? (built form - spaces – some explanation would be helpful)

p.10 I think that currently there are too many Research Questions

How does urban design impact the distribution of wellbeing?

How can urban design reduce spatial injustice and improve wellbeing? (presumption of spatial injustice ?)

What is the role of urban design in fostering diversity? WHAT DOES THIS MEAN – earlier you talk of looking into wellbeing in diverse neighbourhoods?

How does urban design influence social cohesion in a diverse neighbourhood? - this last one would seem the most straightforward and might be enough for a more focussed PhD

I think currently its far too big for a PhD

An important study that you should refer to in your work is:

Wilkinson, R. and Pickett, K. (2009) *The Spirit Level: Why More Equal Societies Almost Always Do Better*, Allen Lane, Penguin Group, London

Appendix 2: Ethics Application Sample Documents

Ethics Approval

Ethics approval (REC reference number FL17181 -please quote this in all correspondence about this project)
FASS and LUMS Research Ethics <fass.lumsethics@lancaster.ac.uk>
Thu 05/07/2018 19:15

To:
Sabbagh Gomez, Aissa <a.sabbaghgomez@lancaster.ac.uk>

Cc:
Boyko, Christopher <c.boyko@lancaster.ac.uk>;
Cooper, Rachel (LICA) <r.cooper@lancaster.ac.uk>

Dear Aissa

Thank you for submitting your ethics application and additional information for *Wellbeing and the Design of Diverse Neighbourhoods*. The information you provided has been reviewed by member(s) of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Lancaster Management School Research Ethics Committee and I can confirm that approval has been granted for this project.

As principal investigator your responsibilities include:

- ensuring that (where applicable) all the necessary legal and regulatory requirements in order to conduct the research are met, and the necessary licenses and approvals have been obtained;
- reporting any ethics-related issues that occur during the course of the research or arising from the research (e.g. unforeseen ethical issues, complaints about the conduct of the research, adverse reactions such as extreme distress) to the Research Ethics Officer;
- submitting details of proposed substantive amendments to the protocol to the Research Ethics Officer for approval.

Please do not hesitate to contact me if you require further information about this.

Kind regards,

Debbie

Debbie Knight

Secretary, FASS-LUMS Research Ethics Committee fass.lumsethics@lancaster.ac.uk
Phone (01524) 592605 | D22 FASS Building, Lancaster University, LA1 4YT | Web: <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/arts-and-social-sciences/research/ethics-guidance-and-ethics-review-process/> & <http://www.lancaster.ac.uk/lums/research/ethics/>
www.lancaster.ac.uk/50

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A2.2 Invitation to Participate Sample



INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE – PUBLIC PARTICIPANTS Wellbeing and the Design of Diverse Neighbourhoods

Would **you** like to take part in a research project about wellbeing and the design of neighbourhoods?

My name is Aissa Sabbagh. I am a PhD student at Lancaster Institute for the Contemporary Arts (LICA). I am interested in understanding how the design of this neighbourhood can affect social relations and quality of life.

If you live in this area and would like to take part by sharing your knowledge and experiences of your neighbourhood and the people living here, please contact me on the details below.

Your participation is voluntary. It would involve a 30-60mins chat at a time and location that is convenient to both of us.

Thank you.

CONTACT: Aissa Sabbagh; Imagination Lancaster, LICA, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YW. E: a.sabbaghgomez@lancaster.ac.uk

A2.3 Question Guide Sample



QUESTION GUIDE SHEET –Neighbourhood Officer Wellbeing and the Design of Diverse Neighbourhoods

Thank you for taking part in this study. This interview will be audio recorded. Your participation is voluntary, you do not have to answer all the questions, and we can stop at any time.

Background

1. What is your role as ~~Neighbourhood~~ – Central ~~Neighbourhoods~~?
2. How do identify areas for redevelopment? In your opinion, how can redevelopment reduce disadvantages in this area? Can you give me some examples?
3. Tell me about these projects: What stage are projects at? Were they driven by public or private funds? What was the brief of the projects? And the key aim of this brief?

Project Briefing

4. Did the project brief call for any specific considerations regarding health and wellbeing? How about social issues? (such as integration or diversity) How would you define these terms?
5. Beyond briefing stage, at what stage in the process do you have conversations about wellbeing and quality of life? How about social inclusion? When do these conversations start to critically inform the design process?
6. When setting the brief, what are the key urban elements would you expect to see once the project is finish that might promote wellbeing?

Wellbeing / Quality of Life

7. Did you have any discussions regarding the needs of specific social groups? (if yes, please elaborate. If no, why not? In hindsight, are there any needs you would have like to consider?)
8. How do you think urban design can promote wellbeing and quality of life? Can you think of any physical examples from your ward?
9. How would you prioritise wellbeing, quality of life and social inclusion against economic investment? What kind of evidence do think is required?

Engagement

10. How can the urban design process help residents engage more with public institutions? (ie promote democracy)

11. How do you see the role of public participation on urban renewal?

Impact / Legacy / Evidence

12. How do you assess the impact of urban design on wellbeing and quality of life? How about social inclusion?

13. What impact do you think the project had in the community? Do you have any evidence?

14. In hindsight, what would have done differently?

A.O.Q

15. Do you know of other contacts from local authorities/designers/professionals that might be interested in sharing their experiences of promoting wellbeing in diverse neighbourhoods?

A2.4 Consent Form Sample



CONSENT FORM – COMMUNITY OFFICER Wellbeing and the Design of Diverse Neighbourhoods

Before you consent to participating in the study, please read the Participant Information Sheets. If you have any questions or queries before signing the consent form do not hesitate to contact me, Aissa Sabbagh (contact details below).

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions. | YES / NO |
| 2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. Data and ideas shared can be withdrawn up to 2 weeks after the meeting. After 2 weeks my data will be anonymised and it might not be possible for it to be withdrawn. | YES / NO |
| 3. I understand that my meeting will be audio recorded and then made into an anonymised written transcript. Only the researcher and her supervisors will know my identity. | YES / NO |
| 4. I understand that audio recordings will be kept until the research project has been examined. | YES / NO |
| 5. I consent to information and quotations from the interview being used for publication, reports, conferences and training events. | YES / NO |
| 6. I understand that the researcher will discuss data with her supervisors as needed. | YES / NO |
| 7. I understand that, while utmost efforts will be made to protect confidentiality, complete anonymity cannot be guaranteed. For example, despite omission of all personal data, there is a chance that you or your company may be identified because of your position and/or geographic location of the project discussed. | YES / NO |
| 8. I consent to Lancaster University keeping written transcriptions of the interview securely for 10 years after the study has finished. | YES / NO |
| 9. I consent to take part in the above study. | |

NAME _____ SIGNATURE _____ DATE _____

CONTACT: Aissa Sabbagh; Imagination Lancaster, LICA, Lancaster University, Lancaster LA1 4YW
a.sabbaghgomez@lancaster.ac.uk

A2.5 Participant Information Sheet Sample



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET - INTERVIEWS Wellbeing and the Design of Diverse Neighbourhoods

My name is Aissa Sabbagh. I am a PhD student at Lancaster Institute for the Contemporary Arts (LICA), Lancaster University and I would like to invite you to take part in a research study about wellbeing and the design of diverse neighbourhoods.

Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide whether or not you wish to take part.

What is the study about?

I am conducting a study to understand the relationship between the design of diverse neighbourhoods and wellbeing and whether urban design can promote wellbeing by fostering social cohesion.

Why have I been invited?

I am interested in understanding how the design of this neighbourhood can affect social relations and wellbeing. I have approached you because you live in this neighbourhood and you will have knowledge and experiences of the neighbourhood and the people living here. I would be very grateful if you would agree to take part in this study.

What will I be asked to do if I take part?

If you decided to take part, this would involve a face-to-face interview at a date, time and place that is most convenient for you. Interviews will last around 30-60mins and will be audio recorded.

What are the possible benefits from taking part?

Taking part in this study will allow you to share your experiences of working / living in the local neighbourhood and your insights can contribute to our understanding of how urban design can promote a fairer, happier diverse society.

Do I have to take part?

No. It's completely up to you to decide whether or not you take part. Your participation is voluntary.

What if I change my mind?

If you change your mind, you are free to withdraw at any time during your participation in this study. If you want to withdraw, please let me know, and I will extract any ideas or information (=data) you contributed to the study and destroy them. However, it is difficult and often impossible to take out data from one specific participant when this has already been anonymised or pooled together with other people's data. Therefore, you can only withdraw up to 2 weeks after taking part in the study.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

It is unlikely that there will be any major disadvantages to taking part.

Will my data be identifiable?

After the interview, only I, the researcher, conducting this study and my two supervisors (Dr. Boyko and Prof. Cooper) will have access to the ideas you share with me.

I will keep all personal information about you (e.g. your name and other information about you that can identify you) confidential; that is, I will not share it with others. I will remove

any personal information from the written record of your contribution, including the written transcripts of audio recordings.

How will we use the information you have shared with us and what will happen to the results of the research study?

I will use the information you have shared with me for research purposes only. This will include publication of my PhD thesis, and journal articles. I may also inform policy-makers about the results of this research and present the results of my study at academic and/or practitioner conferences.

When writing up the findings from this study, I would like to reproduce some of the views and ideas you shared with me. I will only use anonymised quotes (e.g. from my interview with you), so that although I will use your exact words, you cannot be identified in our publications.

How my data will be stored

Your data will be stored in encrypted files (no-one other than me, the researcher will be able to access them) and on password-protected computers. I will store hard copies of any data securely in locked cabinets in my office or at home. I will keep data that can identify you separately from non-personal information (e.g. your views on a specific topic). In accordance with University guidelines, I will keep the data securely for a minimum of ten years. Audio recordings will be kept until the research project has been examined.

This study is funded by Engineering and Physical Sciences Research Council (EPSRC). The funder expects me to make my data available for future use by other researchers. I will exclude all personal data from archiving. I intend to archive/share the data via Lancaster University's PURE System.

What if I have a question or concern?

If you have any queries or if you are unhappy with anything that happens concerning your participation in the study, please contact myself

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If you have any concerns or complaints that you wish to discuss with a person who is not directly involved in the research, you can also contact:

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This study has been reviewed and approved by the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences and Lancaster Management School's Research Ethics Committee.

Thank you for considering your participation in this project.

Appendix 3: Interview Transcript Samples

A3.1 Case 1 Interview Transcript: CPH_D2

CASE 1: Copenhagen

Interview Transcript: Architect & Urban Designer – CPH_D2

████████████████████

██

██████████

ASG: So, can we begin by... if you could talk to me a little about your role at the practice.

CPH_D2: Yeah. So basically, I have been working here for more or less 10 years. I have been working on a variety of projects, everything from public space. Took part on designing Israel Platz which is on the centre, next to the market halls. I don't know if you've if been there. transition

ASG: *Yes, I have just been there.*

CPH_D2: Yes. Okay. But I also worked on museum projects and bridge designs, and interior design, furniture. So, I think that makes ██████ a little bit unique is that we're not sort of pigeon holed into one specific way of working, one typology. But we can change around a little bit. So, we approach each project with a kind of fresh freshness or fresh eyes. And so yeah, I just work on a variety of scales.

ASG: *So, you look at all different perspectives, of design.*

CPH_D2: Yeah, yeah. We don't have a speciality such we do. Pretty much everything within the realm of architecture, public space landscape design. So yeah.

ASG: *So, you mentioned that you were part of Israel Platz.*

CPH_D2: Yeah.

