

STRUCTURING NEIGHBORHOOD SPACE

AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PRODUCTION OF
NEIGHBORHOOD SPACE AS PLANNED, PRACTICED, AND
LIVED IN POST-INDUSTRIAL NORWAY

by

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I

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Daily life has subsumed a multiplicity of city environs and appropriated urban space as the stage for everyday life while global forces have reciprocally subsumed the city as an economic space for the investment of accumulated capital and restructured urban space as a global phenomenon. On the one hand, daily life has expanded beyond the traditional conceptualization of nearness and appropriated the city as an everyday space. And on the other hand, capitalism has expropriated the city as part of the global market and altered the space in which everyday life is practiced. The relationship between these two polarization of urban space is the focus of this inquiry. The research specifically explores the subject of neighborhood as situated within this paradoxical dualism, analyzing the production of neighborhood space as informed by urban development and daily life.

The research examines the social forces structuring contemporary neighborhood space, specifically, asking how development practices produce neighborhood space as an architectural phenomenon and conversely, asking how daily life appropriates the physical space of nearness as an everyday phenomenon and structures the identity of place. As daily life continues to expand beyond the neighborhood and global markets continue to produce urban form, how is neighborhood space structured?

The question is purposefully structured as a dualism to reflect the structuralism of global society and the agency of everyday life. The research examines urban space as both created by the capitalistic processes operating on the city and by the people living everyday life within the city.

The remaining portions of this chapter broadly contextualize the research. The first section contextualize the concept of neighborhood in relation to urban development and everyday life. The second section discusses the justification for the inquiry. The third section introduces the theoretical frame for the research and summarizes the empirical structure of the inquiry. The fourth section briefly reviews the results. The fifth section discusses the contributions and implications of the research findings in brief.

SPACE AND PLACE

In the broadest sense, the planned neighborhood exists as a dualism; it is both structured through the making of place and the sensing of place. Neighborhood is both made through the practice urban development and sensed through the practice of daily life. This duality of neighborhood practice pertaining to urban development and everyday life is contextualized in the following sections. The first section situates neighborhood development and the 'making of place' in the context of global capitalism while the second section situates neighborhood identity and the 'sensing of place' in the context of everyday life.

URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Urban development is in many regards a product of capitalism. It is the literal manifestation of accumulated capital, invested in place. In contemporary society urban development operates within a global space significantly informed by ideology of neoliberalism and spatial logic of the network society. These two concepts characterize the predominant societal forces operating on urban space. Much of the work developed by David Harvey, the geographer and political economist, has made the implicit capitalistic forces operating on urban space more explicit. In the context of post-modernism and neoliberalism he has characterized urban space as a capitalistic construct (1989; 2005). Much of the work produced by Manuel Castells, the sociologist and network theorist, has made the implicit forces of capitalism and information and communication technology operating on urban space more explicit. In the context of an emergent informational economy, he has characterized urban space as fundamentally a networked phenomenon. These two authors and their respective works are discussed in relation to urban development and neighborhood planning in the following section.

NEOLIBERAL URBAN DEVELOPMENT

In general urban development operates within a neoliberal paradigm that is based upon the notion of a free and open market unencumbered by government regulation. The economic philosophy of neoliberalism argues that the competitive nature of an open market yields an efficiency distinguished from the institutional bureaucracy of government and municipal planning. In this context urban redevelopment is realized through individual projects that operate within a for-profit model. The notion of comprehensive planning is distinguished from the project approach and discouraged as a cumbersome

imposition on free market function. Municipal governments are discouraged from participating in the speculative markets of development. Neoliberal advocates and proponents argue for the reduction of government regulation in urban development.

With the dissolution of government regulation, cities emerge as investment opportunities for private capital. For Rubin cities and by extension urban development represent a critical space for the realization of neoliberalism.

Cities serve as key sites in the pursuit of economic restructuring and capital accumulation, and are primary loci for implementing new policy regimes that support such endeavors. Governance of the neoliberal city is often entrepreneurial. (144)

Within a neoliberalism paradigm urban governance adopts an entrepreneurial ethos and promotes urban development as economic opportunities for capital investment. The physical restructuring of the urban environment represents the literal manifestation of a neoliberal capitalism in local place.

And while neoliberalism represents the dominant economic philosophy within global capitalism, it responds to each place, each circumstance differently. As Rubin state "neoliberalism is not found in a pure form; rather, it comes to exist as variations on a theme. It is not imposed on places, or economies, or political units, everywhere or at every scale in the same way" (144). For Rubin urban redevelopment within neoliberal context exhibits unique qualities in place. While the economic context surrounding neoliberal urban development are similar, the spatial and material manifestations are uniquely realized in each cultural context. For him, neoliberalism is an economic philosophy that responds to place.

