#### Publicness and Heritage in Farum Midtpunkt

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# Public Space European Social Housing

Social housing estates are often problematised as places of segregation and disintegration in European cities, yet they are also potentially a prime locus of integration between people of different cultural origins and social backgrounds. PUSH investigates public space in European social housing, including cooperative housing and rental mass housing estates to better understand how cultural encounters happen and, ultimately, how integration can be better sustained. Guided by four analytical categories - heritage, informality, democracy, and policies/practices – we explore the publicness of spaces on five housing estates in Norway, Denmark, Switzerland and Italy. Across the different cases and analytical categories, PUSH will develop and test a novel approach to studying and conceptualising public spaces as sites of publicness. We are interested in the dynamic interactions between people and the physical spaces they share: how do people and architecture mutually affect each other so that living with others that are different from oneself becomes possible?

# **Project Partners**

- University of Copenhagen, Denmark
- Norwegian University of Life Sciences, Norway
- ETH Zürich, Switzerland
- University of Naples Federico II, Italy
- Housing Europe, Brussels, Belgium
- Museums of Furesø, Denmark
- The Danish Social Housing Sector (BL), Denmark
- Emme Communication, Copenhagen, Denmark
- Husbanken, Bodø, Norway
- Drammen Municipality, Norway
- Swiss Association of Housing Cooperatives, Zürich, Switzerland
- Conceptual Devices, Zürich, Switzerland
- Comune di Napoli, Naples, Italy
- NGO Dedalus Cooperativa Sociale, Naples, Italy
- Cristina Ferraiuolo, artist, Naples, Italy

#### Exhibition curated and catalogue edited by Anne Tietjen (UCPH) Graphic design: Michael Jensen

# Fjell Farum Midtpunkt Telli Tscharnergut Lotto O



# FJELL Oslo Region

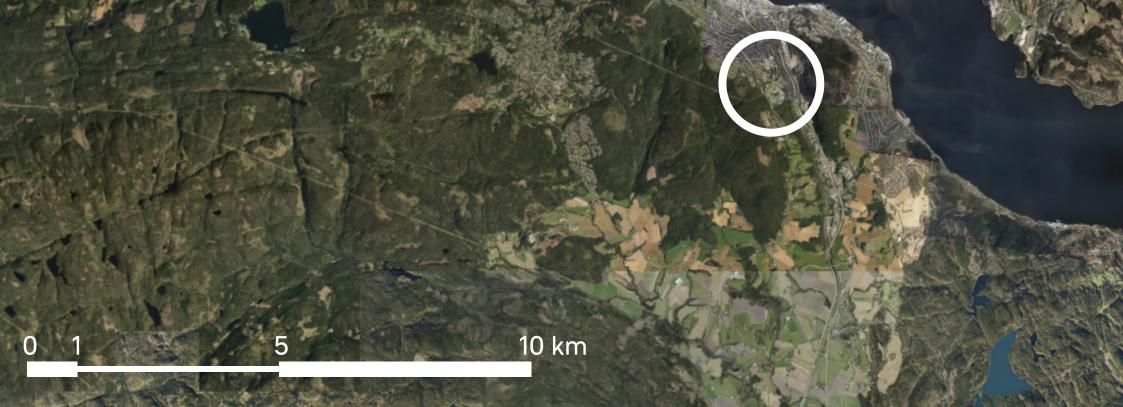




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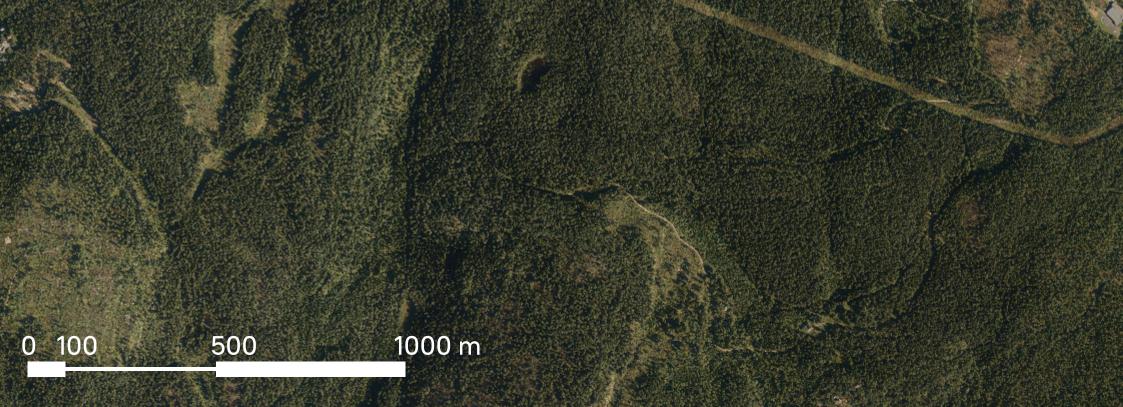




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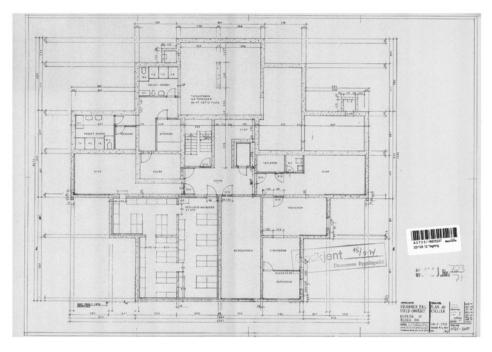
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# **Fjell** Drammen, Norway, 1966-76

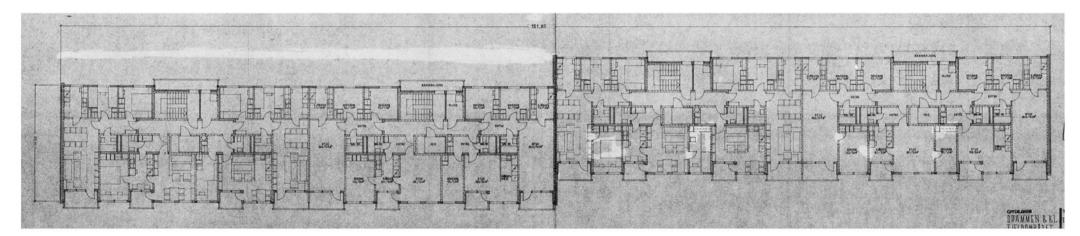
No of units/inhabitants	1516 units / 3700 inh
Ownership	Four cooperatives own the ground and buildings.
	Residents own their dwellings
Organisation form	Owner-resident cooperatives (93 %), municipally allocated social
	housing (7 %)
Urban context	Suburban
Overall spatial typology	32 blocks, 18 low-and-long (4 stories) and 14 high rise blocks
	(10-12 stories) amidst green open spaces, characterized by drastic topography
Functions	Appartments, school, kindergardens, play grounds, shared squares,
	district house (library, assemby room, office space for locals, health
	centre), Pizza shop. No shopping centre or grocery store
Citizen diversity	Three out of four have immigrant background. Largest numbers from
	Turkey and Pakistan, growing numbers from Eastern Europe and Africa.
	Significant number of elderly Norwegians
Official main challenges	Comparatively low levels of employment, income and education.
	Relatively high mobility. Bleak public image
Current initiatives	Renewal project based on participatory processes with upgrading
	of multiple public spaces and play grounds
Apartment Sizes	80 m² + (283/19%)
	54-79 m <sup>2</sup> (900/59%)
	under 52 m² (198/18%)
Building Types	80 m² + (283/19%)
	54-79 m² (900/59%)

Under 52 m<sup>2</sup> (333/22%)

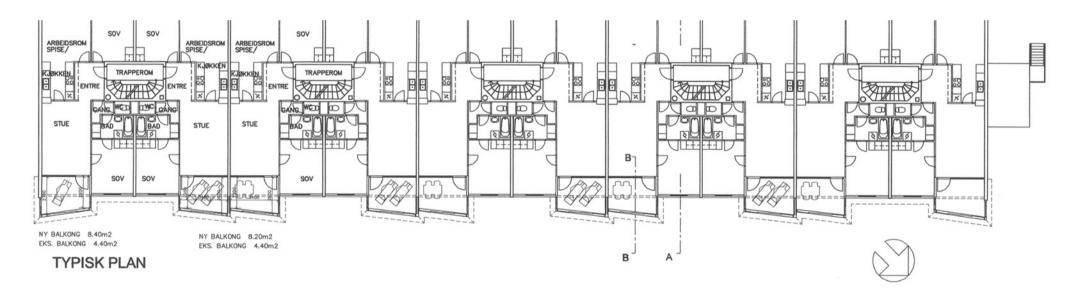
#### Cruciform tower type



#### Horizontal high-rise type



#### Low-rise type





FASADE BALKONGSIDE ( MOT NORDØST )



Public records available at Drammen kommune https://innsyn.drammen.kommune.no/byggsak

# Publicness and Democracy

Public places hold potential implications for democratic awareness, development, and activity as they may pose stages for democratic performances and may have been formed through democratic processes. Public space may encompass core aspects from representative (Re), deliberative (D), participatory (P) and radical (Ra) theories of democracy. We seek out the physical places which allows for: 1) Creation of a sense of "we" through encounters with others (e.g. expression and defense of norms and symbolic representation); 2) Formation of and articulation of mutual interests and preferences (e.g. positioning regarding local practices and policies) (P); 3) Making of public claims (e.g. claims on public resources, requesting action or inaction on collective problems, defending existing arrangements) (Ra); 4) **Deliberation over political issues (e.g. communicative** action seeking mutual understanding and traditional debate) (D); 5) Practice of democratic roles (e.g. running for election in housing cooperative board or debating the cooperative's policies) (Re).

# Fjell / Sites of Publicness

- 1: District house (health station, library, meeting hall) and upgraded playground
- 2: "Dumpa" upgraded playground
- 3: Corridor plaza outside pizza shop
- 4: Upgraded park
- 5: Covered parking graffiti area
- 6: Former commercial center . •
- 7: Gardening/picnic area by residents
- 8: Three picnic areas for residents

1, 2, 4: Upgraded by municipality



3



Image source: Drammen kommune, 2016 ©GEOVEKST (Statens kartverk) & Norsk institutt for skog og landskap





© Melissa Anna Murphy



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A place for the creation of a sense of «we» for Fjell. Residents meet neighbours at the library and other locations for local activities including the health station. There are also meeting rooms and halls that residents who want to organize assemblies can rent. This implies possibilities for deliberative democratic discussions, for practicing democratic roles of formal debates and decision making and for working towards making public claims.

#### «Dumpa» upgraded playground

The playground serves as a meeting point for children, adolescents and parents. There are possibilities for creating a neighbourhood sense of "we" amongst Fjell-residents, as well as sub-level "we's" among user groups. The decision-making process of the renovation had participatory democratic elements in involving local school children.

#### Corridor plaza by pizza shop

One route from the District house to the Upgraded park and further to the residential blocks passes the pizza shop. Customers tend to hang there as they wait for their orders, and there is an ashtray provided. Sometimes tables and chairs are placed out in the space, socializing and territorializing it.



#### Upgraded park

The park may have several democratic properties, but that is yet unclear. There was participatory engagement of the residents in the planning of the park, the park may be a place for

#### encounters, and may support senses of "we".

© Melissa Anna Murphy



#### Covered parking graffiti area

The area has been appropriated by local youth stating claims to space through tagging. A recent mural project covers one of the most tagged walls.

© Melissa Anna Murphy



#### © Melissa Anna Murphy

#### Former commercial center

The center was recently bought by a Turkish cultural organization and hosts diverse activities for members, creating a sense of "we." The center's empty status has been a manifestation of the lack of commercial supply and public meeting places related to shopping and services in the area.



© Lillin Cathrine Knudtzon



#### **Gardening/ picnic area by residents** All the blocks in the area have one to three picnic tables for their residents outside. The area around a picnic table at this particular place is tenderly gardened by the residents and hence holds a higher aesthetic standard than most of other semi-public places in the neighborhood. The gardening activity can be regarded as power and agency to affect living conditions. Such picnic table places in Fjell may facilitate senses of "we," and foster democratic discussions, practices and mobilization.

#### Three picnic areas for residents

Outside one block there are three picnic areas in much use by three different groups of residents. They all get along but habitually keep to different areas. These practices offer a sense of "we" and potentials for senses of "them". Each group may be active in caretaking, decorating the area with flowers and other embellishments to establish firmer claims.

© Melissa Anna Murphy

# Timeline / Fjell

#### Fjell – from farm land to suburb

#### Pre 1960

The area of Fjell had three farms with fields and forests. It is part of the rural municipality Skoger.

#### 1964

Skoger municipality was incorporated into Drammen municipality.

#### 1960's

Drammen needs more dwellings.