ASG: *Could you tell me a little bit about the project?*

CPH_D2: Yeah, it's basically... It's situated on top of a parking lot. So, there's two stories of parking beneath. And there was a park, kind of not really a park, maybe more of a public square with some playgrounds on top, but that had become very sort of mismanaged and had this very unsafe feeling about it. So, the municipality decided to do a new competition to redesign the square. And obviously, several different architecture companies participated in that. And ██████, were lucky enough to win the competition. And so, the project is basically plays on the metaphor of a flying carpet. So, sort of raised slightly above the street level. So, you kind of have to take a step up, of course, there's ramps for accessibility and so forth. But then you have this, this carpet that has folds. So again, playing with the metaphor. So, these folds kind of become the steps that go up where you can sit and you can look over the square. So, you creating different levels that people can sit on, and it has a really interesting dynamic because you can sort of find your own place on the square. And you can be higher up or you can be lower down. And then furthermore, you have a big basketball and football courts. You have a

little skateboarding pit. You have lots of benches, you have some trees, as many trees as we could put on top of the parking structure. And people use it can use it for flea market, or other kind of, sort of changing activities. Seasonal things, I guess, selling Christmas trees or if there's a certain event, musical events, all kinds of things. So, it has really a lot of programmes going on. Some of them are permanent, and some of them are changing. And then there's also, I forgot one thing the water feature! So, it's really quite a large square and it has a lot going on. But somehow it doesn't feel too overprogrammed. But I think it just creates that there's something for everybody. There's something for old people who just want to sit and look at children play or there's playgrounds for children. And there is something for pretty much every age group and demographic, something of that way. It became extremely popular very quickly. And of course, it's right in the centre of the city. And it's, it's a very well defined because there's buildings on all sides. So, it just works very well as public space.

ASG: *So, in terms of the brief. What were the key items on the brief, and when you were working on it first time?*

CPH_D2: I think it was... I mean, actually, I joined the project once the competition had already been done. So, I haven't actually read the brief, but I'm pretty sure it had some there had to be these sports facilities for instance, because that was there before. So, I think that was an important factor not to remove anything that was already there, but just to improve it and make it really work. So, these basketball courts have always been there and they're still there. And furthermore, I forgot to say that there is school right next door, and the school uses that as a playground as well. So, you know, when they have their breaks, all the kids just run out on to the square and they use it so it's as part of their facilities as well

ASG: *Is that quite normal in Copenhagen using public parks as part of school yard?*

CPH_D2: I wouldn't say it's normal, but it's an old school. So, I think they never really had a great deal of playgrounds. It's kind of very urban, very dense. So yeah, I mean, it does happen that that is more urban schools have to use public space. But of course, today there's regulations that they have to sort of have their, their own recreational space on site. But also, the it could be on the roof. We designed some kindergartens where it's on the roof, for instance. So, I wouldn't say it's very typical. But it makes sense since they're right next to each other

ASG: *And was, was there any talks about promoting wellbeing? like, you talked about social inclusion as well.*

CPH_D2: Yeah.

ASG: *Was that ever on the brief?*

CPH_D2: I think it is... again, I'm not sure what the brief said. But I think it's really part of the [REDACTED] DNA to do very social projects. So like the Red Cross I just showed you, you know. We went through a lot of sketches and then the one we really liked was this one way. The public can just sort of use the building without having to have permission for it. It's just part of... has become part of the urban fabric to use the building even though it's private.

ASG: *So, this is more part of your ethos*

CPH_D2: Yeah, is really how we work. We like to have this social fabric really well integrated with the buildings where we can.

ASG: *And when talk about the Red Square, are there any other any other projects were you try to cater for different groups*

CPH_D2: We've done a public library a little bit further out in an area called Nørrebro. It's a very cultural diverse neighbourhood. I think it was just very important for us to create a building that would make people feel comfortable because a library can also be a very formal space were you have to be quiet and follow certain rules. But there's a little bit more like a culture house, you have the library, but you also have a workshop and a cafe and talks.

ASG: *Was this the one in Nordvest?*

CPH_D2: Yeah, yeah, with the golden boxes stacked on top of each other. And that also works very well, because I think again, there's something for everyone for every demographic or young people, old people, students, you know, people who are just looking for sort of a quiet space in the city.

ASG: *Did you have to collect any evidence in terms of what social groups to cater for?*

CPH_D2: No, we don't. But a common thing we do is when we start up these projects, we have user involvement meetings. So that's an opportunity for the local people, who live in that neighbourhood to come and listen to the project. We'll explain like our thoughts and ideas about what it is, and then they can give in inputs. So, if they have any wishes or any comments, it's not everything that can be accommodated, you know, some people have very outlandish wishes and some people have more realistic wishes. And, you know, of course, it's finding a balance that what do you include what can you include, but that's a typical Danish thing that the public has to do when it's public projects, we have to have these user hearing meetings.

ASG: *At what stage of the process do you do these meetings?*

CPH_D2: That's in earliest stages.

ASG: *So, it is that before you get permissions?*

CPH_D2: So yeah, that would usually be before planning permission. So, when we've just done the sketch proposal, for instance. Or right after we have won a competition.

ASG: *And do you continue these conversations with the users*

CPH_D2: sometimes... it really depends a lot on the process. Sometimes we do, and sometimes we don't. But they can also be quite tricky because, of course, we're following a time schedule and an economy and we also have a client that has certain wishes. So, you know, how much, how many of these comments can you really integrate at the end of the day? You know, it's always a quite a tricky

process. But yeah, it depends from project to project. I think it is nice to have it as a democratic process, you know, that you really have a chance to give you a view as a citizen.

ASG: *Do you feel that this is something that as an architect, or as the practice can influence on the project? Do you feel this needs to come from the client, that they want these conversations?*

CPH_D2: I think it's a good system, you need both. And you need to... I mean, Ideally you realise new things about the project when you've listened to people and their needs and hopefully there is space in the project and within the budget and so forth to integrate as many of their wishes as possible. So, I think it is a good it's a good thing that is... But as I said, it's always a balance, you know, how much can you... Can you use, you know? if you have a meeting where people have 100 different ideas, you know, you have to be selective at the end of the day, right? You can maybe take one or two ideas and then work with those

ASG: *And, yes, we do have public consultations in the UK. Yeah, it's actually most of the time people don't show up. So, you sit there all day, and no one comes. Which is very sad*

CPH_D2: Yeah. Okay.

ASG: *But it seems that people are a bit more involved in Copenhagen?*

CPH_D2: I think so. Yeah, of course. It's, it's not everybody who has time to participate. But I think the municipality really tries to encourage people to show up and, you know, we'll put posters up in the neighbourhood to advertise that it's going on and so forth. Try to get people engaged in it. But yeah, of course, it's not gonna represent everybody in those meetings, you know. It will be so the people who have the time to turn up and take part

ASG: *This is a general question. How do you feel that... how can urban design or architecture promote democracy?*

12:50

CPH_D2: I think to make everybody feel welcome in the urban space and try to accommodate a wide range of different needs, across demographic, and an age group. And the thing is the fact that the municipality actually encourages to have skateboarders use the public space, I think is something that I see so many other countries, then they get turned away. They're sort of the sport or the activity is not seen as welcome. You know, so that's already quite undemocratic. It's sort of showing certain people away from public space. And so, I think that's a good, good sort of a way to show that Copenhagen really tries to be inclusive of everybody. And yeah, we have lots of different kind... You went to the Red Square, right by By BIG. Yes. And that's kind of an extreme right, they really try to show the diversity of, of the inhabitants by bringing in Urban elements from all over the world. So, they have a fountain from Turkey and light poles from, you know, all kinds of different places, even the Thai boxing arena and the playground squid from Japan, and... it's really other. I think they really took it to an extreme. And it was very difficult to maintain all these different things, you know, because they come from different places, but, but I think it's quite nice to really show that, you know, it's space

for everybody. We embrace cultural diversity. Because we also have all those other squares, public spaces that are sort of more minimalist in the design and maybe that are not super programme. It's just a big paved area. So yeah, there's a lot of different... now a lot about climate and adaptation to hear about later, [REDACTED], who's going to explain about that. So it's about absorbing rainwater, so it doesn't flood the city and... What does that mean that creates more green spaces and so forth. So, I don't know. There're different trends as well I would say within the design spac

ASG: *And in terms of the... I've went to see Israel Platz this morning and I've been to see the library as well and I was just looking at the two squares and the design of them is quite different: back in Israel Platz you were saying you've got the different levels and the views are quite open you can see the whole square from anywhere.*

CPH_D2: Yeah.

ASG: *And with Israel is tends to be more seen sort of little more intimate boxes and I wonder why is it different?*

CPH_D2: which one is the one with the small boxes

ASG: *The library, sorry*

16:00

CPH_D2: You mean the area in front of the library

ASG: *Yes... and inside as well. It's just seems to be an all about the little boxes and everyone having almost like an intimate place, but whilst still been together. I wonder how you came to that concept in two different spaces, almost opposite concepts.*

CPH_D2: Yeah. The library actually has an existing building. And then there's a new building, which is the golden boxes, and then then kind of tied together by this glass atrium. So, in a way, it's also merging the old, more traditional building with this new, more stacked, programmatic volume. I think the boxes just came out of this idea that, of course, a library needs certain small spaces where you can concentrate, but then at the same time, maybe you need to have a public lecture. So that's one box, the big box on top, it's just creating these little different worlds almost like individual books that you open up. So, it's really playing on this metaphor of the books. And there's also one that's more playful for children with a lot of colourful boxes that's sort of more three dimensional. And then of course, there's in between space between the new building and the old building, which is more like a flow space with an open stairway and bridges going across. So yeah, there's just different. They're quite different projects in a way, but I think they both create this feeling that you can find your own space where you want. You can find your own little niche where you want to. So yeah, it's not this big library hole you come into that can be quite intimidating. So yeah.

ASG: *And how do you think it works differently from one square to the other, with one being very open.*

CPH_D2: I think the openness of Israel Square is somehow also, it's quite nice because you don't get that so many places in in that part of Copenhagen because it's quite dense. And I think it's nice to really sit down and observe the movement of people, the different activities of people, and you can really get that full. Because it's so panoramic in a way you can observe a lot of different activities at one time. And I guess that's, that's human nature. If you read Jan Gelh, I don't know if you read about him. But he talks a lot about this, that, you know, being down and ground level and being sheltered from the wind and being able to sit in the sun and watching people you know, are some very basic human needs. And yeah, it's hard to completely decipher it, but I think that's possible.

ASG: *Well, I think from being there this afternoon, I did notice there was children, and I wondered if it was a school trip. But imagine they were from this school, you know...*

CPH_D2: Yeah, I think you have both. You have both. Yeah.

ASG: *But it's nice. I suppose for the school works because the children can go anywhere in the square and they can still watch them.*

CPH_D2: That's true. That's another important factor. Before it was a little bit more... there was hedges, on the old square. You didn't get that overview, right, you didn't... it was a level of feeling unsafe, because you didn't know what was behind the hedge, you know, that sort of thing. So at least now it's a little bit more open. And yeah, you have a feeling of safety there.

ASG: *And what's the market there before? Or is that new?*

CPH_D2: The market was opened more or less at the same time as the square.

ASG: *Was that part of the project*

CPH_D2: Not part of our project. But it was part of the vision for that inner part of Copenhagen. And I think it actually has a really nice dynamic because a lot of people buy their food in the market and then they take it... take away food and sit in the square. So, there's a good synergy between those two different functions.

ASG: *It is a very nice market. Do you sometimes go back to the projects and try to assess the impact you've had and your designs when you are when you're talking about being inclusive?*

CPH_D2: We were not so scientific about it. Also, we don't really have the resources to make a study out of it. But of course, we observe how the projects are being used. And also, we wrote a book, which is this one. You can have a look at that later. And it's also available to purchase in the shop. In there in a way we sort of revisit some of the projects... See if I can find like, this is the library, of course... And we do, of course, analyse somehow how they use but just not in a scientific way.

ASG: *It is difficult for the client to pay for the research.*

CPH_D2: Yeah, exactly. Yeah, we never get the [fees]; they never asked for that. But, you know, most of the time, they are just happy about the building. You know, we speak to the client some time afterwards, and we just get feedback. And we haven't had any disasters most of the time people

actually used to spaceless in a in a nice way. They are big improvement for those neighbourhoods. So yeah, mostly positive feedback. But we don't really do studies as such.