Others have maintained that neoliberalism and global capitalism create a ubiquitous urban form that is repetitive in nature and devoid of any expression that relates to place. In global society urban development is increasingly structured through the standardization of the development industry. In this light urban development represents a homogeneity associated with a global processes. Such development represents an imposition of meaning inflicted upon local place. However, this notion of a lost place and the imposition of an externally generated inauthentic rendition of place is not unique to neoliberal urban development. It emerged in the 70s as a critical evaluation of modernism

and the proliferation of the universal style. Camillo Sitte famously wrote about the loss of place towards the end of the nineteenth century. With the emergence of postmodernism geographers and architects debated the fundamental nature of place and wrote about the loss of place (Casey; Tuan; Relph). Concurrently environmental designers promoted procedural models for the preservation of local place and attempted to instill the vernacular qualities into the articulation of authentic place (Frampton; Hough; Norberg-Schulz). Other advocates for local place promoted a participatory process of planning in response to the external forces operating on the city. Through a collaborative process local community groups identify appropriate planning measures to be integrated into the urban development scheme and thus preserve the distinction of place (Forester; Healey; Hester 2006). In more recent times others have described the emergence of a homogeneous non-places (Augé). In most cases, urban development is regarded as an imposition on local place that is informed by private capital operating on the city as an investment opportunity.

In the twenty first century capitalism continues to transform urban space. The global flow of capital operating within a neoliberalism paradigm continues to inform urban development and structure the everyday space of the city.

NETWORK SOCIETY

Contemporary urban redevelopment operates within a highly connective space that is ever reflective of the informational economy and the network society. Castells develops one of the preeminent models for contemporary society (1996; 1997; 2000). He illuminates the dynamic flowing nature of global capitalism and directly implicates communication and information technologies and mobility in general as a key structural factors shaping contemporary society. He depicts an informational communication network through which capitalism operates on urban space and urban development. According to Hubbard, Castells' "notion of flow has offered a valuable corrective to sedentary, static and bounded notions of urban process, instead positing that cities are characterized and defined by the flows that pass through them" (75) rather than the socio-cultural milieu placed within them.

Castells defines urban space as a global space. It is a mobile dynamic space in which "social meaning evaporates from places, and therefore from society, and becomes diluted and diffused in the reconstructed logic of a space of flows" (1989, 348-9). Accordingly, each city operating within the global network of

capital ceases to be a place. Urban space is as Urry asserts a mobile phenomenon. Meaning is imposed upon urban space through the dominant processes associated with the space of flows. Urban space is expropriated by the powerful for the promotion of capital gains.

Within the network society the global processes of capitalism operate on urban space through the flows of information. Cities are situated within the multiplicity of networks stretched out across the global. Cities are not the distinct isolated geographies; they are nodes in a global system of commerce based on interconnection and change. According to Hubbard, place is annihilated by space.

One implication of Castells' 'space of flows' idea is that 'local' ways of life are being undermined by the logic of global capital accumulation as place is annihilated by space. In his summation, this means that the world of places – consisting of bounded and meaningful places such as home, city, region, or nation-state – is being superseded by spaces characterized by circulation, velocity and flow. (75)

The mobility practices associated with the network society dominate the space of place. The dynamic logic of capital flows through and informs urban space.

In the network society industries operate within and respond to a global network of information. As traditional industries emigrate from the westernized urban centers for cheaper labor markets, the local economy shifts from a traditional industrial base to a new post-industrial base founded upon knowledge and information rather than resource extraction and the production of things. This economic transformation may be characterized as the service economy, the creative economy, the innovative economy, or the experience economy – all of which operate within the network society and rely upon information.

As industries leave western society for cheaper labor markets, cities are left to compete for global capital, foster new economies, and restructure former industrial lands within the neoliberal network society. When competing for private capital municipalities present under-valued land as profitable opportunities for urban development and minimize regulatory constraints often associated with development.

Cities attempt to stimulate new economies based on information and recruit private investment by structuring profitable economic opportunities. As Rubin asserts, "extracting exchange value from an under-utilized waterfront requires

attracting new flows of capital. This capital, in turn, is used in the production of a new built environment ... that becomes fixed in place for years" (146). Within a neoliberal context municipals appeal to private capital to develop new economic opportunities and new markets. And within the network society, these economic opportunities structured by local municipalities operate within global market rich with information.

Urban development represents an opportunity to foster new economies and restructure the city image. Through development many municipalities promote culture as a means of distinction, stimulate local business opportunities, and finance prominent sporting venues to enhance city image, increase local tax base, generate revenue, and attract investment (Loftman and Nevin 76). The notion of culture is used as a means of distinction to separate the city from a homogeneous global space and develop urban identities that are reflective of place (Young). Urban development transforms the identity of the city and promotes the city as an engaging and distinct social space with new cultural experiences. The urban environment is manipulated as a symbol to communicate a specific identity and recreate the image of the city.

