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A Comparative Study of The Context and Intentions Behind the Design of Public Space and the Current Spatial and Visual Realities in London's Southbank and Copenhagen's Harbourside

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Abstract:

A comparative Study of London's Southbank and Copenhagen's Harbourfront. Using an analysis of planning policies and cultural representation the study situates each space within its societal context. The study then draws a comparison between the societal context and planning intentions for the space, and the visual and spatial reality in existence now. This is undertaken through an observation of the spatial and visual characteristics of the spaces. The study shows that both spaces have been adapted from industrial areas to new post-industrial use: specifically, culture-centric public spaces. However they differ in their more recent approach to market forces and neo-liberalism Copenhagen has used strong government to prioritise culture above consumption, whilst London has embraced consumerism. Such differences are highly visible in the spatial and visual characteristics of each space. The presence of certain trends and typologies is evidence of differences in London and Copenhagen society and has particular implications for the heterogeneity and quality of urban life for each city.

Abstrakt (German)

Eine vergleichende Studie der Londoner Southbank und Kopenhagen Harbourfront. Mit einer Analyse der Planungspolitik und kulturelle Darstellung der Studie verortet jeden Raum in ihrem gesellschaftlichen Kontext. Die Studie zieht dann einen Vergleich zwischen dem gesellschaftlichen Kontext und Planungsabsichten für den Raum, und die visuelle und räumliche Realität in Existenz jetzt. Dies wird durch eine Beobachtung der räumlichen und optischen Merkmale der Bereiche durchgeführt. Die Studie zeigt, dass beide Bereiche haben von Industriegebieten, neue post-industriellen Einsatz angepasst: speziell, Kultur-centric öffentlichen Raum. Allerdings sind sie in ihren neueren Ansatz auf die Marktkräfte und Neoliberalismus unterscheiden Kopenhagen hat starke Regierung zur Kultur über Verbrauch priorisieren, während London hat Konsumismus umarmt. Diese Unterschiede in der räumlichen und optischen Eigenschaften jeder Raum gut sichtbar. Das Vorkommen bestimmter Trends und Typologien gibt Hinweise auf Unterschiede in London und Kopenhagen Gesellschaft und hat insbesondere Auswirkungen auf die Heterogenität und der städtischen Lebensqualität für jede Stadt.

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in
London's Southbank
and
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Dedications

- Thanks:

- To former Leyton Orient left-back Matthew Lockwood, for teaching me to never give up even amidst unpromising surroundings.
- To my mum for putting up with me & putting me up.
- To everyone on my 4Cities cohort for an inspiring and life-changing 2 years.
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Kieran Toms, Ilford Library, August 30

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Both London's South Bank and Copenhagen's Harbour act as a public face for their cities, and have moved from industrial areas to post-industrial places since the Second World War. The development of their positions within the identity of each city will be considered in this study. This study postulates the hypothesis that firstly, both case studies were intended as attractive public spaces: Copenhagen's harbour as part of the trend of Danish human-scale egalitarian urbanism, and London's Southbank as part of the post-war consensus in which it was envisioned. Secondly the spaces have become representative of the types of society they are now part of rather than the ones they were originally planned in.

In London however, many public spaces have been criticised for having become undemocratic and exclusionary, with critics such as Anna Minton (2009) in observing out that a large number of supposedly 'public' spaces are actually privately-owned and thus subject to restrictions imposed by their private owners. This phenomenon is attributed by Minton to neo-liberal policies since the 1980s, the same policies which have induced increasing inequality in Britain since 1979. This is in stark contrast to Denmark's position as one of the most egalitarian countries in the world (UNDP 2009).

This study will investigate the extents to which these planning intentions did seek to create truly public space. It will investigate the extent to which the differences in Danish and British society are reflected in the spaces themselves, by investigating how the spaces, both as they have been designed and as they exist now, represent their contemporary societies.

This study will first define the characteristics of a truly public space in the urban context, then seek to compare this with the intentions of the spaces. Finally the current spatial and visual characteristics of the space will be assessed against those criteria. This will help ascertain how far the spaces have fulfilled their original purpose, how they have developed and how they reflect and affect their respective societies.

Chapter 2 Literature Review / Theoretical Framework

As my hypothesis has explained, both case studies are attempting to be attractive public spaces. The notion of 'public' is key as it implies access for, welcoming of, and attraction of, the full range of social groups, rather than a specifically defined part of society. This section will investigate how existing literature shows that egalitarianism and subsequent heterogeneity in public space can be achieved on two levels: by spatial design providing high-quality, inclusionary inducement to 'stay' in the space, and by visual signage that does not seek to exclude or delimit the function of a space.

Accessibility & Heterogeneity

The notion of access is present in many of the criteria identified as those of successful public spaces; for example the 'opportunity' to do something as identified by Jan Gehl (2011) and William Whyte (1980). Jane Jacobs (1961) also believed strongly in the notion that space should be accessible to all, expressed via her assertion of the importance of diversity in public spaces. She stressed the need for facilities to encourage and support this diversity. Cultural attractions, what Jacobs called 'chessmen,'

(168) can help to foster life through familiarity bred from 'incidental exchange' and proximity, by providing reasons for different groups to be in public spaces and to interact.

Familiarity and proximity help to breed trust, a further, crucial draw for people to public space, as explored by Richard Sennett, who identified that 'contact points' lead different groups to become accustomed to inhabiting the same spaces and dealing with their mutual differences socially, rather than through the following of specific rules. In this way 'civility' is encouraged by public space. (Sennett 1970:56).

Jan Gehl (2011) also praises this type of urban 'disorder,' stemming even from fleeting and anonymous contact through mixing of different social groups. Likewise, 'Social Heterogeneity' is one of Wirth's three main characteristics of an 'urban way of life.' (Wirth 1938). Thus urban life is, as Aristotle observed, intrinsically heterogeneous: 'similar people cannot bring a city into existence.' (Madanipour:190) If public space is designed for or portrays an image of one specific function, it will dissuade those who are unable or do not wish to use that specific function.

To identify the foundations of heterogeneity we can turn to the 'right to the city,' as postulated by Harvey (2008): 'The freedom to make and remake ourselves and our cities is... one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.' To be able to remake the city, one must first have access to it – to be able take part in what Gehl (2011:11) calls 'resultant activities' - those not specifically planned for by planners, but which stem from the users of public space and the opportunities available in the space. In this way this part of the city is remade, from merely a physically defined 'space' to a 'place' of activity that exists too in the perception of users of the space.

Encouraging heterogeneity

Broadly, the most crucial aspect of whether a public space can be deemed as successful is whether it is well-used: whether a range of people chose to stay in the space - indicative that it has the spatial characteristics and design to encourage this.

Jane Jacobs was one of the first to explore public space in an observational way, in 'The Death and Life of Great American Cities' (1961.) In this seminal work she argued that streets are safer when there are more people on them: the idea of 'eyes on the street.' (Jacobs, 1961:35) William H. Whyte found that a space being well-used creates a virtuous cycle: 'What attracts people most, it would appear, is other people.' (Whyte 1980:13) Thus, as well as being considered the most crucial measure of a space's success, the presence of other people can also in itself be considered an attractive element in itself.

Design elements in a public space can also be seen as contributing to the success of a space, rather than constituting a success in their own right. This distinction can be seen in the work of Jan Gehl who states that 'Life Between Buildings,' the optimum state of a successful place, can be achieved via his series of 12 criteria, which are present and visible at eye level and contribute specifically to the experience of users of the public space. (Gehl 2010: 238) These are in themselves important individually, but the presence of just *some* of them does not necessarily guarantee life between buildings: missing some results in unattractive elements.

Overall the presence of people is strongly associated with a public space being a success. In this study two aspects of how this manifests itself will be examined: spatially and visually.

Spatially

For William H. Whyte (1980), a key aspect determining the success of a public space was the availability of seating. His studies found that this was the aspect with the biggest effect, as it enabled people to linger longer in a space – which then serves to attract more people. The amount of sitting space was more important than the total space or shape of the park. Whyte (Whyte 2011:515) also pointed out that creating ‘a lousy place takes real work,’ such as spikes on flat surfaces to discourage sitting, or lowering or raising a plaza away from street level so that it feels too secluded, a an increasingly global defensive urbanism phenomena first identified by Mike Davis (1990:154-180).

Simple measures such as ensuring a public space is within 3 feet of street level and that there is space to sit down, markedly increase the amount of people using a space. Moveable seating is identified by Whyte as the ideal seating type, as it enables people to express some agency over their surroundings. (Whyte 1980:48)

The Project for Public Spaces, a group founded by a student of Whyte, also has a number of ‘key qualities’ that make a successful space: Spaces must be accessible, comfortable, sociable and have a good image; and people should be able to engage in activities there. (PPS 2014) With this inclusion of aspects such as image and accessibility, the importance of symbolic and visual aspects of a public space are clear.

Symbols, Imagery and Signification

The notion of meaning and symbolism’s relation to public spaces is rooted in the discipline of Semiology. Saussure’s 1916 work ‘Course in General Linguistics’ and formed the underpinning of this science of signs, but it was applied to a specifically urban context most notably by Roland Barthes (1967) in his work, ‘Semiology and the Urban.’ Barthes describes the city as a discourse between the signified and the signifier with the former being transient and ever-changing.

Kevin Lynch’s work has continued in this vein - his 1960 notion of an image of the city manifests itself through mental mapping of cities. This situates the individual’s perception of a city or space as giving value and insight missing from a map that merely situates physical locations geographically. Thus in this study, spatial and temporal context, representative aspects and the relationship to heterogeneity will be considered with regards to signs.

Classifying and identifying signs has also been subject to much study. Signs can be seen as part of a ‘linguistic landscape,’ (Landry & Bourhis 1997,) and any text or language in the urban sphere can be considered relevant to this, including advertisements announcements and graffiti (Wirth-Nesher 2001.) Scollon and Scollon (2003) go further, identifying signs as ‘any semiotic system including language and discourse.’ (110) This definition constitutes three kinds of semiotics: ‘decontextualized semiotics,’ which are signs that always occur in the same form, such as brand names, logos and or national symbols. Transgressive semiotics are signs that are ‘out of place’ and can include graffiti and litter. Thirdly they identify ‘situated semiotics,’ which include regulatory signs and notices. (146-153)

Crucially, these significations can be present on a non-explicit level: 'our cities influence the ways we feel and behave in ways most of us never realize.' (Montgomery 2014) Places hold significations and meaning beyond that which is merely stated, intended or actively perceived.

This notion of an inherent objective meaning within a space forms the part of the notion of phenomenology, which finds its relevance to this study through the work of Norberg-Schulz (1993). He highlighted perception and history as the essential elements that serve to give meaning to the built environment. He identified the notion of 'genius loci,' the spirit of a place. These were qualitative aspects which formed his notions of individual identity – namely that individual identity results from belonging to a place, and that identity, in line with the importance of history as a source of meaning, is closely connected with collective memory.

This collective memory is developed through the communication and interaction of 'cadres sociaux,' or social frameworks. Such meetings must, manifestly, take place in heterogeneous environments, such as urban space. Thus urban space is a conduit for meeting, but not necessarily agreement – instead it implies that 'human beings come together in their diversities.' This notion of 'collective dwelling' offers a means towards experiencing the richness of the world.' (Norberg-Schulz 1987:18) The spatial environment forms part of the machination by which this can be communicated, as symbolic spaces representing historical relevance and enabling diversity.

To create successful public space therefore, public space needs to use symbolic elements to give itself a positive profile. For PPS (2012:1), the most successful public spaces are "multi-use destinations" with many attractions and activities, where 'citizens can find common ground and where ethnicity and economic tensions can go unnoticed.' To attract multiple users, and to mitigate ethnic and economic tensions, space must be symbolically amenable to this broad sphere of 'public good'.

However rather than embracing the heterogeneity of public good, one increasing trend in public space has been the growth of mono-functionality, particularly on a symbolic level, via branded, consumption-focussed imagery. Tunnard and Pushkarev (1963:300) have argued that many signs are 'an assault on the eyes,' focussing particularly on advertising as a "parasitic use" of public space. Constantine (1961:19) too has described advertisements as 'blights,' whilst Peter Blake (1964) has argued against the plethora of signs present in the modern urban sphere, as they destroy the aesthetic values of spaces.

However there has by no means been a consensus about this part of the urban environment. Cities were the first places in history that were routinely lit up at night and this allure was extolled. Time Square or even London's Piccadilly Circus with their adverts and illuminations were and continue to be attractions to many.

Berlin in the early part of the 20th century, as seen in Fritz Lang's 1927 film *Metropolis* can be seen as first epitomising this novelty. Lang was inspired by seeing illuminated skyscrapers for the first time on a trip to New York (Lang 2003:42), yet his fascination was not shared by all at the time: Hugo Haring (1928:454) declared that 'advertising is working downward from the roof to continue the destruction of architecture,' and that 'The night-time streetscape presents a farrago of the most variegated illuminated advertising... the introduction of some discipline would benefit all concerned.'

Others though were more positive: August Endell (1908:35) described advertising as being part of the 'beauty of the great city.' But his broader approach to urban aesthetics ignored symbolic contexts: his captivation with the 'wonderful stark beauty in the sickly colours of city children,' crassly ignore the contexts of poverty and inequality, situating human suffering as mere visual spectacle. (Fritzsche 1996:137)

Yet a contextual justification was proffered by Alfred Doblin (1923:162) who extolled the virtues of the omnipresent signage, declaring that they bring 'life and fun' into the 'grayness of everyday life.' He saw the signage as representative of a boost to the economy and thus its populace, deeming advertising industry as vital, else 'our age will remain impoverished as long as it remains stagnant.'

However it is more difficult to argue in the 21st century that there remains a strong connection between brand name success and local benefit. There is an increasing propensity of multinational firms, that are, as the name suggest, no longer tied to specific nations nor their people. The idea that the benefits wrought from profit-making enterprise will 'trickle down' to the broader populace, a philosophy particularly exalted by neo-liberalism, is increasingly discredited (Madeley 2000:50). The cultural zeitgeist has shifted: whereas artist Fernand Léger could talk in the mid-20th century of feeling excitement for the growing number of adverts in the city (1982:50), in the 21st century one of the world's most famous artists, Banksy (2004:34) has proclaimed that advertisers are 'taking the piss out of you every day. They butt into your life, take a cheap shot at you and then disappear. They leer at you from tall buildings and make you feel small.' The allure of large-scale advertising in the first half of the 20th century lay in large part due to its novelty and its position as just one possibility within the heterogeneous urban experience. However, this heterogeneity can be seen to be partially under threat by the functionalism of neo-liberal capitalism, and there is a marked phenomenological and symbolic impact of this on not only the ability or opportunity to experience diversity, but also on diversity's perceived acceptability and desirability.

Augé (1995:109) has explored this idea with his notions of 'non-places,' where, the presence of the signs of familiar, multi-national brands provides comfort even when one is in a new location. At the same time this unobtrusive sameness can also be seen as exclusionary: non-places, says Augé, are spaces that require 'solitary contractuality' (1995:20) to access, either explicitly (such as plane tickets in airports), or implicitly, as in places of consumption where the user of the space is expected to be a consumer. Thus they do not offer a real urban, heterogeneous space, but instead a limited experience that may provide some comfort but can also induce fear of difference. The 'collective dwelling' in non-places can be seen therefore to both exist and to not exist. Superficially, there is collectiveness, in that one is alongside others; but it is based upon the homogeneity of consumption. One might see the presence of these brands as an evolution of the observations present in the work of Robert Venturi. He wanted 'complexity and contradiction in architecture,' and 'for messy vitality over obvious unity' (Taylor 1999:395.) This he perceived was partly provided by the advertising hoarding and the symbols contained therein, which crucially existed not in isolation but as part of a broad urban cityscape. But in the non-place the complexity lies only in the range of brand names, and is thus limited on a symbolic level to that sphere, even if it is visually varied. In a non-place the exposure may be to other people engaged in solitary contractuality, or it may be to one logo of a brand or another, but it is not to 'The Other'. The very notion of tolerating or experiencing strangeness itself becomes strange. The inherent heterogeneity of an 'urban' space dissolves, and the 'place' becomes merely space within a city. In this dichotomy we can identify a symptom of what

Mark Fisher (2009) has identified as Capitalist Realism: the inability to imagine life without capitalism caused by its omnipresence and lack of visible alternative; the consequences of which further inhibit heterogeneity on a societal basis.