#### Mid 60's

Fjell residential area was planned to house 7-8000 people. Four cooperative housing organizations were established in the area. The purpose was to give higher standards of living for working class people living in drought prone and unsanitary dwellings in central Drammen. Proper living accommodation and good parking were main goals, and there were no ambitions for public space and urban life in the area. No social infrastructure or green public space were planned (Vista analyse). Housing blocks were built around a hilly open area known as "Dumpa," which served as a play and sledding







Photos from the construction period in the late 1960s. / © Drammens Tidende

#### 1967-76

The first residents moved in in 1967, and the area was completely developed in 1976, housing 1509 apartments with a combination of

#### 1970, 80's and 90's

Over the years the following services were established: two schools, a swimming pool, two kindergartens, a small commercial center (with groceries, hair dresser, pharmacy, clothes store, a café, dentist, post office, bank), a church and a community house with library. The cooperatives established playgrounds on their lots. Upgrades of exteriors, bathrooms, balconies, roofs etc. have been done by the four coops throughout the period. High mobility has been a trait of the area throughout its history. Many residents have seen Fjell as a starting point in a housing career. People with means and opportunity moved to other parts of Drammen, many to areas with villas or semidetached houses instead of apartment blocks. Since Norway's first labor immigration in the 70's, immigrants have been a large part of Fjell's community, first with immigrants from Pakistan and Turkey, later from many different countries.

#### area for local children.

high-rise housing towers and low housing blocks. A majority of the apartments are two bed room units at about 70m2. There are also some larger three and four bed room apartments, some one bed room units and a few studios. People moved in from the region and from the inner city. The first residents were both working class and middleclass.

#### 1995-98

More and more shops and services in the commercial center closed down. In 1998 the flower shop, clothes shop and pharmacy closed, leaving only the grocery store.

#### 2001

The grocery store in the commercial center struggles with theft and vandalism according to the local newspaper Drammens Tidende.

#### 2004

The grocery store closed. Hair dresser, dentist and a vegetable store were the only services left in the center.

#### 2007

Statistics indicated that Fjell had Drammen's lowest scores on parameters for living conditions such as income, employment, education, school results and social benefits. More than half of the population were non-Norwegians. Mobility was higher than in the rest of Drammen, and resourceful people that moved in had a tendency to move out again.

#### 2008

Drammen municipality decided to have a community upgrading during the coming decade – later labelled 'Fjell 2020'. Local resident participation and broad involvement were considered key features.

#### 2009

Local swimming pool closed

#### 2009-2010

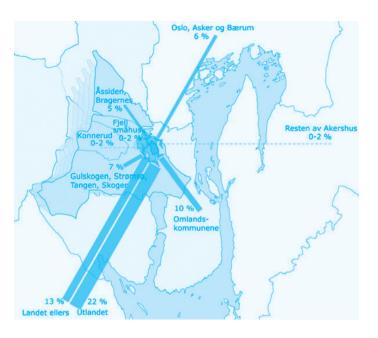
First participatory round with local residents were held to identify challenges in the area and possible actions. Involvement of the primary and secondary school, women's groups and multiple local groups to good ideas for the initiated upgrade.

#### 2010

Multiple place analysis were done. The area analysis "Connecting Fjell", highlighted the following disadvantages in the physical environment: (i) the housing blocks are built to provide views and sunlight, not to create cohesion and social belonging, (ii) there is a lack of attractive walkways from the housing blocks to the community center, and (iii) important public functions are spread too far apart. One conclusion was that the area needed more public places for community building and substantial upgrading of through fares for pedestrians.

#### 2014-2019

Fjell2020 in motion. A series of upgrades to the neighborhood's green spaces, as well as social and physical infrastructure. These upgrades have centered around providing opportunities for youth and for public health, and as such are heavily reliant on public spaces. They have redeveloped existing outdoor green areas, improved pedestrian paths, rehabilitated the local school, and built a new multiple-use indoor and outdoor recreation area.



Influx pattern to Fjell during 1994-2002 for the ages 25-35. Of the 33-35 year old's in 2002 (129 people), 37 % had lived there since 1994 (age 25-27) and 63 % had moved there between 1994 and 2002. They came from abroad (22 %), the rest of Norway (13 %), neighboring municipalities (10 %), Oslo (6 %), other parts of Drammen (12 %). Source: NIBR report 2010:21

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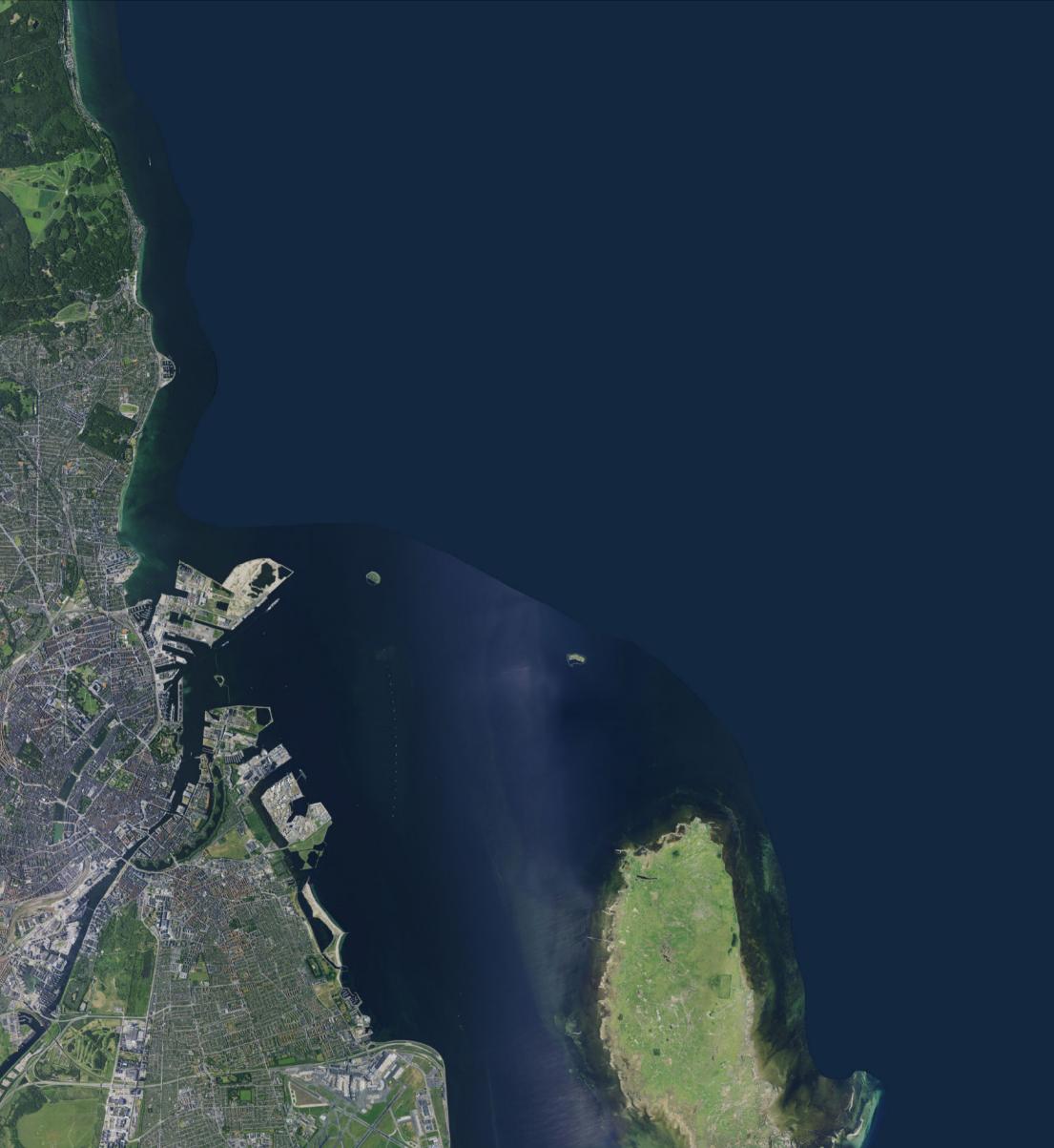
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# Farun O Diaton O Metropolitan Copenhagen





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# Farum





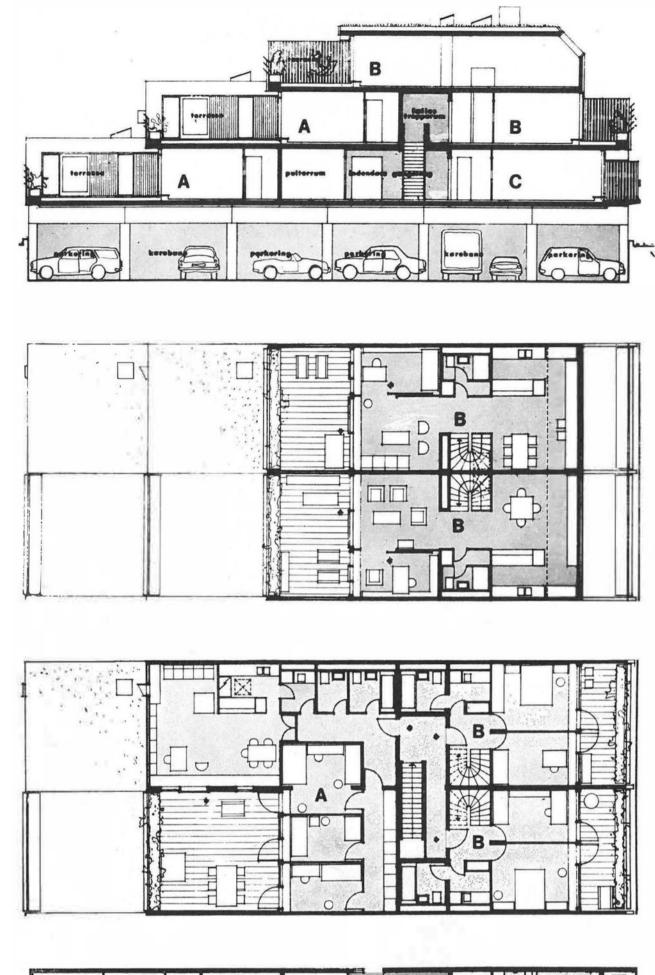
Copyright The Danish Agency for Data Supply and Efficiency (SDFE)

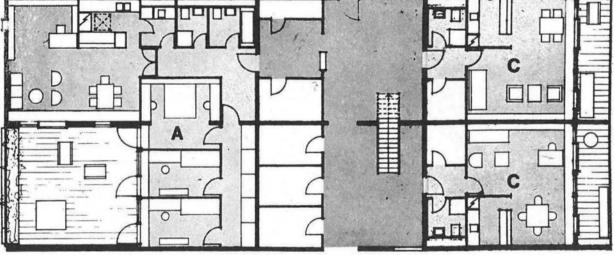
## Farum Midtpunkt Metropolitan Copenhagen, Denmark 1970-1975

No of units/inhabitants	1580 units / 3500 residents
Ownership	Housing Association. A few buildings to the south owned by the municipality, containing care center for elderly, a rehabilitation centre and a cultural activity centre (in former school)
Organisation form	Cooperative rental housing and up to 25 % municipally allocated housing
Urban context	suburb in metropolitan region
Overall spatial typology	Terraced megastructure with 24 3-storey blocks and 3 4-storey blocks on top of car deck
Functions	Apartments, kinder garden, bars, clubs, assembly rooms, municipal care center for elderly, senior co-housing, corner shop, parks and gardens, outdoor squares, playgrounds, and other communal spaces.
Citizen diversity	High. Residents with many cultural and language backgrounds. A large variety of income groups, agegroups, small and large households etc.
Official main challenges	Negative public image, crime/safety, vandalism, decay, segregation
Current initiatives	Recent social and physical projects with a high degree of resident participation
Apartment Sizes	Type A and D/130 Sqm/ 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms
	Type B and Type C/55 Sqm/ 1 bed-and-living-room, 1 bath
	Type E and F/129 Sqm/ 3 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms
	Type EV/ 70 Sqm/1 bedroom, 1 bathroom
	Type G/98 Sqm/2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom
	Type Qth and Qtv/ 80,5 Sqm/ 2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom
	Type T/ 81 Sqm/2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom
	Type E3/ 99 Sqm/2 bedroms, 1 bathroom
	Type E1R2/ 61 Sqm/1 bedroom, 1 bathroom

Type 'Dobbeldekker 1.3'/99 Sqm/2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type E1R3 'Dobbeldekker 2,2'/ 73 Sqm/2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type E2 'Dobbeldekker 2,3/87 Sqm/1 bedroom, 1 bathroom Type 'Dobbeldekker'3,1/ 87 Sqm/1 bedroom, 1 bathroom Type E1R4/85 Sqm/2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type 'dobbeldekker 3,3/ 87 Sqm/1 bedroom, 1 bathroom