Urban redevelopment also represents an opportunity to recruit a highly educated labor force, a new human capital. Certain city images and certain configurations of urban form and function appeal to specific groups such as the creative class (Florida). In speaking about the transformation of urban space Madanipour offers a compelling summary of urban redevelopment that relates directly to the concept of neighborhood.

The changing urban economic base, the availability of finance, the changing scale of the development industry and the preference of the land and property markets for the segregation of land uses and the stratification of the urban space are all leading to the development of large-scale segregated areas, as expressed in the shape of urban neighborhoods. (181)

The neighborhood remains a prevalent concept within urban development. Within the context of neoliberalism and the network society the planned neighborhood remains as a significant means of structuring urban space.

Any inquiry into the making of contemporary neighborhood space must acknowledge neoliberalism as a structural force and situate the concept of neighborhood in relation to the network society and the rise of an informational economy. However, while capitalism influences urban development and informs the economic space of the city, the cultural aspects of urban space are not solely produced through urban development. Urban space is concurrently experienced and generated through the practice of daily life. While contemporary redevelopment must be situated within the greater societal processes of global capitalism, neoliberalism, and the space of flows, the notion of place must also be contextualized within the experiential field of human agency and everyday life.

EVERYDAY LIFE

In contemporary society daily life is characterized as an increasingly mobile phenomenon operating in a multiplicity of spaces associated with the network society. Daily life subsumes a multiplicity of city environs and appropriates urban space as the stage for everyday life. On the one hand, everyday life is mundane and repetitive and characterized as feeble and vulnerable to the dominant processes associated with globalism, capitalism, and consumerism. The expansion of daily life is viewed as antithetical to the notion of community and the identity of place. And on the other hand, everyday life is revolutionary and spontaneous and characterized as an liberating practice in opposition to the hegemony of the dominant. The expansion of everyday life represents an empowering process through which identity, community, and place proliferate.

The tension between mobility and place, self and society, and even agency and structuralism has been a common subject of inquiry since the industrial revolution and the compression of time and space through the advancement of transportation and communication technology. Since the eighteenth century the traditional sense of community has been pitted against industrialization, modernity, and the expansion of daily life (Cooley; Simmel; Tönnies). Prior to the development of modern society and the compression of time and space, the space of nearness was largely based upon local place and the social interactions therein. Local place was defined as a communal space held in common by people dwelling in nearness to one another. The increase in mobility practice altered the social space of nearness.

In contemporary society the tension between mobility and place remains. Scholars claim that community has diminished as a direct result of an expanded mobility practice. Society is increasingly characterized as a private social practice with limited social engagement (Putnam; Sennett). As a private space isolated from social others the automobile has been characterized as detrimental to social life and the social intersubjectivity of everyday life (Appleyard; Gehl; Jacobs 1993). Contrastingly, others have noted the social qualities associated with the automobile and characterized the mobile practice as an empowering everyday practice rich with identity.

Other scholars claim that community and by extension, place, proliferate with the expansion of daily life (Cresswell 2006; Jensen 2006; Madanipour; Marling; Massey; Wellman 1999). With an active depiction of human agency individuals appropriate an increased mobility practice as an empowering process through which identities are formulated and place proliferates. Jensen conceptualizes "the everyday level of flow and mobility in the midst of an intellectual climate dominated by grand theories of networks and globalization" as potentially empowering for the individual; he connects "the global flows to the everyday level of social practice" in a progressive and empowering manner (2006, 143). And in so doing, Jensen promotes an understanding of place that addresses "mobility without a moral pre-judgement" and moves to a "third position ... beyond the sedentary and nomad metaphysics" of place (2006, 143). Jensen suggests that mobility is not detrimental to cultural practice; mobility is in fact "movement that produces cultures" (2006, 154). Moving beyond the dualism of space and place, he describes mobility as a complex social practice that must be modeled with more complexity.

We must rid ourselves of pre-understandings of mobility as a simple and rational activity that merely can be technically optimized. Only by understanding the important role of mobilities in creating new relations to our consociates and the physical environment, can we hope to start comprehending the way circulation shapes and moulds flows of meaning and cultures of movements. (2009, 155)

Mobility is an experience that should not be subsumed by the rationality of transportation engineer or a reductionist dualism of fixity and flow. Jensen encourages an understanding of the city and urban space as a dynamic relational

process that is directly dependent upon mobility. However, even with an empowering progressive depiction of human agency, an expansive everyday life still diminishes the space of nearness and the neighborhood as an everyday space. As everyday life extends beyond the home and the space of nearness, what remains of the neighborhood?