Such a breakdown in heterogeneity induces a lack of trust and inequality in public space. As identified by Eric Uslaner (2002:22-23), people 'trust instinctively' but inequality and the loss of empathy can erode this. Loss of empathy and inequality can be seen in one's environment and exposure to this serves to socialise users of the space into untrusting behaviour. Montgomery (2013) argues that experiencing a place involves 'responding to the idea of the place, our previous experience and memory of it, and the messages and stories that it might trigger.' Visual signs, being symbols with multiple significations, provide this contextual framework that impacts our experience.

As Nikos Papastiergadis (2006:63-64) has pointed out, fear inherent in this perceived untrustworthy unknown can be seen to be exploited by capitalism, which 'feeds off insecurity.' (63) Rather than assuaging fear it can be co-opted: 'Any uncertainty about identity can be passed over by adopting a brand.' Difference or nuances can be subsumed by the presence of the brand, which acts as a catch-all signifier of 'membership of an acceptable style of living.' However 'there are limits to this form of membership,' and this applies to those unable to fulfil the correct function of consuming in a place of consumption. From capitalism's perspective, what 'underpins the aggressive reclamation of space is the fear that it might become parafunctional,' (109) as this parafunctionality threatens the purpose of the design and invokes ambiguity, which encourages behaviour that may undermine the profit-motive purpose of the area. This mono-functionalism therefore, 'with exclusive boundaries that separate classes, activities and values,' leads to 'a repressive city,' as attempts to quash heterogeneity abound. (112)

This 'rigidity in function' therefore, Papastiergadis goes on to outline, is 'totalitarian' as it because it both specifies the precise use of space and imposes a limit 'on the identity of users.'

Parafunctionality, by contrast, invokes 'the constant and unpredictable dialectic between place and practice,' (112) specifically the possibility of space. It serves to expose the ultimate transient impermanence nature of capital, which seeks various sites for specific functions rather than seeking various functions from specific sites, and can consequently be seen as resistant to the innovation, experimentation and improvisation inherent in heterogeneous public space. The case studies in this study hold particular symbolic value in this respect, as, being former industrial spaces, they can be seen to act as an 'a powerful symbol of the impermanence of the industrial revolution and the rootlessness of capital' (110) In this way therefore, we can see that as a typology, the characteristics of non-places such as heavily branded sites of consumption are antithetical to heterogeneous public space.

Thus, whilst adverts formed part of the attraction of the early metropolis, the signification of brands in the 21st century, more than 30 years since the rise of neo-liberalism, is no longer the same as it was. The increasingly all-pervasive nature of advertising and branding as explored by Lefebvre (1991) and Debord (1992) means that, having been colonized by capitalism, 'everyday life' has become a 'place of controlled consumption,' and of 'terror-enforced passivity' (Lefebvre 1971:197) It is therefore almost impossible to make a choice that has not been monetised and thus does not tie you to some brand or profit-motive.

Yet at the same time increased globalisation mean that such corporations, despite their ubiquity, are increasingly transient and disconnected from the quotidian: despite exercising such visible power over urban space, they exist outside of existing nation-state frameworks of democratic accountability. The result is increased inequality (Navarro 1998) and a growing 'precariat' class (Standing, 2011) facing a 'steady shrinkage of the commons'. Crucially however this precariousness 'exists without any looming historical disaster; instead it is woven into the everyday practices of a vigorous capitalism.' (Sennett 1998:31) Thus whilst not an absolute, the signification of branding in public space has taken on sinister characteristics, to the detriment of its allure

This evolution of the meaning of aspects of urban space is clear evidence of the importance of the symbolism inherent within a place's historical and societal context, as argued by Monnet (2011:7) 'The most obvious symbolic places... are those where the symbolic charge is manifest or even essential to their identification as places. Manifestly the case studies, as symbolic showcases of British and Danish societies fulfil this criteria. In spaces such as these, argues Monnet there is always 'a symbolic magnification of the authority itself: ...in the register of ideals and values (14)' and thus by examining what values and significations are present, there can be an inference of where authority and power lies, in both the space itself and in the society as a whole. If the 'production of symbolic spaces can be seen today as being in the hands of the economic decision-makers,' (27) then this reading of a space provides deep insight into the economic hierarchies and power balances of a society.

This shows that ultimately, places are not experienced on their own, but as part of a wider societal narrative. A place in an unequal or homogenous society may therefore be perceived as unequal or homogenous or devoid of empathy and thus heighten such behaviour. This clearly creates a risk that regardless of design, the context of public space can have a negative impact. But at the same time it offers an opportunity that space, cultivated, designed and presented in certain ways, can serve to increase trust, increase empathy, increase heterogeneity and move users of the space towards achieving what Lefebvre (1968) and Harvey (2008) have identified as the right to the city.

It is this freedom, the freedom to be different and to do different things, which underpins heterogeneity, and thus urbanity, and thus successful public spaces. Indeed Simmel (1900) argued that 'the dynamism of modernity and the metropolis derived ultimately from the threatened reduction of human value to a single system of representation, namely money.' Historically however this threat could be challenged and undermined by the range of opportunities offered by the heterogeneous city. In neo-liberal societies however, this is now under threat. Harvey (2008) argues that our access to the city is often dependent on 'what kinds of consumerism we have access to.' Spaces that are un-urban in their homogeneity, and deny access based on one's ability to consume (essentially, on a financial basis,) therefore become inaccessible, and thus unsuccessful public space. Even if such a space were to contain a large number of people, fulfilling one of Whyte's criteria, if there is a homogeneity to the kind of person that uses a space, it cannot be seen as truly public. Likewise space that cannot be changed – namely space that is not in the hands of people (either directly or through democratic mechanisms) but in the hands of unaccountable groups, such as private companies, becomes impossible to 'remake' and therefore open to homogenisation.

To conclude, therefore, a successful public space needs to be heterogeneous, both in spatial design and visual appearance, and to consequently exude symbolic openness and accessibility. As key signifiers of this, spatial and visual aspects of the case studies will form the basis of the field work, as detailed in the methodology chapter.

Chapter 3 Methodology

In order to carry out the study, a number of methods were used. The study, being a comparison of the intentions and the current actuality, clearly therefore divided into two sections for each case study. The first constituted a study of the history and context for each case study, and the second an observational study of each case study. These, evidently, require different approaches.

The location of each case study was finalised into two spaces, roughly similar in size.

In London the space selected stretched from the end of Jubilee Gardens to the end of the London Television centre. This was chosen as it is an area on the water-front of the Southbank Centre, the National Theatre and the British Film Institute, and thus forms a public space with cultural connections and connotations. It forms a continuous space of around 900m, indicated by the red line below:

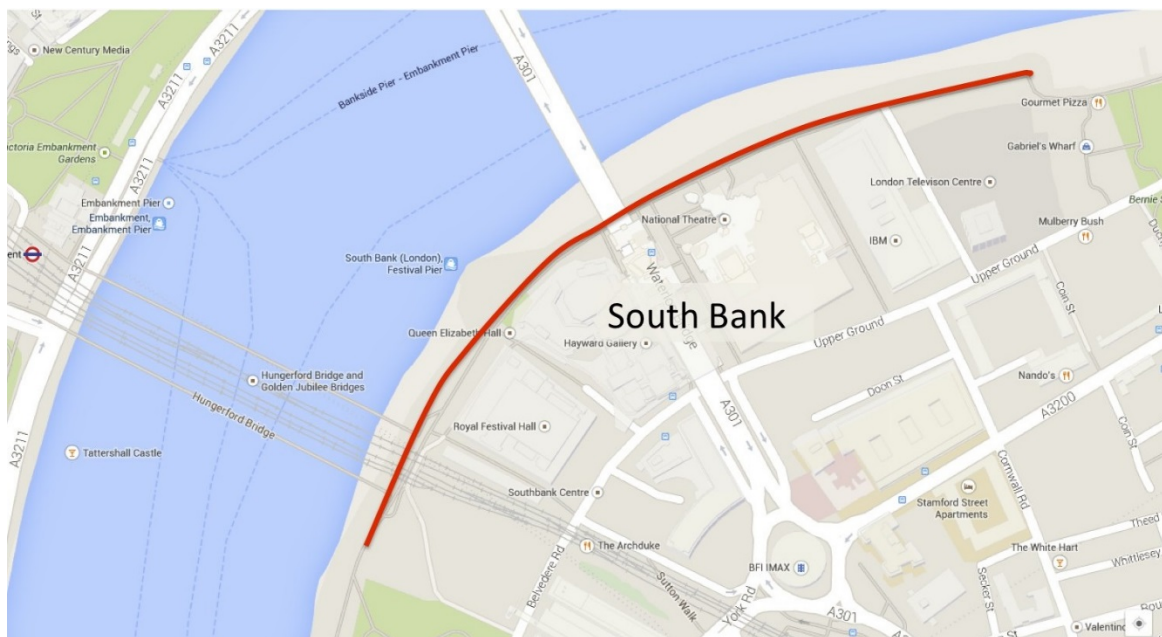


Figure 4. 1-i

Copenhagen's harbour-front however is at a different stage of development, and is fragmented into separate, often unconnected sections. In order to find a part of the harbour front with similar characteristics and a similar length it was necessary to choose a few separate sections of the area. Although they do not completely join up together they share culture-centric characteristics – they are the area around the Copenhagen Playhouse, Paper Island (Papirøen) which now temporarily houses the Experimentarium, and the area around the Black Diamond library, Søren Kierkegaard Plads. It was decided not to include Nyhavn as it is more enclosed than the open harbour of the rest of the space, and also has very different genius loci: it is more of a historical touristic area, akin to the Tower Bridge, or Houses of Parliament areas alongside the Thames. Furthermore the gap between Black Diamond and Havnepromenade was not included with regards to length

considerations as it has no public waterfront areas: it is merely a road. Nevertheless it was mentioned and analysed in the study as a connector between the different sections. The spaces included in the study are indicated by the red line on the map:

Black Diamond 250m

Royal Danish Playhouse 200m

Paper Island 100m

Havnepromenade 450m

Total Distance: 1km



Figure 4. 1-ii

History & Context

For this section, the method used was a review of the plans and cultural representations of each case study. These included a wide range of different sources, which were then analysed. The aim of this analysis was to get a sense of both the intentions behind the current incarnation of the space and also a sense of the history of each public space, including previous use and position within the public and cultural consciousness of the respective societies. As argued in the introduction, both the South Bank and Copenhagen Harbour act as a public face for the city, and therefore the development of their position within the identity of each city will be considered.

To ascertain the intentions for each, an examination of the planning and policy documents pertaining to each case study was undertaken. This helped provide a strong and clear indication of what had been the aims and goals of those creating the plan for each case study.

To give context to the position of these spaces in public discourse and their cultural significance, sources from culture were used. These included novels, films, music and art.

Difficulties

The chief difficulty experienced was that of language. I do not speak Danish, and therefore was not able to utilise a number of potential sources pertaining to the harbour. However I was able to make use of some parts of some documents in Danish using Google Translate. To compensate for this imbalance of source material, two expert, semi-structured interviews were undertaken. These were with experts who had worked on elements of the planning of the harbour and who had authored texts about the harbour: Nicolai Carlberg, author of *Byliv og Havnefront* and Holger Bisgaard, author of *Københavns Genrejsning*. The interviews mainly consisted of a talk-through guide to their texts with some input too from their broader expertise.

Current Use

Taking into account this contextual framework, the observational study comprised two main parts. What is notable about the identifications of the qualities of public space in the Theoretical Framework is that they were on the whole developed through observation of actual use of public space, rather than through questionnaires or surveys, indicating that these choices are not necessarily the conscious rationalisation of the users, but instead more instinctive decisions made in the process of use. This is crucial as work by psychologists such as Daniel Kahneman (2011) have shown that there is often disconnect between how we actually think we make decisions, and how we rationalise and justify our choices. Merely asking how or why people enjoy public space is therefore a flawed process. Observation, providing the observation is unobtrusive, provides a more accurate insight into public space use.

Aspects observed were the opportunities for 'staying' in the public spaces, and the visual symbols and signage of the spaces. In this section each of these will be explained in greater detail, and how they will be recorded will be outlined. I will also justify these methods.

Time

The public spaces were observed on 3 separate moments. These were:

- Friday early evening 1700-2000
- Saturday afternoon 1400-1700
- Sunday afternoon 1400-1700

As the spaces are primarily leisure-centric, the times chosen reflected this, as they were outside of the standard working hours for the society and are times that constitute leisure time for the majority of the population, ensuring a mixture of tourists and local people. Each space was visited during the months of July & August. Attempts were made to visit the spaces during good weather conditions. Nevertheless time constraints meant that waiting for completely rain-less days was not possible and there was some inclement weather in each case study at times. There was no visit which had rain throughout, but rather some scattered showers. The weather conditions were recorded for each visit.

Staying

As we have seen, a number of characteristics of a public space have been identified as making it successful. One of these is the presence of other people. The second is the provision for staying in an area. This can constitute places to lean on, place to sit, but also human activity that causes people to stop and watch. What the observation will examine is the amount of space that is available for sitting, space that is also available for 'staying' activities such as having something to lean on, and places in which people do 'stay' - all of which encourages people to linger in a public space.

However, as we have seen, accessibility plays an important role in creating a successful urban space. The observation therefore differentiated between public and private areas, and recorded the amount of seating space available in each instance in each case study.

Another aspect of the accessibility of spaces and its conduciveness towards assembly relates to its physical design and access – can a seating area be seen and reached easily? Bearing in mind that most users of space will progress across it in the quickest, most direct manner, are facilities to encourage assembly noticeable, evident and reachable? This was also assessed qualitatively.

Imagery

As we have seen signs and imagery are important to the design of a space and give it meaning. The imagery and signage within a space was therefore observed. Their purpose, appearance, message and context was analysed and assessed. The imagery was assessed thorough observing the place in person and recording it with notes and photographs.

Conclusions / Analysis

All of the criteria were assessed individually and in relation to each other to give an overall qualitative insight into the quality of the public spaces. Each synthesis of the observations of each case study was then compared. They were also compared with the broader context to give a double-layered overall comparison: firstly between the original intentions and designs of the public spaces for each case study and then between each case study.

Chapter 4 Case Study Contexts

4. 1 Context to Choices

The two case studies, The Southbank of London and the Harbour area of Copenhagen, have been chosen for their shared characteristics. They are both waterside, mainly pedestrianized spaces, home to cultural institutions. They both fulfil a dual role, as public space used by citizens of the respective cities, and also as popular spaces for tourists in the city, and therefore function as a 'public face,' or representative showcase, of the city. They both exist to some extent as products of a social-democratic socio-political context and both seek to use the space as a tool for wider city-wide, societal, and global impact.

The Southbank was constructed in the context of a utopian and historicist world view and one that sought to situate the development as part of a wider narrative affirming London's status as one of the world's leading cities. The space was intended to be a site of accessible culture, designed for use by all members of society, regardless of class or income, and to play a role in combatting inequality.