#### Typical section



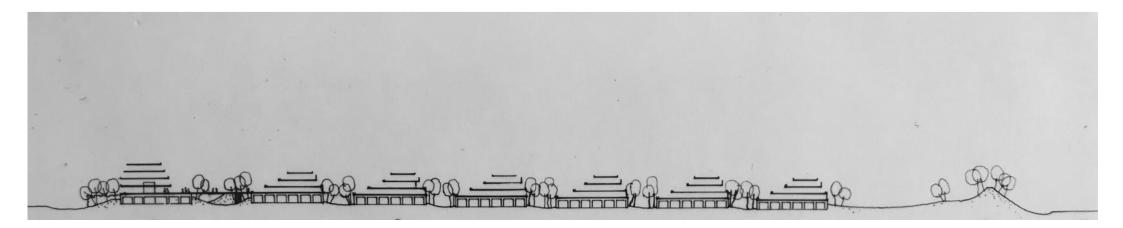


Floor plan Type B

Floor plan Type A and B

Floor plan Type A and C

#### **Diagrammatic section**



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# Publicness and Heritage

The social housing estates built in the decades following WW2 were meant to stimulate specific ways of being social. This is still reflected in their spatial organisation and in the designed playgrounds, parks, assembly rooms and other open and accessible spaces. We examine how publicness has been understood and performed in these housing estates over time. The aim is to begin a heritage discussion concerning how post-war social housing estates can facilitate publicness in rich and meaningful ways now and in the future. What processes of disrepair, endurance, growth and appropriation have taken place in the spaces designed for social activities? How have people valued traces of the past and negotiated different modes of publicness and privacy at

# these sites over time? What is the agency of physical materials and spatial figures in this process?

# Farum Midtpunkt

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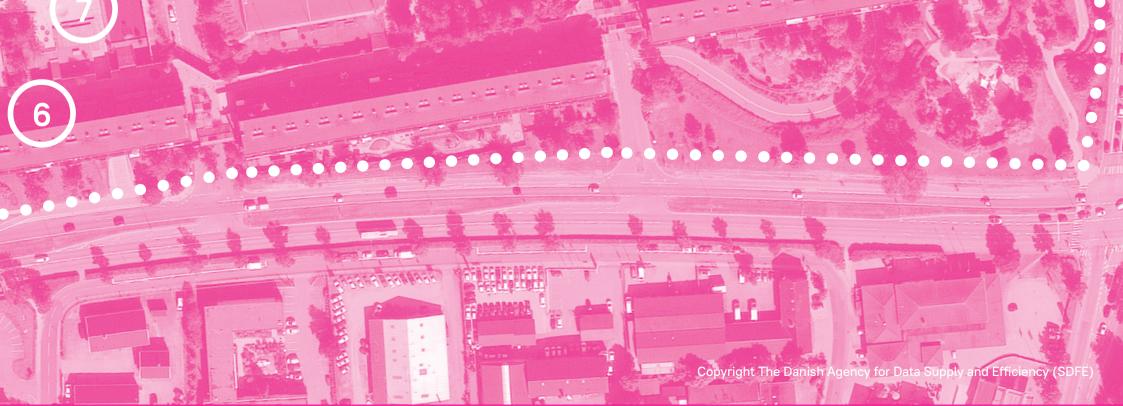
Internal street
 St. Hans Square
 Green in-betweeen area
 Park
 Stone Age Square
 Turkish Kahve
 Main street and playground
 The green Square
 Bybæk school front



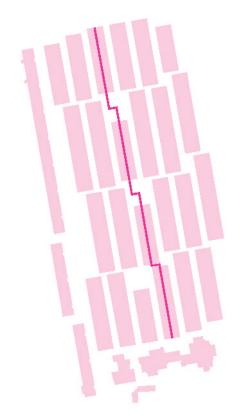
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## / Sites of Publicness



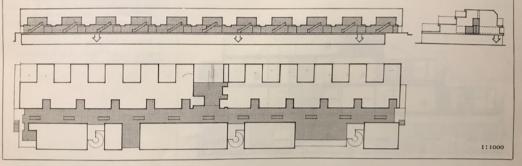




#### **Internal streets**

The publicness of the wide corridors inside the Farum Midtpunkt buildings has been a subject of contestation over the years. Following ideas from international architecture at the time of design, the corridors inside Farum Midtpunkt were conceptualized as "interior streets" that would facilitate socializing opportunities for residents in residents in small and large apartments. All apartments had entrances facing the interior streets, which also served as publicly accessible pathways through the area. The interior streets were the main pedestrian routes that ran in a north/south direction. The broadest parts of the corridor, the "interior squares", were planned as community spaces that the residents of each building could furnish, use and manage together. This idea became an important aspect in the many communication efforts to attract residents in the first years. Residents of some of the buildings transformed the interior squares into film clubs, art workshops, playgrounds, etc. These spaces were open to the public. Over time the common activities diminished. In the 1980s new fire safety regulations prohibited furniture in the corridors. In the same period, some residents and administrators expressed increasing concern about vandalism and public safety. The interior squares were then increasingly used for bicycle parking. After years of controversy, in 2012 the residents voted to lock the corridors so that only residents of each building have a key. Today, the future uses of these corridors remains contested.

Diagram by Sara Folvig, Svava Riesto



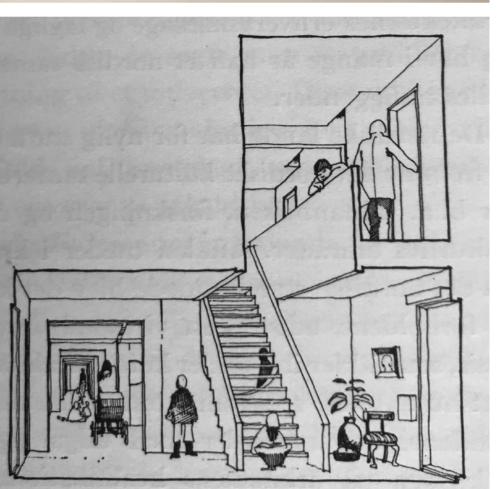


Diagram by Fællestegnestuen, from Arkitekten 1972, p 453

© Bo Bedre, Benjamin Media A/S

The corridors of each house were conceptualized as "interior streets". All of the apartments have entrances that open to these streets – some from the lower floor, some from the upper, some large, some small. In the centre of each building, interior streets expand into open spaces, referred to by the architects as an "interior square".

The architects designed the interior streets to serve as social spaces that would encourage social encounters among the residents.

When the first part of Farum Midtpunkt was built in 1972, people were able to visit an exhibition in one of the buildings and sign up for an apartment. An interior street was furnished to suggest future uses by residents, who were encouraged to furnish and arrange these streets however they liked as long as the passage remained open for the public to pass through. The exhibited interior street had a shelf for a used book exchange and a wall where lost children's clothing was hung. The "front terrace" of an apartment - a concrete element to mark the transition between the apartment's entrance and the public street - had flowerpots and a hand-written sign on the door. Architectural details such as a circular wall opening at eye-level and the concrete element marking the front terrace were designed to encourage social encounters.





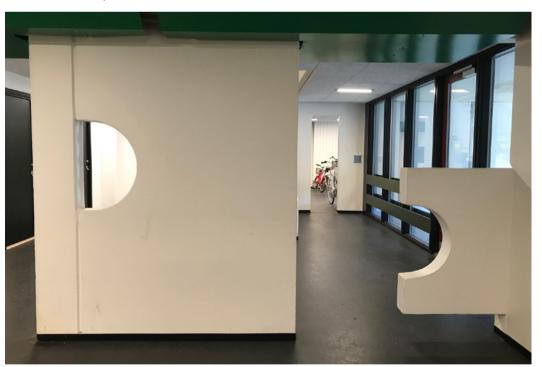
This image from a brochure in 1972 shows how the interior squares were imagined as spaces that residents could use for multiple purposes, such as play areas for the many children living in Farum Midtpunkt, or woodworking workshops, jazz clubs and spaces to host parties. In the early years, some of the interior streets and squares served as gathering places.

Drawing from the 1972 exhibition catalogue *Farum Midtpunkt – en ny bo-idé*, ©: KAB/Furesø Boligselskab



During the 1980s and 1990s new concerns over public safety and vandalism made many residents stop using the interior streets for communal activities. The interior streets functioned simply as corridors for residents to walk to and from their apartments. This image from 1995 shows an interior street without any personal items and furniture, yet the photographer has captured two boys playing football and one sitting on the concrete element of what had been designed to be a "front terrace".

© Susanne Néve/The Museums of Furesø



© Svava Riesto

© Svava Riesto

The interior streets are closed to the public and only the residents of the building have a key. In the newly renovated buildings to the north, *Birkholm terrasse*, the interior street has a new design that signalizes an "indoor" character that differs from the original concept of a "street". For instance, floors that were made from raw concrete tiles in the original design are now made of linoleum. The many architectural details remain true to the intentions of the architects to encourage people to linger, to lean over the concrete elements for a chat and to be able to see neighbours through the wall openings.



At present, the interior squares are used in a variety of ways. Many are used for storage and bicycle parking so residents can protect their bicycles from rain, vandalism and theft.

# Timeline / Farum Midtpunkt

The landscape surrounding Farum Midtpunkt has been inhabited for thousands of years. Farum means river fjord, and the isthmus served as a crossing between the lakes Farumsø and Furesø. The many lakes in this area were rich in fish.

#### 1100

Farum Church is built and the parish serves four former villages. Farum develops as an agricultural and market town.

#### Late 1800s

The landscape and lakes around Farum become a popular recreational destination for the cultural elite in Copenhagen.

#### 1906

A railway line between Copenhagen and Farum opens, stimulating the development of Farum as a market town.

#### 1936

to present. Regional plans (later the "Fingerplan" for the Copenhagen metropolitan region) are drawn up to protect the existing green zones and lakes in Farum from becoming estate here to ensure a large customer base.

#### 1966

Farum municipality designated 25 hectares of farmland for the housing estate and named it *Farum Midtpunkt*. It is situated the north of the planned shopping center, between a recently developed industrial area and a planned motorway. First sketch of *Farum Midtpunkt* (*midpunkt* can be translated as centre or midpoint).

#### 1971

Construction begins on *Birkholm Terrasse* in the northern part of the plot.

#### 1972

Farum Midtpunkt is acknowledged in architectural magazines for two characteristics in particular: 1) large sheltered terraces that enable residents to withdraw from public view, and 2) the interior streets and other communal spaces that were intended to support community engagement among residents. Housing exhibition Farum Midtpunkt: A new idea for living invited the public inside to view one of the first buildings in the project. Stylists from the lifestyle magazine Bo Bedre furnished some apartments and an "interior street" to give an idea of what living there could be like. Both the exhibition and a special issue of the magazine featuring Farum Midtpunkt under the headline Everyone is Welcome! highlighted the options of withdrawing on the private terrace and of taking



Farum Midtpunkt presented in the lifestyle magazine Bo Bedre in 1972 with the headline "Everyone is Welcome". / © Bo Bedre, Benjamin Media A/S

part in various community activities. The interior streets included a "children's zoo with hamsters, fish and birds" and playrooms. The first residents move in. Farum Midtpunkt becomes popular among young, idealistic middle-class families with children. From the start, Farum Midtpunkt also houses Turkish "guestworkers" who are primarily men who live alone. A Turkish club is later established on Farum Midtpunkt's main street alongside other facilities for residents including

residential, industrial or commercial

zones.

#### 1960s

Farum develops rapidly and becomes a suburb in the growing metropolitan area around Copenhagen. A growing need for housing in the region as well as local plans to place a new shopping center in Farum were used as arguments in favour of building a large housing cafes, bars, day care centres, laundry facilities and a housing administration office.

#### 1973-1976

Ongoing discussions in Farum Midtpunkt about how to develop a "resident democracy" in the estate so that residents could take part in decision making processes. Resident democracy was a hot topic in Danish social housing at the time, and Farum Midtpunkt was an important pilot project referred to in these discussions.

#### 1974-1978

New residents of Farum Midtpunkt contribute to a landslide in Farum politics. Left wing parties and the new Environmental List (*Miljølisten*) became influential in the otherwise conservative market town. This change in the political makeup contributed significantly to pausing plans for a new shopping centre to the south of Farum Midtpunkt.

#### 1974

Journalist Michael Meyerheim from the national newspaper Politiken enthusiastically describes the residents of Farum Midtpunkt "... many sociology and psychology students, who find it exciting to engage in the community and also to potentially use these experiences in their own studies." The inauguration of the construction of the primary school Bybækskolen to the south of Farum Midtpunkt which was built in response to the rapidly growing number of children.

#### 1975

Farum Midtpunkt is completed. Residents of Farum Midtpunkt expand the number of residents in the town of Farum by more than one third.

#### 1977

Located just south of Farum Midt-



First-generation residents in Farum Midtpunkt in its large green park, 1977. / © Henrik Fog-Møller

Farum Midtpunkt is a popular place to live for many young families. The landscape design plays a major role in an exhibition about housing shown in Copenhagen for the International Federation for Landscape Architects. Its green parks and playgrounds are featured in contemporary photos. Residents of Farum Midtpunkt demand more green space for the densely built housing area, namely the area north of housing complex, for recreational uses such as a park and allotment gardens. After years of effort, a park and daycare centre open in the area north of Farum Midtpunkt.

#### 1970s

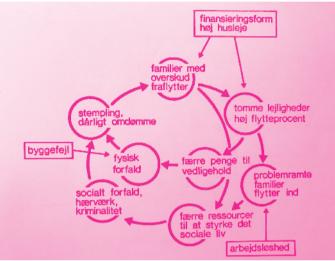
New national policies make purchasing a house more attractive financially. Many middle-class residents move out of the rental apartments in Farum Midtpunkt.