22:10

ASG: *Well, I went to see this [library] when it first opened, and it looked really good, and I've been to see it recently, I think it's almost 10 years since then? I don't know.*

CPH_D2: it's about right for me

ASG: *And it's still looking really good. So detailing works!*

CPH_D2: Ok, that's good to hear, yeah!

ASG: *So, when you develop some of the areas, did you ever think about some I mean, again, talking about social inclusion, do you ever think about how to avoid gentrification?*

CPH_D2: Yeah, that's a tricky one, right? Because and I think that's when you're doing urban improvement, you are essentially gentrifying. So, it's always gonna be built into the sort of metabolism of the city that if you actually go and improve something, you're sort of raising the quality of that area. And when the quality is raised, the prices will also raise and when the price is raised, you will also push out certain people, or will not do it, but that's part of the mechanism. So, I think it's really difficult debate and even in Copenhagen, you know, now the prices are so high, they really just keep rising and rising, because the city has become so liveable, and so attractive. 30 or 40 years ago, Copenhagen was not particularly nice. It was a post-industrial city. Still quite rough around the edges. But very affordable. Very rundown, right? So, very rundown neighbourhoods, and then we started regenerating the neighbourhoods one by one. And, of course, when you're regenerating, you're pushing up the prices. So, I think gentrification is unavoidable if you want to improve a city, unless you make some sort of artificial measures, the rent is kept artificially low, for instance. And there are some measures, of course, to protect people who rent apartments. But I don't think you can do so much to... It's still a capitalist society, like most other societies. So, it works on market mechanisms. It's supply and demand. Right.

ASG: *Yeah. So, you feel it is more of a political issue rather than a design issue*

CPH_D2: Yeah, what they are doing now in Copenhagen is they are trying to have a minimum of when we build new housing developments, there has been minimum of 20%. That's not social housing as such, but affordable housing. So that's actually a rule that you have to obey. If you're a developer, for instance, you have to have 20% of affordable housing. So that's one way of controlling it. But it's just crazy. Another form of competition. People are really rushing to get hold of an affordable housing-flat. And there's still not enough for everybody. So, you know, it's a really difficult problem to solve.

ASG: *I think, well, what we have in the UK is called Housing Associations.*

CPH_D2: Yeah.

ASG: *So, it's not... It's affordable housing, but there are also certain conditions, not everyone can get it or you have to get in a waiting list. So, someone who is a teacher, for example, they will have more chances of getting it before and also depends on your income and lots of things.*

CPH_D2: Yeah.

ASG: *Is that similar?*

CPH_D2: It sounds very similar. Yeah, it does. So that is true. Yeah. People who are necessary to have in society like teachers or nurses or whatever. Of course, they maybe don't get paid very high wage, but there should still be space for them in the city to live. So yeah, it's the same thoughts and ideas that are behind. It sounds very similar

ASG: *In terms of the some of the sites, in hindsight, would you have done something different?*

CPH_D2: I think we definitely learn it's time to do a project. It's difficult with architecture because every project is so different, right? So, it would be, I think it would be a different story if you're producing the same product over and over again. And you could really improve that product. But we're doing so many different kind of things. And every time it's starting a little bit from scratch, of course, we also learn and we try to take those learnings with us to the next project. So yeah, I think we do improve with time and we do gain knowledge. But it's hard to quantify.

And we also work in different countries and the culture might be different, you know. We can't just repeat the same thing and make it better and better. It's always a different context. Everything changes, every time.

ASG: *There's always a learning curve, isn't it?*

CPH_D2: Yeah, yes, definitely.

28:10

ASG: *Sorry, I'm just conscious of the time.*

CPH_D2: That's ok. I just have to help with this lecture. She will come probably soon. Maybe in 10 minutes, I should probably go and help her set up the computer and stuff.

ASG: *Yeah, that's fine. Actually, I was just hoping I could take some pictures of the Red Cross project, if that's alright. Is that ok?*

CPH_D2: Yeah. That's fine.

ASG: *Thank you. Was there any other projects that you want to talk about?*

CPH_D2: We're just, I just did a project, which is a bridge. And I think it's interesting because the brief was just to design the bridge. But then we decided that we wanted to have some kind of public function on the bridge, again, the social thing that we seem to always include. So, quite simply we just expanded one side and made a little bump out, and created a very long bench. So, you can sit on the

bench and enjoy the view. So, it's just finding something very simple that's turn a transport corridor into a public space, by very simple means, in a way. So, I just think it shows kind of [REDACTED]'s dedication to always having like social aspects of our projects.

ASG: *And do you know, where this dedication comes from?*

CPH_D2: Where it comes from?

ASG: *Yes.*

CPH_D2: I think it's a very Danish thing to be democratic and inclusive. Yeah, we have a saying, Jan Gehl. I mean, I'm sure you heard of him, right?

ASG: *Yes.*

CPH_D2: Yeah. I mean, that's kind of his... He's talking a lot about these things that the city is for people first and foremost. So that's sort of ingrained in our DNA, that everything we do is for people. So, we should really think about how do people use space? Or how can we change space? So, people use it more or, you know, how can we create a places for people to meet, don't interact, or just enjoy a quiet moment or enjoy the sun or the sea or, you know, all these things. So, I think it's just part of the Danish way of doing stuff.

30:31

ASG: *Okay, that's very nice. Don't feel that needs to be justified.*

CPH_D2: No, I think that is justification enough. And I think we're lucky to have planners that also understand this, you know, of course, we explain everything with a lot of diagrams first, you know. I think which makes it perhaps more easy to understand and also just things like this, for instance. So, we don't just come and say, oh, here's the final design, we released. Explain why we're doing, as we're doing. And I think that helps explain the concepts behind the projects. And we do that more or less for everything. And I think once the client or whoever we're communicating to, sees those they are, they understand our vision and, and why we do as we do. And that just makes it more acceptable. I think.

This is also an interest. This is a huge, huge Park, or like square where we put all the bicycle parking underneath these bubbles, in the terrain. So, it's also because in Copenhagen, there's so many bikes that they are often seen as obstruction, and they're not particularly nice to look at. So, they would try to hide them all away. And then at the same time, we're creating an interesting space by the fact that you can walk up on the roof. You create a more like a three-dimensional plaza.

ASG: *That's nice.*

CPH_D2: You can actually see what it looks like before. This just full of bikes and a big space where... it's not really creating space, right? Even though it is a huge space. So here you're creating a three-dimensional space where people can find the own little niche

ASG: *Yeah, and putting the bikes under cover.*

CPH_D2: And that's probably going to be completed this summer. So, we have a few projects in the pipeline. Where is this? This is in Amarg. An area called Amarg.

ASG: *It's not so far from here, but it is on the other side of town.*

CPH_D2: Well, if you haven't got the book, I really suggest that you get hold of the book. I think it has really nice images.

ASG: *It's beautiful.*

CPH_D2: Yeah. Just gonna see if there's anything else I can talk about. This, I mean, the book actually talks a lot about our process. It's called 'Our Urban Living Room'. Again, it talks about how do we use urban fabric as our living room, you know, how do we make it desirable to just go outside and sit and, you know, use it as a as a living room. So instead of streets just being corridors for transport, they became places where you really want to sit down and have a coffee or, you know... That's sort of our whole motto. All these projects that are here, have some level of urban living room about them.

I think the Red Cross building should be in here somewhere...

ASG: *In the UK, there's always a tendency to look at the business model first. So, everything needs to be justified.*

CPH_D2: Yeah.

ASG: *So, you can say that's very nice. But what's the net-gross area? I can't sell the gross, which is the interesting space, what we're talking about urban living. So this is what the PhD is about is, highlighting the value of having that extra space, the social value of it and how your met will become more valuable.*

CPH_D2: Yeah, I totally Understand, you have some developers that want to squeeze out everything in a very commercial way. Sometimes, the Government have zoning laws that say: "Okay, if you do so and so you have to give something back to the city". It could be like an edge zone where there's benches or it could be that the ground floor of the building has to be public accessible, or that even the roof top of the building has to be public, accessible, as well. So, there is a city architect here in Copenhagen that helps develop these policies for how the city should grow, so that it is always this socially inclusive. Because we really want to avoid these hardcore developer types that only want to take for their own profit and not give anything back. So that's definitely something that's always a challenge. But it's also something the city is way aware of. And there's a lot of policies that sort of try to counter those negative things from happening. Saying that of course, we also even in Copenhagen have really boring office buildings, you know, where, you know, you think, you know, not so nice. So, it's not like the Holy Land, you know, it's, we don't pretend to be holy about it. And it is a struggle to make good architecture. So, we have to have a lot of battles... Hello!

This is [REDACTED], who is going to be doing the lecture.

ANNA: *Very nice to meet you. Aissa.*

CPH_D2: Aissa is also PhD student, studying public space, mostly, yes.

ASG: *Yes, from Lancaster University. I am doing some research on urban design and wellbeing and social inclusion.*

ANNA: Yes. Interesting.

36:06

CPH_D2: So, I just invited her to come to your lecture.

ASG: *I am looking forward to it.*

ANNA: I am also looking forward to the questions. So you're here just visiting, or?

ASG: *Yes. Yes.*

CPH_D2: But I will help you set up in maybe five minutes. Is that okay?

ASG: *Yes, that was great. That's really good.*

CPH_D2: You can always email me more questions if you have more questions.

ASG: *Thank you very much.*

CPH_D2: You're welcome, but if you have any more now, we still have five minutes.

ASG: *It's fine. I'll have a look at this book. Yeah. And I'll take some notes. But thank you very much.*

CPH_D2: Okay. You want to take a picture of the model?

ASG: *Yes. Is that alright?*

END OF RECORDING

0:36:58.9

A3.2 Case 1 Interview Transcript: GRT_D1

CASE 2: Gorton

Interview Transcript: Architect & Urban Designer

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

13.01.2020

Recording No: OMI_191007_1906

SUMMARY KEYWORDS

Manchester, site, area, scheme, people, Gorton, apartment, city, bit, lane, crime, houses, buildings, side, smaller scale, design, Copenhagen, road, estate, architects

GRT_D1: I'll be asking you a few questions too. What got you interested in... the study is partly in Copenhagen? Is that right?

ASG: I'm looking at examples, sort of basic examples in Copenhagen. And they do have some locations where they have issues with diversity, that don't quite meet the high standards of the city? So, seeing, what's the city doing about that? How are they using urban design and architecture to improve social cohesion? Through design. Then seeing what of what lessons can be learn to bring over here.

GRT_D1: Yeah, yeah. I don't know loads about Denmark. I think diversity is probably their Achilles heel. As far as, they're very sort of open, quite forward-thinking society but they still do struggle a bit with diversity in different cultures.

ASG: Yes. I mean, they are just not as diverse as we're here. They're not used to it as much as we are. And so, it's just thinking, it's all works very well over there. But you know, what's to bring it over here, to bring it to a different kind of society. Where you have so many different needs, what can we do about that?

GRT_D1: Yeah. Let's face it. It's an interesting area. Yeah.

ASG: And Gorton is interesting, because it's going through a bit of a flux.

GRT_D1: That's my other question, was taking you to Gorton specifically. I guess Copenhagen is a quite an obvious place to go means looking for quality design, that's really thinking about social inclusion. Gorton doesn't strike me as that really.

ASG: Gorton is interesting because of the history of Gorton and, it's got very, very low outcomes. I think it's something like 31% of the population has issues that restrict activity, for example. That's quite a lot considering.

GRT_D1: Yes. Right. It's basically like disabilities, physical or mental disabilities.

ASG: Yes. So, there is a lot of isolation, there is a lot of alcohol abuse. And there's also a high turnover of people so you get a lot of people coming in from homeless backgrounds and that sort of thing. So, Gorton is very fractured, so it's a good case study. And being that is one of the growth areas for Manchester.

GRT_D1: Yeah, that's the other thing is that it's been heavily targeted as an area to invest in because certainly throughout my... I'm from Manchester originally, certainly through my lifetime, Gorton has... well, East Manchester, generally. And Tameside. It's really the sort of forgotten part of Manchester certainly been left to its own devices. Yeah, it felt like it for a long time.