The development of Copenhagen's harbour was undertaken partly as a reaction to changing demographics in the city but also because of the decline of its industry, which left much unused or

underutilised space. Subsequently Copenhagen has begun to create a public space that seeks to showcase Copenhagen favourably in an international context.

4. 2 London Context

The Southbank is a loosely defined area of London, stretching roughly from the area of Westminster Bridge eastwards towards London Bridge. For the purposes of this study, as explained in the Methodology, the particular area of the Southbank to be studied is the area from the London Eye, past the Southbank Centre, up until the National Theatre.

This is a central area and situated as it is alongside the iconic River Thames, it has been at the heart of cultural and literary representations of the river. This heritage has its roots in the 16th Century, when it was the home to the Globe Theatre, the Paris garden and other centres of attraction and was a popular entertainment centre. (Forshaw and Abercrombie p.130) It also stems from the area's long-standing 'otherness' to London: until the opening of Westminster Bridge in 1750, its only connection to the rest of London to the North was via London Bridge in the east of the area. As early as the 13th Century, it was the site of many brothels, a situation which continued for many years particularly after the City of London, which is to the north of the river Thames, banned brothels from within its own walls. By the 17th Century this mix of hedonism and culture meant that the area was one of London's prime destinations for a night out, with an increasing number of theatres, but also the introduction of bear and bull baiting, adding to the melting-pot of insalubrious attractions. (Alexander p.21) The multiple breweries that lubricated this myriad merry-making led to the area being described by dramatist Thomas Dekker as 'one continuous alehouse.' (Reilly & Marshall: 5) Yet the area retained an air of appeal that transcended its less respectable facets. In 1802 the view of the area and the river was described by William Wordsworth in 'Upon Westminster Bridge:

"Earth has not anything to show more fair:

Dull would he be of soul who could pass by

A sight so touching in its majesty.'

In this way the Southbank can be seen to hold a long-term significance in the cultural and leisure life of London. However, following the industrial revolution, and until the Second World War, the Southbank, like much of the London Thames-side, was a site of industry – primarily one related to London's status as an important port. The opening of London Waterloo station in 1848, and the accompanying proliferation of railway bridges that divided the area led to Michael Sadlier (1947) to lament in his historical novel 'Forlorn Sunset' that the subsequent noise and pollution meant that 'No nice family could have a home in the immediate neighbourhood,' an indication that, despite its history of prostitution and hedonism, there had been an interregnum period whereby it attained some degree of respectability, before the industrial revolution left it sullied in a different way. This context is supported by William Morris' utopian vision of London 'News From Nowhere' in which London's central riverside area is described as 'asserting itself as a centre,—an intellectual centre,' (Morris 1890:42) an indication of its longstanding perceived cultural potential.

But the area's edgy reputation endured. Dickens, in 'Our Mutual Friend' (1865) and Little Dorrit (1857) used various parts of the South Bank as the respective settings for scavengers stealing from

dead bodies and a decaying debtor's prison (based on Marshallsea prison.) Bill Syke's ignoble lair in *Oliver Twist* (1838) was based too on various disreputable neighbourhoods in the area. (Joyce)



Figure 4. 2-i Monet's 'Trouée de soleil dans le brouillard' (1904)

Whilst Monet's 'Trouée de soleil dans le brouillard' of 1904, painted from the perspective of the South Bank, wrought some beauty from the image of the Houses of Parliament breaking through haze, it belied too the smoggy pollution in the area at that time. The South Bank by the following year was deemed so industrial and blighted that the Labour Politician John Burns demanded: 'Lighten up a dull place, sweeten a sour spot, and for the first time bring the south of London a dignified and beautiful frontage on the River Thames.' (Burns 1905) What is notable here, as throughout the Southbank's history, is that the site retained an allure and appreciative perception, despite its multiple flaws – there was an acknowledgement of the potential of the site. This potential moved towards realisation with the opening of County Hall in 1933, which gave the view of a 'new view south,' (Alexander p.21) one characterised by civic architecture rather than vice or industry. This was followed by the Abercrombie Plan in the Second World War, which was the framework for today's Southbank, and the stimulus for a repurposing of place that occurred all over London.

This 'plan' is actually made up of two plans, namely the County of London Plan of 1943 and the Greater London Plan of 1944. Together they became known as the Abercrombie Plan. Hereafter all references to 'the plan' will refer to the Abercrombie Plan and thus the joint vision contained within the two plans, unless otherwise specifically stated.

The context: The Abercrombie Plan

This redevelopment reflects the changing nature of Britain as a consequence of the Second World War. The plan represents a strong left-wards turn towards a more social-democratic political context, at the beginning of the 'Post-War Consensus,' a period characterized by widespread support for collectivism and the welfare state, which lasted until the election of Margaret Thatcher in 1979 (Toye). A key component of this was Beveridge Report of 1942 which sought to fight against the 'five

evils' of 'squalor, want, ignorance, idleness and disease.' Indeed, the Abercrombie plan actively sought to situate itself alongside this Report: 'Beveridge has talked of giants in the path of social security. There are giants too in the path of city planning. There are conflicting interest, private rights, an outworn and different scale of values, and lack of vision.' (Forshaw & Abercrombie p.iii)

There was a perceived responsibility to seize the opportunity granted by the winning of the Second World War, and to reflect the sense of hope and opportunity that stemmed from victory, to avoid being 'unworthy of victory.' (Forshaw & Abercrombie p.iii) As Richard Hornsey (2008) has argued, the destruction wrought by the Blitz on London 'ushered to the forefront a generation of architects and designers who had been exploring the connections between social reform and urban planning during the 1930s.' The Abercrombie Plan can be seen to have captured this socially-conscious zeitgeist and applied it on a London-wide scale.

London had been badly affected by the aerial bombardment of the Blitz, with over 50,000 homes in inner London having been destroyed, and 60,000 further out. (Akroyd p.737-747) But Abercrombie noted too that prior to the war the city had been beset with problems that still lingered in the 1940s. He identified London's problem as being that it 'grew up without plan or order,' and, particularly in Thames-side industrial spaces, contained 'mean hideous slums of which any city ought to be ashamed' situated in areas which were 'mile upon mile without open space.' (Keene 1946) London, 'ripe for reconstruction before the war,' ought in the opinion of Abercrombie to address these problems whilst the city's 'zeal' for such an undertaking had been intensified by World War Two's destruction. (Forshaw & Abercrombie p.20)

Yet amidst this bleak assessment of London's condition, there always remained a note of optimism and potential. The faults within London were presented as historical blips, stemming from a failure to identify the right priorities, a failure of planning (or rather, a lack of planning) that had sprung up in the pre-war years when London was 'more and more absorbed in first gaining and then holding material prosperity.' But London, the Abercrombie Plan contested, was despite its flaws still 'the greatest city the world has ever known.' (Forshaw & Abercrombie p.iii) and a 'centre of learning, law and culture.' (Keene)

This third aspect, culture, can be seen as a crucial philosophical and ideological underpinning of the eventual Southbank project, as, despite its radical nature, it sought nevertheless to position itself within a longer-term narrative of 'London-ness.' Even the idea of a widespread improvement of London's conditions was not novel: William Morris (1890, p.268) in 'News From Nowhere', called it 'The Clearing of Misery.' In seeking to be a part of this context, the Abercrombie Plan, and therefore consequently the Southbank redevelopment, can be seen not as an isolated, localised project but as a showcase that attempted to draw on London's history and heritage in order to represent London as a 'new London.' 'New' in the sense of both improved and changed, and thus different, but at the same time unequivocally 'London' and thus faithful to the historical and cultural position that London had achieved in the world. Such an approach reflected Abercrombie's broader preservationist stance, as member of a number of preservationist societies and one of the planners behind London's Green Belt (Amati: 4).

This notion of London exceptionalism can be seen also in its rejection of contemporarily popular Le Corbusian modernist planning principles that shunned heritage for progress and exhibited 'a desire for inhabitants to 'surrender their freedom of movement to the omnipresent architect.' (Hughes

1991:232.) Rather, Abercrombie claimed that he was proposing 'not a hard and fast blueprint' but 'a plan for something that is living, something that is growing.' (Keene) Despite its vast ambition, it sought to provide non-use-specific public space that would develop over time depending on the usage and desires of the city-dwellers.

In seeking to develop from this fundamental questioning of how society functioned, the Abercrombie Plan can be seen as utopian insofar as it perceived few problems, however intrinsic or ingrained, as insurmountable and actively sought to bring egalitarianism to London:

'It is a commonplace to say that the war has done much to level incomes. There should be even less discrepancy afterwards, and this should be reflected in the Plan, which provides for a greater mingling of the different groups of London's society' (Forshawe & Abercrombie:20)

The plan showed how the 'Blitz Spirit' narrative, that the Second World War had brought people together and united society, began to jar with the inequalities of Britain and of London. Abercrombie identified that 'People began asking each other questions: Why parks and gardens for some in some parts but only the streets in others?' (Keene 1943)

The plan's sympathetic approach towards place and history was also demonstrated by its acknowledgement of a shift in emphasis and focus of the city, towards a post-industrial future.

This reduction in emphasis on industry can also be seen as a step towards a more human-focussed city, and indeed it was people, rather than economic interests, that seemed to underpin the report: 'the city exists because men have realised that by living together they can enjoy many advantages.' The report extolled London's existing public spaces as 'good things we must do our best to keep,' not for their economic worth, but for their contribution towards wellbeing. (Keene)

Southbank

This sense of London's Southbank's compatibility with these principles of utopianism, historicism, and the human-centred city is clear. One London quality identified frequently was its provision of public space: 'I do not know that any city can rival its parks and gardens, its squares and terraces.' (Forshawe & Abercrombie p.ii) At the same time, the Thames was described as 'a great asset... a noble river, bordered in some places by fine embankments which open up with wide vistas for the enjoyment of the people.' (Forshawe & Abercrombie p.13) It was this opportunity offered by the Southbank, both a riverside location and potentially a public space, which Abercrombie wanted to exploit.

The South Bank's status as a cultural hub also holds symbolic and representational value beyond merely its presence within a plan for a 'new London.' The South Bank itself was chosen as one of the key areas of focus because Bermondsey, Southwark and Lambeth were seen as some of the areas 'in the most need of attention,' and because of the contrast between the north side, with its "vitality, with public access to enable its attractions to be enjoyed,' and the south, 'a dull and monotonous decay without, perhaps fortunately, public access,' that was merely 'a confusion of warehouses slums and derelict streets.' Its lack of 'dignity and order appropriate to its location at the centre of London' indicate how it did not fit with the grand vision of a modern, world-renowned city. (Forshawe & Abercrombie p.130) As part of his broad and holistic approach to city planning, Abercrombie proposed new 'Standards of Open Space,' four acres per 1,000 inhabitants, as a way of improving well-being, particularly for those previously living in slum conditions. The Southbank

formed a key part of this proposal (Renaissance London) To ameliorate the Southbank's condition, Abercrombie proposed continuing the small existing embankment in front of County Hall, towards London Bridge. On this would be 'cafes, bandstand, shelters and a swimming pool,' a pedestrianized area, and 'a great cultural centre,' to include a modern concert hall and large theatre. (Forshawe & Abercrombie p.130-1)

Post-Abercrombie

The South Bank's position within this utopian yet historicist ideology is very evident in literature produced since the 1940s. Richard Hornsey (2008:94) has argued that the logics inherent within the Abercrombie plan 'suggested that urban space could be built to foreclose the possibility of historical conflict' – this can be seen to have manifested itself particularly in the South Bank exhibition of 1951. Of this exhibition, Conekin argued that 'it rehearsed a 'trans-historical, trans-class' view of Britain.' The dual mix of historicism and utopianism can be seen in its 'Janus-like exploration of both the past and the future.' Its message was the same as that of the Abercrombie's: 'that planning science would revitalise, strengthen and ensure the continuance of London's archaic communities.' (Hornsey:111)

Whilst the Abercrombie Plan is certainly the plan which produced the culturally-focussed public space of the Southbank as it exists today, its design and vision has in the 70 years since been refined and reappraised. The purpose of this overview of developments since then is not to assess its current use in relation to Abercrombie's original aims. That will be undertaken by means of the observational study later in this document. Rather this overview outlines some of the changes in context since the plan of 1943.

The most notable change has been the ideological climate. After 1979, the decline of the post-war consensus ushered in a new era of neo-liberal economics, first from Thatcher, and continued by subsequent Conservative and Labour governments. These sought market liberalisation and placed the needs of capital and business higher than they had been previously. The state's role was seen as smaller than it had been before and grand, utopian social-democratic plans such as that written Abercrombie were no longer produced: indeed since Abercrombie only two Greater London-wide plans have been produced, the 1969 Greater London Development Plan, and the 2002 Mayor's Draft London Plan, which under the direction of the left-leaning Mayor Ken Livingstone can be seen as a reaction to the Thatcherite years. (Hall p.176)

Nevertheless, prior to neo-liberalism, throughout the era, some plans were introduced which affected the South Bank and its immediate surroundings and sought to hasten the wider South Bank area's transition away from a working class industrial area: in 1955 the South Bank was designated a 'Comprehensive Development Area' meaning it was zoned for 'central uses,' a designation repeated in the 1962 'Initial Development Plan for London'. By the 1969 Greater London Development Plan it had become a 'preferred location for offices.' In the 1970s there was a desire from Southwark's planners to expand 'West End' and 'City Business' activities to the borough. (Baeten p.294) This range of functions represents a broader trend of exploration of the varied opportunities inherent within vacant post-industrial space. However, despite this, the riverfront itself remained relatively untouched by these plans, and remained primarily a cultural site, 'away from the pressures of business' as originally intended by Abercrombie. This was in large part a consequence of the development of multiple cultural venues, also as envisioned in the Abercrombie Plan.

The first introduction of culture to the South Bank was the Festival of Britain in 1951, which begat the Royal Festival Hall, the centre point for the nationwide festival. The Queen Elizabeth Hall followed in 1967, attracting critics due to its Brutalist concrete design, but bringing in more culture, as did the Hayward Gallery which followed it. The Young Vic theatre was built in 1970, and then in 1976 the large National Theatre was built on the east side of Waterloo Bridge, actually a complex home to three separate theatres. It can be seen, therefore, that the introduction of culture into the space was a gradual process. Despite this broader focus on culture, the its outdoor spatial functionalities remained 'deliberately undefined,' with users 'expected to take advantage of the potential of different and scattered elements congealing together.' (Herring: 3)

This remained the case until The year 2000, which saw the unveiling of the Rick Mather Masterplan, 'a framework for the incremental improvements and extension of existing cultural facilities and public realm at Southbank Centre.' The first phase of this involved the 'transformation' of the Royal Festival Hall and was completed in 2007. A new public square was built, and there was the introduction of 'lively restaurants and shops across the site.' (Southbank Centre) Part of the aim of this redevelopment was to remove all 'undefined space' and the result according to Herring (5) is ground level is a 'defined space where the user is appointed the role of consumer.' This was a specific act undertaken by the architects as an attempt to 'design conflict out' (Herring: 6)

However, as perhaps is unsurprising in a space that 'has 'never been complete, and whose character 'has developed through a process of compromise and change.' (Herring 2) the site has not become completely ridden of conflict. The next stage in this plan, the as-yet un-commenced 'Festival Wing Project,' has not been without controversy. The plan involves the destruction of an area of the under-croft of the Queen Elizabeth Hall which has become home to skateboarders. An example of the potential of undesignated open space to yield unexpected and unplanned activity, it has become the foremost space for skateboarding and graffiti in the country. The plan to destroy it was met with a concerted campaign from a newly-formed group called 'Long Live Southbank,' and resulted in the planning permission for these plans eventually being withdrawn, though the future of this space remains in doubt. (Long Live Southbank 2014)

Whilst the Southbank area remains a 'Strategic Cultural Area' where all developments must 'enhance the area's distinct offer,' (Greater London Authority 2011) these latest developments can be seen to be the closest to being contrary to the ethos of the original plans, with their focus on mono-functional consumerism and their planned destruction of certain facets of the public space. The extent to which this is accurate will be explored by my fieldwork in the area.