#### 1970s-1980s

Farum Midtpunkt was planned for two-car households, but this never becomes reality. The extensive spaces for parking on ground level are partly unused and some residents report feeling unsafe in these spaces.

#### 1983

A survey shows that every third resident in Farum Midtpunkt is receiving social benefits. This survey contributes to an increasingly negative perception from the outside, characterized by questions about crime, vandalism and segregation.



Visicous circle in Farum midtpunkt, as identified by resesarchers in 1989: Unemployment leads to new residents with fewer resources, who are less able to contribute to the social life in the area, making it even less attractive, which leads to crime and decay and even more expensive rent and so forth. / Visual by Kirkegaard and Kaaris, from the 1989 report by the Danish Building Research Institute SBI.

#### 1989

The Danish Building Research Institute publishes a report about Farum Midtpunkt, mentioning it as an example of a vicious circle, in which unemployment leads to many new residents with fewer resources, who are less able to contribute to the social life in the area, making it even less attractive, which leads to crime and decay and even more expensive rent and so forth. The report identifies problems of crime, structures falling into disrepair, vandalism and physical and social segregation.

punkt the shopping centre *Bytorvet* opens, despite massive critique from shop owners in the old town centre and from the residents of Farum Midtpunkt who support leftwing, anti-capitalist policies. Over time, the shopping centre offers alternatives to or replacements for some the public functions of Farum Midtpunkt's shopping street, such as stores, cafés, etc.

#### Late 1970s-1980s

Residents of Farum Midtpunkt diversify and many of the well-educated, highly engaged pioneers move away. The average income of residents in Farum Midtpunkt lowers. Questions about public safety in Farum Midtpunkt are raised.



New elevated walkway to connect Farum Midtpunkt with the green park and the childcare centres to the north around 1990. / © Blokraadet Farum Midtpunkt/KAB

#### 1989-1992

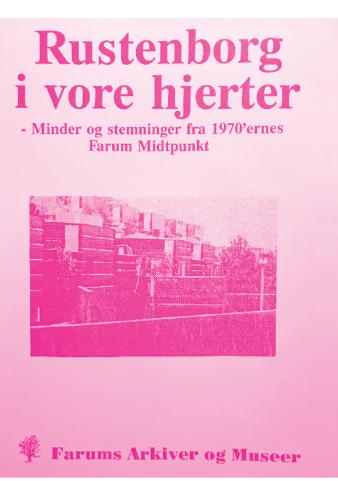
First large-scale renovation of Farum Midtpunkt is undertaken due to disrepair and damage to the experimental buildings. The cost of repair and replacement was approximately what it cost to build Farum Midtpunkt originally. The project included a new elevated walkway to connect the main street with the green park and the childcare centres to the north of Farum Midtpunkt.

#### 1993

A new stairway and square to the south connects Farum Midtpunkt with the shopping centre Bytorvet.

#### 1995

The first historical exhibition of Farum Midtpunkt is presented by the local historical society in Furesø, including the narratives of residents of Farum Midtpunkt. The exhibition provides an alternative narrative to the increasingly negative outside perception. The group applies linguistic reappropriation to the pejorative nickname *Rustenborg* (rusty castle) and reclaims the term with a positive association.



In 1995 Farum Midtpunkt's history was presented by the local historical museum, including the positive narratives of residents. / © Susanne Néve/The Museums of Furesø

#### 2008

The building of the school Bybækskolen closes due to disrepair and a decrease in the number of children. Children from Farum Midtpunkt attend schools outside of the housing area. This is regarded by some as a means of avoiding social segregation. The former school building remains empty for five years.



#### 2012

The residents of Farum Midtpunkt decide to prevent access to all interior streets so that only residents of each building have a key for access. The result is that many public northsouth pedestrian routes in the complex are lost. The locks have been replaced multiple times and this image shows a more recent one.



Architectural competition to connect Farum Midtpunkt better to the city, 2012. / © Vandkunsten

Architectural competition is held for the renewal of Farum Midtpunkt and the school Bybækskolen, with the objective of connecting them better to the rest of Farum. The competition was a collaboration between Furesø Municipality and the philanthropic association Realdania. It served as a pilot project of the nationwide project *Future of the Suburb*. The winning competition proposal by Vandkunsten Architects has not been realized.



Lock on one of Farum Midtpunkt's doors, which were open until 2012. The locks have been replaced multiple times and this image shows a more recent one. / © Svava Riesto The five northernmost buildings in Farum Midtpunkt are completely renovated to remove PCBs. / © Enemærke & Petersen

#### 2012-2015

The five northernmost buildings in Farum Midtpunkt are completely renovated to remove PCBs. Affecting 295 apartments, this was the biggest PCB renovation in Denmark to date. PCBs were used in the first building phase of Farum Midtpunkt until the health dangers connected with this material were discovered. The rest of the area was built with lower amounts of PCBs.

#### 2013

The derelict primary school Bybækskolen building reopens as a culture and activity center named *Stien* and houses cultural events, workshops and youth clubs.

#### 2015

Svanepunktet opens as a municipal institution in two of Farum Midtpunkt's existing southern buildings facing the former school. Svanepunktet is a nursing home for the elderly, a rehabilitation centre and collective housing for residents 50 years old and up. Some residents of Svanepunktet were among the first generation to live in Farum Midtpunkt and have since become senior citizens; other new residents come from the town of Farum. The transformation of the building into new uses is nominated for the

Award for Best Danish Building Renovations (*Renovérprisen*).



#### 2012-2015

Farum opens up is the name of a renovation and open space renewal project by the housing association of Farum Midtpunkt and the philanthropic association Realdania. The project aims to make Farum Midtpunkt's communal spaces more attractive again, to increase a sense of public safety, and to improve connections between different areas within Farum Midtpunkt, while also strengthening its connection to the town of Farum. The project involves creating new ways of moving through the area from north to south through the previously inaccessible green spaces (in response to the locking of entrances to the individual buildings and thus to the interior streets). Also, a large opening is made in one of the large housing blocks on the east end in order to provide better access to the road and bus stop. As a series of design interventions, or "hot spots" are made for new activities in the outdoor spaces as well as a renewal of the large activity square. The project is developed in close collaboration with the members of the residents' board and several workshops are held to involve residents in the design process.

#### 2017

Farum Midtpunkt is appraised as being of national significance for its architectural and cultural histori-

#### 2018

Karens Plads is inaugurated on the site between the activity centre (the former school) and the nursing home and residence for the elderly, Svanepunktet.

#### 2019

A new nursing home and residence for the elderly is under construction on the site south of the school.

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Image from the urban renewal project Farum opens up, by the foundation Realdania. As a series of design interventions, or "hot spots" are made for new activities in the outdoor spaces as well as a renewal of the large activity square. / © BoGL cal heritage in a publication called *Rammer for Udvikling* (Framework for Development) by the Danish National Building Fund. Discussions on safety and vandalism are ongoing.

# Aarau

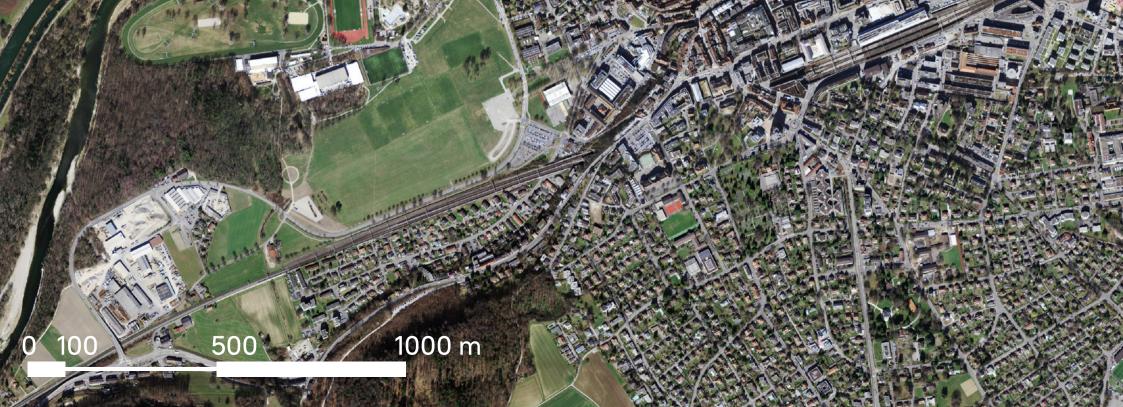




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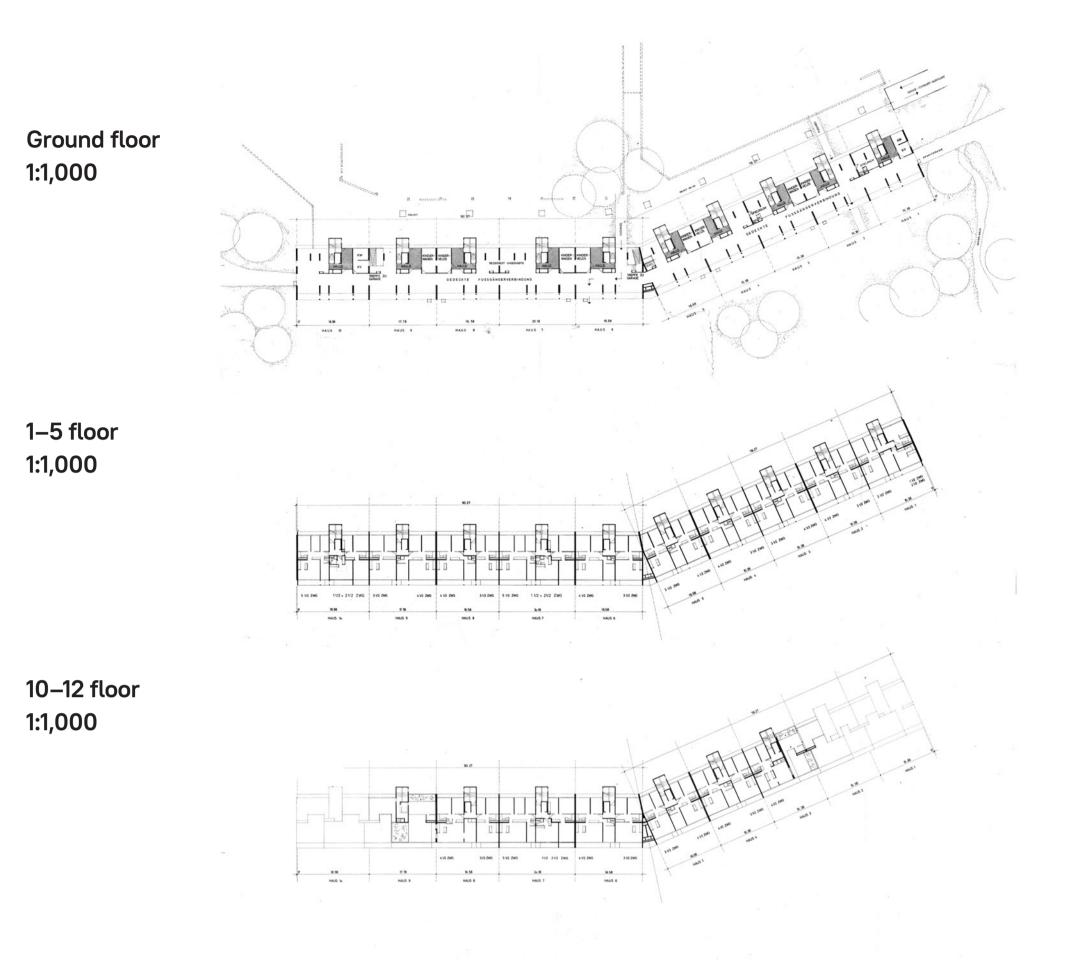


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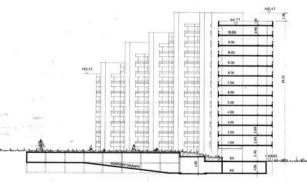
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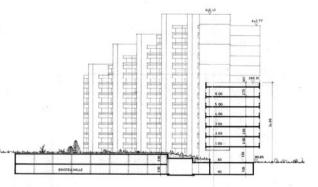
### **Telli** Aarau, Switzerland, 1971-1991

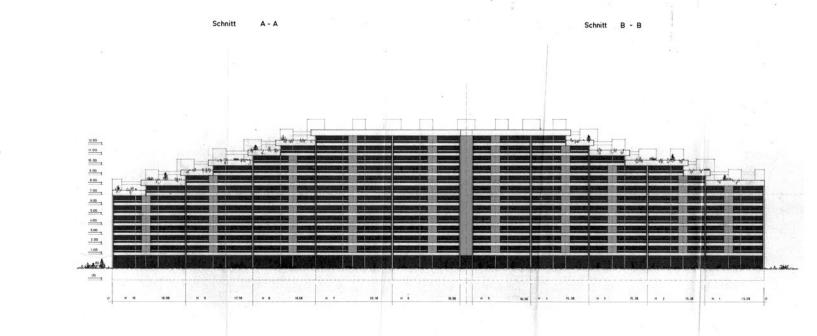
No of units/inhabitants Ownership	1258 units / 2360 inhabitants Mixed ownership: institutional owners, private home owners; municipal rental housing			
Organisation form	Rental housing (institutional, municipal, cooperative) and private owned condominium			
Urban context	Outskirts of a small town			
Overall spatial typology	4 extended blocks megastructure with generous green outdoor spaces			
Functions	Apartments; sports and shopping centre, restaurant, community centre; school, kindergarden, bank, petting zoo, youngs people's leisure club, small shops			
Citizen diversity	High. 28% of inhabitants with foreign nationality (city average: 20%), various income groups			
Official main challenges	High amount of foreign language children in school; negative public image and complex ownership structure (complicates renovations of public spaces)			
Apartment Sizes	1.5–5.5 bedroom apartments			
Building Types	4 residential high rise blocks (8-19 storeys) 1 high rise tower with shopping center and offices (27 storeys)			
Surfaces	Total area surface: 150,000 sqm Overbuilt area: 13,300 sqm Open spaces: 136,700 sqm Gross floor area: 128,850 sqm			



Cross section 1:1,000







#### Elevation west 1:1,000

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# Publicness and Policies / Practices

The Swiss project focuses on formal and informal practices and discourses which constitute, regulate and produce publicness in two large scale housing estates. It draws on the anthropology of policy (Shore and Wright 2011) to identify how policies are (re)produced in local practices and contexts and the role explicit regulations (building laws, property) rights, municipal housing policies, house rules) and implicit norms as well as local habitual practices play in the planning, management and the everyday use. This sheds light on the multidimensional everyday production of publicness on site: on practices of participation, integration and civic involvement as well as on areas of conflict. Of special interest to the project are the practices of living with different housing cultures, senses of the private and the common, shared spaces, and civic involvement. This analytical approach filters the impact of decision-making processes and of different institutional and civic actors on public spaces in Swiss social and cooperative housing.