ASG: And Gorton has always seemed to have missed out on some of the investment, because the investment came from the South and just finished sort of that side of Levenshulme. And then it came North and East and it's just finished...

GRT_D1: Sure. Well, I think during my childhood, the major problems we're seen around Hulme and Moss Side, with the System Built Estates and crime, gang crime, and guns and things like that, you know, it was making the papers, and making national news. So, it was a lot investment into that sort of, Southern pocket just straight after. Well, early 90s, and it's made a massive difference. Hulme's unrecognisable to what it was in the early 90s.

ASG: It's very different. I live in Fallowfield, just across Platt Fields Park, and depending on the direction of the wind, I could hear the gunshots.

GRT_D1: Yeah. yeah. So, what would you want to talk about? You wanna talk about [REDACTED] or you wanna talk about the project? Or Gorton?

ASG: Yes. If we can have a little bit of an introduction, if you could tell me what your role is at [REDACTED], is just a sort of an introduction, really. What you do as a practice as well, that would be good as well.

GRT_D1: Yes, sure. I'm an Associate Architect at [REDACTED]. I've been here for a long time; I came as a Part I in 2005. So in between studies, you'll know about those periods. But in between those have been here. And since Part II, I've been here ever since. So full time since about 2008.

So, seen through a pretty severe recession here, and all that entailed and seen the two original directors, now I'm retired. Now [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] have taken over the practice as Directors. So, I've seen quite a lot of change, and I've seen quite a lot of projects come through the office.

Seeing the differences in in the work as economic situations, fluctuate. So, when I first came into the office, to the very end of the kind of, I guess they call it the Celtic Tiger boom, didn't they? I mean there's a lot of, what turned out to be funny money around, but a lot of investment. It was there was a lot of grand masterplans and the start of lot of ideas, particularly across the road in Green Gate. So, when I came into the office, we were doing Spectrum, which is the scheme directly across the road. So, I was involved in that. But also, smaller scale stuff. Listed buildings work and things that we also do.

ASG: And there's more demand for high standards, back then, wasn't then?

GRT_D1: I'm not sure that's true. Actually. I'm not sure that's true. And I think that was probably part of the problem. And there were some pretty low-quality stuff getting built at that time. I think, for me the standards of design and construction. Probably have been steadily increasing, to the point now where, I think there's a lot of quite strong stuff that's being built. There's still some absolute rubbish. The sort of, economically Manchester's got stronger. The particularly, this is more talking towards the city centre here, the quality of a product has got much better, I think.

ASG: Do you think has to do with expectations from the users, or the Clients, or...?

GRT_D1: I think is more to do with competition. As more schemes come forward, there's a bit more competition to set yourself apart. It also with the successes that are happening planners are able to be more demanding about quality choices, public realm, material choices, etc. And I think, it's probably driven by the rental sector because when there's competition, people are quite discerning about what they want. The facilities that are on offer in city centre locations are totally different to what they were 10 years ago. And now as a minimum, it's a gym, it's some social space, that sort of stuff, whereas even five years ago, you just have an entrance and then that would be it.

ASG: Post box.

GRT_D1: Yeah, exactly. WE are now looking at all sorts of things, cinema rooms, swimming pools, gyms, laundry facilities, all sorts of stuff. It's much more going towards hotel, sort of thing in residential stuff. The other side to what we do is...

ASG: Do think the catchment of people has changed?

GRT_D1: Yes. I think there's more a lot more people living in the city centre. Catchment has changed? I don't know. I think probably economically Manchester's got stronger and more people, I think there is probably better jobs. So, there's more people with money, the BBC move and things like that.

ASG: I just wondering if it is still young professionals, or is it more families?

GRT_D1: No, no, I think it's still pretty much still pretty mono culture is the wrong word but yes, pretty much you dealing with young single people, predominantly. Students as well. I think a lot of city centre apartments, go to foreign students, PhD students, wealthy students coming from Asian and Gulf, and not wanting to live in student digging. They want something nice. They've got the money and that's what they're attempting to do.

Families Yeah, it's still not working. I don't think on that front. I think people are still moving out. I think Ancoats and New Islington is probably the best bet for that; for attracting, families. I think this side is really just concentrating on numbers and you know, it's still a lot. Still you can only to afford a two-bed apartment, or one or two flats. They're not really dealing with... a three-bed apartment they find it quite difficult to then rent. Actually, right now, one-beds are absolute, everyone is desperate for one-beds.

Recently we've gone from doing a scheme that's got 20% one-beds, and 60% two-beds, to 50% one-beds, and 40% two beds. Now should do it how many one-beds they can they can rent easily.

Yeah, but aside from the resi stuff, we're also involved in... it's a bit of a varied portfolio on the side, but sort of call it, heritage buildings, we've a lot of work in with listed buildings, but that varies between, some galleries, the kind of public buildings, community buildings, churches, and they're often grant funded. So, the what was the HLF is now and NLHF National Lottery Heritage Fund funded projects. We're doing about four or five of those in the office at the minute. So, we're sort of split around that, between residential work, in this kind of the other side of it. Heritage you could probably call it.

Within the residential side, is there's always a mix. It's always a split between at the minute, we've got a very large-scale city centre things like skyscrapers basically. We've got two projects ongoing at the minute which are both 50 stories, as well as a number of, sort of slightly smaller but, you know, 20-30 storey buildings and some pretty major cities centre apartment schemes. But then there's also the side which is more like Gorton Lane which is a kind of smaller scale apartment development.

Well Gorton Lane is kind of a mix between apartments and housing, actually. But smaller scales. We're talking 3, 4, 5 stories, plus houses. It's that sort of scale and they mix between some private development some, we call it affordable development. I'll come on to what Gorton Lane, a bit more of a mixed tenure, I would say. They tend to be more on the city fringes and the in the sort of suburb areas.

And then we also do social housing, sort of smaller scale. So that tends to be houses, housing, two-three storey houses. And that tends to be further outside of the city centre, we're talking Oldham Rochdale, we've got schemes recently in Blackburn and they are generally social rent, so straightforward for housing association, social rent.

That's about the spread of it. So, it's kind of its kind of housing at all scales and all tenures, which is nice. Plus, it's a quite varied portfolio in, in kind of listed building in heritage. We also do some commercial work but it's probably not so much of interest to what your interests are but the kind of city centre generally offers refurb projects.

ASG: Do you do any urban design?

GRT_D1: We do some. We sometimes get asked to look at larger areas. In master planning terms. We also get involved in some estate regeneration projects.

We did a PFI scheme, which was a social housing scheme in Oldham, Primrose Bank, which was a long term 200-unit scheme, a full estate regeneration scheme. We've also, recently done work at Lower Falinge, in Rochdale which again, was a sort of larger scale master plan of the estate itself, split up into phases and then starting to work individually on phases. And we completed two phases for Rochdale Borough Housing. I think other phases are then going to be brought forward by other architects from now. But that side of things we do as well.

Less frequently. The work for social housing providers tends to often be on cleared sites or brownfield sites that are getting offered by local authorities. So that's how that's how Gorton Lane came about.

Should we jump onto Gorton Lane?

ASG: Yes, fine. Have you ever did you have to identify the community needs to this?

GRT_D1: Well, do you know the site? Do you know the scheme? You know where it is?

ASG: It's near the monastery, isn't it?

GRT_D1: It's pretty close. Yeah.

I'll just show you the maps here. [GRT_D1: *Points at Gorton Lane Project's Location Plan / Site Plan*]
So, this is Pottery Lane, which runs... Well could call it an outer ring road, almost.

So, yeah, they actually had a up here and then it comes out to Bellevue and Longsight at the bottom.

Ashbury's station is there. So, this is Gorton Lane, Gorton Monastery is there. The sites that we are dealing with, are here. So, it's this teardrop shaped site adjacent to Pottery Lane.

And then this site here, which again, adjacent to Pottery Lane, but takes on the junction with Gorton Lane, Bellevue Street.

ASG: So, it's this a busy junction?

GRT_D1: It's a very busy junction. Yeah, Pottery Lane a is a four-lane, dual carriageway. It is quite a fierce road. Whilst Gorton Lane, you know Gorton Lane I assume, is a two-lane road. it's quite a busy road. And Bellevue Street is relatively busy as well. So, in terms of traffic, yes, it is relatively busy.

The West Gorton Youth Centre is this site here. Interestingly, that was offered to us as part of the scheme by the city. The city would like to see this gone, ideally, really. But they'd like to see this gone with politically with something replacing it, not necessarily on site, but they're waiting for a time when there's something else appropriate in the area that can fulfil that need, and then that can be demolished. They'd like to see that gone. So initially, the scheme encompasses the three sites, Site 1, Site 2 and Site 3. And it became apparent through the sort of early stages of design that politically in terms of timing, it wouldn't be possible to bring that forward. So, as it stands, there's two sites, there is this site and this site. And they are both cleared sites, there was no buildings on them. They were previously developed sort of pre-war [era]. They've been derelict, except for a pub, which used to be here.

I think it was a Gorton Arms? I can't remember the name. I've got a photograph of it, which will tell me what the name is. But it's something like the Gorton Arms, but it was a big, big standalone pub, well it sat standalone in the end, but it's sat as part of a... I'll show you some historic maps. But it sat part of the network streets in this area with which actually [...] East-West, that's the important grid, which run that way. And that way. Which is completely demolished. Which is done away with all of this.

I think that's been one of the big problems for Gorton, really, over the years. The introduction of the Radburn mistakes and the loss any sense of [continuity identity?]

ASG: Yes, I mean, Gorton is a very large area.

Commented [SGA154]: Find this maps!

Commented [SGA155]: Add historic map and highlight grid?

Commented [SGA156]: See:
The design of Radburn believed that **people would actively use the front of the houses facing the greenways**. In reality, people come and "leave" from the back of the houses and the vehicles, not pedestrian access.

<https://www.townandcountryplanninginfo.com/2020/08/radburn-concept.html>

https://digitalcommons.calpoly.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1000&context=paradise_pr

Commented [SGA157]: ADD THIS TO URBAN DESIGN LIT REV

GRT_D1: So that's the site. So, go back to your question, and I'll try and deal with that. What was the question again?

ASG: And I just wonder if, in your brief, did you have to address specific community needs?

GRT_D1: Right as architects, we generally working on behalf of the client. So, I call this project [REDACTED] you probably be aware of, who are an amalgamation of City South Housing Trust, and Eastlands Homes. So, they merged and formed [REDACTED] about four years ago. So, this part of Manchester was Eastlands Homes' neck of the woods. A lot of the property, a lot of the social tenants around this area and surrounding this site are [REDACTED] tenants. That's how a lot of their sites are brought forward. They'll often be in areas where they've got a lot of property, a lot of tenants.

ASG: So, is it in both sides of Pottery Lane, they have tenants?

GRT_D1: No. On the other side of the Pottery Lane is an apartment development which was built about seven years ago? And then to the West, this is the former Wenlock Estate, which I don't know if you remember the TV program Shameless? remember the program?

ASG: Yes,

GRT_D1: This was the Wenlock Estate where that was filmed. It since been demolished and developed by Keepmoat Homes as a as a private development for them, which may be an interesting one to look out for you actually.

But this is a little bit earlier. You can see a bit there, bits of it still there. I'm not sure when this was from. But it looks pretty much like that. So, it's two-story houses with... [Google map changes satellite photo] Oh, there you go. It's gone! We've gone back in time.

ASG: Hahahaha

GRT_D1: So, two-storey, generally semi-detached houses with drives, gates... And that's VERY MUCH what the city is looking for in this area. It was quite challenging for us to get to convince them on what we were hoping to do. In terms of where's there is a house, incredibly keen for it to be very sort of... well, not even traditional, a semi-detached house with its own off-the-street parking, and it's sort front curtilage to speak off. Access to it around the back, no gates, no gills and alleyways, that sort of thing. So, everything's completely contained. No... And then in front of that you've got the highway. They were very... basically no shared communal spaces. Particularly where houses were concerned. Because they see that as, you know, areas like this estate, the Wenlock Estate, there were vast areas that were communal basically. And they were they were seen as the areas that didn't work.