This evolution of space and function within the South Bank area can be seen in the broader cultural context of a changing London, which has increasingly embraced global neo-liberal. Groes (2011:168) argues that there has been an 'increasing fragmentation of the metropolis,' evidenced through the work of London-focussed writers such as JG Ballard, Iain Sinclair and Martin Amis, and that despite attempts at resistance, there is a growing 'sense of crisis.' Guignery (2011) sees this as London entering into what Soja has called a situation of a 'post-metropolis,' with exclusion and division predominant.

Raban's 'Soft City' (1974) supports this notion this with its emphasis, identified by Harvey, (1989:1-6) on the experience of London as being one of 'subjective individualism' and 'diverse opportunities for consumption' rather than community. Raban (1974: 4) imagines a gang of 'Envies' preying on users

of the Southbank out of jealousy for their ability to enjoy its cultural space which the gang perceive as a rarefied preserve for the middle-class. Harvey (1989:42) sees this interpretation of the urban as an extrapolation of the ideas of a necessary coldness towards others first seen in Simmel's *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (1911). He does not however see it as an inevitable consequence of urban life, but rather as one manifestation of the neo-liberal urban trends that have gained in predominance since the 1970s.

As we have seen in the theoretical framework, such trends of exclusion and of consumption replacing culture and leisure can be seen as a challenge towards the urban diversity and heterogeneity of the South Bank. The observation of the South Bank itself will explore and inform the extent to which this changing London has changed the South Bank, indeed vice versa.

4. 3 Copenhagen Context

An 1854 issue of the *Illustrated Magazine of Art* described Copenhagen harbour as 'filthy and unpleasant,' situated in a city where 'death and desolation were rampant in its streets.' The city it describes 'was built before there was much talk of sanitary reform,' (p.369) and had no drainage. This is a far cry from the Copenhagen of today, where the water in the harbour is so famously clean that it was even transported to China as part of an art installation so that Chinese festival-goers could swim in it (Welch 2010). This chapter will examine the changing contexts and cultural position of the harbour within Copenhagen. It will demonstrate how the harbour has changed from having mainly industrial activity and a significant naval presence, to one of the biggest emblems of the modern clean and liveable Copenhagen that exists today. The development of the harbourfront, creating a successful living space, is part of this development.

The name Copenhagen stems from the 12th century, with Saxo Grammaticus having recorded the name as *Portus Mercatorum* – 'merchant harbour' (Goss 1992). This is a crucial aspect of almost all of the harbour's history – it has primarily been a site of industry and of trade. The development of Christianshavn as a new district reclaimed from the sea in 1617 created an enclosed, protected harbour with a large amount of space (Kvorning : 116) that came to be an 'intrinsic and central part' of Copenhagen's identity. (Kvorning: 129)

As well as its trading associations, the harbour for a long time was an important centre for Copenhagen's navy, and the island of Holmen was almost entirely occupied by armed forces buildings. This importance was diminished and undermined by the 'England Wars' of the early 19th century. In 1807 the Copenhagenization of the Danish navy took place, as the English not only routed, but confiscated the entire Danish naval fleet. By 1814, Denmark had ended up on the losing side in the Napoleonic Wars. As part of the Kiel treaty it was forced to cede Norway to Sweden, and its influence and thus the influence of its navy, was on the wane. (Goss 1992)

There are instances and examples of the wider harbour area being used for alternative functions throughout history. Nyhavn was originally built between 1671-73 for trading purposes, to give access to Kongen Nytorv. However following the British bombardment of 1807, the merchants departed the area and it instead became a site of public houses frequented by sailors, rather than specifically a port. (Goss 1992)

Yet the harbour continued to play an important trading role and, consistently portrayed as a busy, working port, has continuously figured in the cultural representation of Copenhagen, both as part of its history and as part of its changing identity. In Hans Christian Andersen's first novel 'Journey on

Foot from Holmen's Canal to the Eastern Point of Amager in the Years 1828 and 1829' he describes a vision of the future in which 'The harbour abounded with foreign ships and gave me an intimation of Denmark's bloom,' (Madsen 23) evidencing a perception that the harbour would, regardless the passing of time, remain a key and central part of the city.



Figure 4. 3-i

Johan Christian Claussen Dahl's 1846 Painting 'Copenhagen Harbour by Moonlight' gives us a sense of the city in the mid 19th century. It depicts a busy working port, and the fact it is 'by night' gives the viewer an impression of the round-the-clock nature of the work. There were nevertheless some who sought alternate use for the space: Opening the city centre up to the harbour and integrating it as a public space was proposed as long ago as 1857 by Conrad Seidelin, although this did not become a reality. (Al Khani 2005 p.202)

In Nexø's *Pelle the Conqueror* harbour, first published in 1906, the harbour is prominently associated with Copenhagen, a city described with industrial imagery as 'the great capital with its towers and factory-chimneys'. (Nexø 1906 part III;IV) There is a focus on the harbour front, with 'the passage between the forts and the naval harbour' being described as 'sufficiently magnificent to impress' the eponymous character. Nexø describes the crowd on the land-stage, and the 'shouting and calling' of cabmen and porters, again an impression of a bustling busy port.

The same novel also gives a sense that a large degree of change had taken place in the harbour throughout the second half of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th. 'How everything had changed since he first came to the capital and looked out over it from Morten's old lodging!' (Nexø, Part IV;IV) There were signs at this juncture of a broader range of functions being developed in the area: 'Where he had once run about among wharves and coal-bunkers, there now stood a row of palatial buildings with a fine boulevard,' whilst 'a large working-men's district had sprung up where there had once been timber-yards or water.' This residential purposing of the harbour area presaged its later post-industrial development, which has in turn pre-dated its latest appropriation as public space.

It is telling though that despite some developments that had led Copenhagen appearing to the protagonist as 'an entirely new city,' the harbour had in large part remained a site of industry and

commerce, as acknowledged by Nexø: 'Below him engines were drawing rows of trucks filled with ballast across the site for the new goods-station yard.' (Nexø, Part IV;IV) Indeed, throughout the first half of the 20th Century, the industrial revolution saw the harbour embrace the engines that Nexø had identified rather than the boulevards, as the space continued to be a thriving port and centre of trade, benefitting from its neutral position during the First World War and thus able to trade both with Britain and Germany. (Baltzersen 2005)

Although as we will see the development of swimming facilities in the harbour area has been heralded as emblematic of a new, fresh Copenhagen harbour area, in fact, up until the 1950s there were a number of public bath installations in the Fisketorvet, Christianshavn and Slusen areas of the harbour. (Al Khani 2005 p.186)

Post-War Copenhagen

In the years following the Second World War it was proposed that Copenhagen should develop along the lines of the Finger Plan proposed by Rasmussen. In this plan all areas of Copenhagen would be connected both to the centre, down the fingers, but also to green spaces. Whilst such a plan was never implemented it reflects a broad acknowledgement of the increased importance of access to public space in the post-war period. As we have seen with London, this trend was not limited to Copenhagen. Indeed Rasmussen (1988) himself was deeply impressed and inspired by London, proclaiming it 'the most civilised city on earth,' because of its high quality of architecture and public spaces.

As was the trend across the western urban world, by the 1960s, the nature of Copenhagen was changing. There have been two major processes that have impacted upon the nature of Copenhagen's harbour: the shift towards suburbanisation and then towards re-urbanisation, and the transition to a post-industrial urbanity.

Writing in 1998, Hans Thor Andersen described the previous thirty years as having seen the decline of industry and the rise of new office and service developments in the harbour. As identified by Al Khani (2005), since the 1960s there has been an ongoing process of converting parts of the harbour into 'urban' uses, rather than industrial ones. In the 1970s this manifested itself through an increased appreciation of the preservation of older buildings, and a focus on converting old warehouses into offices and housing. It was part of a broader global trend of port development that first became widely popular in this decade.

In Copenhagen this development was part of a renewal project that initially focused on Christianshavn, but by the 1980s this had become harbour-wide. Throughout this period a large number of small PR and architecture firms relocated into converted old port buildings. Whilst on a small scale and mainly privately-led, (Al Khani 2005 p.96). this shift laid the foundations for a perception of the harbour as not just an industrial area, but as a place with creative associations and an attraction that transcended much of its history. At the same time, as we have seen, there had been occasional attempts to change the functionality of the harbour, and this development can be said to have reawakened these culturally dormant connotations, and to be mining a lost but not entirely forgotten heritage of the harbour.

Despite these developments however, it was not until the early 1990s that there was a concerted state involvement in the redevelopment of the harbour. Yet the previous years had nonetheless seen many changes: in 1992 Priebis pointed out that whilst Copenhagen had not entirely eschewed industry, it had decreased in size and importance and shifted northwards, outside of the centre of Copenhagen, towards Nordhavn. What remained in the centre were merely a few ferry terminals, and abandoned quays.

In the same year in his book 'Copenhagen By The Harbour,' Peter Olesen called the Harbour 'fantastic, but poorly used.' He lamented the lack of appreciation from Copenhageners of it: 'we make little use of the obvious possibilities which exist in a city surrounded by so much water. We act as if the water were not there, try to forget it, displace it and treat it as if it were an inconvenience to have bridges, to have to cross the water.' (Olesen:9)

He was keen however that in embracing the harbour its existing 'special charm and atmosphere' was not to be lost, and that any development should provide a 'harbour that suits people's needs,' as opposed to something 'mass produced.' (10) Olesen saw the harbour as a conduit for Copenhagen's identity and furthermore, in his focus on the needs of people, is embracing a human-centric vision of the city that has come to be synonymous with Danish urbanism via the work of urbanists such as Jan Gehl, whose notion of building cities for people has, as shown in the Theoretical Framework, become an important and widely influential idea.

Much has changed. Now, 22 years later, Nordhavn is facing further development, to become offices and housing, a further departure from its industrial heritage. (Priebis) Meanwhile the abandoned quays of the city centre have been filled in with newer developments, whilst even what Priebis had seen as the last vestige of Copenhagen's port history, its ferries, have stopped leaving from the city centre, and instead have shifted to Nordhavn's new ferry terminal. (Al Khani 2005 p.216)

Yet Olesen's vision can be seen as representative of its time. It was the early 1990s that saw the development of Copenhagen's harbour gather impetus. The development in this period of the Copenhagen Harbour took place as part of a plan by the municipality to engender a demographic shift in Copenhagen's population. The city's population was aging, and there was a desire to attract a younger population. This decision was to a large extent an economic one: an attempt to attract a larger, wealthier tax base, and to keep higher tax payers in the city, rather than lose them to the suburbs or beyond – the pattern in Copenhagen from the 1970s until the 1990s was for the most resourceful and higher earners to move away from the city. The average income for those leaving Copenhagen in the late 1990s was DKK 161,000, significantly higher than those arriving to the city, whose average was DKK 138,000. The number of people aged 20-29 increased by 40% from 1980-2000, whilst the number aged 65 and above decreased by 40%. (Bisgaard p.17.) This shift is reflected in population figures too: in the 1980s Copenhagen lost 35,000 residents a year, whilst annually, in the years following 1992, it gained 70,000. (Bisgaard p.18)

However, until the year 2000, there was a large amount of people aged 30-34 leaving evidence that, whilst having begun to attract younger people, Copenhagen was not yet perceived as a liveable place once this new population wanted to raise a family. This too has begun to change since the turn of the millennium, with the number of people aged 30+ with children in the city growing since then, a sign according to Bisgaard that the objectives of Copenhagen's housing strategy between 1995 and 2001 have been achieved and that since the 1980s Copenhagen has 'risen from being an

impoverished run-down city inhabited primarily by elderly people and industrial workers,' to 'a dynamic, expansive city inhabited by the younger generations and experiencing rapid growth in the service and creative industries' (Bisgaard p.61) This change is also evident in employment figures: Between 1982 and 2000 the number of people working in the manufacturing sector was halved, and the number working in the service industry increased by 30%.

The context to this can be seen as part of the broader development of Copenhagen in this time. Bisgaard has divided this period of development into three 'waves' In the first wave, between 1990 and 1997, the 'Hovedstaden' report led to a large number of decisions being made about the area, under the initiative of Prime Minister Schutter. There was co-operation between the state and the municipality who sat on the same committee for the first time. This period was spent instilling trust in investors in Copenhagen and making big decisions on infrastructural investments, including on a number of national cultural and educational buildings, as well as on decisions like constructing the metro with funds raised from selling land for development in Orestad. (Bisgaard p.177)

The second wave in the late 1990s, saw urban renewal take precedence, as the city's drive to lower the age of the city continued, whilst the third wave beginning after 2001 saw major plans for the former industrial spaces of the harbourfront developed.

As part of this Copenhagen-wide change there was a desire to make the city more liveable and more attractive to younger people. Having a well-developed harbour area was deemed to be an important part of this. (Bisgaard). At the same time, as Carlberg (2014) and Chaline (1994) have argued, such change is representative of the global shift back to the centre of post-industrial cities. It is this trend which has been one of the real driving forces that has brought Copenhagen's harbourfront to the fore. This combination of local strategic goals and broader globalised trends means that the city's decision to develop the harbourfront can be seen as a dual set of interlinked strategies: firstly the development of under-utilised space, but also using the harbour's new but underexploited centrality as a powerful symbolic instrument for the city, one that could be moulded and planned with fewer hurdles than other developments precisely because of that underutilisation.

The specific manifestations of these strategies in terms of the built environment have been explored by Al Khani (2005 p.188) who identified that the original symbolism of harbourside buildings, once imbued with great meaning due to their important role in Copenhagen's thriving harbour, was no longer relevant following industrial decline, and they were therefore open to the possibility of implementing new meanings. Copenhagen has exploited this vacuum by constructing 'public access buildings and monumentalism' such as the Black Diamond library, which use architecture as 'a strategy for intensifying interest in the sites.' Many of the buildings however been kept, partly because of an increasing belief in the value of preserving old buildings, and also, as Prelorenzo (2003) has identified, for more cosmetic than cultural reasons: the actual function of most of these spaces now has no relationship to the past. This is because the imperative for change in the harbour in the 1980s was seen as a functional 'conversion problem' rather than an urban regeneration problem (Al Khani 2005 p.239). The area was at first seen as 'space' rather than 'a place,' which explains both why little new building work was initially undertaken and also how the harbour was developed without much broader strategic oversight. However as the new post-industrial identity began to become established, there was a specific move towards placemaking and the development of a cultural identity in the harbour area.

Culture and creativity were seen as important agents in this development. An 'attractive cultural life is seen as a decisive factor in attracting and retaining international firms,' according to the greater Copenhagen Region (2005), as its educated labour force seeks a specific set of attractions and activities. Harbour-front developments such as the symbolic and iconic Black Diamond are seen as an important part of this, as well as locations outside of the study area such as the prestigious Opera and the Fisketorvet shopping centre. Bayliss (2007) has identified a distinctly Floridan tone to nature of these plans, with the notion of having 'Talent Technology and Tolerance' subsequently attracting economic growth being key to the notion of cultivating a 'creative class.' However this is not necessarily the only aim, and this does not quite fit the Copenhagen context because firstly, in other cities commercial interests have been prioritised on the waterfront, such as in Oslo. In Copenhagen, the isolated case of Fisketorvet aside, these have not been given strategic importance in Copenhagen. Whilst this has been criticised by some who argue more commerce is needed to attract people to the harbour (Carlberg 2014), it can be seen as being part of a strategy that prioritised alternative models for developing the waterfront. Secondly, whilst there has been some evidence that harbourfront development has begun to start processes of gentrification that are an almost inevitable consequence of 'Creative Class'-centric policies (Al Khani p.207) the presence of culture in the harbour particularly has been developed with specific strategic intentions upon broadening, rather than limiting access, and the actual population of most harbour side areas was negligible prior to the development of the harbour, owing to its former industrial status.