### SEFEREELS IN Telli / Sites of Publicness

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1: Shoppingcenter 2: Children's leisure club

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#### **3: Entrance areas under covered arcades**

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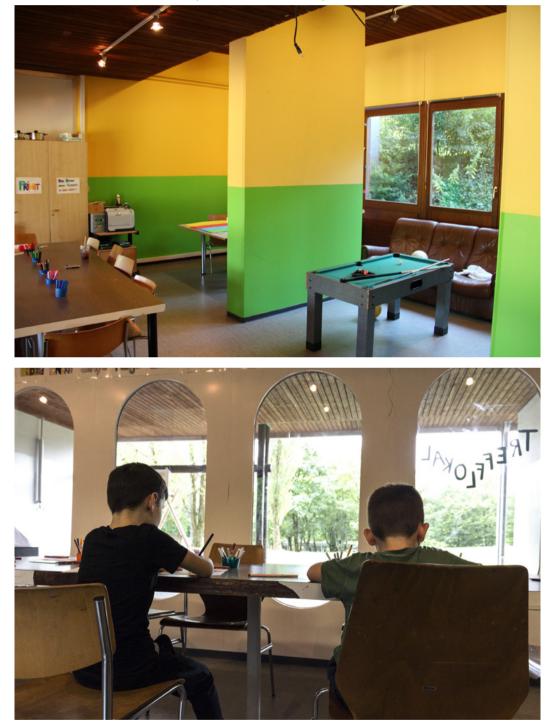
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#### 1. Shopping center and passageway to the estate

When the Telli was planned and built, the municipality aimed at creating an integral neighbourhood of the city of Aarau, therefore various facilities have been included in the estate since the beginning. Adjacent to the housing complex a shopping arcade provides space for large chain stores, a supermarket, a pharmacy, a bakery, a travel agency and a bank and post office branch. The so-called "Telli center" (Tellizentrum) is situated on the ground floor of a 27-storeys high rise building, which is the office of parts of the public administration of the Canton of Aargau. The passage through the Telli center connects the estate with the bus stop and hence, the rest of the city. The center is a typical example of a privately-owned public space. To the residents in Telli it also serves as an important place of casual encounters. For many years the passageway was an informal meeting point for teenagers and young people of Telli in the evenings. Since the security contractor changed a few years ago, young people are now however systematically impeded to meet and stay there - after the closing hour of the shops. A shift in ownership a year ago might furthermore lead to stricter policies regarding access to the building. The new owner is interested in closing the center beyond the business hours. The neighborhood association and a lot of residents however completely disagree with this, since they would be cut-off from an important passageway to their estate. Successfully, the neighborhood association and residents have already protested against a planned closure of the post office in Telli few years ago (putting up a petition with several thousand signatures). In future the growing importance of online shopping might pose a challenge to the shopping center and retail in general. Last year a café already disappeared, which used to be a gathering place for seniors. The restaurant "Telli-Egge" on the ground floor of the community center, which has a similar function, however still exists close-by.





#### 2. Children's leisure club

The Community Center in Telli plays a crucial role in Telli, not only by offering spaces and rooms for encounters and meetings in its own house adjacent to the shopping Center, but also by coordinating and supporting actions and initiatives of the community and by advocating that the various communal spaces in the estate (such rooms for the common rooms on the







© Matteo de Mattia / © Eveline Althaus / © Marie Glaser

ground floors but also in outdoor areas), are used and maintained in the way intended as per the estates' original owner's contract ("Grundeigentümervertrag"). An example is the children's leisure club; according to its participatory policies, the community center is acting only together with and according to the needs of residents. One of these needs was a to have a place where kids can stay and play among themselves also in a warm indoor space after school/ kindergarden/ day school – also because a lot of parents are strongly involved in professional duties and not all kids have access to an formal day care centres. The community center therefore established a children's leisure club in one of the common rooms. Four afternoons a week it serves the children of the estate as a leisure club. With a wide range of toys, painting utensils, billiard and table football the children are able to organize their own free time. The busy venue is run by two social worker (one in training), who are also providing assistance with homework or other problems. Special attention is given to the possibility that kids whose parents don't speak German can playfully enhance their language skills. Parents are explicitly asked not to spend time in the leisure club.

#### 3. Entrance areas under covered arcades

On the ground floor of all the blocks there are covered arcades which lead past the entrances to the houses, common rooms and small shops. Along the arcades children's play and gym equipment, such as ping-pong tables, swings or climbing rods are placed. The postboxes are also installed here. These threshold spaces are very lively (especially in the afternoons and early evening hours and when the weather is not too cold); children play, people greet each other or stop and exchange a few words. Thanks to an agreement with the nearby supermarket the residents are allowed to push their purchases from the supermarket all the way home in the shopping cart, even into their apartments. This space is an example that "sites of publicness" often happen in rather informal situations that are not designated in the original planning as a "meeting point".

The number of the selected sites in this document (e.g. 1. Shopping center and passageway to the estate) corresponds to the number of the marked site on the aerial photo  $\rightarrow 1$ 

## Timeline / Telli

#### 1930

From the 1930s on in the so-called "old Telli" area of the city of Aarau a new neighborhood is built, mainly with detached single family houses and three-storey row houses.

#### 1959

The city of Aarau introduces a Building Act (Bauordnung) that explicitly allows the construction of high-rise buildings and large housing estates. This kind of planning regulation was quite new in Switzerland at the time.

In the Building Act, the area of the "Telli" is divided in two zones: one for housing and the other for industry. However, only few factories are still operational in the Telli (a former industrial area of Aarau).

#### 1966

The last factory in the Telli, the Chocolate factory "Frey" moves to another municipality.

#### 1969

The municipal assembly endorses a Special Building Act (Spezialbauordnung) that allows the re-zoning of the former industrial to a residential

#### 1970

The municipal planner of Aarau (Stadtbaumeister) René Turrian invites the four land owners to negotiate about a comprehensive planning of the area. According to the general town-planning orientation (städtebaubliches Leitbild), the idea is to use the last remaining large portion of land in Aarau for the construction in the size and function of a new neighbourhood (Stadtteil). Subsequently, the four landowners invite six architecture offices to submit their proposals for a comprehensive construction plan of the Telli. With regards to the growing criticism of monofunctional large housing estates at the time, the architectural competition requires to plan not only for housing but also for facilities and services such as a shopping center, kindergarten and a school, leisure activities, communal spaces and a community center in the neighborhood.

#### 1971

The architects "Marti + Kast" win the competition. Hans Marti at the time was a prominent figure in Switzerland for his efforts to strengthen

#### 1972

In January the general contractor Horta AG (which is also one of the four land owners) starts the construction of the first housing complex A and a tower block, which is proceeding very quickly. On working days in three eight-hour shifts there are about 500 workers on the construction site.

Next to the tower block (which will offer space for a shopping center and parts of the public administration of the canton Aargau), a community center is built.

#### 1973

The first residents move in the newly built apartments in housing complex A (Rüttmattstrasse). Target group are the middle classes which were strongly growing at the time. From the 17 houses that are attached to each other, five are sold to homeowners. Initially there are some difficulties to rent out all the flats, since the rents (especially for the larger flats) are quite high. Preparations start for the construction of housing complex B and C (Delfterstrasse).

#### zone in the Telli.

urban planning.

The four landowners work out a contract to regulate the financing, administration and operation of common facilities. They furthermore commit to ensure a uniform appearance and maintenance of the buildings.

The municipal authorities approve the planning application of the project.

#### 1974

The first (and until today only) community center in Aarau opens its doors, with a big party. The center is owned by a foundation that includes four paying members: the municipality and the citizens' municipality (Einwohner- und Ortsbürgergemeinde) such as the Reformed and the Catholic church (which abandoned the idea to build a new church in favour of supporting the community centre). A social worker is hired to manage the center and to foster a lively neighbourhood in the Telli.

#### 1974

The neighbourhood association Telli (Quartierverein Telli) is founded. Among its many activities it publishes until today a monthly local newspaper for the neighbourhood (with 2700 copies).

#### 1976

The general contractor Horta AG goes bankrupt due to the economic recession following the 1973 oil crisis and its lack of liquidity. The insurance company "Winterthur" buys the housing complex B and assures that the construction works continue and the workers get paid their salary.

#### 1979

Due to the turbulences after the bankruptcy of the Horta AG, the construction of the third housing complex C (also at the Delfterstrasse) starts with a delay. Owner of this housing complex is also the insurance company "Winterthur" (today AXA Winterthur).

#### 1987

A mixed owner group (municipality, association of home owners, private investors) starts the construction of the last housing complex D (at Neuenburgerstrasse). The complex is built along the original master plan - nonetheless the widespread criticism of large highrise estates at the time.

#### 1991

After completion of housing complex D, the last residents move in the estate.

#### 1991

In the building of the neighbouring former poultry farm "Kunath" opens the concert and event hall "KIFF", which attracts people also from other regions.

#### 2000

The city of Aarau starts a six-year long program for the development of the district (Quartierentwicklungsprogramm) – called "Allons-y Telli!" which is partially financed by the Federal Office of Public Health. The program aims at tackling the challenges related to the growing disparities among the residents (which are especially visible in the school with up to 70% of non-German speaking children) and the deterioration of the facilities and the communal spaces (e.g. playgrounds).

The program entails various projects targeted at children, young people, migrants and includes the regeneration of the outdoor spaces.

#### 2001

Along with the program "Allons-y Telli!" the community center repositions itself and hires the social worker Hans Bischofberger who initiates in the following years together with residents several new projects, events and services for the neighborhood, especially for children, young people, the elderly and migrants.

#### 2002

Renovation of the roofs, roof terraces and facades of the housing complexes B and C (owned by AXA Winterthur).

#### 2005

Interior renovation in apartments of the housing complexes B and C (with new kitchens and bathrooms, apartment doors, window gaskets, lifts, pipe systems and electronic installations.

This leads to a moderate increase of the rents (e.g. from 1170 CHF for a 3.5 room flat of 84 m2 to 1370 CHF).

#### 2018

The social worker Andreas Feller is elected as the new manager of the community center, after the retirement of Hans Bischofberger.

Planning for a second comprehensive renovation of the housing complexes B and C owned by AXA Winterthur starts, carried out by Meili + Peter architects.

Housing complex A, which is in fact older than the complexes B and C, did not yet undergo a comprehensive renovation (e.g. of the façades), also due to challenges in the negotiations of the many owners involved.