The daily mobility practices associated with contemporary everyday life alter the social meaning of the neighborhood. People increasingly occupy a greater spatial extent disassociated with the neighborhood and spend an increasing amount of time in transit away from home. As daily life expands across the greater metropolitan area, the city becomes an everyday space and the neighborhood diminishes as socially intimate place. Even though the neighborhood exhibits less social intersubjectivity, it remains as a meaningful individuated space based on self identity (Wellman 1999). The neighborhood remains as an extension of private domestic space for the practice of an individuated social practice.

Any inquiry into contemporary urban redevelopment and the appropriation of neighborhood space must then acknowledge the shifting social significance of the neighborhood in relation to everyday life. The investigation examines the social qualities of neighborhood space as informed by the societal processes operating on urban development as well as the individual practices of everyday life.

RATIONALE

The investigation into contemporary neighborhood space is worthwhile in several regards. Firstly, the inquiry develops a detailed understanding of nearness in relation to urban redevelopment and the physical structures of urban design. It develops an understanding of place that relates everyday life to urban design. The inquiry is valuable for environmental designers and social scientists focused on the particulars of urban space. Secondly, the inquiry develops a greater understanding of urban redevelopment – the conversion of existing urban lands and investment of capital – as a significant contribution shaping contemporary urban space. Many western cities are redeveloping large areas left vacant by industry and restructuring urban space on a scale that is unprecedented in the past fifty years. The inquiry examines the social ramifications of a particular redevelopment project and provides a detailed perspective into the new representations of urban space.

An understanding of the space of nearness reveals new cultural developments that relate the global space to local place. As Shields notes:

Changes in the way we understand and live spatially provide clues to how our capitalist world of nation-states is giving way to a unanticipated geopolitics at all scales – a new sense of our relation to our own bodies, own world and the planets as a changing space of distance and difference. (212)

The investigation into neighborhood space develops a detailed understanding of nearness and the spatial practices therein in relation to the societal processes structuring said space. The inquiry yields insights into the social qualities of nearness as manifest in contemporary redevelopment.

Contemporary urban redevelopments represents a significant spatial contribution to existing urban areas. These projects often add tens of thousands of individual dwelling units to existing urban areas. In Rotterdam, Copenhagen, Stockholm, London, Hamburg, Malmo, Barcelona, Lisbon, Paris, Oslo, and New York abandoned industrial lands are reconfigured into new urban districts through massive urban redevelopment projects. While smaller in scale, many cities throughout Norway restructure industrial lands into repetitive residential forms (fig. 1.01 - fig. 1.06). Much of the research pertaining to such developments has emphasized the symbolic nature of the contemporary architectural representations, the identity of the city, the recruitment of new economies, the gentrification and segregation of urban space, and the implications of public private partnerships for the development of public lands. These developments are often discussed in relation to the hegemonic forces of global development and the imposition of meaning onto local place. Very little research has been done on the social aspects of daily life in relation to the physical qualities of these developments.

While much of the research pertaining to these contemporary urban redevelopment schemes has emphasized the symbolism of architecture and the societal implications of an emergent urban space that is simultaneously global, the research has not emphasized the space of nearness or the residential components within these projects. The research has examined these redevelopment projects in relation to the rise of a new urban ethos at the turn of the millennium. The neighborhood, it seems, is an antiquated social construct under represented in the research pertaining to contemporary representations of the urban lifestyle. Other researchers have examined the social implications of an expansive daily

life as a social phenomenon and the prevalence of community but few have examined the physical representation of the urban neighborhood in relation to the space of nearness and urban life. And while the the neighborhood is not as socially prevalent as yesteryear, the space of nearness remains the space through which most urban development is conceived. These developments literally structure the physical space of nearness. These lands represent an opportunity to analyze the ways in which planners engage and develop new residential space in partnership with global capital.