This idea of broadening access and bringing new people to new cultural experiences at the harbour came to the fore in the 1990s, the first decade where culture began to make an incursion into the harbour area. This was a transition particularly enabled by 'Culture 96,' or Kulturbry 96, when Denmark became one of the last EU cities to host a 'European Capital of Culture'. Copenhagen chose to capitalise on the opportunity not only to promote culture but also to focus on developing Copenhagen's identity. The harbour formed a big part of the project and was therefore further integrated into the city's broader cultural consciousness (Bisgaard 2010)

As part of Kulturbry 96, the city made use of 70 hectares on the island of Holmen that had become available after the navy had vacated it. The state made the decision to encompass the entire area in one framework local plan. Attempting to affirm and develop Copenhagen's image as the 'Cultural Capital of Europe,' four 'Royal Schools' were relocated here: Architecture, Theatre, Music and Film. Their royal nature was symbolic that the shift was not just a series of individual disparate decisions but rather the focus of an entire national identity. It can be seen as crucial in altering the perspective and symbolism of the harbour, from dirty, industrial and mono-functional, to clean diverse and public. As Al Khani (2005 p. 454) has pointed out this era saw 'culture as an activity that is associated with the symbolism of the Inner harbor established as the main characteristics of waterfront redevelopment on Copenhagen.' Events such as "Container '96 - Art Across Oceans," which attracted 90,000 visitors for an exhibition in which 96 artists from different harbour cities around the world, helped solidify Copenhagen's identity as a city that was making progressive, innovative and creative use of its former industrial port. (Palmer 2004)

This identity-building, and indeed the whole of Kulturbry 96, was not intended purely as a global advertising campaign, but also as a way of encouraging Copenhageners' awareness of, and familiarity with the port area. It was deemed successful in this regard, with 87% of the population

visiting at least one Kulturbry 96 event, and 50% visiting a place they had not visited before (Davies, 2012)

As planned as part of Culture 96, in 1999 the development of Royal Library by the building of the Black Diamond was an extension in both senses of the word. It extended the library itself right up to the waterfront but it also represents the diversified and culturally-focused trend that had begun to characterise the harbour-front throughout the decade. Again this library being extended was the Royal one, thus symbolic of the Danish nation and by extension the Danish people. This plan therefore can be said to have encouraged a symbiosis between harbour and Danish populace, one that had been part of the intention of planners seeking to lower Copenhagen's average age and create more people-focussed city centre since the early 1990s.

This can be seen as part of a broader European trend embracing the city and particularly the capital city's role 'as being one of society's prime generators of growth and prosperity.' Planners for the harbour travelled to Toronto, Boston, Amsterdam and Paris for inspiration, evidence that Copenhagen was seeking to compete on a world stage and that it saw its peers as beyond national borders (Bisgaard 2014). At the same time the support of the national government in the development of Copenhagen and its harbour shows how Copenhagen's success was seen to offer the opportunity for it to become an international showcase for Denmark, raising the country's profile, attracting investors and boosting its reputation on the global stage. This reflects changes in the last 30 years, that 'engines of growth' (Bisgaard 2010 p.179) cities were as important as the nation state.

This recognition of the international context to Copenhagen's growth is a crucial point. As engines of growth cities are increasingly competing against each other for the fickle attentions of international investment.

As Carlberg (2014) has pointed out there has in more recent years been a balance struck between the desires of the market and those of the State. This has not always been the case: Al Khani (2005 p.345) points out that the discrepancies between planning and market tendencies led to 'passive attitudes' from public actors towards the harbour area. Befitting changing prevailing global trends, the 1990s saw this situation change: the time since then has been characterised by more proactive stance from the state, with the municipality and the national government joining to create policy for the area. This collaboration was based on improving the appeal of the space in order to appease investors, whilst also remaining aware that compromises made should be ultimately in the best interests of the city and allow it to develop space and infrastructure. The opening up of the harbour served a dual purpose therefore, as an instrument to improve the desirability of Copenhagen for investors, but also as a way of improving Copenhagen for its inhabitants.

In turn these trends and the balancing of economic and social interests have informed Copenhagen's more recent strategic decisions to build its reputation as 'green' and to focus on its harbour as an engine for this change. Whilst the idea of contributing positively to environment has been part of Copenhagen discourse since the city hosted the European City 'Sustaining Urban Quality,' conference in 1995, Al Khani, writing in 2005 said that sustainable development had not by that point appeared as a major goal in waterfront redevelopment policy in Copenhagen (Al Khani 2005 p.379). However since then there has been a shift in Copenhagen's sustainability policy towards the waterfront. The space has been recognised as an important 'blue' public space and such 'blue spaces' ranked

alongside 'green' parks in their civic importance – with the city announcing it that 'almost every resident now lives less than 10 minutes by foot to a green or blue recreation space or park.' (Copenhagen Municipality 2010)

We can see therefore that is not merely the physical area that has undergone changes, but as Bisgaard (2010, p.179) has pointed out, Copenhagen's entire 'relationship to the water' which has changed.' It has become symbolic of a 'modern green and blue Copenhagen.' There has been an evolution of sustainable then social development in the harbour area, and the focus has now shifted again towards ecological and environmental sustainability with the harbour as the centrepiece.

At the same time there have continued to be a further new cultural institutions in the harbour area: The Copenhagen Opera House, inaugurated 2005, the Royal Danish Playhouse (Skuespilhus) in 2008, harbour baths, the Dome Of Visions (2014) in Søren Kierkegaard Plads adjacent to the Black Diamond Library, The Danish Jewish Museum (2004), the ongoing construction of a new Kulturhus. These all feature some interaction with and openness to the waterfront, apart from the Opera House, which, stemming not from the state but from the philanthropic endeavour of Mærsk Mc-Kinney Møller, can be seen as a symbolic counterpoint to the rest of the harbour, isolated both geographically and ideologically.

If the opera is the symbolic counterpoint, an incongruous relic intruding on the historical trinity of Amalienborg, King Frederik V and infinity, rather than seeking to be a part of the new harbour trend of cultural accessibility, then perhaps the most potent symbol of the transition from old to new harbour, is the changing nature of the term 'Copenhagenization.'

From a term used to describe the involuntary gutting of Copenhagen's most powerful element, its navy, it is now used in Copenhagen municipality's own literature to proclaim the city itself as a powerful international symbol of an open, accessible and liveable city: 'Planning a city for life – and cycling – now goes by the term 'Copenhagenization'. (Copenhagen Municipality 2014)

Clearly, Copenhagen harbour is still undergoing change and in the process of developing. The observation will examine the extent to which that is the case. It will observe how Copenhagen is now in order to see whether it currently is achieving its goals of openness and access that make it a truly public space.

4. 4 Comparison

When we combine the contextual analysis of the case studies, we can see a strong similarities, despite the fact that both cities have developed very differently and with different timeframes within their development. What binds both cities, however, is that their function has moved away from the traditional industrial function of the waterfront, towards a post-industrial space, culminating in a cultural-centred use intended as public space.

Where they differ is how they arrived at these positions. London in the immediate post-war period drew up plans for an egalitarian public space, before adding the cultural institutions gradually over the next few decades. Copenhagen meanwhile was planned in a far less top-down statist manner and instead saw commercial interests adopt the harbourside as office space in the initial phase redevelopment from 1960 onwards, before greater top-down involvement as the result of a co-operation between national and municipal governments. It was at this point that the functions of Copenhagen began to coincide with those more established in London, and the notion of the space

as public space began to gain standing. In both case studies, the impact of cultural festivals – the Southbank-based 1951 Festival of Britain, and the 1996 Kulturbry in Copenhagen served to bring the association of the space with open public access, particularly to culture. Culture was used not necessarily as an end in itself but as an attractive, widely accessible element to bring people to the spaces.

What we have also seen is that both spaces have adapted to market forces. Despite their current stated function's incarnations stemming from top-down statist interventionism, their development since these starting points can be seen as representative of broader urban trends. In London's case the initial development post-war was undertaken from an almost unfettered utopian egalitarian perspective. Very little mind was paid to actors outside of the people of London and the benevolently-presented London municipality; the only concession to broader context was in the consideration how the developed South Bank might enhance London's reputation on a global stage. More recently however, top-down statism has been replaced by neo-liberalism. This has led to an adaption and the introduction of more spaces of consumption into the space. This can be seen as a partly pragmatic response to changing economic realities – one of the key justifications for the plan to remove the skate park from the riverfront was because without the money that would be raised from turning it into commercial space, there was no other means by which to raise money for improvements to cultural space in the interior of the complex (Escobales 2013). Whilst the veracity of this claim has been much debated (Long Live Southbank 2014) its existence as an argument is exemplary of the discourse surrounding contemporary economic-cultural dichotomies.

These same balancing acts have been present in Copenhagen. What is key here though is that as well as the state's acknowledgment of the necessity of seeking to harness the private sector's economic clout, a strong relationship between the state and the investors has sought to cultivate former's resources for broader societal benefit and for harbour-wide quality of public space. This contrasts with London's near-complete abandonment of certain space such as the undercroft to market forces, which can be seen as representative of its economic and political climate in the country.

The dichotomy between market forces and heterogeneity implies a sully of heterogeneous aspects of the space and an undermining of Abercrombie's utopian-tinged vision but also of Copenhagen's attempt to create a high-quality public space. The differences in the reaction to these trends however is marked. The observation section of this study therefore will examine how these contextual differences play out in the space itself and the extent to which broader trends are visible in the space.

Chapter 5 Observations

5.1 Explanation

In this Chapter I will first outline the results of each observation then compare the results from each case study.

5.2 London Observation

Initial Overview

As described by Minton (2006) the area covered by this study divides into two fairly distinct sections – the first is the area from Jubilee Gardens / Hungerford Bridge, down to Waterloo Bridge, and the second is the area from Waterloo Bridge to the End of the study area. During the weekend in question the ‘Festival of Love,’ was taking place and the mainly good weather meant the whole area was well-used.

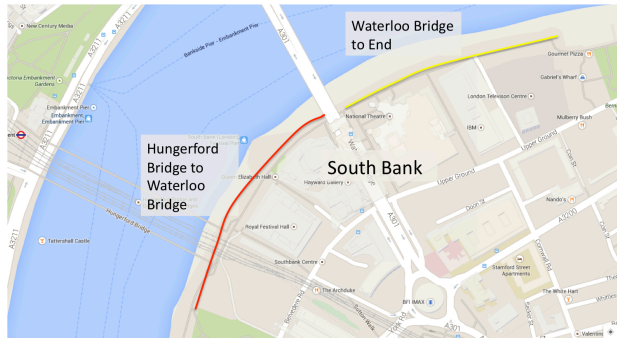


Figure 5. 2-i

A more specific map featuring the main features described in this section:



Figure 5. 2-ii source: <http://www.daytripfinder.co.uk/>

Weather:

Friday: Cloudy 18C

Saturday: Showery 16C

Sunday: Sunny 22C

Seating Areas

The amount of seating, and whether it was public or private, was recorded.

Area	Designated Public Seating Capacity	Designated Private Seating
West Side: Jubilee Gardens to Waterloo Bridge	140	1172
East Side: Waterloo Bridge to Oxo Tower	300	72
Total	440	1244

Public Seating

There were a wide range of types of public seating. As the numerical figures show there were a large amount of seats in the East side of the study area. These were mostly separate fixed benches.



Figure 5. 2-iii



Figure 5. 2-iv



Figure 5. 2-v

Whilst there was a smaller amount of public seating, around the Royal Festival Hall were nevertheless three different seating types:



Figure 5. 2-vi



Figure 5. 2-vii



Figure 5. 2-viii

The Roof Garden Above the Queen Elizabeth Hall had a variety of public seating types:



Figure 5. 2-ix



Figure 5. 2-x

Private Seating:

A very large amount of private seating was situated around the Royal Festival Hall, particularly underneath:



Figure 5. 2-xi



Figure 5. 2-xii



Figure 5. 2-xiii



Figure 5. 2-xiv

In the South Bank's outdoor bar area, there seemed to be less of a formal requirement to purchase in order sit on the chairs – a number of people were observed merely sitting for several minutes without purchasing from the bar and remaining unmolested by the bar staff. Furthermore on the periphery of this seating area, the bar area was not necessarily in sight and it would therefore not have been obvious that they were connected. Nevertheless, there was a consistent presence by the bar staff who did the rounds of the tables to remove empty glasses, and this reminder of the bar's purpose nevertheless contributed to some inducement to purchase.



Figure 5. 2-xv

There were two pop-up restaurant/cafes with seating:



Figure 5. 2-xvi



Figure 5. 2-xvii



Figure 5. 2-xviii Under Waterloo Bridge.



Figure 5. 2-xix to the far east of the study area



Figure 5. 2-xx at the eastern edge of the study area



Figure 5. 2-xxi Bar area outside Queen Elizabeth Hall



Figure 5. 2-xxii Restaurants over several levels outside Queen Elizabeth Hall



Figure 5. 2-xxiii Seating as part of Frozen Yoghurt Bus

There were a couple of potential exceptions to the private seating characteristics. Whilst all of the private seating was part of a bar, café or restaurant's outdoor seating capacity, The seating area outside Foyles had no particular purpose. Enquiring in the shop as to whether it was necessary to purchase a book from Foyles in order to sit on the chairs, the response was that there was no requirement to do so. According to the representative of the shop, the chairs were simply there to attract people to sit outside the shop and have a look at the window. However this was not classified as public seating because it was very specifically tied in with Foyle's –they could remove it as they wished, and the seating could not be taken anywhere else than right outside Foyle's. Rather than being seen as public space bleeding into the area outside Foyles, it can be seen as Foyle's' private space encroaching onto the public space. To support this verdict, in the short time between the rain stopping and chairs being re-introduced, the space outside Foyles saw some impromptu dancing:



Figure 5. 2-xxiv

At other times, the presence of the seating seemed to serve as a reminder that it was Foyles' space, not the public's and to inhibit improvised use of space.

Informal Staying

Seating

What was also observed were the instances of impromptu or improvised seating or staying areas. This is space whose primary purpose was not seating, but which was re-purposed informally by people within the space, and used as seating or leaning areas. This took on many forms. All of these spaces for staying are much harder to quantify, as they are dependent on the subtle ingenuity of users of the space. The decision was made therefore not to attempt to quantify this space but to concentrate on its qualitative aspects.



Figure 5. 2-xxv



Figure 5. 2-xxvii



Sitting on the stairs outside the South Bank Centre, or on the ledges around the stairs: This was a common occurrence. Juxtaposed with the plethora of private seating outside the adjacent restaurant, and the large imbalance between public and private seating provision in this area, the argument could be made that this highlights a need for more permanent seating facilities in this area. Nevertheless, despite difficulties such as the conflict between use of the stairs as stairs

and use of them as seating, the area remained a consistently popular spot to stop.

The ledge in front of the railings alongside the Thames. These small ledges were popular with users of the space. Despite offering a very small flat horizontal area, they were against the edge of the area, one of the most popular places to stay as identified by Gehl. They also offered a back which a large number of the benches did not.



Figure 5. 2-xxix



Figure 5. 2-xxx



Figure 5. 2-xxxi

The sandpit outside the Queen Elizabeth Hall. This was very popular area to sit, particularly the ledge on the edge connecting the sandpit and the rest of the South Bank promenade.