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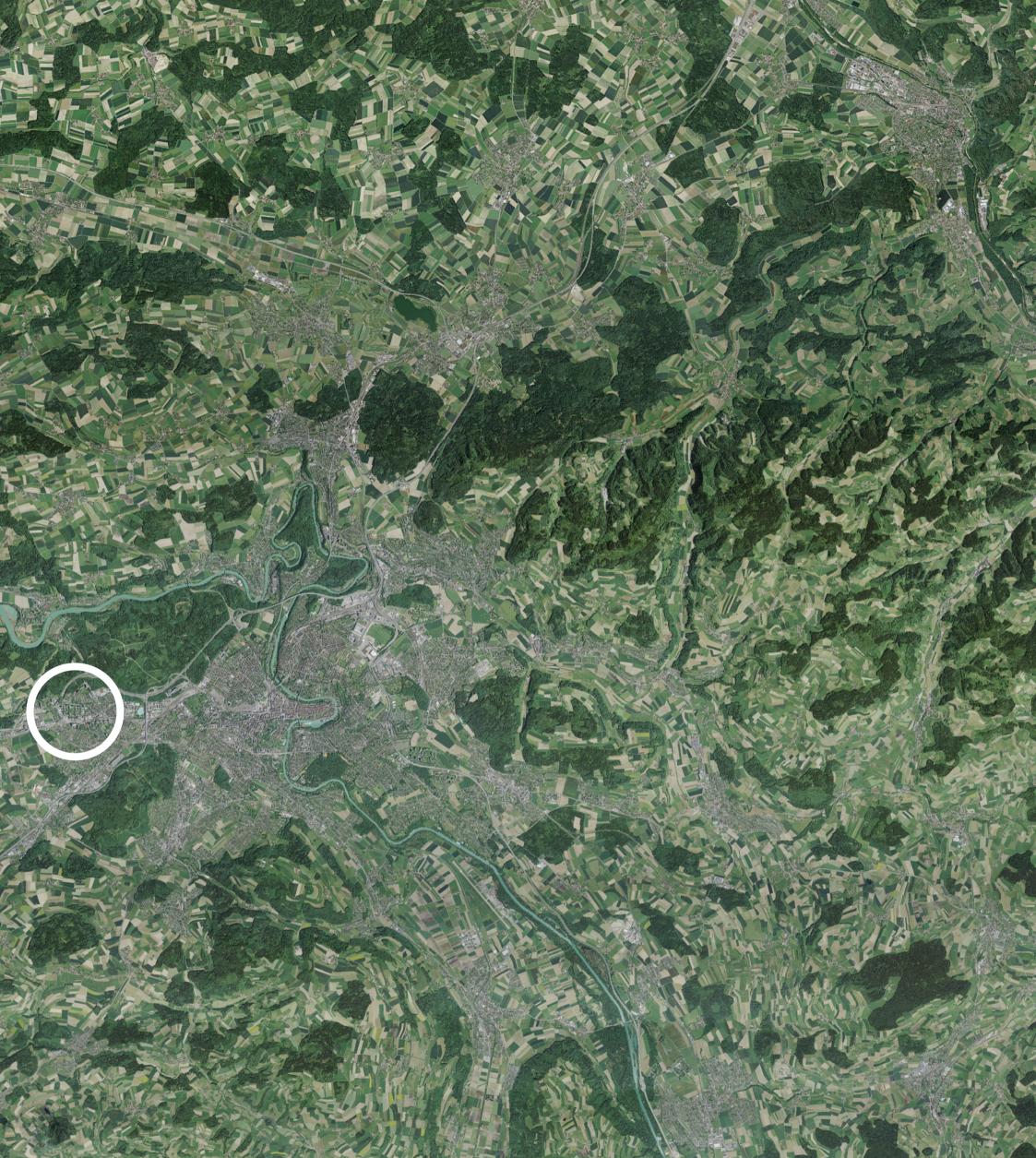
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### Ischarnerout Bern





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### Ischaffeeguut Bern





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### **Tscharnergut** Bern, Switzerland, 1958-1966

No of units/inhabitants Ownership	1208 units / 2563 inhabitants Mixed ownership: institutional, private, pension fund; cooperative housing; municipal housing
Organisation form Urban context Overall spatial typology Functions	Cooperative rental housing and municipally allocated housing Urban neighborhood with various postwar high-rises 5 high rises, 8 blocks, 3 multifamily complexes, 2 rowhouse complexes Apartments; community centre; shopping infrastructure; gym; school, kindergarden, restaurant, library, petting zoo, daycare, children's leisure club
Citizen diversity	High; large share of persons aged 65 and over and of persons with migration background
Official main challenges	Negative public image; Renovation process of the built structure; conflict of securing low rents / social structure of residents and renovation (cost intensive) ; conflicting ideas of heritage (e.g. possibility of changing the mix of flats in order to attract more families)
Apartment Sizes	20 x 1.5 bedroom apartments 33 x 2 bedroom apartments 31 x 2.5 bedroom apartments 830 x 3.5 bedroom apartments 72 x 4 bedroom apartments 162 x 4.5 bedroom apartments 60 x 5.5 bedroom apartments
Building Types	5 residential high rise blocks (20 storeys) 7 residential blocks (8 storeys)

3 residential blocks (4 storeys) 2 rows of single-family-houses (2 storeys)

Surfaces

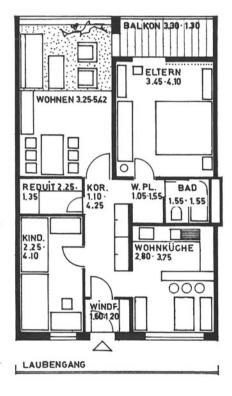
Total area surface: 180,000 sqm Overbuilt area: 25,460 sqm Open spaces: 154,540 sqm Gross floor area: 121,139 sqm

#### Ground floor plan

#### 2 room-apartment

Balkon			Balkon
Zimmer	Zimmer	Zimmer	Zimme <b>r</b>
		A	N
	Redui		orplatz Z Bac
	Zimmo		
		Zimme	Essküch

#### 3.5 room-apartment



#### 4 room-apartment

Balkon		Balkon
Zimmer	Zimmer	Zimme <b>r</b> Zimmer
Bad Vorplat	Reduit	Reduit Vorplatz Bac
	Zimme	Zimmer Essküch

#### 4.5 room-apartment



Source: Bäschlin, Elisabeth (Ed.). 2004. Wohnort Grossüberbauung. Das Tscharnergut in Bern. Wabern-Bern: Benteli: p. 39, p. 78

# Publicness and Policies / Practices

The Swiss project focuses on formal and informal practices and discourses which constitute, regulate and produce publicness in two large scale housing estates. It draws on the anthropology of policy (Shore and Wright 2011) to identify how policies are (re)produced in local practices and contexts and the role explicit regulations (building laws, property) rights, municipal housing policies, house rules) and implicit norms as well as local habitual practices play in the planning, management and the everyday use. This sheds light on the multidimensional everyday production of publicness on site: on practices of participation, integration and civic involvement as well as on areas of conflict. Of special interest to the project are the practices of living with different housing cultures, senses of the private and the common, shared spaces, and civic involvement. This analytical approach filters the impact of decision-making processes and of different institutional and civic actors on public spaces in Swiss social and cooperative housing.

# Ischarnerguu

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Community centre
 Gym
 Trench
 Petting zoo

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### / Sites of Publicness

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#### 1. Community center

The community center plays a vital role for public life and civic involvement in Tscharnergut. It was planned and built as part of the estate and was the first community center of its kind in Switzerland. As such, the community center was also influential for the development of similar spaces in other cities (e.g. the community center Telli in Aarau). For more than fifty years, the center has been offering to the residents assistance, information, workshops and gathering places of various kinds. The community center is managed by the "association for community work in Bern" (vbg, Vereinigung Berner Gemeinwesenarbeit), a NGO which coordinates all the community centers and community work within Bern and has a performance mandate to the City of Bern. Premises for events such as parties, meetings, sports and assemblies of associations can be leased at the center. Furthermore, the center runs the Café Tscharni, that serves lunch every day, and is also responsible for the production of the district newspaper "Wulchechratzer" (literal translation in Bernese for "skyscraper").



© Eveline Althaus / © Eveline Althaus / © Quartierzentrum im Tscharnergut / © Quartierzentrum im Tscharnergut

The number of the selected sites in this document (e.g. 1. Community center) corresponds to the number of the marked site on the aerial photo  $\rightarrow 1$ 



© Sportamt Bern



© Jennifer Duyne Barenstein



#### 2. Gym

Within the community center there is a gym, which is owned and maintained by the city (the public elementary school), which is also open to the public. This is an unusual policy of use by the city. As a consequence of the low rental fee and the flexible terms of use it is used very frequently by various groups, for instance an Afghan volleyball group and a group of young people playing soccer until after midnight. The similarly unusual cleaning policy (established by the community center), where not the managers of the gym, but the users themselves are in charge of the cleaning after use, has contributed to a sense of responsibility and ownership among the users. In sum, the low-threshold policies of access seemingly encourage practices of publicness.

#### 3. Trench

The trench named "Bärengraben" (the trench of bears) - as an allusion to the City of Bern's most famous central historic site - constitutes a threshold space connecting several surrounding places each governed by their own policies, e.g. the community center's meeting hall, an air-raid shelter used by gamers and the public space of the estate. The trench, however, is not designated for a certain use and does not underlie any specific housing regulations. Due to its character of an "in-between space" covered by a roof, but also due to the opportunity it provides for being "hidden" and on its own, it attracts and is being appropriated by various user groups, mainly young people and teenagers. Since they have few secluded "free spaces" where they can meet and hang out together on the estate. According to the manager of the community center it is a contested space, where events and parties are informally organised by young people – without being controlled by adults. Together with the school and young artists, the walls have been painted with graffities to make this place a bit more colourful.

#### 4. Petting zoo

directly".

The petting zoo in Tscharnergut is not only an important gathering spot of the residents, in particular families with children, but has also become a symbol of the personal commitment of single individuals – in



this case, a caretaker – and their impact on the social cohesion and sense of identity of the estate. Having been a petting zoo keeper and socially involved caretaker for decades, where helping and interacting with the residents was a great part of the job, the caretaker stood up against the housing management, when they asked him to only clean the stairways and the public space, and not to help the residents anymore (e.g. by giving a hand to old people living at home). Since people, especially older residents, continued to ask him for assistance, he decided not to comply with the request by the housing management and consciously provoke the termination of his contract by now "working voluntarily for the residents

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# Timeline / Tscharnergut

#### 1954

Due to an acute housing shortage, especially for families with children, a postulate demanding the city to promote affordable housing, is submitted and accepted by the city council of Bern.

#### 1955

The city council of Bern announces an architectural competition for the planning of the new project. The competition program calls for "housing for all population groups". In addition to apartments, services such as a primary school, a kindergarten and a pre-kindergarten. Playgrounds and a retirement home are also to be built. The Bern architecture office of Lienhard&Strasser wins the competition.

In line with the postulate of 1954, the city leases a part of the Tscharnergut site for 99 years to three non-profit construction companies. In exchange for the favorable mortgages, the city receives the right to use fifteen percent of the apartments for social housing.

#### 1958-1966

In the late 1950s the Tscharner-

#### 1962

The neighborhood's own newspaper "Der Wulchechratzer" (The skyscraper) is published for the first time. It still exists today and is published once a month.

#### 1962

In November 1962 the new elementary school building Tscharnergut with fourteen classrooms is inaugurated.

#### 1963

For the first time the "Tscharnifest", a large neighborhood block party, takes place. The whole population, women, men and children, all groups and associations participate.

#### 1964

The first generation children become teenagers and so there are new problems to solve. The need for separate rooms for this age group emerges.

#### 1964

The library on the Tscharnergut area is the most used library in the city of Berne.

#### 1968

The "Zyschtigclub" (Tuesday Club) is founded as a meeting place for pupils and the first disco events with up to 450 young people from all over the city are organized. During the next twenty years these events were an integral part of the community center's program.

#### 1970

Extension of the community center begins in order to meet the new requirements of a café and a room for a youth disco.

#### 1989

The women living in Tscharnergut found Switzerland's first mother's centre (MÜZE) as a self-governing meeting place for women and children.

#### 1994

The green outdoor spaces of the Tscharnergut are classified as an "exterior space of interest" for monument conservation and included in the building inventory of the city of Berne.

#### 2003

gut estate is built in the west of Berne. The quarter is a typical housing estate of its time and the first large housing estate in Berne to be designed for 5'000 residents.

#### 1966

A committee for youth issues is established.

Coop Switzerland (a grocery store) closes its branch in Tscharnergut due to rationalization.

**2004** A new grocery store opened.

#### 2017

The Fambau cooperative wants to demolish and rebuild an apartment block in the Tscharnergut housing estate. A renovation is not considered economically viable. Experts and conservationists have a different view and prevent a demolition.

#### 2018

Refurbishment of two buildings by the architects Rolf Mühlethaler and office Matti Ragaz Hitz. Due to changing needs, some 3.5 room apartments were converted into larger apartments. As a result, the proportion of apartments falls from 1208 at the time of construction to 1186 in 2018.