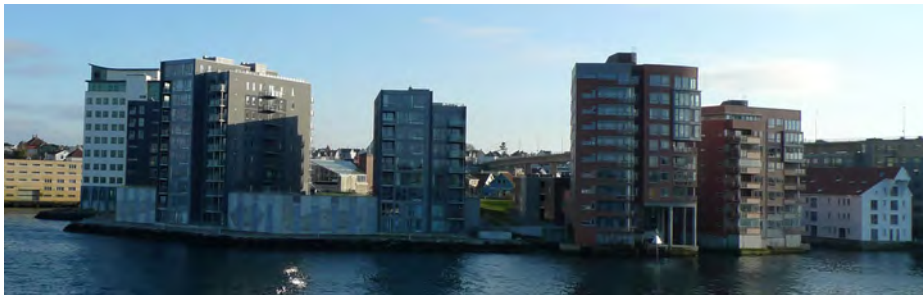
Contemporary urban redevelopment in many western cities is distinguished from previous eras of urban redevelopment in several regards. The urban redevelopment projects that emerged as common practice in the 90s represent a significant addition to the contemporary city that has not be realized since the urban redevelopment constructed during the middle of the twentieth century. These redevelopment projects are distinct from previous eras of urban redevelopment, in that, much of the redevelopment from the 50s and 60s was oriented towards marginalized segments of the population and based on public expenditures while the redevelopment of the 90s was oriented towards a more affluent segment of the population and based on private expenditures. While the modernist redevelopment maintained a Keynesian ethos oriented towards some social ideal of welfare, the post-modern / post-industrial redevelopment maintained a neoliberal ethos based on the free market. While the urban crisis of the 50s and 60s resulted from the emigration of industry from the urban center and the suburbanization of peri-urban lands, the urban crisis of the 80s and 90s resulted from the globalization of industrial production cycles.

FIG 1.01



Drammen, Norway

FIG 1.02



Stavanger, Norway

FIG 1.03



Stavanger, Norway

FIG 1.04



Tromsø, Norway

FIG 1.05



Tønsberg, Norway

FIG 1.06



Sandnes, Norway

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The dissertation is structured in four parts. Part I contains this brief introductory chapter and a detailed discussion about the theories of urban space and everyday life. Part II introduces the theoretical model for the production of neighborhood space and develops the analytical method for the inquiry. Part III presents the results from the inquiry in three chapters. Part IV contains a cohesive discussion about neighborhood space and the conclusion. Each chapter is summarized in the following pages.

II THE CONCEIVED SPACE OF FLOWS

This chapter deals exclusively with the theory of space and develops an extensive discussion about the theories of space in relation to the works of Manuel Castells and Henri Lefebvre. While the inquiry builds upon the ideal type model of the network society developed by Castells and analyzes contemporary urban redevelopment as both a manifestation of the space of flows and space of place, the theoretical frame for the investigation is based upon the work of Henri Lefebvre and his theory for the production of space. These two infamously antagonistic authors and their perspectives on space are presented as an appropriate theoretical frame from which to study neighborhood space.

According to Castells, the logic operating within the networks society and the informational economy destabilizes any traditional localized independent sense of place existing within the sphere of globalism. For Castells global society is a networked system with multiple logistics operating simultaneously and in multiplicity. While his conceptualization of global society makes the implicit forces operating on urban space and urban development more explicit, the model expropriates agency. While Castells does not deny human agency or the power of personal experience he does not examine the implications of the network society in relation to human experience. On the one hand he develops a brilliant model of societal processes affecting urban space. And, on the other hand, he abstracts this societal model as a metaphor for everyday experience without clarification of that actual experience. He assumes a structuralism.

The theory of space developed by Lefebvre is presented as a corrective for the structuralism promoted by Castells. For Lefebvre, the binary operations of Castells are illusions. Such false dualisms maintain a myopic perspective that conceals the true complexity of social space. Space, by its very nature, produces a multitude of identities and spaces. His theory on the production of social

space deconstructs the duality between the abstract and absolute space by interjecting a third differential space. These three moments in the production of space are referred to as the 'perceived-conceived-lived' triad of space; space is first perceived, then conceived, and ultimately, lived as an everyday. The dissertation builds upon the perceived-conceived-lived triad and abstracts the theory as a new tripartite for the production of neighborhood space.

PART II

III THE PRODUCTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD SPACE

This chapter develops the theoretical model for the production of neighborhood space by abstracting Lefebvre's triad as a new tripartite in which neighborhood exists as a corporeal experience of nearness, as an idealized conceptualization of residential space, and as an internalized identity lived in place. As a way of sensing and feeling the neighborhood can be seen as a corporeal phenomenon - the perceived neighborhood is something we experience. As a way of knowing and thinking the neighborhood can be seen as an epistemological phenomenon - the conceived neighborhood is something about which we think. And, as a way of being and dwelling the neighborhood can be seen as an ontological phenomenon - the lived neighborhood is something we inhabit. Within this triad of neighborhood space there are three different but interrelated moments in the production of nearness.

The first section of this chapter is dedicated to the conceived neighborhood and contains a brief history of neighborhood planning as a representation of the dominant societal processes shaping urban neighborhood space. The second section pertains to the perceived neighborhood and perception of the physical neighborhood and the space in nearness. The third section discusses the lived neighborhood as a meaningful phenomenon enacted through everyday life in propinquity to home.