The above were the most common improvised seating areas however there were number of others:
Sculpture outside the National Theatre: Providing a small amount of seating:



Figure 5. 2-xxxii



Figure 5. 2-xxxiii

Stairs outside National Theatre. Presently the National Theatre is undergoing a large amount of renovation. This means that the entrance to the Theatre is narrower than usual. Thus it can be inferred that there is a larger concentration of people passing through the stairs than usual which may dissuade the act of sitting. Nevertheless there were a small number of people sitting here.

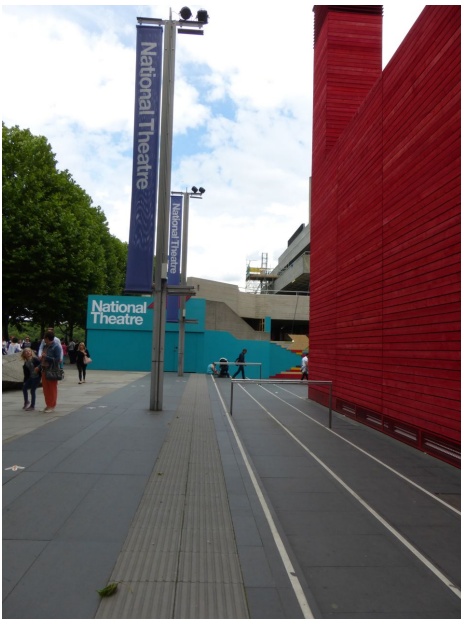


Figure 5. 2-xxxiv

'Festival of Love' Signage. These signs, implemented as part of the ongoing festival at the South Bank Centre, were not designed as seating. However they were a good size to lean on and proved very popular, with a number of them being used as perches.



Figure 5. 2-xxxv



Figure 5. 2-xxxvi

Seating beyond the ledge: Although accessing these areas required climbing over a closed gate, a number of people did nevertheless take a seat here.



Figure 5. 2-xxxvii

On the ledges of the London Television Centre. This had a number of qualities, being on the edge, allowing those seated to look inwards towards the human activity; with a back, allowing more comfort; and also, as was made evident when it began to rain, affording protection from inclement weather conditions.



Figure 5. 2-xxxviii

One person used two differently sized bike racks as impromptu seating for a short period:



Figure 5. 2-xxxix

It is also worth noting that seating-based improvisation was not limited to public spaces: Here one user of a pop-up café used a bench in an unorthodox way to give himself an otherwise absent back of seat to lean on.



Figure 5. 2-xl

Other Stopping

Leaning:

As well as seating there were also a large number of locations used for leaning on. These included Outside the Skate Park: This was by far the most popular place to lean on. The Skate Park provided human activity which attracted steady crowd of onlookers.



Figure 5. 2-xli



Figure 5. 2-xlii

The railings alongside the Thames were also very popular.



Figure 5. 2-xliii

Often these were just used to look out upon the river and the boats, but often people were attracted to lean and wait at these railings when there was something taking place on the beach below, such as this performance by a piper:



Figure 5. 2-xliv

The Upper Tier of the Southbank bar. Although surrounding the aforementioned bar this had more of a feel of a public space than the seating of the bar. Multiple instances of people bringing their own food or drink to consume here were observed and the space was not approached by South Bank Centre staff, giving it the feel of a public space with no specific purpose. This was popular place for people to lean and watch the perambulation and other human activity on the tier below.

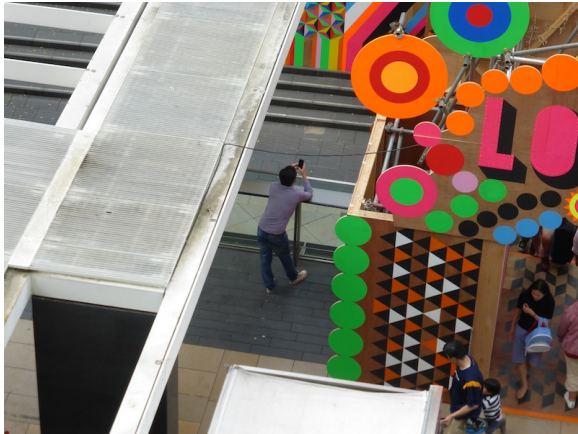


Figure 5. 2-ylv



Figure 5. 2-ylv

The upper tier of the Queen Elizabeth Hall building. Up here also afforded a view of the lower walkway and its human activity, as well as of the river.



Figure 5. 2-ylv

The sculpture outside the National Theatre. As mentioned, this was also used as seating, but its varying height meant that in parts it was used to lean on.



Figure 5. 2-xlvi

Other Stopping

Many people stopped around various pieces of art in the space:

Outside the National Theatre

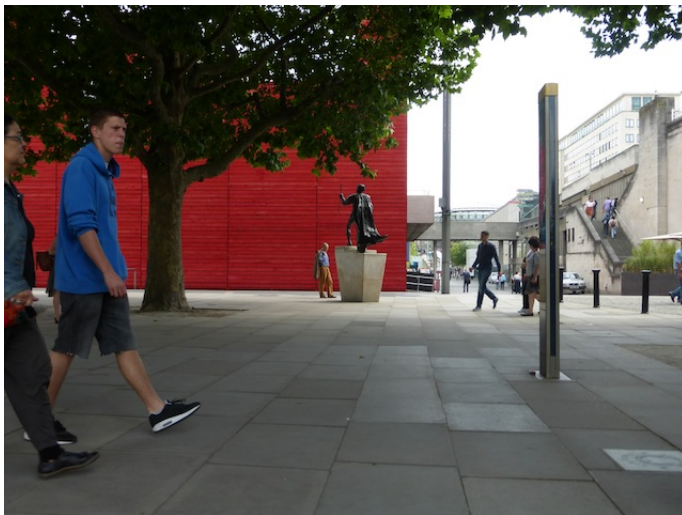


Figure 5. 2-xx

Jeppe Hein's Appearing Rooms Fountain Outside the Queen Elizabeth Hall:



Figure 5. 2-i

Crowd Gathered by sculpture outside National Theatre for impromptu musical performance:



Figure 5. 2-ii

Second Hand Bookshop under Waterloo Bridge:



Figure 5. 2-iii

Whilst there is no attempt to empirically quantify these spaces they are evidence of the range and variety of attractive staying possibilities offered by the South Bank.

'Lost' Seating

In two instances seating that had been public was no longer public. Here, the set-up of the bar area outside meant that this seating was now inaccessible to anyone and was 'out of bounds' behind the bar area:



Figure 5. 2-liii

Here, public seating that seemed to have been existent previously (the grey concrete seating) had now been incorporated into the seating area of the 'Look Mum No Hands' pop up restaurant.



Figure 5. 2-liv

Accessibility

The South Bank is designed over multiple levels. There are multiple walkways and levels. Outside the Royal Festival Hall is a large seated area and then another area lower down. The transition between these two areas is through one direct set of stairs which is in the middle.

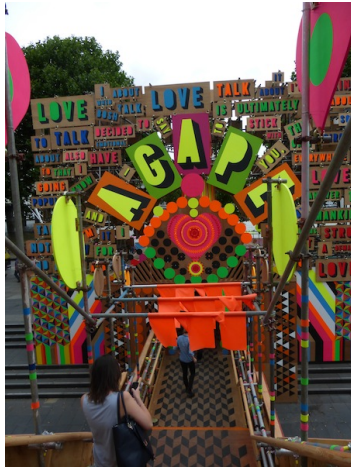


Figure 5. 2-lv

The route between the upper and lower floors at either end is a little less direct. At the Hungerford Bridge end the route downwards involve either going up some stairs and then down.



Figure 5. 2-lvi

At the Queen Elizabeth Hall End the transition between the two is one staircase that is wide enough for two people walking side by side or one person in each direction.



Figure 5. 2-lvii

At the Queen Elizabeth Hall section of the South Bank, there are three levels. The ground floor flows onwards from the Royal Festival Hall area, a continuous walkway that stretches all the way to the end of the entire study area. Above this is a continuation of the area outside the Royal Festival Hall, another walkway that like the Royal Festival Hall has a number of seats which are part of a bar and a restaurant. Above this is a garden area, with both public seating and private seating as part of a café.



Figure 5. 2-lviii

Heading east beyond this, the study area exists almost entirely on one level. Occasionally there were people on the beach below the walkway, adding another ephemeral level dependent on the level of the tide:



Figure 5. 2-lix

At the easternmost end of the space, there is a patch of grass which was used partly as seating area. However there is no formal seating here, nor any other features, making it fairly unattractive. The few people that were sitting here were spaced far apart:



Figure 5. 2-ix

Imagery

Four main types of visual imagery were observed. These were advertisements, signs for particular businesses, art, and public information signs. There were a large number of signs, in almost every part of the space.

Advertisements

An advert for a venue further along the South Bank



Figure 5. 2-lxi

Advert for exhibition at Hayward Gallery.



Figure 5. 2-lxii

Adverts for various events at Southbank Centre:



Figure 5. 2-lxiii

Even the public seating was often branded:



Figure 5. 2-lxiv

Adverts for event on Southbank:



Figure 5. 2-lxv



Figure 5. 2-lxvi

Signs for Businesses

signs for independent snack food bar



Figure 5. 2-lxvii

The area is heavily branded, even in this fairly innocuous space.



Figure 5. 2-lxviii

In the eastern section there was less multi-national corporation branding. Instead there was a stall for a charity:



Figure 5. 2-lxx

Outside the Royal Festival Hall it was necessary to consume just to engage workers in this stall in human interaction ('Need Directions? Buy Something!'), a deeply symbolic occurrence that can be said to be representative of increasingly consumer-centric trends in the area:



Figure 5. 2-lxx

Branding for restaurant in eastern part of study area.



Figure 5. 2-lxxi

Branded bins:



Figure 5. 2-lxxii

High level of bright branding outside food stalls:



Figure 5. 2-lxxiii

Extremely bright and overpowering branding for Frozen Yoghurt Bus



Figure 5. 2-lxxiv

Multiple signs for big-name brand restaurants and cafes under Royal Festival Hall



Figure 5. 2-lxxv



Figure 5. 2-lxxvi



Figure 5. 2-lxxvii



Figure 5. 2-lxxviii

Bookshop under Royal Festival Hall



Figure 5. 2-lxxix

There was even evidence of branding's history as denote of nation-state, with some boats flying small Danish flags on the beach:



Figure 5. 2-lxxx

Box office and Bar area sponsored by Drinks Brand Pimm's



Figure 5. 2-lxxxix

Sign for Festival sponsored by Fosters Beer Brand



Figure 5. 2-lxxxix

Art

There were a number of signs like this for the Festival of Love, explaining artwork:



Figure 5. 2-lxxxiii

A very visible part of the Southbank was covered in artwork like this – full of synonyms of love. Even love, therefore, was heavily branded.



Figure 5. 2-lxxxiv

Multiple signs like this explaining different kinds of love:



Figure 5. 2-lxxxv

Skateboarders had produced their own visual signs, via graffiti.



Figure 5. 2-lxxxvi

Public Information Signs

There were a very large number of maps:



Figure 5. 2-lxxxvii



Figure 5. 2-lxxxviii



Figure 5. 2-lxxxix

Information about the Roof Garden:



Figure 5. 2-xc

Information about performances:



Figure 5. 2-xci

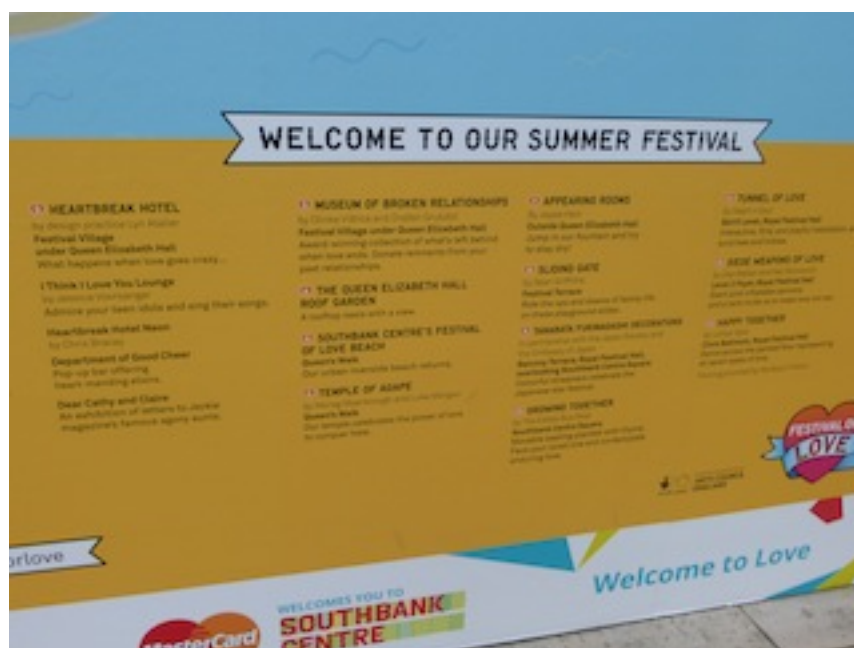


Figure 5. 2-xcii



Figure 5. 2-xciii

Some areas of the Southbank were very sternly labelled as PRIVATE PROPERTY. Their presence reduces the feeling of the land being public:



Figure 5. 2-xciv

Overall assessment of Quality of Staying areas.

There is a mixture of high quality areas and lower quality area, with differences both in terms of the vertical level of the space and the position east-west within these levels

The riverside level is the highest quality, as it exists on one level for the entire length of the study area and is one continuous walkway. There are consistently benches available to sit on. These are

however slightly more limited in number in the area immediately outside the Royal Festival Hall. Nevertheless here there are stairs which provide the possibility for seating.

The large number of signs related to brands, advertising and consumption diminish the quality somewhat. However there were also a large number of signs related to cultural events on the South Bank. There was also some crossover here as some cultural events were sponsored by large brands. We can see that this bombardment of information in some ways encourages diversity and contributes to the urban scene, in a way Leger or Venturi might approve of. Frequent maps promote accessibility and openness. In other ways though the large amount of signage accentuates certain exclusionary aspects of the space, particularly regarding the private seating areas for the cafes and restaurants.

These cafes and restaurants exist on a sort of 'lower ground floor.' Down some steps exists almost exclusively private seating areas of restaurants. Sitting in the outdoor seating of the restaurants below the Royal Festival Hall feels removed and withdrawn from the main riverside walkway almost apologetically, tucked back from the waterfront. The river itself is not visible from this area. Whilst sitting on the riverside walkway level facing towards these restaurants one would be able to see a large number of people, it does not appear to capture the public's imagination as the only activity is sitting and eating – there is no spontaneity, and instead only one function – people consuming food and drink.

Moving eastwards along the riverside walkway, the highest quality staying area of both this level and of the entire study area is the riverside walkway outside the Queen Elizabeth Hall. Here there are a number of places to stay and attractive aspects to encourage this such as the sandpit area which offers the opportunity to experience life, and other people. On the other side of the walkway is the biggest attraction of the entire area, the skate park. Although there is nowhere to sit outside of the skate park, there is a railing all along the entrance to it. In all of the observations this railing was always nearly completely full of people staying to watch the skating. A large number of people only stayed for less than 5 minutes to watch, but such was the quantity of people stopping, that it always seemed bustling and busy around this spot. Within the skatepark itself there were a number of ledges that were used for seating. It is noticeable that in this area there are relatively few signs present and, specifically, few signs for brands- the attraction was human activity, as Gehl (2010,2011) has frequently identified.