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### Metropolitan Naples



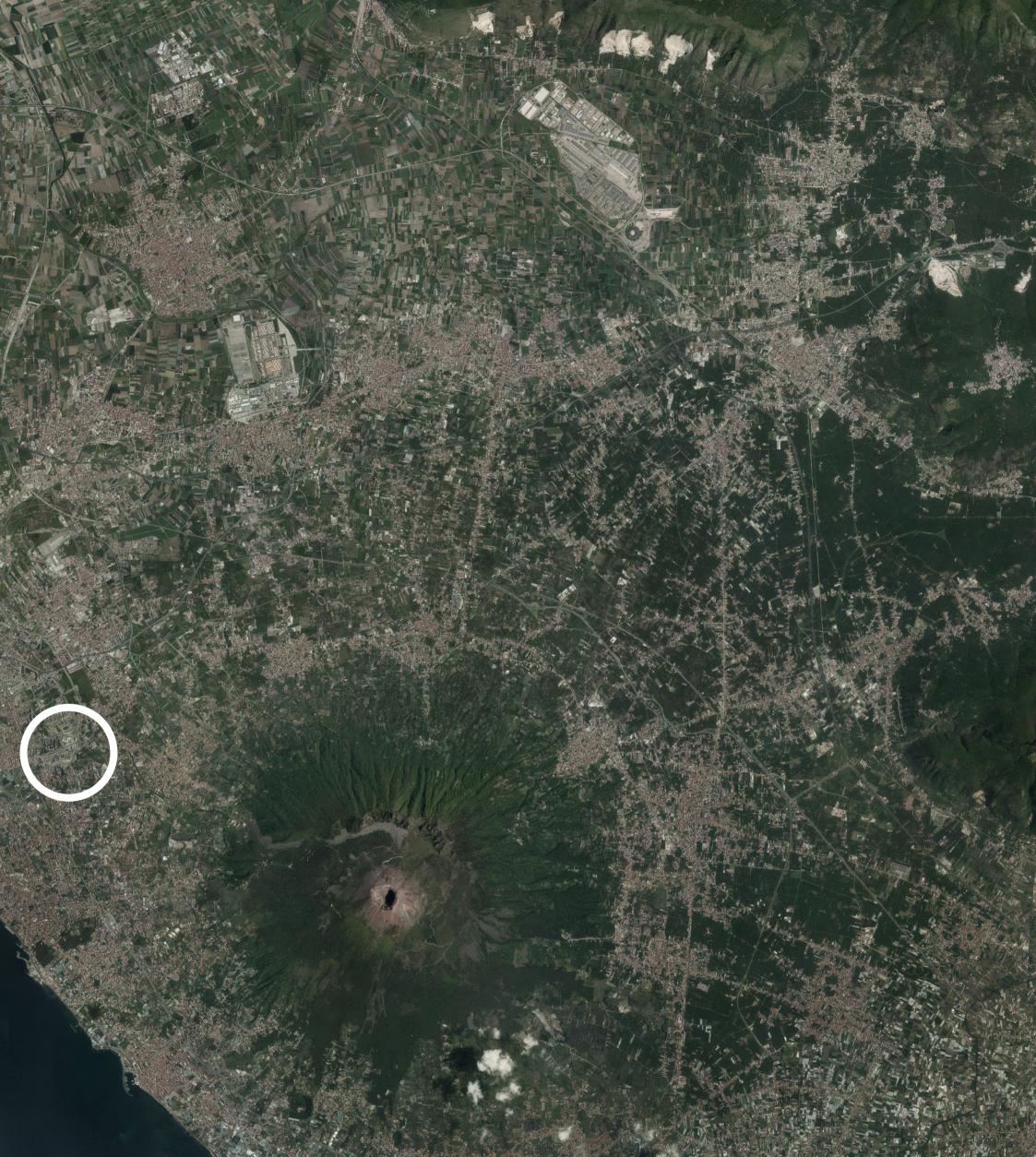


Photo courtesy of Regione Campania

# Ponticell



D.S.



Photo courtesy of Regione Campania

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### Lotto O Naples, Italy, 1985-1987

No of units/inhabitants Ownership Organisation form Urban context Overall spatial typology Functions Citizen diversity Official main challenges	<ul> <li>1084 units / 4000 inhabitants</li> <li>City of Napoli</li> <li>Municipal rental housing</li> <li>Part of post-earthquake consolidated periphery</li> <li>Apartment blocks</li> <li>Apartments; parking lots; school (kindergarden, elementary and primary); open spaces; church with small sport facility and playground; healthcare facility for drug addiction; few shops; storage rooms; abandoned/incomplete public buildings</li> <li>Italians and a low number of immigrants. Local low income groups</li> <li>Poverty, unemployment, crime, squatting, social and spatial segregation</li> </ul>
Apartment Sizes	Type A / 45 sqm / 1 bedroom, 1 bathroom Type B / 65/70 sqm / 2 bedrooms, 1 bathroom Type C / 75/85 sqm / 2 bedrooms, 1,5 bathrooms Type D / 85/90 sqm / 3 bedrooms, 1,5 bathrooms Type E / 110/115 sqm / 4 bedrooms, 2 bathrooms
Building Types	Building P1-P2: condominium; industrialized technological system with structural concrete walls Building P3: condominium, industrialized technological system with concrete beams and pillars Building L1-L2-L3-L4-L5: condominium, industrialized technological system with structural concrete walls
Surfaces	Total area surface: 145.000 sgm

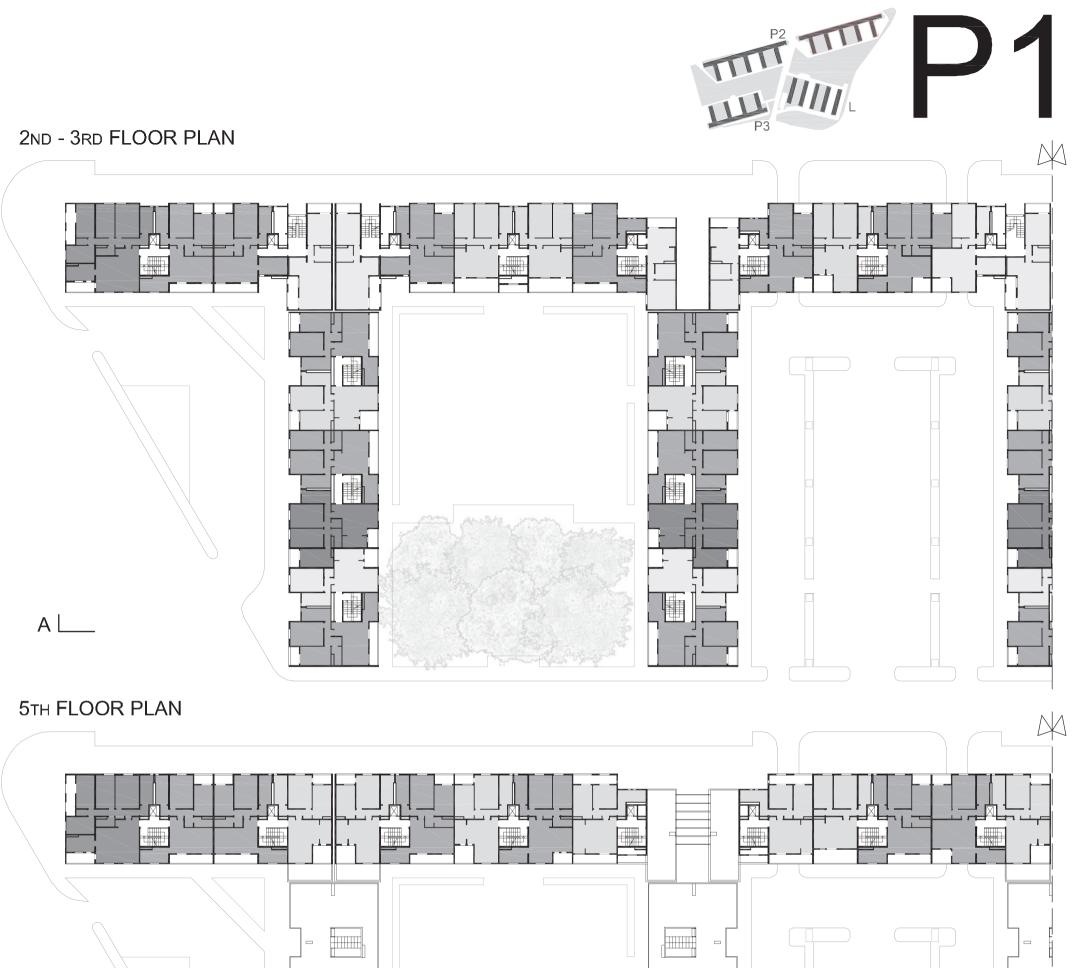
Tace: 145,000 sqm

Overbuilt area: 37,000 sqm Open spaces: 108,000 sqm Gross floor area: 97,000 sqm



Photo © Cristina Ferraiuolo

2ND - 3RD FLOOR PLAN





SECTION AA

ΑL



P2 111 P3 P3

**3**,4,5

FLATS A

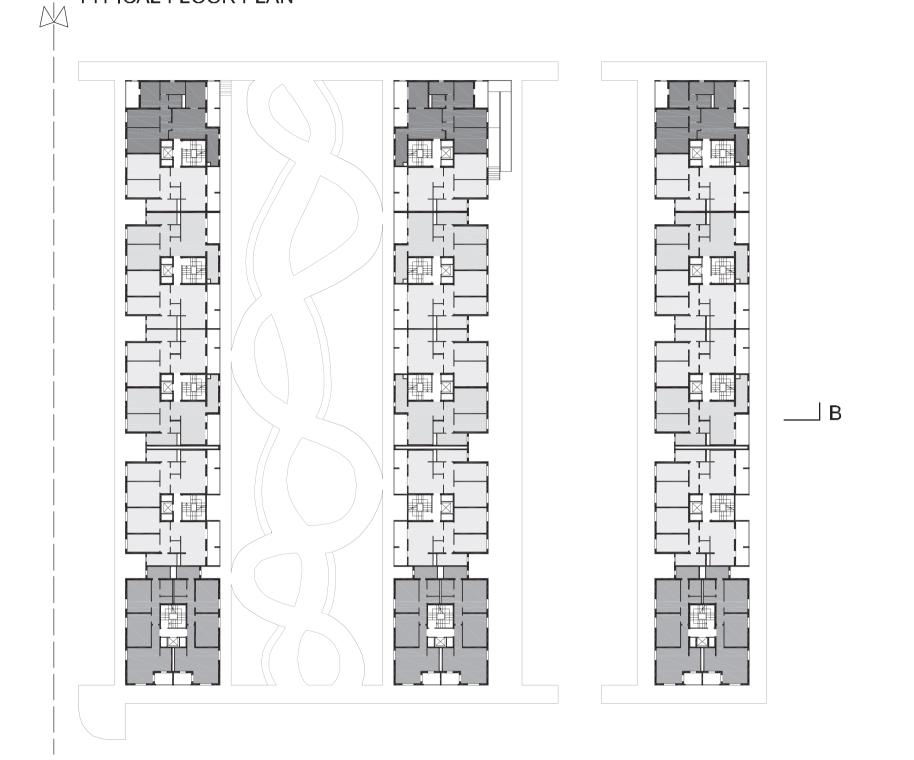
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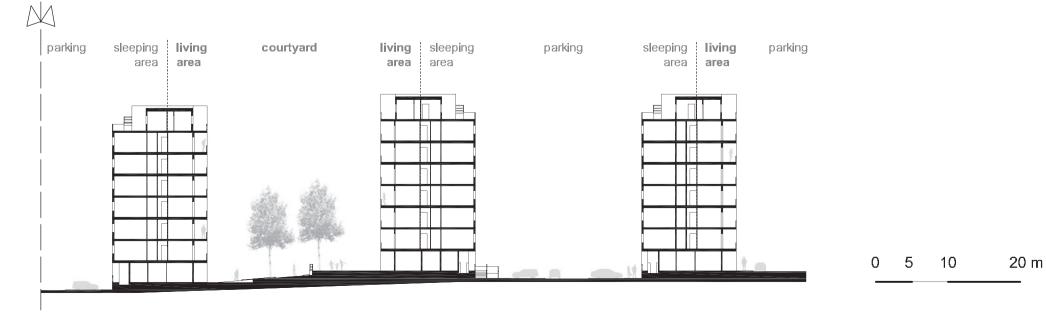
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TYPICAL FLOOR PLAN



Re-elaboration from the Redevelopment Plan of Lotto O (Regional Law n.7245/2001) by courtesy of Municipality of Naples

## Publicness and Informality

The notion of informality is based on an implicit divide, created by an authority setting the normative tone and standing in opposition to anything that falls out of its realm, that is non conforming – informal. The legitimacy of a formal authority stems from different sources, for example: a) Planning law (unplanned/spontaneous/illegal land uses); b) Culture (cultural, moral and religious norms); c) Design (unexpected affordances of objects); d) State welfare (formal procedures for public service provision and entitlement). But this is basically an analytical distinction: publicness, as a practical notion, constantly challenges the formal/informal divide. Publicness is about becoming and change – creating inclusive spaces, sharing a common cause, a sense of belonging, safety and recognition whenever an issue perceived as a collective concern sparks a public into being. Publicness is a performance in socio-materiality, not a permanent condition.

## OHO O

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6

E.