IV AN INQUIRY INTO NEIGHBORHOOD SPACE

This chapter establishes the empirical methods for the investigation into the production of neighborhood space and operationalizes Lefebvre's theory on space as a research method. An exploratory, single, extreme, context-dependent case study based upon multiple methods is argued as an appropriate structure for the inquiry into neighborhood space. Post-industrial redevelopment in general and the redevelopment of Jättåvågen in particular are discussed as an appropriate context for an inquiry into the lived condition of the network society.

The second section in this chapter develops the analytical methods in triplicate with corresponding analyses for each moment in the production of neighborhood space. The inquiry into the conceived neighborhood analyzes the planning discourse associated with the project and characterizes the ideation surrounding Jättåvågen. The inquiry into the perceived neighborhood analyzes the material qualities and physicality of the development and characterizes the resultant urban form of Jättåvågen. And the inquiry into the lived neighborhood analyzes everyday life and characterizes daily mobility practice in relation to neighborhood place and the identity of Jättåvågen. Together the first two analyses represent a broad descriptive analysis of the neighborhood as planned and practiced. These particular analyses are not intended to be as totaling as Foucault or as expansive and imaginative as Derrida. These analyses contextualize the various forces structuring neighborhood planning and characterize the physicality of neighborhood space.

While the analysis is structured as exploratory and revelatory it is not without an empirical structure. The inquiry into the lived neighborhood examines the relationship between daily mobility practice and the appropriation of neighborhood space hypothesizing that access and mobility influence the appropriation of neighborhood space as place. The appropriation of place is the dependent variable and defined as a multi-faceted phenomenon based on place satisfaction, place attachment, and place identity. Daily mobility practice is the independent variable and hypothesized to influence the appropriation of neighborhood place. Through a survey instrument, behavior observation, and interviews the research examines the subtle psychological qualities of place identity as manifest in everyday.

PART III

V JÄTTÅVÅGEN AS A CONCEIVED SPACE

This chapter contextualizes the representations of Jättåvågen as a development area by analyzing three key planning texts. The text analyzed include a report on the site and landscape analysis, a summary catalog of the design competition, and the municipal master plan for the district.

The initial assessment of existing conditions reported in the site and landscape analysis relied upon a historical typomorphology of the urban structure that was based upon the existent visual quality of the area and the surrounding urban

context. This particular analysis remained largely superficial and neglected the deeper societal meanings associated with the development area as a key site for the petroleum industry and the subsequent transformation of Norwegian society.

The summary catalog for the design competition focused primarily on the three winning proposals selected by the design jury. When analyzed as a group, these three proposals represented Jättåvågen as a formal urban district oriented towards the sea. The central area was represented as a grand space for large cultural events and the social spectacles associated with the experience economy. The open space was represented as a network of public landscapes with a diversity of ecological and social qualities. The concepts represented within these three proposals appealed to a wide audience. There was an urban emphasis for the urbanist, an ecological ethos for the environmentalist, a historical emphasis for the cultural landscape preservationist, and of course, a wealth of investment opportunities for the capitalist. Interestingly though, none of the design entries within the catalog represented the quality of everyday life in nearness. Residential space was relegated to the periphery of the district and primarily represented as unarticulated architectural mass.

The municipal master plan for the district represented Jättåvågen as a development opportunity largely oriented towards the informational economy and the recruitment of capital. The commercial specifications within the plan were purposefully vague and obtuse so as to cast a wide net and maximize flexibility and market responsiveness. This approach brought with it a large amount of uncertainty and ambiguity in terms of the quality and character of the commercial space. This ambiguity was augmented through the regulation of floor area ratios, land use designations, and the promotion of an inclusive public landscape network.

The landscape network represented a public ethos which was not to be entrusted to the market. The public space delineated within the master plan was conceived of as a resistive structure that would embody a certain public quality regardless of market circumstances; the landscape network would adapt to the changing nature of the development without compromising the public quality of area. These public lands were described in a variety of ways but all of them promoted some notion of public vitality and social activity.

The master plan ensured the physical delineation of public space but it neglected the socially performative qualities typically associated with public space. The plan was oriented towards the market more than the social quality of public space. In this regard the conceived space of Jättåvågen is more aligned with the space of flows as an economic entity rather than the space of flows as an actual spatial practice associated with everyday life.

VI JÄTTÅVÅGEN AS A PERCEIVED SPACE

This chapter reviews the actuality of Jättåvågen as a perceived space, describing the constructed space of Jättåvågen and reporting the findings of several spatial analyses. The area analyzed corresponds to the first phase of development for the area as outlined in the master plan; the area represents approximately one third of the total planned development.