ASG: But were these communal areas actually designed to be communal, or were they sort left as open land?

GRT_D1: Yes, exactly.

ASG: Do you think that kind of strategy derives more from Secure-By-Design?

GRT_D1: Yes, I think so. I think it is from a fear of crime, probably. Or antisocial behaviour, probably more crime. Groups of people congregating, intimidating people that sort of thing. And the planners and the city are very keen for that not to be the case. Whilst it's worth looking at that that area actually, whilst it's been successful, I think, in that people bought the homes. People are living there. It's quite a stale environment. If you know what I mean.

ASG: Do you think as a way to reduce the crime, do you think that kind of strategy works long term?

GRT_D1: I think it genuinely does. Yes. I think you've got to be very careful where, particularly in an area like Gorton that you aren't just going to repeat the mistakes of the past.

I think there's definitely a space for well defined, well overlooked bits of public space. What was previously there didn't have that. Not well designed, and not well overlooked. You know, stacks of things. with that sort of planning, you often had back gardens onto front gardens. Do you know what I mean? A lot of timber fencing onto the streets. Un-overlooked things, basically bad design. And it didn't work. So, I think rightly, people are petrified of that happening again. So, they're not willing to be adventurous. Or to try something different. It's really, "gotta get something that we know works".

ASG: So, it's also about the perception that things might increase crime.

GRT_D1: Yes, I think so. I think perception is probably a good way to describe it.

So, for us, that was our starting point. We got into the project from [REDACTED] who were offered the site by the city. So, it was basically, probably, a little dose of realism, really, it was: "Can you have a look at these sites and see how many units you can get on them?" It's as simple as that. It was NOT: "This is the community we want to serve with these homes, and this is how we want to interact with them... What do you think we can do?" And that's that was the brief basically.

We knew they wanted a mixture of house and apartment. But they wanted to get a relatively dense development onto the site. And this is coming from a Home's England Grant, which is a grant to [REDACTED] which is for affordable housing in the rent-to-buy and shared-ownership tenancies I presume you are ok with what they are and how they work. So, the way it was split was that the, houses were to be shared-ownership and the apartments would be rent-to-buy. So, [REDACTED] have a grant to deliver, say 500 of these types of property. Anywhere they want, they just got to do it, and they get the funding, right? So, numbers are important. This site, was seen as somewhere where they could get some density. So, there was always a desire for apartments or for something above two stories and when you see the site, it does lend itself to that. With it being on a major junction. And the planners were always on board with that. So that was really the brief.

We knew the area that we were in. We knew that there were issues with crime and antisocial behaviour surrounding the site, on the site, as well! So, we knew that security will be a big issue for the planners. And that, in effect, we were coming from a starting point where anything we do has a secure boundary to it. And that the street is effectively the public space. Once you get beyond the street, that's residents only. So, there was never... well it wasn't quite never. But, as you say, in effect, it was a clear definition of between public and private space. There wasn't going to be an offer of public space in development.

ASG: And that's even when the surrounding properties also belonged to [REDACTED]

GRT_D1: Yes.

ASG: That's interesting. Yeah.

GRT_D1: It's just not something that [REDACTED] was really that interested in doing. There was a point in time where we were, actually for technical reasons, looking at a scheme which we couldn't develop a building, on the end of this site. So, we were looking at that as a bit of open space, with houses overlooking it. And that was actually... the planners were less keen on that than anyone really. They're very keen to get building up on the end of the site.

ASG: Do you know why?

GRT_D1: I think for the reasons that we've talked about, I think they're just thinking any bit of non-private space, is open to problems, basically.

ASG: Do you think in their view, this is a way to activate the site? To avoid, sort of gatherings or...?

GRT_D1: Yes. Yeah, it is.

ASG: Or fly-tipping is something that I hear a lot in Gorton?

GRT_D1: Yes. Well, this site has been bad for that as well. It's also, there've been travellers on the site. In fact, you can see caravans where I'm just about to draw.

So that's beside. So, it's just an open area. So, the city is desperate to get that enclosed basically

ASG: Was it ever a park?

GRT_D1: No, no, no... I mean it's basically demolished [housing]. That site was a street, which has been severed by Pottery Lane and Gorton Lane over the years. So, this is what was the street network and it's just it's just been left. So that's what that's basically what we're dealing with.

Yeah, there was never a desire to not contain that area.

ASG: And do you think there might be an opportunity do that in the future?

GRT_D1: Not on this site, really. Funny enough, when you look at the figures, this part of Manchester is per population is massively oversubscribed with public open space compared to the rest of Manchester. It's way above the recommended minimums for good Public Health. Basically, you've got massive park, just there, which is within a couple of hundred meters of the site.

So, it was looked at. Public open space was looked at, because in planning terms these sites were public open space, they were dedicated public open space. Even, though the planners don't see them as that. They see them as a derelict nuisance site. They were strictly speaking public space. So, we had to demonstrate why there wasn't a need for these sites to be public open spaces.

That's in the Design and access statement. I can give you that.

ASG: Did you have some objections as well, from the residents?

GRT_D1: We did, yeah. Mainly from two or three residents from Polesworth Close, which is this street here. Who, well... what's in front of them here is probably on one day, a magical oasis that's the most wonderful thing you've ever seen, to... It's a dumping ground, that needs to go. It doesn't tend to be somewhere in between. So, I think it was a little bit disingenuous in the commentary, that it was described in comments of both a crime hotspot and nature reserve. It was that sort of thing. Where actually, it's probably more towards a crime hotspot than the nature reserve really. It was looked at from an ecological standpoint and it's got very little value. There is a ribbon of trees here, which need to be taken down to because this this is a run of houses along here. Basically, we're producing the other side of the street, here that's been missing

So, you could see why someone might object to that. If they prefer to not talk about the other side of the street, but in urban design terms is most definitely the right thing to do. Because that's part of the problem. Things aren't overlooked properly. Streets are very baggy, very "gappy". And there's no tightness to anything. Things just bleed off into nothing. Where it's not developed, there's nothing happening. So that's that really.

I think, [REDACTED] probably as client and more than as architects are looking at the need in a particular area. And then dictate it to us, what they want to see in terms of the properties and the mix and the height. We're working on their behalf to deliver that, to design that for them for me,

ASG: I understand that. I just wondered what needs were translated or what needs were required in your brief?

GRT_D1: Well, there weren't!

ASG: Security, was quite high up on the agenda.

GRT_D1: Yeah, yeah. Security and numbers, but also an appropriateness of scale. So, the way we dealt with scale, which I can show you, is by tearing up towards the corners of the site. That address main roads and tearing down as you get towards the existing residential properties. So, its two-story against two-story. Five and six-story is against the main roads.

ASG: And did they ever talk about wellbeing?

GRT_D1: Not really! This is probably a bit of a brutal conversation but yeah, I'm telling you the truth, really. Not really.

I think the way we looked at it, and probably the OneManchester looked at it, is that we think we can bring positive change, by what we know, and by producing good quality buildings that work. That's what we can bring to it. I think. And trying to make a successful building which stand out above what's around in terms of quality and can drive design conversation that improves an area, that can help improve an area. And that's probably the way we were looking at it.

Really, we are looking at things in design terms, our how the buildings address the streets, how that can improve things, for residents generally make it safer, make it more welcoming, make it more attractive. But in terms of how it addresses particular needs of certain individuals, not really, no more than it's accessible, you know, physically accessible...

Commented [SGA158]: So wellbeing was not explicit but implied???

Does this mean that other participants might be dressing up the truth? That's this question the honesty / validity of other data?

Commented [SGA159]: Interesting choice of terminology.

ASG: I'm assuming, because we got a mixture of apartments with houses, that you were targeting families, so it would more like a mixed [community]?

GRT_D1: Yes, I think that is the idea, yes. Trying to encourage a mixed community, for sure.

But, interestingly, the houses have always been... the way that they're managed and they're actually quite separate to the apartment. So, the apartment buildings work as a, as a collection, really. So, they have shared parking, they have shared bin collection, that sort of thing. So, they have a, they have a shared garden space as well.

ASG: And can the houses use that as well? Or is it just for the apartments?

GRT_D1: No, just for the apartments. And, funnily enough, that was something that planners particularly very keen on. This idea that houses, it's completely it's self-contained thing, fence around it. You don't have to use anything else to maintain that property. That it's totally individual. And that's how they saw... At one point we had houses which were accessed from a communal courtyard. So, you come in through a gate, and that so there will be houses within the courtyard. And that was seen as a complete no-no from the planners.

But accessing an apartment building with of courtyard wasn't seen as a no-no.

ASG: Did explain why?

GRT_D1: No, not really... Well, they did. Antisocial behaviour, occurring within that courtyard.

ASG: Right... between the houses and the apartments?

GRT_D1: I'm not sure I'm not sure why houses regenerate that, necessarily. But that was the fear that... I think they may have had problems with parking courts and that sort of enclosed communal areas. That they've problems with in terms of crime and antisocial behaviour. I don't know the specifics, but I would guess. What we ended up with was exactly that houses that were completely self-contained. And I could definitely get that, I could definitely see the attraction for a resident or a buyer for that. And also, for the client, that they're, that they're quite self-contained and from a construction and from a sales point of view. They could be completed at different times, or rented or sold, whilst other things are still going on. There's a lot of sense in doing it, but it does set up a difference between, whilst it's one development, the houses are quite separate, in the way they operate.

ASG: I guess you also said that the houses were share ownership and the apartments are rent to buy. So, I just wondered in terms of service charges, for example, is the idea of separating, these properties, and it means that is more future proof in terms of separating the ownership?

GRT_D1: Yes. There would be no service charge on the houses. I think that's partly what it's about as well. The service charges on the apartments. I think service charge, talking more generally, is one of the things that drives a lack of decent communal space. Particularly where housing associations are concerned, they're petrified of service charge, and petrified of maintenance as well.

Commented [SGA160]: Interesting

So, we've had schemes where we've been forced to put things which were clearly not part of someone's property, part of garden, into someone's garden. So, they become their responsibility. Right? So, it's not a service charge of lighting. And it can really skew things weirdly. That's when you end up with fences wrapping around everything. And it all looks a bit odd.

ASG: Is it sort of trees? Or post-boxes or...?

GRT_D1: It's just areas of site you can't develop. So, there would be planters, they'll probably have planting in them. But they just end in someone's garden, which isn't what we really want to be doing, but it's sometimes how it ends up.

ASG: So, in hindsight, did you think this is a good strategy in terms of building the community in this area? In terms of building the community, I think yes and no. I think we're confident this will be a successful development that it will bring people to live in the area, probably from outside the area, I guess. Perhaps a mix, and that's probably our benchmark. You know,

ASG: And that's your brief, isn't it?

GRT_D1: That it works, yeah. The last one what the last thing we want to see is that they fail. You know, white elephants, is not what we want. So, we are quite careful how we put things together. And that's really on the urban design side. And on the detail design side, that is an attractive, safe environment for people to be in.

ASG: I just wonder if in the future if this friction that is bringing in the antisocial behaviour between the residents, if this lessens, I just wonder if there would be an opportunity to take down the fences?

I think probably no, to be honest. No. I think the way it's now set up, the scheme, it wouldn't make sense not to be an enclosed area. And I think probably the residents there would probably take issue with it. And yeah, I think at this scale, you are probably looking at something that doesn't contain any genuine public space. I think we probably need to go up a scale to make that work. And I don't think the sites were set up that well for it. Yeah, we will look for opportunities to do that. I don't think these sites were set up that well for it. We will have opportunities to do that. and then there's other larger scale schemes that we do, that we have done that. Yeah. And it's worked fine. You know, the scheme that I mentioned in Primrose Bank in Oldham, does that. It has a series a series of public spaces. That was off the back of a demolition of a failed maisonette estate, which had a lot of public space, but it was absolutely dreadful public space. It was terrifying. And the spaces that we've designed there have worked fine. We've produced a community centre, for that site as well. Which is really well used.