However on the western side of Waterloo Bridge, just east of the skate park, the public space is of low quality. There are places to sit but it is dependent on being a customer of the two food vending businesses. The queues for each extend back into the walkway, and so the walkway is overcrowded with stationary people blocking people trying to get past in the most direct fashion. The railings next to the river are almost complete inaccessible here as they are blocked both by the Frozen Yoghurt store and by its seating. Whilst it may in theory be possible to sit on the ledge by the railings here, nobody did - it is not welcoming or conducive to resultant activity. Instead it is one of the most mono-functional areas of the riverfront, existing only as a space of commerce. This is reflected and enhanced by the large amount of signs and branding including the violently bright pink nature of the Frozen Yoghurt bus. This has the impact of swamping and overwhelming other functions of the area here. Much of the seating that does exist here is not of very high quality as it does not have backs –

it is designed clearly to ensure a fast turnover of customers, rather than to provide high-quality seating.

The higher levels of the whole area are more varied in terms of quality. It is less accessible and there is a large amount of seating specifically for customers of Wahaca and of the Queen Elizabeth Hall Bar. Access between the Royal Festival Hall area the walkway below is unintuitive – involving going up then down, whether you are going up or down. In this way the upper level can be seen in some ways to exist as a separate public space to the space below. It is joined effectively with its own immediate surroundings apart from on the waterfront with there being a flat entrance from both sides of the Royal Festival Hall as well as a ramp providing more accessible access from the Queen Elizabeth Hall End. However accessing below is difficult. There are multiple signs here for the bar and restaurant.

The Garden on top of the Queen Elizabeth Hall was so removed from the rest of the public space as to almost not justify its inclusion in the study area. Whilst it did afford a view of the river and of the riverside walkway, it was set back quite a long way and was not visible from below. It was only accessible by one spiral staircase on the middle tier of the Queen Elizabeth Hall section- it is therefore easy to miss and was noticeably less busy than the space below, although it was by no means empty. It also had specific rules such as no smoking and no dogs unlike truly public space.

Notably a large amount of the public seating is branded – we can see that this reduces even the act of stopping and thinking to a broader brand lifestyle choice. This is perhaps mitigated by the fact the advert is for BBC Four, a public service broadcasting channel, however what it does reveal is the extent to which marketing and branding have both permeated everyday life and have been ubiquitously adopted. So whilst it does not necessarily diminish the quality of the seating it reflects broader trends in London society that will be explored later in this study.

Overall, the presence of spaces of consumption and of branding are highly visible and prevalent particularly around the Royal Festival Hall and between Queen Elizabeth Hall and Waterloo Bridge. As we have explored in the theoretical framework these can be seen as antithetical of heterogeneity. Nevertheless there are many high quality aspects of the case study area and this is evidenced particularly by the high number of people in the space, the high amount of people sitting or leaning and by the variation and breadth of typology of sign and symbol which contributes towards certain aspects of diversity. Notably, much of the higher quality aspects appear to have been in place for a long time, such as the public benches which are concreted to the ground, the popular sculpture outside the National Theatre, and the overall spatial design which encourages people to access most parts of the space. By contrast much of the branding and private seating is temporary and could physically detached from the actual built environment. As we will explore further in the conclusions this can be seen as representative of London's changing socio-cultural and economic paradigms.

5. 3 Copenhagen Observation

Initial Overview

As explained in the methodology, the area covered by this study is divided into 4 sections.



Figure 5. 3-i

Overview

The weekend of the observation coincided with the Kulturbavn (Culture Harbour) festival. This meant there were a large number of events taking place across the harbour, though not limited to the case study areas. Indeed most of the case study areas were part of the festival – only Paper Island hosted events. Paper Island was the busiest part of the study area, although spaces around the Black Diamond and the Playhouse were also popular.

The weather was overall good enough for people to remain outside almost all of the time. On Friday and Sunday in particular the weather was very hot. Saturday saw some showers and more clouds.

Weather:

Friday: Sunny 24C

Saturday: Showery 14C

Sunday: Sunny 19C

Seating Areas

Area	Designated Public Seating Capacity	Designated Private Seating Capacity
Black Diamond Library	276	60
Havenpromenade	122	128
Royal Danish Playhouse	8	90
Paper Island	0	196
Total	406	474

Notes:

The area outside the Black Diamond contained a very large amount of seating on the stepped wooden area down to the water:



Figure 5. 3-ii

This was clearly designed for sitting as it also included a number of steps for walking at intervals, which were visibly different from the seating area – i.e. it was not all intended to be steps for walking. There were also a number of large benches outside the Black Diamond:



Figure 5. 3-iii

There was further seating outside the Dome of Visions on Søren Kierkegaard Plads:



Figure 5. 3-iv

Right outside the Black Diamond library were a large number of moveable deckchairs. They could be accessed through the café of the library however they were well-used by people who had not made any purchase in the library café – there did not seem to be any kind of pressure to make a purchase from the café to use the seats. They therefore were designated as public seats:



Figure 5. 3-v

There were also a number of tables with chairs around the same space. These were primarily used by people who had bought food in the café. Whilst there was no explicit signage, there seemed to be some social pressure for these to be used by café customers – one user of the table who had not purchased anything from the cafe was asked to move by someone who had food from the café but nowhere else to sit, a request amicably agreed to. This combination of use and implied purpose means that this seating was designated private.



Figure 5. 3-vi

Both these kinds of seating outside the Black Diamond Library were dependent on good weather – when it rained they were stacked up, and the tables were moved inside. However the deckchairs could be, and were, moved by users of the space from their stacks.



Figure 5. 3-vii

On Havnepromenade there was again a large number of benches. These were of different sizes and again each one was used by a range of different people. Their capacity was calculated based on an average number of people using the benches that appeared 'full' to capacity. There were a wide range of different kinds of benches here:



Figure 5. 3-viii



Figure 5. 3-ix



Figure 5. 3-x



Figure 5. 3-xi



Figure 5. 3-xii



Figure 5. 3-xiii

Outside the playhouse there were a large number of seats mainly connected to the café / restaurant of the playhouse. There were a small number of people using the green seats who had not obviously made any purchase, but the overwhelming majority of users of these seats were customers from the restaurant.



Figure 5. 3-xiv



Figure 5. 3-xv

There were a small number of sofas which were used by people who were not customers of the restaurant, so these qualified as public seating:



Figure 5. 3-xvi

On Paper Island there were a very large number of deckchairs, stored away from the water's edge. The number of seats present in the waterside space fluctuated, however it was possible to go and ask for more chairs. This fluctuation meant coming up with a total capacity for the space was difficult, however on Friday evening the space appeared extremely close to capacity, as there was very little space remaining for deckchairs and multiple people standing which indicate that there were no further deckchairs. On this instance 98 deckchairs were counted. This was taken as the

figure although it may be that on a non-festival weekend, more would be available as the harbour festival stage took up space on the waterfront area.



Figure 5. 3-xvii

There were also a large number of picnic tables in this space.



Figure 5. 3-xviii

Informal Staying

There were a large number of spaces used for staying. Along all parts of the harbourfront, the harbour edge was used as informal seating space. There were no barriers between the harbour and

the water so this appeared to be a very popular and accessible space, particularly around the Playhouse, where there was otherwise very little public seating. Here the edge of the harbourfront was raised slightly which was used as a seat by many. It was unclear whether this was a specific design feature to encourage seating. If so it would vastly increase the amount of designated public seating in this area. Around Paper Island there was also a large amount of people sitting on the harbour front – here there were a large number of people and so more demand for the actual seats themselves.



Figure 5. 3-xix Paper Island



Figure 5. 3-xx Playhosue

There was a far smaller number of people sitting right on the harbour edge outside the Black Diamond and on Havnepromenade – this correlates with the large amount of public seating available in these areas. However there were some, and this may indicate an attraction to the water. Sitting right next to the water means that your view cannot be obstructed by anyone else.



Figure 5. 3-xxi



Figure 5. 3-xxii

Other Stopping

There was not a large amount of other kind of stopping. Popular spots for leaning were mainly around waiting areas for the harbour boat. These however can be seen as more functional areas where people's purpose was waiting for the boat rather than necessarily making use of the public space.



Figure 5. 3-xxiii

Paper Island's popularity meant it had a large amount of people standing although there was little leaning space available. Many people stood around the stage where there were performances as part of Kulturhavn.



Figure 5. 3-xxiv



Figure 5. 3-xxv

Accessibility

Almost all of the seating on the harbourfront is on the same level. The only exceptions are the large steps down by the Black Diamond Library but these are easily accessible and visible from above; and around the playhouse, where there is a slight rise in height of the harbour-front. This takes place along a ramp and so the difference is small and does not affect accessibility or visibility of either part.



Figure 5. 3-xxvi

One main characteristic of the case study area is that it is separated into 4 different spaces.

Travelling between three of them (all but Paper Island) is not entirely pleasant or convenient. There is a walk of around five minutes between the end of the Black Diamond area and the start of the Havnepromenade area. This is along a fairly busy road with very little pedestrian space.



Figure 5. 3-xxvii

Between Havnepromenade and the Playhouse, it is necessary to travel away from the open harbour area, through Nyhavn an inlet of water stretching westwards. This is a detour of around 4 minutes, through a busy area popular with tourists.

it was very difficult to travel between all of the areas on the west of the harbour and Paper Island on the east. This is because it requires taking a route all the way through Christianshavn. This will change in the future and the current situation exists because there was a halt in the construction of the bridge between the two. At the time of writing work had restarted on the bridge and the plan was to re-open it in January 2015.



Figure 5. 3-xxviii

The only other way to travel between the two sides was via harbour boat. This was likely to have been more popular on the weekend of observation because the boats were, unusually, free as part of the Kulturhavn festival.



Figure 5. 3-xxix

Nevertheless, despite the fact it was difficult to reach, Paper Island was still the most popular part of the 4 sections studied. Once each section was reached, all the available seating was very easy to reach as it was on the same level and so very visible.

Overall the quality of the seating and locations was high. There was a large amount of public seating available in all places apart from Paper Island. Here there was a lot of private seating. By the Playhouse the harbourfront was a very popular place to sit. Although overall there was slightly more private than public seating, the public seating was never close to being full, so we can infer that there is a suitable amount.

Visual

Again, advertisements, signs for particular businesses, art, and public information signs were observed. Overall what was noticeable was that there was very little signage or branding, apart from on Paper Island.

Advertisements

On Paper Island there was this advert for a cultural event:



Figure 5. 3-xxx

... and a small advert for Copenhagen Street Food market:



Figure 5. 3-xxxi

Signs for Businesses

Paper Island had the most amount of signs. The highest concentration of signs were around the Street Food Market. These were nearly all hand-written, usually with chalk on a blackboard. These were primarily about the businesses there.

Sign discouraging picnicking and instead encouraging users of the space to support the vendors:



Figure 5. 3-xxxii

Information about the opening hours of the different parts of the street food market.



Figure 5. 3-xxxiii

A sign encouraging people to park their bikes in a specific part of Paper Island. As shown there were some bikes parked by this sign so it was not entirely successful.



Figure 5. 3-xxxiv

A sign encouraging users of the space to interact with the street food market on social media:



Figure 5. 3-xxxv

A number of large signs on the Experimentarium building – these were so large they could be clearly seen from across the harbour as evidenced by this photo taken from the Playhouse. As such, they could also be classified as adverts as they seek to attract people across the harbour rather than merely inform people already present.



Figure 5. 3-xxxvi

There were also promotional messages written on some of the small sheds outside the Experimentarium encouraging visitors:



Figure 5. 3-xxxvii

Restaurant on Havnepromenade



Figure 5. 3-xxxviii

Art

There was some art present on Paper Island:



Figure 5. 3-xxxix

Public Information.

On Paper Island (pictured below) there was information about the boat services, both the city service as well as the tourist-centric boat tours. Similar information was present by the Playhouse.



Figure 5. 3-xl



Figure 5. 3-xli

By the incomplete Inderhavnsbroen Bridge there was information about the plans for its impending completion.



Figure 5. 3-xlii

Around the Royal Playhouse there were a number of signs explaining the future plans for the space as part of the redevelopment of the area.



Figure 5. 3-xliii



Figure 5. 3-xliv

Conclusions

There was a marked difference between the amount of signs on Paper Island and elsewhere. Paper Island had the most, with both the Street Food Market and the Experimentarium having put up a number of signs. These two ventures are also the newest features of the waterfront and there may be a connection here: that they are therefore more in need of signage to draw attention to themselves and establish themselves.

Paper Island was the space which seemed to have the most specific function – the presence of the Street Food Market dominated the waterfront area. In fact there was even a sign telling users of the space to purchase food from the sellers rather than bring their own.

The idea of supporting the sellers was used because the businesses using the space were smaller ones. The idea of the space is specifically to provide cheap food for the people, so all 'food trucks *are obliged to serve a least one meal for 50-75 DKK.*' (Copenhagen Street Food 2014) At the same time the stated purpose is also to enable the businesses to be run for 'a small amount of money.' The signs discouraging picnicking therefore can be seen in the context of this small 'social contract.' In any case there did not appear to be any enforcement of this sign, with a small amount of people bringing their own drinks to the harbour front without being stopped by any staff members.

The homemade signs also give specific visual identity to the Street Food market and help support the idea that it is a venture for and by small businesses. There is little explicit branding or logos, giving the impression that this is far from a 'non-place.'

These signs do however imply a specific use and function of the space. They can be seen to be exclusionary towards those without the means, or the desire, to consume in this space, despite the attempts to keep the prices affordable on the market stalls.

Elsewhere The Royal Danish Playhouse does not have a large amount of signage on it. It would be difficult to tell from afar what the building was if one did not know. From one side information about performances was visible. There was little signage elsewhere. The absence of signs was also noteworthy. The Black Diamond for example, despite having restaurants and cafes outside, lacked any major signage for these. The restaurants were visible due to their seating but the sleek black exterior of the building was not embellished with any sign giving information about the restaurant or its presence.

Overall Conclusions

The quality of the space itself is high. There are a large amount of design elements encouraging staying in the areas.

The only part of the harbourfront that felt particularly busy was Paper Island. This was also the most sign-heavy area. However only a few parts of Havnepromenade and parts of the space outside the Black Diamond ever appeared empty and underused, and this was primarily during the worst of the weather, in the showery period on Saturday. For the rest of the time there was a steady amount of people, and always some seating areas in use, and some available.

Whilst on Friday Paper Island was extremely busy to the point that it appeared there were no further seats available, on Saturday and, to a greater extent, Sunday there was a small amount of seating available. Almost all other parts of the harbourfront had a large amount of space available to sit on at all times. The only exception here is outside the playhouse, though a large number of people chose to sit on the harbourfront, which although not specifically a seating area, was well-used as such. It is worth noting that there are number of other parts of the harbour front which are popular. Furthermore, over this weekend the main centre of the Kulturbavn festival was further south, outside the study area, at Islands Brygge. This may have attracted a larger than usual amount of people to this area and away from the study areas. This hypothesis can be supported by the fact that the only part of the study area that had events to do with the Kulturbavn festival was Paper Island and it was also the busiest. Nevertheless these areas can also be expected to be popular regardless of what else is going on, and the nature of the harbour festival was that it brought people to the harbour as a whole. This heightened overall awareness of the harbour during the weekend in question may compensate for any proportional loss of users due to activities taking place elsewhere.

From this we can infer that there is at least a satisfactory amount of public seating available. The seating was also easy to access and highly visible. This would serve to attract people to it and encourage them to stay in the public space.

Whilst the space itself was almost entirely flat, which encourages accessibility, one hindrance to accessibility between the sections of the harbourfront was their separateness. As we have seen, between the Black Diamond and Havnepromenade, there was just a road with no pedestrian provision on one side of the road. This creates an unattractive and unwelcoming environment. It also limits the access to each space as they are less likely to have people moving between the two spaces spontaneously, and thus will have fewer resultant activities.

This is also a problem between the Playhouse and Havnepromenade, as the open harbour is disrupted by the enclosed inlet of Nyhavn. However in this instance Nyhavn is an attractive and popular space. As explained previously, there could even be the argument that it should form part of the case study area as it is connected to the harbour, however it very much has its own tourist-centric identity based on its historical and picturesque attributes and has not recently been industrial space like the study area.