The descriptive analysis emphasizes the spatial and material qualities of the resultant urban form and establishes a basic understanding of the physicality of the structured neighborhood through four analytical perspectives. Firstly, the architectural structures along the waterfront are qualified according to a basic typomorphological analysis that categorizes the area by land use and architectural type. Secondly, the relationship between architecture and open space is described through the categorization of each building entry according to transit modality and land use type. Thirdly, the predominant surface for all open space is categorized by material type. And fourthly, the prevalence of landscape features are mapped. Together these descriptive analyses characterize the district open space and the intended use for each area.

The architecture along the waterfront is composed primarily of residential buildings that progress from low density single family detached houses in the south to a high density apartment buildings in the north; the buildings range from three to twelve floors in height. Within this area there are approximately five hundred dwelling units and a few large office buildings.

Most of the residential buildings are disassociated from open space and exhibit a fortified architectural aesthetic in which the main entries are disassociated from the street and public space. In fact, none of the residential buildings directly access the main public spaces within the first phase of development. The buildings are either oriented inwards towards an open-air semi-private courtyard or outwards towards the sea.

While access to the district was improved through several key infrastructural projects, Jåttåvågen remains relatively inaccessible. The reconfiguration of adjacent roads and the main entrance for the district integrate the area within the adjacent urban structure; however, these improvements also create an expansive scape for the automobile with little amenity for the pedestrian. The traffic reconfiguration creates an infrastructural space that isolates the train station and separates the district from the adjacent urban context. While Jåttåvågen was represented as an urban district oriented towards the pedestrian and serviced by public transportation, the actual development is largely oriented towards the automobile. And with only one vehicle entry Jåttåvågen exists as a large cul-de-sac with an urban aesthetic on the periphery of Stavanger and Sandnes.

As a constructed space, much of the public space surrounding the immediacy of the residential buildings exists as an austere concrete expanse with few amenities for any sustained experience in place. On the one hand these spaces are open to the public and on the other hand they exist as a territory defined by and associated with private property and hidden within a relatively inaccessible district.

VII JÅTTÅVÅGEN AS A LIVED SPACE

This chapter deals with the individual spatial practice of residents and the meanings associated with the neighborhood as a lived space. Through surveys, interviews, and extensive behavior observations the research reveals the social quality of the lived neighborhood and the factors operating on the formation of place identity. The survey results are reported in two parts; the first part reports the frequencies of the survey results while the second part reports the findings of multiple analyses performed on the data set. These analyses include factor analyses, correlation and covariance analyses, and regression analyses.

For the most part respondents were highly educated Norwegians working in the informational economy and earning an annual income greater than the national or municipal average. According to income and other measured social variables these individuals represent a subset of the greater population and the emergence of the network society in Norway.

Based upon the survey analyses everyday mobility practice is characterized as relatively localized, extending no more than ten kilometers from home. While the great majority of transit modality is characterized as automotive, the mobility practice within the neighborhood is characterized as pedestrian and infrequent.

The spatial practice within the immediate neighborhood was socially and temporally limited as a significant aspect of daily practice and primarily oriented towards practical matters such as the procurement of groceries.

In general survey respondents felt that their daily mobility practice was not a key determinant limiting any sense of community or inhibiting their participation in the local community. However, there was less commonality among respondents in regards to the residential nature and social quality of the neighborhood community; some felt that the neighborhood was primarily a residential place devoid of social intersubjectivity while others felt that the neighborhood was based upon some level of social interaction, albeit it minimally. While the majority of respondents did not report high levels of social interaction with neighbors, many respondents were satisfied with this low sociability; most respondents maintained social networks that were not based on the neighborhood. They were able to practice their daily mobility patterns and live a life as they felt fit.

The predicative regression model for neighborhood satisfaction and place attachment establishes several independent variables as key factors structuring the lived neighborhood. The research establishes the vertical relationship between main residence and the street as a determinant of the lived neighborhood. Respondents living in an apartment on the first or second floor consistently reported less satisfaction in comparison to respondents living above the second floor or on multiple floors within a town house, row house, or single-family detached house.

The research establishes the length of residency as another factor informing the lived neighborhood. Eighteen months emerged as the temporal threshold after which respondents were much more likely to attach to place.

The research also establishes transit modality as a factor influencing the lived neighborhood. Respondents who used the automobile for half of their transit needs consistently exhibited higher levels of satisfaction with the neighborhood when compared to other groups with higher levels of auto-mobility. Other key factors correlated with the lived neighborhood include age and income.

PART IV

VIII THE PRODUCTION OF JÅTTÅVÅGEN

This chapter unites the three broad scopes of analyses into a cohesive narrative of neighborhood space and discusses the significance and implications of the findings in relation to Jåttåvågen, Stavanger, Norway, and urban design.