Community sport facility
 Community garden
 Gathering spots

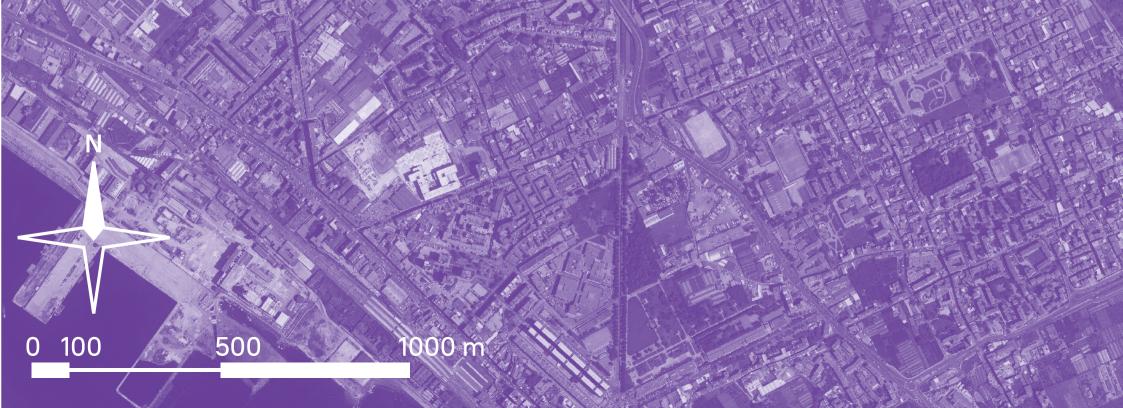




Photo courtesy of Regione Campania

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### otto er

- 3: Gathering spots 4: Informal clubs
- 5: Icons

7

- 6: Planned public spaces
- Non-governmental organizations 7:



5

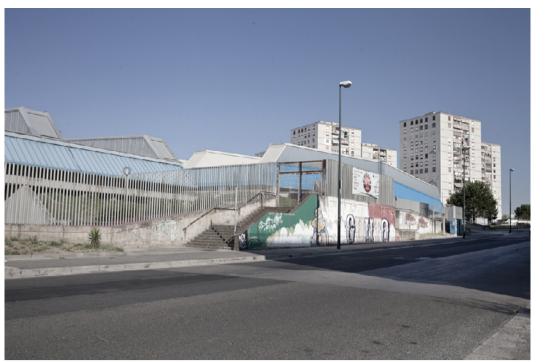


C.C.S. LINE

#### .......................

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Photo courtesy of Regione Campania



The Palavesuvio, the only community sport facility in the area, 2 kms from Lotto O. It has been closed for many years but it is supposed to open again in September (sport facility)



Community garden inside the public park Fratelli De Filippo, 1,5 km from Lotto O. There are around 150 farmers (families, groups, individuals) who adopted a piece of the garden (community garden)



A woman, one of the first inhabitants of Lotto O, opened a recreation club for the community (informal club)



All photos © Cristina Ferraiuolo



The kiosk bar on the corner of Lotto O's entrance owned by a female resident. The owner of the kiosk, her family and other friends sit outside during summer afternoons (informal club)



Lotto O – Inner courtyard with votive shrine (icons)



Ospedale del Mare, the new hospital built in front of Lotto O, with its planned public space (planned public spaces)

## Timeline / Lotto O

#### 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC

First human settlements in Ponticelli date back to the 3rd century BC. 89 Roman tombs were discovered there during Fascism.

#### 804 A.D.

The Neapolitan monks of San Sergio and Bacco bought some farms in the hamlets of Terzio ( the oldest nucleus of Ponticelli), Ponticelli Minore and Maggiore and the Hamlet of Porchiano. Each of these hamlets was independent and with its own receiver or fiscal collector.

#### 917 A.D.

The monks built the first water mill for the grinding of wheat, a second mill was built in 949 and a third in 951. They maintained ownership of the mills for many years, as there were no feudal lords as in the neighboring hamlets.

#### 1497

The administrations of the 4 independent hamlets date back to 1236. Only in 1497 they joined together becoming one single hamlet, Ponticelli. For centuries, this township will be the cornerstone of the east-

#### 1822

A huge flood devastated the area of Somma-Vesuvio (the slopes of the volcano) with serious damage to farmland. King Ferdinando I authorized the construction of a new canal about 4 miles long, called 'Pollena common riverbed'. The canal collected all torrents in the north-western area of Somma-Vesuvio up to the sea. Along the canal Via Argine, the main road connecting Napoli with Ponticelli, was built.

#### End 19<sup>th</sup> century

In Ponticelli, in addition to some acid factories equipped with steam engines, the Amante and Amati plants were established. They produced white lead and minced colors. Also, Antonio Russo's pasta factory, designed by engineer Luigi Campanile, was built there. The presence of mills also favored, in this period, the localization of numerous pasta factories and canneries. With industrial investments came urban growth, and new population settled in, notwithstanding Ponticelli will remain a farming village up to WWII.

#### 1925

The Municipality of Ponticelli is aggregated to that of Naples. By this act the fascist regime aimed to punish the local population, predominantly socialist and communist, depriving it of its autonomy. This is the starting point of the transition of Ponticelli from independent township to urban periphery.

#### 1958

The local government – led by a right wing coalition – adopts a master plan (never implemented) that, for the first time, addresses a public housing strategy in the north-eastern outskirts of Napoli, where Ponticelli is located.

#### 1962

Public Housing Act – Law nr. 167/1962. The national government issues a comprehensive planning law establishing both municipal master plans for public housing and the rules for expropriating private areas for public housing projects. The law fixes compensation values that are lower than market ratings to foster the formation of large public areas to be zoned for public

ern farmland, providing food to the city of Napoli, with its extremely fertile volcanic soil and abundant crops.

#### 1520

Pope Leone X authorized the construction of the first catholic church in Ponticelli, Santa Maria della Neve.



An old view of the farming land of Ponticelli, at the foot of the Vesuvius. / Courtesy of Luigi Verolino – Associazione "Il Quartiere" housing purpose.

#### 1967

The new INCIS neighborhood (a public housing complex not far from Lotto O's actual location) is completed. Ponticelli's population raises to 70.000 residents. The once-agricultural village starts its final transition towards urban periphery.

A new master plan (Piano Regolatore Generale) for the city of Napoli is approved. The plan enforces the Public Housing Act and zones Ponticelli as a new site for public housing projects.

#### 1978

The Italian Parliament approves Law nr. 457 (Ten-year Housing Program Act), establishing the rules to implement the Public Housing Act.

#### 1980

On April 16, the Outskirts Regeneration Plan (Piano per il Recupero delle Periferie) for the historic villages of the metropolitan area of Napoli is approved. The plan combines new housing estates (as established by the Public Housing Act, and designed according to minimum standards introduced in 1968 by the Planning Standards State Decree), and regeneration projects for the historic villages.

On November 23, a catastrophic earthquake makes more than 3500 victims in Campania inner region. Napoli is heavily affected with thousands of homeless families forced to leave their precarious homes in the inner city.

#### 1981

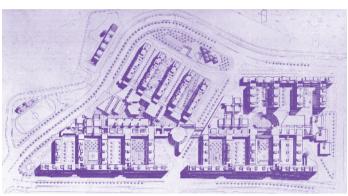
In May, the Italian Parliament approves the Earthquake Reconstruction Act (Law nr. 219/1981). Accordingly, Napoli's local government, led by a left-wing coalition with a Communist Party majority, approves the Emergency Housing Plan to provide new housing for earthquake's survivors. Ponticelli is confirmed as one of the main target areas for new public housing projects.



The official local "Plan for Affordable and Low-income Housing" (P.E.E.P.) approved after the 1980 earthquake. "Lotto O" is at the south border of the new residential area. / Urbanistica Informazioni – Quaderni n.1/1982: "La ricostruzione a Napoli"

#### 1982

After a year of planning and design work in the framework of the Plan for Public Housing (PEEP), in September the first construction sites are opened while the design work will continue for years. Under specific agreements, the municipality is in charge of the design, while groups of private, cooperative or partially public companies, "consorzi di imprese", are in charge of the building phase.



The master plan of "Lotto O". / Urbanistica Informazioni – Quaderni n.1/1982: "La ricostruzione a Napoli"

#### 1983

The Mayor issues a public tender for the allocation of housing estates in all the areas included in the Emergency Housing Plan. 85.000 families apply from all over the city. In the case of Ponticelli, almost 4.000 apartments are made available. The Plan provides a large amount of public facilities (of local and metropolitan scale) to be built around the historic center of Ponticelli.

#### 1983

At the end of the year a phase of political instability for Napoli starts with the collapse of the local Communist Party (PCI) who had been advocating for the Emergency Housing Program.

Urbanization works - sewer, water and road networks - are incorporated into the Emergency Housing Program's budget by the Special Post-earthquake Committee to accelerate the construction of housing estates in Ponticelli.

#### 1985

In the area where Lotto O is actually located, a large Roman villa dating back to the 1st century BC is found. It belonged to Caius Olius Ampliatus, son of a veteran of Silla.



A recent image of the archaeological site of the Roman Villa in "Lotto O". / © Cristina Ferraiuolo

#### 1985

In January, the final list of public housing recipients is approved. By the middle of the following year both the list of evicted people and the list of the inhabitants of the temporary earthquake settlements are approved.

#### 1986

By this year Lotto O – included in the "Ponticelli 167" housing complex – is completed in its main parts (road system and buildings). Families start to flock in and relocate from the inner city.



"Lotto O" during its construction. / Notiziario n.11/1987: "Napoli 1981-1986, una città in trasformazione"

#### End of 1980's

The assignment of several public housing apartments in Ponticelli opens a new business for criminal organizations active in the north-eastern fringe of the city, and often acting as informal brokers contrasting the municipality in the assignment of apartments to families out of legitimate waiting lists. From then on, public projects in the area become a target of criminal organizations and a headquarter of drug traffic.

#### 1993

Direct Election of Mayors Act. After the massive national scandal known as Tangentopoli, sanctioning the end of the 'first republic' in Italy, a new law allows direct election of Mayors. The mayors elected in those years in Italian big cities like Napoli – mostly supported by leftwing coalitions – start a new season of urban policies addressing issues of welfare and urban regeneration, with a focus on peripheral neighborhoods.

#### 1994

A new metropolitan-scale sport facility (PalaVesuvio) is open to the public. The facility is close to Lotto O, and has been designed to host major basketball, softball and judo competitions. PalaVesuvio is closed in 2016 for upgrading works to meet new safety standards, and all sport clubs based there are forced to leave. With the exception of Nippon Judo Club, a professional judo team providing free judo classes for young drop-outs from public housing estates in Ponticelli.

#### 1995

"Parco de Filippo", the new park planned for the Ponticelli public housing complex, is inaugurated by the Mayor Bassolino. The park – the 4<sup>th</sup> largest in the city – is located in a plot previously zoned by the post-earthquake Emergency Housing Plan as housing. To make room for the new park, an additional area had been rezoned to complete the housing plan, already including 11 neighborhoods (named after numbers, from 1 to 11): that's the housing estate identified as Lotto 'O'. After a few months, the park is heavily vandalized by local gangs.

#### 1997

The draft version of the Rehabilitation Urban Programme (PRU, Programma di Recupero Urbano) of Ponticelli is approved; the final ver-

#### 1994

The newly elected local government of Napoli starts the adoption process of a new city master plan.

#### sion will be approved in 2003.

December – The Mayor of Naples, Antonio Bassolino, announces the Children City project, a futuristic structure to be localized in Ponticelli's Lotto O, taking inspiration from the Children City (Citè des Enfants) at La Villette in Paris. The Children City, that will include also a planetarium, should replace the former school G. Marino, located in Lotto O.

#### 2000

(July) The museum-lab of the Children City (6.000 square meters) is open to the public with a formal ceremony. It will close at the end of July and in September new works will start. From this moment on, the former G. Marino school, partly demolished to make room for the new Children City project, will be abandoned to ruination and decay.



The abandoned site of the Children City that should have replaced part of the local school. / © Cristina Ferraiuolo

#### 2000

The planetarium is purchased by the City Council for 715 millions liras from a French manufacturer. It has not yet reached its final destination.

#### 2003

The Children City is among the projects financed by Campania Region in the framework of the Urban and Environmental Recovery Plan for peripheral neighborhoods (€ 6.721.308). After many years of abandonment, the site is still in the programs of the local government, at least budget-wise.

#### 2004

The new City Master Plan is approved by the regional government.

#### 2007

Start of restoration works of the Roman Villa of Caius Olius found in Lotto O during the 1980s. The archaeological site is secured with a high concrete wall surrounding the excavation area. The wall also works as Lotto O's southern border, enhancing a sense of isolation and segregation in that part of the neighborhood.

#### 2008

Start of construction works for a new metropolitan-scale health care facility – the 'Sea Hospital' – in Ponticelli, right across Lotto O. The facility, zoned in 2004 City Master Plan, is opened to the public in 2015.

#### 2015

A community garden (Orto sociale) is established in Ponticelli's public park (Parco de Filippo) by an agreement between the City Council and a network of NGO's and public agencies in the health care sector signed in 2014. Through advocacy work and therapeutic programs for opioid-addicts, the community garden is now one of the most vibrant social experiments in the area, and an example of sustainable and inclusive urban agriculture.



A present day image of the community garden in a previously abandoned municipal public park. / © Cristina Ferraiuolo

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Semi-structured interviews conducted with local actors between April 2018 and July 2019.

#### 2001

(March) the project "Naples Theatres", promoting a network of theatres in peripheral neighborhoods, is approved by the City Council. One of them should be located in the museum laboratory of Children City in Lotto O. This project is still on hold.





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