The biggest disconnect is between the east and west sides. The impending completion of the bridge will improve this situation. At the moment Paper Island is popular. However a very large part of this appears to be because of the street food market, which has a heavy visual presence and attracts a lot of people. This means that there is an implication that anyone visiting Paper Island should be a consumer. This situation is exasperated by its current remoteness. It means that fewer people will come to the space without a specific function as it is very unlikely that someone would just be passing through the space by chance. This serves to reduce the para-functional characteristics of the space. The opening of the bridge will drastically reduce the amount of time it takes to reach Paper Island and may also bring in a broader range of users.

However Paper Island is also home to the Experimentarium, a science museum for families. This does vary the types of people that use the space. There are facilities for children to play outside which encourages them to stay and provides interest for others. However, there are very few facilities for staying outside the space – few seating or leaning possibilities. This impacts upon the possibility for staying.

Nevertheless, like the whole space there are almost none of the typologies of a non-place. There are no major international brands. Despite the presence of multiple signs on Paper Island, these signs are hand-written which gives them a specifically personalised touch. Elsewhere there are signs for the Experimentarium and the Playhouse – encouraging knowledge and culture rather than consumption. There are a number of informative boards regarding change to the harbourfront which again are not related to consumption. Even the purpose of the Street Food Market does not symbolise the presence of nebulous international capital but is more about trading with specific, present, real people and it has an underlying open and accessible ethos evidenced by its commitment on the one hand to low prices and the other to 'supporting traders.' The purchasing of food here is not presented as a lifestyle choice or brand association but as the direct interaction with the trader and business owner.

The cultural spaces of the study areas provide openness and a welcoming feel, particularly the Black Diamond where there is a large amount of seating. Outside the Playhouse lots of people are sitting and some of this is improvised at the harbour's edge.

Overall therefore, the space provides ample seating and staying opportunities, and whilst it lacked improvised activity during the observation, there is no lack of non-function-specific space for them to occur. There is very little branding or signage in the area which helps preserve it as a parafunctional public space. The only exception is Paper Island but even here the aspects of consumption do not conform to non-place typologies.

5. 4 Observational Comparison & Conclusion

The observation shows that at the same time the spaces are both very similar in some aspects yet also very different in others. This section will first examine the similarities, then the differences.

Their similarities were numerous and confirmed the reasons for choosing these spaces as case studies. Broadly speaking both were popular spaces with a number of high quality aspects that encouraged heterogeneity. These aspects consisted of a number of varied aspects of the space that encouraged users of the space to stay. In each case study there was the presence of multiple signs, and a range of densities of sign placements. Each space contained certain areas that had been designed for specific functions, but also spaces that encouraged parafunctionality. Each contained signs that encouraged consumption as well as spaces where there was a notable absence of signs. The presence of cultural festivals showed that their cultural function was still very much part of the identity of the space. In short, each space was varied and diverse. This in itself encourages further diversity, particularly in terms of access.

The differences are nevertheless multiple. The spaces are evidently very different in a number of ways. This is particularly true in the balance between public and private seating and the presence of brands, which have an impact on the quality of the public space. In these respects, there are a significant number of factors in which the quality of the space in London is inferior to that of Copenhagen.

Firstly however a number of differences that may be seen to affect the comparability of the case studies should be noted. Firstly the two spaces were not busy to the same extent. Certain parts of Copenhagen Harbour, in particular Paper Island, were very busy, to an extent that rivalled London. However other parts of the harbour were much quieter. The contextual reasons and context behind this will be explored in the overall conclusion. This difference however does not affect the results – the spatial and visual design elements are mostly unchanged by this, with only the improvised spaces for staying possibly affected. Furthermore the presence of such a large amount of designated seating areas in Copenhagen is indicative that sufficient space has been allocated considering the amount of people that are usually present in the area. As previously stated the two spaces were compared because they were deemed to be identical. This is not a quantitative study but a qualitative one, there is no need to attempt to calculate any kind of ratio of public space busyness to public seating available.

In terms of quality of space London has much larger amount of private seating areas. They are also very clustered in one area. There was also a large amount of improvisation related to seating taking place. This, as explored in the London observation chapter may give us opposing results – an implication of functionality with private seating, and of a lack of functionality evidenced by the improvisation. However the potential lack of seating considering the popularity can be seen as dissuasive. By contrast in Copenhagen had a lot of seating available. It however had fewer people improvising space to stay as well as fewer people staying. This may be because there are fewer people – there is less cause to stop spontaneously as there is less human activity taking place to observe.

This of course can be seen not only to reflect the spaces themselves as they exist but also their stages of development as we will see in the next section, with London having had more time to develop its image as an attractive place to be. London, in having more people, can be seen to have a higher quality of public space in this respect, as ‘people attract people.’ It also had some spaces for improvisation such as the skate park, which was extremely popular.

Copenhagen was more disjointed which reduced the flow of people and made some parts less accessible. Certainly it was far less coherent as a space than London's Southbank, through which flow was almost entirely unimpeded, save for the minor inconvenience of the slightly complicated transfer between the Royal Festival Hall yard and the riverfront below. This unity of space can be seen to compensate for the multiple levels and sometimes hidden parts of the South Bank – parts that were higher than other parts closer to the water usually had levels of equal height parallel to the waterfront, mitigating the potential design imperfections there.

Sign-wise, London had a much larger amount of signs, and of the two location's respective signs, many more of large brands. In fact Copenhagen had almost no large brand signs. In London these tended to be related to the private, consumption-based seating areas. Each seating area sought to attract customers through this branding. In Copenhagen however this was mainly only the case in the Paper Island area of the harbour where they were hand-written signs in chalk on blackboards. The typologies associated with non-places were present to a large extent in London but almost entirely absent in Copenhagen, where instead there were some signs advertising the cultural aspects of the harbourfront, particularly the Experimentarium and the Playhouse. The Black Diamond library had almost no visible signage, which can be seen to reflect its status as an architectural icon – its symbolism and meaning lies in its sleek black glass nature, and its profile is high enough to not require excessive signage.

There is therefore a large amount of high-quality space in each case study. This is particularly the case in relation to the spatial aspects. However London suffers from a large number of signs more suited to a non-place. These accentuate the private seating areas and give an impression that the space is primarily a site of consumption. This may dissuade alternative uses of the space.

As we have seen the context of any public space is dependent on history. Thus, as shown in the next section the context of this observation plays an important part in what it is possible to learn from the observation and thus the overall conclusions of this study.

Chapter 6 Overall Conclusion

What this study could be framed as therefore is the conflict between attractiveness and access. In Kantian aesthetics, the human form is the highest ideal of beauty, (Nuzzo: 300) a principle that we have seen running through the prioritisation the presence of people amongst urban observers in the Theoretical Framework section. Such a presence therefore can be seen as attractive, and both Copenhagen and London have attempted to achieve this attractiveness in different ways. Yet there has perhaps been a confusion of attractiveness and of accessibility. Not all of these strategies have produced truly accessible places and we can read this as a symptomatic reflection of broader societal inequalities. A lack of accessibility will lead to less attractive, homogenous spaces.

The study has identified a clear relationship between the development of the Southbank and Copenhagen Harbour and the existent spatial and visual environment. Copenhagen and London's policies towards their waterfront space, both historical and more recent, are visible in the space. The case studies can be seen as representative of broader urban, social and economic trends. The results of this study emphasize on the one hand the differences between Danish and British society, particularly with regards to the relationship between government and international investment, but on the other also highlight similarities such as the progression away from industrial urbanity,

towards a new urban centrism, with culture as a symbolic and instrument for both encouraging use of public space and as a status symbol.

The study highlights too the multiple differences in the two spaces. Copenhagen harbour saw more unused staying spaces, with less instances of spontaneous or improvised staying. There is a correlation between this observation and the comparative dearth of signage in Copenhagen – should there be more visual imagery or private consumption-centric seating areas to bring people to the space? Such a response would ignore that this observation reflects a number of aspects specific to Copenhagen Harbour: that it is fragmented and therefore does not serve as so much of a thoroughfare as the Southbank; that Copenhagen as a whole has a much smaller population and a much smaller number of tourists visiting it; and that Copenhagen's harbour has been developed more recently and has thus had less time build up an attractive identity – certainly in this respect it can be said to reflect the city as a whole, where the process of growth, described by Kvorning (116) was one in which 'slowness became a characteristic feature.'

To support this supposition, we can look at the most popular spot for spontaneous staying across both case studies: the de facto skate park in London, an example of spatial improvisation and communal appropriation that has taken many years to become established. Its popularity can be interpreted therefore as indicative of the attraction of unique, egalitarian and culture-centric spaces.

Such qualities have formed the nature of the South Bank, yet the skate park's relative anomalousness is evidence that they are to a certain extent under threat by the proliferation of spaces of consumption. Whilst their complete absence has never been desired, either by Abercrombie or since, their overbearing presence puts a significant dent in the amount of space available for the non-consuming public to partake in resultant activities.

The associated proliferation of brand signs call to mind Augé's (1995) notion of non-place: it should be made very clear that London's South Bank is certainly *not* a non-place, but nevertheless, the presence of such decontextualized semiotics prioritises consumption with its predominance. This thus further diminishes the status and propensity of partaking in non-consumptive practices. In Copenhagen there was plenty of high-quality parafunctional space available for resultant activities, whereas in London, particularly around the Royal Festival Hall, such space was at more of a premium, a clear evidence of the legacy of Rick Mather Plan's attempts to remove 'undefined space' (Herring: 5). The impromptu improvised dancing in the only-briefly available space outside Foyles is deeply symbolic of this paradigm, in a space that was soon returned to its 'defined' use, as an extension of the shop.



Figure 5. 4-i

It must be stressed however that this study has highlighted a trend rather than an absolute. There is still a large amount of public areas within the South Bank, where resultant activities can and do take place. This is particularly the case around the skate park and in the eastern side of the South Bank, away from the big-brand cafes and bars.

The broader context to the skate park though is symbolic of the trend away from parafunctional space, evidenced by the plans to replace it with further shopping facilities. However this trend is not limited to the South Bank, nor even to London, as it can also be glimpsed to an extent within the Copenhagen Harbour case study, particularly in Paper Island where almost the entirety of the space for 'staying' is a space for consumption. Signs explicitly state this. This space is also the newest, with Paper Island having only opened this year, and the ultimate plans for Paper Island are for it to be turned into 'housing, commerce and public service institutions', rather than remaining public space. (Frandsen 2014)

As we have seen, Jameson (1991) and Lefebvre (1991) both identified that as capitalism continued it would increasingly permeate all walks of life, and Augé (1995) has postulated that this supermodern abundance would lead to the increased proliferation of non-place typologies. Capitalism's increased pervasion can be read particularly in the prominent branding and spaces of consumption on the more established South Bank.

One conclusion to draw therefore would be that this study evidences the trend that as time goes on space becomes more susceptible to appropriation by capital. However, this conclusion has multiple caveats and nuances in these case studies, and cannot, in vacuo, accurately or completely sum up the trends, particularly in the case of Copenhagen.

In Copenhagen, we have seen that even the presence of signage on Paper Island is very far from that of a non-place. The signs are not of brands but are hand-written. They appeal to users of the space to support the 'vendors' (crucially '*vendors*,' as in *people*, rather than impersonal '*businesses*') rather than attempting to sell a particular lifestyle associated with the products. Furthermore the space is also set up to offer low prices for 'the people' and for independent traders. More broadly, even this modest flirtation with aspects of neo-liberal capitalism can be considered fairly anomalous within the context of the rest of Copenhagen Harbourfront, where the vast majority of space does not have

consumption-based function. Instead, there is a great deal of public space, fulfilling the criteria established previously in this study: namely without specific function, conducive towards resultant activities and non-exclusionary in both its purpose, and its spatial and visual design. This was an active decision made by the Copenhagen municipality (Bisgaard) and on a broader level can be seen to reflect the societal and political climate of Copenhagen and Denmark.

The broader development of Copenhagen harbour, including of the case study areas, has, tellingly, been undertaken with much more consideration of market forces and external investors than both the original plans for London's Southbank and its later, neo-liberal developments. In London, the large size of the state and the powerful mandate of the post-war consensus led to utopian egalitarian large-scale planning. Later, neo-liberal economic policy has led less to strategic negotiation with market forces, and more to the 'laissez-faire' abandonment of the city to them. In Copenhagen, a balance between these two London extremes has been established. We can see that, the future plans for the harbour seem to further the notion of Paper Island as anomalous, with a large amount of non-commercial public space planned, including outside the playhouse.



Figure 5. 4-ii

What is notable about London, by contrast, is that it fulfils far more the notion of the increasingly ubiquitous colonization of capital. Whilst there are, as we have seen, multiple high-quality aspects of the space, the theory that this trend is extant is rendered starker and more convincing when one examines the only proposed future plans for the space: further commercial space and the removal of the most magnetic space, the skate park. Whilst these have been put on hold they, tellingly, have not been entirely withdrawn or replaced.

In an attempt to draw conclusions from the case study regarding the broader social context we can consider Monnet's argument of the symbolic magnification of the authority of the broader society (Monnet: 14). Through this interpretation the predominant authority in London would appear to be the market, and in Copenhagen, the state.

In London we can also point to two seemingly contradictory observations: that the space has many poor and exclusionary commerce-centric qualities; but that it at the same time is extremely popular. As we have seen, many popular (albeit not the most popular) spaces were outside and around the spaces of consumption. Again however we can see that these low quality spaces reflect the changing

nature of leisure and liberty in London. Popularity and heterogeneity must not be confused: This study has identified the non-place-esque qualities of the South Bank, contrary to heterogeneity and access. They can be seen as diminishing the unique nature of the South Bank by being homologous with other sites of commerce within London and within Britain.

We can now consider that this space is becoming through its increased homogeneity merely part of a broader non-place, or at least a non-diverse, and thus anti-urban, place: London. The sense of crisis identified by Groes (2011) manifests itself in a London described by Hatherley (2014) as a city where 'ease of living (has been) made all but impossible for anyone other than the very wealthy.' Thus the South Bank's popularity can be identified through the dual trend of London firstly being increasingly inhabited by those who are able to consume, and thus not excluded by spaces of consumption present on the South Bank, and secondly by following Augé's argument, that the increased exposure to non-place typologies reduces the attractiveness of heterogeneity: London is at the forefront of global neo-liberal capitalism and its inhabitants have had the exposure to these characteristics far more than Copenhagen. The South Bank can be seen as an external manifestation of these changing mind-sets.

This can be seen as posing a threat to the heterogeneous urban experience. Copenhagen shows how with careful planning heterogeneity can be encouraged. On the South Bank there is also such evidence, but it appears as a product of the past, rather than of current policies.

Abercrombie wrote of the failures of pre-war London as being down to a lack of planning and a city 'more and more absorbed in first gaining and then holding material prosperity.' (Forshaw & Abercrombie:iii) London managed to react to this by creating cultural-centric public space, whilst the more recent use of specific strategies in Copenhagen harbour to encourage heterogeneity demonstrates that such mistakes do not need to be repeated in London, and that even in the context of increasing influence of 21st century market forces, it is possible to plan for and deliver high-quality urban space.

Further Research

The scope in this study has been mostly limited to identifying both the contextual historical trends and their spatial and visible presence in each space. Further study could develop these aspects further by a focussed exploration of specific visible and spatial characteristics within their architectural or social context. A better-resourced study could use questionnaires and surveys to identify and classify users of the space to give further insights into the heterogeneity of the spaces, or could undertake more in-depth and comprehensive observation, to explore behavioural patterns and the identifications herein of popular locations in each case study.

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