ASG: So, you think this site, if it had included the whole site, [REDACTED] estate all the way around, it would have been an opportunity to...

GRT_D1: Oh yes. The other thing that we're talking about here, we're talking about a community and their existing needs. These are a set of clear sites. So, it's not like we are displacing community, redesigning it and putting them back. That would be a different matter in the way that you approach it. And you'd be dealing with a bigger area and we're where we do that. Estate regeneration projects, we're always looking for opportunities to get good quality, open space, public space into them.

And if possible, a lynchpin at the centre of it. So, a community facility really helps. At Primrose bank, the production of the community building, community centre is massive to the success of the area. People use it for all sorts of things. So, I think in any bigger scheme, we'll be looking at integrating the existing community. We will be looking for something like that, for sure.

But yeah, this scheme is a slightly different thing. It's more of a regeneration new scheme, I guess? Trying to uplift an area with apartment buildings really, rather than by an offer to particular community.

ASG: Yes, I suppose what I'm asking is, that looking at sort of the wider picture of Gorton, and the wider problems that it has, and have been affecting this site. In the way the strategy that you're describing, taking the left-over sites, and populate, that may be linked the whole of Gorton seen as... And which is obviously outside. At least, it's not within your brief.

GRT_D1: Yes, yeah. Fair comment. That's the problem.

ASG: AS a designer, what would you've done if you had the magic wand to draw?

GRT_D1: Yeah, we like to redraw Gorton entirely. Yes. I think what we tend to look backwards as a first port of call, to look at what was there. And often, where the sort of 60s and 70s Radburn Estates are, they've done away with a pattern of streets, which does actually work quite well. The grid pattern of streets that has been successful. And where it still remains, is successful. The problem was, that was the properties themselves too low quality, generally they were back-to-back terrace housing, with no toilets, you know, there were slum properties. So, you might look at trying to reintegrate the previously existing grid of streets and interspersing with pockets of public space and community use something along those sorts of lines. But it's a fair point that we, as architects, you very rarely get the opportunity to look at something in as large scale, because the ownership picture is too muddled.

Yeah, it's getting to do everyone's strategy is, is where you are. I don't know if there's a regeneration framework for East Manchester, or who've done the most recent one.

ASG: I think it's just what you're describing at the moment. Pocket of infill and there is a few things going on in Gorton.

GRT_D1: Yeah. Because the city has been going have been going around, over the last 10-15 years producing strategy documents with different areas. Often with some masterplan, work included, and I don't know if Gorton has that, actually or whether it just has a written document.

Commented [SGA161]: Good question. FIND THIS!!!!

ASG: Not that I'm aware of. And I think there's different things.

GRT_D1: I think the area around the Etihad certainly does have, I've seen that document. [REDACTED] are involved in that area as well.

We've bid for a scheme with them in that area that we didn't get, which would have been exactly this. It's not Gorton but it's just very near the Etihad Stadium. But it's an estate regen project

ASG: So that was just a little bit closer to town?

GRT_D1: Yes. Do you want to see where that is?

ASG: Yes.

GRT_D1: It the Grey Mare Lane Estate. So that is Grey Mare Lane. So, it's all this stuff here. [REDACTED] are doing it. I don't know if you've spoken to [REDACTED]?

ASG: No, I haven't actually.

GRT_D1: [REDACTED] won this. So, it's an actually beauty. It's a 60's estate which is untouched, basically. So, it's fully preserved. But that is quite a big area that they're dealing with. And they're at the beginnings of a probably 10-year project. I don't know how big the site is, but you might be talking about that. You know, all of this, or at least, that's all part of it. I know that. It might be all of that, which is a big area. And there's some big opportunities there. It's a fairly big ambition. So, it might be an interesting area to pivot towards.

ASG: How close is that to Gorton Lane?

GRT_D1: Pretty close. That's Gorton Lane. Mile and a half? So, it's Beswick.

ASG: So, it's just the next junction, really.

Sorry, I meant to ask, what stage is Gorton Lane up at? Are you on site now?

GRT_D1: Yeah, we were. I don't know if you heard about the demise of Bardsley [58:13:3]. Bardsley were the contractor who were selected, and went into administration, on the 20th of December. So, we are currently without a contractor again. We've basically, the contract has been let, they were gearing up to start on site, straight after Christmas. We are now without a contractor, so we are going to be facing further delay.

ASG: Oh God...it could have been worse, I guess. It could have started...

GRT_D1: It could have been half way through. Yeah, and there are a lot of Bardsley projects which are partway through. I don't know if there's got further stuff to add? I mean, I can just take you through the DAS?

ASG: Yeah.

GRT_D1: That's our courtyard, which is basically an overlooked open area at the centre of Site 2, for use of residents of the development.

ASG: Because you have got various blocks?

GRT_D1: Yes.

ASG: Is this for all the blocks or is it just for Site 2?

GRT_D1: Site 2. So, Sites 1 & 2, we've been through that. So, that's surrounding area. Some of what's in around pretty, not much there. So, we didn't have a lot to get your teeth into contextually, for inspiration and materials... they're a little smaller there... but 1890, there you go. We historic maps

from 1840. So, we have we have the railways in at that point. There is a railway there, and you had Ashton Road at 1840, but it's pretty much fields.

ASG: Wow, 50 years.

GRT_D1: Yeah, there's a big change. More interestingly, interestingly, Gorton Lane was there, which is that which goes off that way. That that's a very historic stream. And that was there 1890, as well.

ASG: Assuming because of the Monastery, isn't it?

GRT_D1: No that was slightly later, actually. The Monastery, I don't think was built until just after this. There may have been something on the site, but I think the existing Monastery was around this sort of time. Not sure, I can't remember. But you can see the relentless grid heading out this way around that time and remaining until about 1960ish.

So, when you get to 1980, it's just gone. The street pattern has just disappeared and they're starting to clear out for Pottery Lane. You can see the demolition which is going on to make way for Pottery Lane. So that's the is basically the final nail in the coffin to the site really, to its integration with the surrounding. It's just been severed, it's just become an island, there's no real understanding where it's come from. That's the brook, the Gorton Brook. That was on the site until a decade ago.

It's a big piece yeah.

ASG: Are there any pubs in the area at the moment or not?

GRT_D1: Not that I know of, no.

ASG: Because talking about that community space, having a hub would have been quite important.

GRT_D1: Well, the youth centre is there, and it's still in use. I think it's got a particular lean towards about... I don't know about youth offenders, and but pretty troubled kids and getting time there. And I think that's probably part of the reason why the city didn't want to be seen to wanting rid of it, because it does serve a pretty important function in the area. So, I mean, that is there. That is a community facility right across the road from the site.

ASG: They are building a new Youth Centre, near Gorton Park. I wonder if they feel that this is replacing this.1:04:10

GRT_D1: I think so. Yeah. I think that's the idea, but at the timings weren't right at this point to bring that site forward as part of it. Because whilst it might serve an important function, it is a bit of a disaster of a building. I don't know if you've seen it? it's pretty bad. You know, if you want to present an area as having major problems, that building would do it for you, wouldn't it? It's got razor wire around it just looks pretty scary. It looks it looks frightened. It doesn't present itself confidently that this is an area that is safe, and welcoming. IT's quite the opposite.

We've got a lot of problems on the site in terms of existing services. That gets left over with the previously existing street pattern. You can see there are major services running through on the line of these previously existing streets. Which are there, there, and then running through here and more

down there. So, we've got all that to deal with in the scheme. We try to put together some idea of site analysis and how to deal with the space successfully. There you have it, how our scheme actually works. So, the houses, that's looking down Site 1, towards Site 2. The houses, are quite a sort of standard layout really.

That was another feature really, that the client didn't want to pursue anything too risky, unusual in terms of layout, it's all, keep it as simple as possible, which we've done. So, these are, these are pretty tried and tested layouts, these ones are more probably more common in social housing, I would say, but works fine.

But again, it's the enclosed front curtilage, with its own drive, so inside access to its own garden, fence back, that's it. You look after your own property, and that's it. It's very clear who's is who's, that seen as tried and tested, that work.

Site 2 is a bit more complicated, in that it contains a certain type of... Sorry Site 1 has an apartment building on the Southern tip. So, essentially, we are trying to produce a street as much as we can, while still addressing this junction with a proper building. So that's the way we've dealt with that there. So that's a three-storey apartment building on that site.

ASG: Do they get communal garden the front? In that corner?

GRT_D1: That's right. Yes, they do. That's the sort of communal garden space for that site. This has 11 apartments in it. Small number. It's a three-story building. This site has six houses which front onto Polesworth Close, which we mentioned, again exactly the same setup as this semi-detached: their own front curtilage, their own garden, and they produce the other side of the street of Polesworth Close, and set up the entrance into this courtyard, which contains three buildings, one here, one that wraps around the corner, and one here. That's 80 odd apartments. So, but the big bulk of the numbers is here. And they're arranged onto the street edges as well as we can to try and produce an edge, a genuine edge to the development which is obviously totally lacking now. It doesn't have anything onto the street.

ASG: And you've got balconies as well?

GRT_D1: We've got terraces. What you're looking into the courtyard here, to the South, well South East, that's the building which fronts onto Pottery Lane, and that's the building that fronts onto Gorton Lane. This is a partly a deck access building. So, it's a south facing deck. It's access to apartments, but it also works as a terrace, a shared terrace. I see that as a shared communal space, personally.

ASG: So, the half a little bit of third space?

Yes, yes, there's also some apartments which have setback terraces. So, we're using devices where we step back and up to lessen visual impact, and to present the tearing arrangement. Looked at corners, which is these diagrams. So, the orange pieces are houses, the blue ones are apartments, but you can appreciate the stepping up arrangement to corners, stepping down again, to respect the lower properties. That was always a big feature of what we were trying to do, in setting things into a lower

[massing], to give the opportunity for terraces, and introduce these sawtooth roof arrangements to bury the roofline and give visual interest in the street. A bit of variance.

ASG: Yes, it looks quite nice. I mean at least still addresses the existing buildings. I think the roof design works really well with the new houses, just trying to soften the lines.

GRT_D1: Give as much overlooking onto the streets as we can. We tried to make it a better place, really. With a bit of an identity, at the minute it's really lacking, the feeling of it being a neighbourhood, I would say. Certain parts of Gorton, this part, it's a bit of ghost town really. It doesn't have a lot of positive life and activity at the minute. So, the idea is to try and give it some of that, really.

Looking for some material precedent. So, again, we're not blessed with a lot of great context here. You know, Gorton Monastery is the only real bit of quality context here, and we weren't really for a neo-gothic street. So, we've looked towards more modern city centre style apartment schemes. Looking at buff bricks, as opposed to red brick, but just to set it differently from what's around it. Sometimes where there's very little positive context. Sometimes about, it's better to leave that aside, and try and, potentially, make a new context. Just try moving it forward a bit. That's sort of what we're trying to do here rather take too much from the Radburn stuff.

ASG: So, is it about creating a new identity?

GRT_D1: Yeah, I think that's right. Just setting it apart. Something as positive as we can really, within a pretty tight financial constraints that have got. So, landscape scheme is important: significant number of new trees surrounding, and within the site. This communal space in the centre of Site 2 is important, South facing, it's well overlooked. It provides pretty good quality space, but admittedly only for these buildings, but not for the wider public.

I can send you as much information as you want. So, dealing with how we deal with bins and stuff.

This is probably a drawing which is of interest to you. That's our boundaries strategy. So, it's where are our boundaries and what type of boundaries are around the scheme. So again, that's a drawing that's very important to planners at the early stages, so they get not only secure, but quality boundaries, trying to avoid fences onto streets.

Consultation: Just where we consulted, who we consulted, where we consulted. So, we did it at the Gorton Youth Centre. We had one public consultation event, which was... you're an architect, you know the score. You know, a couple of weeks before we submitted the scheme. I would say it was more of a tick box consultation event, than: What do you want to see on this site? consultation event.

ASG: So just letting them know what you're doing on the site.

GRT_D1: Yes, that's right. Yeah.

ASG: Was there anything that came out of that made you revisit your designs?

GRT_D1: No, no. It was it was too late for that, really. That's the truth of the matter. We do do what I would call "true consultation". But it's scheme appropriate, really. So, on the state regen projects that we do, that's where we do early-stage consultation.

ASG: So, when do you think a “true consultation” should be done?

GRT_D1: Based on RIBA stages, probably Stage 1, Stage 2. I think you can have a good consultation before you start it. To produce a brief, would be a good time to do a consultation event. And then when you've got a concept would be a good time to do a consultation event.

ASG: So there has to be a series of consultations really, to really make work?

GRT_D1: Yeah, I think so. Yeah, yeah. This is a just letting people know what we're doing event, really. It's called consultation but...

ASG: Did a lot of people turn up?

GRT_D1: I can't remember... It would say in here: “11 people attended the event”, So no. But I've done consultations where nobody has come, seriously! This sort of consultation event is widely accepted by the planners as okay to do. And they sort of encourage it really. I think it's a bit of a tick box exercise for them, as well. To be honest,

ASG: I understand that this is the planning process.

GRT_D1: Yeah. But I think on the consultation side, it's really client driven, whether they want to do it, and [REDACTED] consult with their tenant in lots of ways, that don't involve us, basically. So, while I'll say that we didn't do any consultation, that's not to say that consultation wasn't occurring. They have residents groups and key tenants that they keep informed decisions locally and what plans are and things which is separate to what we're doing. Really.

ASG: Do you think these conversations would benefit from a designer being present?

GRT_D1: Yeah, possibly. In fact, I think that they're probably more political conversations than anything else. I think conversations with local residents tend to come back to relatively petty, local issues. You know, “when are we getting a new boiler?” that sort of thing. You know, “the parking terrible here” or... it's that sort of thing. It often returns to things that aren't really affected by our work, but it's just bugging residents at that time.

We certainly had other consultation events where residents descend, and sort of have their point that they want to make about something, which may not be of any relation to the scheme that is in front of them. What they want to get off their chest, which is why [REDACTED] is quite careful with the consultation they do. Because they know what the issues are with their residents, they know who's going to turn up and what they're going to be saying. Because they speak to them. It's controlled from their end, the process, particularly when consultation takes place. As to what we tell them, we produce the boards and stuff. So, we sort of lead the conversation.

But [REDACTED] normally has this sort of event rather than an “Early Stage”.

ASG: I do have one last question for you. In your opinion, do you think the process of urban design and architecture can engage with democracy? Or, how can it engage with democracy?

GRT_D1: When you say democracy, do you mean, the planning process?

ASG: The planning process, but also the process of design. This is coming from some of the lessons that come from Copenhagen, really they're very big on making the design process democratic.

GRT_D1: I guess that's the question, how can we make design more democratic?

ASG: Because we don't talk about that in the UK as much, I think.

GRT_D1: I think what we were just talking about, good proper consultation, I think is really key. Creative consultation. Interesting consultation that people can engage in. Most people, most people can't read a plan. So, what's the point showing them plans? I'd say that would be the way forward.

I'm not a huge fan of referendums, I don't know if you are. Not anymore anyway. So, asking people to vote on things, "what's your favourite?" I don't think that often generates the best response. It could also mean, as we know, from recent experience, it can generate basic response, the simplest response. So, I think votes, sort of lack a bit of nuance, but I think good consultation, led by the right people. To the right people can be the way forward I don't think, I'm not sure that when you say democracy, I don't think everyone can have their say. You know what I mean? that's just too difficult to do. And there's also a big issue with you know, this [REDACTED] is somewhere in between private developer as a sort of accountable body in a way. But to say to a private developer, you have to do what the general populace wants you to do. On a site you paid for taking big risks on developing expecting to make money off, presumably, (be mad if you didn't) that's problematic! I think.

I'm not a developer. But I imagine if you are a developer, you take pretty major issue being told you can't make your own decisions about your own schemes. It's a tricky one.

ASG: I think in Copenhagen. Some of the arguments are that when you have proper consultation, and the public and the wider the public have been involved through the process. There is an economic case towards it, because they have started some reduction in maintenance costs, for example, because of appropriation, when people see the ideas and what they wanted happening out of the ground.

GRT_D1: I am fully on board with the benefits. It's how you do it, and where you do it, and what stage you do it? And who does it? I think I think policymaking? I don't know if you gonna get in front of any policymakers, and planner. I think they are key. So, when you're pulling together a regeneration framework for Gorton, who you're speaking to about that, and how are these decisions being made because that is really what, those strategy documents. Those policy documents are what we, have to work within, for our private developer. If you look at us as a sort of conduit to a private developer, we're being told by them, you've got to do the best for me, for them as a client.

Our, way to get the best for, democratically, would be to work within those frameworks, which has been put together in a democratic way. I think that'd be the best way to do it, instead of on individual site by site basis. That it, the strategies that are coming from the top down have been produced from the bottom up.

I think that would be the way I'd be trying to look at it. Otherwise, you can't get coherence across an area. You can't get a firm strategy going, which has the buy in of the general public. Now, I'm not sure

what these regeneration frameworks are consulting, a lot of the ones in the city centre are produced by Simpson's architects with Deloitte, looking after them. From the outside, I don't see a lot of democracy there. I don't know, might be, there might be mass consultation going on, but I don't think so. It doesn't appear that way. Anyway. So maybe it is policy for the city that needs to be. They sort of look to individual developers to do the consultation. And maybe it should be happening much earlier.

Who else are you speaking to?

ASG: I'm trying to speak to [REDACTED] who did the Gorton Hub. Well, trying to find architects of work within Gorton, which is not that many.

But over in Copenhagen I did speak to [REDACTED] and Transform some people from Gehl Architects as well.

GRT_D1: Well, I think you've got to broaden your area. But I think if you did try to pull in parts of Beswick, into your debate. The area is basically the Etihad area investment, that might open some further doors give you access to some... I think that area has more of an overall strategy to it at the minute. How that's been put together would be interesting. It would bring in some quite big masterplan sites which might be interesting to look at. I know Grey Mare Lane is in very early stages, [REDACTED] are looking at that. I'm sure someone from [REDACTED] would be happy to speak to you. We work with consultation consultant called Place. They are great. I'm sure they'd speak to you.

And I think, although Place were in our bid team for this. I think they're also working for [REDACTED]

The way Gorton is turning out for us at the minute. We're getting asked to look at individual sites. We've been asked to look at going library site, which is in Gorton Lane.

ASG: It's in front of Tesco's. If you carry on going down, it says City OF Manchester Gymnastic Institute, it's next to it.

GRT_D1: Oh yeah, yeah. So, they are looking to do away with that as well.

ASG: Well, the new hub, has the library in it.

GRT_D1: So, we've looked at a little scheme for that as well. But these are, these are small size these.

ASG: But in terms of community space...

GRT_D1: That is it! That is the community space.

ASG: That is it, a lot of people mentioned Tesco's as community space.

GRT_D1: Really? that's very interesting. There you go, there is your community space. Fascinating, isn't it?

ASG: And the gymnastics Institute

GRT_D1: That's a building and a half! That's the sort of thing I'm talking about!

ASG: You know, I take my children there! It's good when you go inside.

GRT_D1: I think I've been down there as kid.

ASG: But it looks like that when its open. It's got all the blinds down. So, the first time I went, I thought I got stuck there, I called my husband to pick me back up.

GRT_D1: I was like that, What? You thought it was closed. It's just that's the sort of level of ambition that's often in the area, it's starting point so negative. It couldn't possibly not have razor wire right the way around the building. Otherwise, yeah, you know, the kids even climbing all over the site. It's like, you not giving anyone the chance not to climb over it.

ASG: I wondered if they had a lot of problems, because they've got these big rooflights, and they all boarded over.

GRT_D1: Oh, that will be because of a problem.

ASG: So, I think people were climbing over. And none of the windows all around the building are ever opened. The shutters are always, always down.

GRT_D1: It's a pretty challenging place. But you know if that's the level of ambition that we are working with. That's why I think well designed buildings which are which are secure without being covered by razor wire, really helps towards that.

ASG: Raising aspirations as well as something that's been mentioned.

GRT_D1: But getting good quality public community space, very, very challenging for us. Because we are asked to look at that site by somebody who obviously wants to develop it as a residential site,

ASG: So, it's no longer public space.

GRT_D1: No. It's, can you look at a scheme for this? How many houses and apartments can you get on it? there's no desire from the city for that to be anything other than housing. So, there's no door to push. I mean, us, as architects that is it really. It's not a bad building really, it's one of Gorton's better ones. Anyway, that is very early days.

ASG: I'm sure it will be nice houses at least.

GRT_D1: We try our best! I live in Levenshulme, so no a million miles away miles away anyway. Is that it?

ASG: Yes, thank you very much, it's been very helpful.

END OF RECORDING

1:34:24

A3.3 Post Interview Transcript Notes Sample

- Key projects: Israel Platz, Library, Red Cross, Bridge. Bike Storage?
- Find pictures of models, and sites Israel Platz and Library (before and after). Also urban surveys.
- Link to social space appreciation and Danish values. Also Jan Gehl.
- Design Freshness – Something different to keep the space interesting (design innovation).
- Design to appeal to universal human needs (light, sunny spot t sit, etc)
- The role of policy / government / local council to support values on the face of commercial pressures.
- Contradictions: You can't better a city without pushing someone out. Democracy and inclusivity is in Danish DNA. With public consultations: Can include 100 ideas, maybe one or two.
- Notes about lecture?
- Clear communication: [REDACTED] develop visual language (diagrams).
- No evidence collection post construction. Due to lack of resources, but personal feedback form clients.

A3.4 Post Coding Notes Sample

MCC -1

Key take aways: (What I thought)

The Maslow Pyramid of (Extended) Needs would be very interesting on this. Should I separate the community needs into Deficiency needs (Pyramid Base) and Growth Needs (Top of Pyramid). Assuming is more fit more the Growth Needs and GRT is more about Deficiency Needs, how do we compare these two case studies? Or is this view or USP? Meeting Deficiency needs is a short term game and therefore futile? Should we aim for Growth Needs? But where is the evidence?

Collaboration came up a few times as EMERGING THEME. Specially more coordination between institutional agencies and partners. Key policies were around low rent private sector and how it creates instability for residents.

Also challenging social anxiety about Roma community.

Wellbeing is very highly regarded as key value/outcome.

Interesting to map institutional process that sustain low rent market (cap on benefit system)

Appendix 5: Full list of Codes

CPH_CON	GRT_CON
Constructive Dialogue	Constructive Dialogue
1. Aspirations	1. Aspirations
2. Communication	2. Communication
3. Community Engagement	3. Community Engagement
4. Public Empowerment	4. Public Empowerment
5. Stimuli	5. Stimuli
Casual Contact	6. Casual Contact
	7. Public Consultation
	8. Public Participation
6. Democracy	9. Democracy
7 Education	10. Education
Fear of Otherness	Fear of Otherness
7. Conflict	11. Conflict
8. Social Anxiety	12. Social Anxiety
Innovation	Innovation
9. Design Innovation	13. Design Innovation
10. Process Innovation	14. Process Innovation
11. Neighbourhood Renewal	15. Neighbourhood renewal
12. Promote Activity	16. Promote Activity
	17. Physical development
	18. Selective Inclusivity
CPH_PRO	GRT_PRO
1. Activity profile	1. Activity profile
2. Articulating transitions	2. Articulating transitions
3. Articulating Values	4. Articulating Values

Commented [SGA162]: ADD TO CPH

Commented [SGA163]: ADD TO CPH

3. Briefing	5. Briefing
4. Building Evidence	6. Building Evidence
5. Challenging Attitudes	7. Challenging Attitudes
6. Challenging Market Forces	8. Challenging Market Forces
Creating a Conversation	Creating a Conversation
7. Promoting dialogue	9. Promoting dialogue
8. Space to meet	10. Space to meet
Creating a language	Creating a language
9. bw institutions and community	11. bw built enviro and community
10. bw public	12. bw institutions and community
11. bw urban lands and community	13. bw public
12. 'Creating Networks'	14. 'Creating Networks'
13. Creating Ownership	15. Creating Ownership
14. Creating Trust	16. Creating Trust
15. 'creative dialogue in the future'	
16. Democratic Design	17. Democratic Design
17. Designing for Diversity	18. Designing for Diversity
	19. Designing out crime
18. Listening Interpreting	20. Gentrification
19. PE Framework	
20. Promoting Participation	21. Integrate
21. Raising aspirations	22. Listening Interpreting
22. Spatial Equality	23. PE Framework
23. Temporary	24. Planning for diversity
24. Thinking, Developing	25. Promoting Participation
25. Using School Strategically	26. Raising aspirations
26. Planning for diversity	27. Social Processes
Using Community Groups Strategically	28. Spatial Equality

Commented [SGA164]: MOVE TO CPH VAL

	29. Thinking, Developing
	Temporary
	30. Using School Strategically
	31. Using Community Groups Strategically
CPH_VAL	
1. 'Breaching the gap'	1. GRT_VAL
2. 'common language'	2. 'Breaching the gap'
3. Criticising Profession	3. 'common language'
4. Facilitator Role	4. Criticising Profession
5. 'future citizens'	5. 'future citizens'
6. Diverse Urban Life	6. 'creative dialogue in the future'
7. Inclusiveness	7. Shared Objective'
8. Positive contact	8. Diverse Urban Life
9. Sync Social & Space	9. Coexistence
10. Health & WB	10. Commitment to neighbourhood
11. Norms	11. Inclusiveness
12. Social Cohesion	12. Safety
13. User ctr Design	13. Sync Social & Institutions
14. Design 'Freshness'	14. Sync Social & Space
15. Designing FOR people	15. Existing Networks
16. 'Designing WITH People'	16. Individual residents
	17. Greenspace
	18. Health & WB
	19. Norms
	20. Quality of built environment
	21. Social Cohesion
	22. User ctr Design
	23. Design 'Freshness'

Commented [SGA165]: MOVED FROM GRT CON

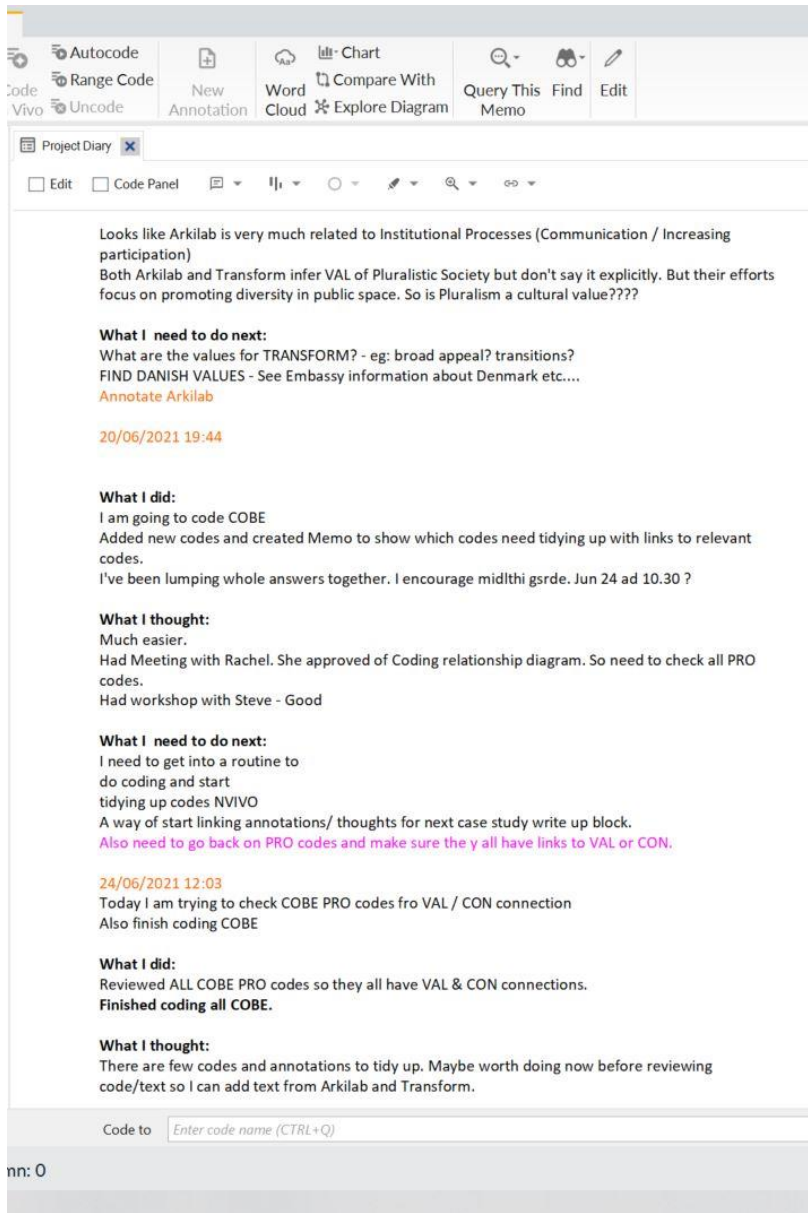
Commented [SGA166]: ADD TO GRT

	24. Designing FOR people
	25. 'Designing WITH People'

Yellow highlight – New GRT code (not in CPH)

Appendix 6: Reflective diaries samples

A6.1 Project Diary



The screenshot shows a software interface with a toolbar at the top containing icons for Autocode, Range Code, Uncode, New Annotation, Word Cloud, Compare With, Explore Diagram, Query This Memo, Find, and Edit. Below the toolbar is a window titled "Project Diary" with a tab and a close button. The window has a menu bar with "Edit" and "Code Panel" options. The main content area contains a reflective diary entry with the following text:

Looks like Arkilab is very much related to Institutional Processes (Communication / Increasing participation)
Both Arkilab and Transform infer VAL of Pluralistic Society but don't say it explicitly. But their efforts focus on promoting diversity in public space. So is Pluralism a cultural value????

What I need to do next:
What are the values for TRANSFORM? - eg: broad appeal? transitions?
FIND DANISH VALUES - See Embassy information about Denmark etc....
[Annotate Arkilab](#)

20/06/2021 19:44

What I did:
I am going to code COBE
Added new codes and created Memo to show which codes need tidying up with links to relevant codes.
I've been lumping whole answers together. I encourage midlthi gsrde. Jun 24 ad 10.30 ?

What I thought:
Much easier.
Had Meeting with Rachel. She approved of Coding relationship diagram. So need to check all PRO codes.
Had workshop with Steve - Good

What I need to do next:
I need to get into a routine to do coding and start tidying up codes NVIVO
A way of start linking annotations/ thoughts for next case study write up block.
[Also need to go back on PRO codes and make sure they all have links to VAL or CON.](#)

24/06/2021 12:03
Today I am trying to check COBE PRO codes fro VAL / CON connection
Also finish coding COBE

What I did:
Reviewed ALL COBE PRO codes so they all have VAL & CON connections.
Finished coding all COBE.

What I thought:
There are few codes and annotations to tidy up. Maybe worth doing now before reviewing code/text so I can add text from Arkilab and Transform.

Code to

nn: 0

A6.2 Codes Diary

Autocode
Range Code
New Annotation
Word Cloud
Chart
Compare With
Explore Diagram
Query This Memo
Find
Edit

Codes to tidy up

Update Taxonomy 25/06/21. DONE

- NEW CODE / CODE(S) TO REVIEW: In VAL, is **Pluralism** the same as Inclusiveness?? See **111** and **112** and **113**. Should a new 'Inclusiveness' VAL code be added? There is a inclusiveness in CON, should that be move to VAL???
- SWAP CODE HIERARCHY: In VAL change **'future citizens'** to Child and **Creative dialogue** to Parent. Add **113** to Creative Dialogue.
- CODE: Add new code Space Activation???. If so add **this** to that. Response: coded in CON/Promote Activity and PRO/creating a language / creating conversatin. **Maybe Space activation is a THEME?**
- NEW CODE: Add new code about Social Space (Maybe a parent or sibling to Articulating transitions / Activity profile? Or is it better as an addition? If so text in Space to meet, Creating language b/ urban landscape, designing for diversity. If so add **this** that new code. Maybe also Democratic design? Or it could be instead of Creating a Conversation with Space to meet and putting Promoting Dialogue as a child?
- NEW CODE: Creating a conversation has some text from Transform that probably needs code in VAL about the articulating spaces in Orestad. Not sure is pluralism... Most of the values are in process, more values re design needed. Maybe some process needs to merged?? Serious look and harsh cutting of taxonomy needed. Or maybe more children/branches... ??
- Should one of the **new codes** be called **SOCIAL SPHERE** - Diverse urban life
- Delete ALL **113** **114** **115** from **Common Language?** CL should be only about visual oral to communicate design, not design itself. 27/06/21 Done
- move **113** to new people centred design code 01/07/21
- Rename **113** as Inclusiveness. 27/06/21 Done

02/07/2021 17:40

CHECK CODE Sync Social and Space: Should some of these be coded with User centred design??

EMERGING CODE: INEQUALITY OF WB. Nor sure if there is enough data fro this. But if there is, put **this** in there.

EMERGING CODE: Safety & Landscape design. If new code created, add **this**

EMERGING CODE: CLIMATE CHANGE. If new code created, check refs to look at/Annotation from RLQ. **This**

Code to

umn: 21

A6.3 Further Literature / Examples to Review Sample

INTEGRATED URBAN RENEWAL INITIATIVES

COPENHAGEN - SYD HAVNEN :

How to create Urban Inclusion (and not exclusion, segregation or integration)?

January 2018, by Øystein Leonardsen, Tabitha Burke and Aleksandra Galazka

URBinclusion, an URBACT programme project, has one ultimate goal: to reduce poverty across European cities and create social inclusion. All nine of the participant cities agree that the solution lies in an integrated approach. It is time to break with silo thinking and sectorial division. Instead it is time for public, civic and private stakeholders to join efforts and work towards citizen participation and co-creation.

URBinclusion creates a unique possibility for the municipality of Copenhagen to support the city by generating local employment. The idea is to foster cooperation among different municipal departments and with local NGO's, businesses, social housing administrations and local activists. The hope is that this process can reinforce the sense of community by letting excluded citizens become part of a project. The key goals of this operation are assuring jobs at local level, creating connections among stakeholders and strengthening citizen participation.

<https://urbact.eu/how-create-urban-inclusion-and-not-exclusion-segregation-or-integration>

MACERATA ITALY

Play and grow: Co-regeneration of urban green spaces

QUIsSI Gioca! is a pilot project for the re-use of playful urban green areas, overseen by the municipality of Macerata (IT), encouraging participatory methodologies and integration. It relates to a public green area in the Quartiere Pace, a neighbourhood with a high number of immigrants, a junior high school, municipal and private child-care centres, and a primary school. The purpose was to rethink this area, highly frequented by children, and rich in cultural diversity. The project explored co-management of the green space, a different concept of security, the creation of aggregation contexts, and social inclusion. It involved building games, and defining spaces together with inhabitants. This first operation gave start to QUIsSICRESCE, a participatory planning project to improve the outdoor space of five municipal child-care centres, to share a different approach to outdoor education.

<https://urbact.eu/play-and-grow>

ALTENA - GERMANY

Finding opportunities in declining cities: Working with civil society to reverse decline in small and medium sized towns

The overarching theme of this good practice is strategic management in the context of long-term decline and stagnation. After local industries closed, the population of Altena (DE) shrank by 43% between 2007 and 2014. Five civil society organisations, including the local church, initiated a

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