The production of neighborhood space is developed as a narrative that simultaneously reflects the illusion of neighborhood, the actuality of neighborhood, and the experience of the everyday neighborhood. The narrative fuses the triad of neighborhood space into a cohesive urban space. The conceived neighborhood remains as a normative planning model within urban development. The perceived neighborhood remains as a collection of physical things structured by the development industry and daily life. And the lived neighborhood exists as an individuated space located in an expanding social network.

The perceived neighborhood is discussed as a dualism structured by the spatial practices associated with urban development and daily life. The conceived neighborhood is discussed as an abstract phenomenon distinguished from the actual neighborhood and the actuality of everyday life. The neighborhood exists as an abstract planning concept and as a meaningful phenomenon based on personality identity. The lived neighborhood is discussed as a reflection of the physical neighborhood and by extension the conceived ideation surrounding the neighborhood plan. The lived neighborhood exists as a visual phenomenon associated with the sea and the architectural aesthetic of the development rather than the experiential aspects of everyday life. The ideation of Jåttåvågen as a stylized waterfront development has been appropriated by residents; the ideation of Jåttåvågen has been produced as a product and consumed by those dwelling in place.

The simultaneity of Jåttåvågen as planned, practiced, and lived exemplifies the structural domination of the space of flows. Within each moment in the production of space, the social qualities of neoliberalism and the network society subvert local place and the creative processes of everyday life. It was represented as a market space oriented towards the recruitment of private capital and developed as a commercial area oriented towards the new economy. Jåttåvågen was infused with an urban ethos, sold as a stylized image, and lived as a highly individuated, functional, and visual phenomenon disassociated with social intersubjectivity in nearness. Jåttåvågen exemplifies contemporary urban development operating in the space of flows.

The second section within this chapter discusses the implications of research findings for municipal governance, neighborhood planning, and the public space therein.

While Jättåvågen was transformed into an industrial innovation center in the 70s for the benefit of many Norwegians, it was transformed into a post-industrial innovation center in the 90s for the benefit of many fewer Norwegians. These two transformations of Jättåvågen mark a drastic change in the degree to which government regulates development and participates in market functions. The contemporary developments in Jättåvågen exemplify the rise of neoliberalism in Norway. The research reveals that Jättåvågen exists as an exclusive space, socially disparate and alienated from other segments of society; it exists as a neighborhood constructed by and for the network society.

As the time-space compression enables the proliferation of communities disassociated with the space of nearness, the likelihood of neighborhood community diminishes as an important feature of neighborhood space. Individuals are able to structure social networks independent of the neighborhood. Within this context, a successful neighborhood is primarily a functional entity containing the necessary services needed in daily life.

The social implications of an expanding daily mobility practice for the neighborhood are evident. The social quality of the neighborhood remains uncertain as the space of nearness diminishes as a frequently and meaningfully engaged phenomenon. The diminished social intersubjectivity of neighborhood space present some challenges for urban design and neighborhood planning. As designers we need not structure the neighborhood as a socially interactive space. But clearly we need not abandon the notion of public space or social intersubjectivity as key attributes of the neighborhood.

Urban design functions as an important intermediary in the development process; as a profession it is situated between the global and local. Through an active engagement and participation in urban development, urban designers may help structure neighborhoods as not only functional spaces for the procurement of daily needs but also socially vibrant spaces for the greater urban realm. We need not infuse the values of community into the notion of neighborhood but we may integrate the neighborhood into the greater city and structure the space of nearness as a dynamic and accessible space for the general public.

IX CONCLUSION

Unfortunate or not, the majority of daily life does not take place in nearness to home. Everyday life manifests at multiple scales across the city. The expansion of daily life alters the social quality of urban space and the neighborhood in particular. And while the social intersubjectivity between neighbors is less prevalent, neighbors and neighborhoods remain relevant as key planning concepts. Global society is predominantly an urban space. Urban development continues to construct neighborhoods and people continue to dwell in nearness.

The research generates a detailed understanding of a particular place that is representative of network society and associated social fragmentation. As cities strive to differentiate themselves in an increasingly competitive global market, the planned neighborhood emerges as a differentiated space. With the increasing social fragmentation of the network society perhaps the planned neighborhood ought to be less differentiated. While neighborhood space is traditionally a bounded semi-private space ever dependent on differentiation, perhaps municipals should structure the neighborhood as an integrative space. As daily life appropriates the city as an everyday space, perhaps neighborhoods may appropriate the city and deconstruct spatial boundaries and social differentiation.

The neighborhood remains an important space between home and the city; it is an entry point into the greater urban landscape and by extension the network society. While the neighborhood is less communally defined as perhaps it once was, it remains an important space; the neighborhood represents as a way of being in the world. The world is primarily an urban phenomenon and as such, the majority of people are dwelling in nearness with other selves more than ever before in human history. Global society is by majority an urban phenomenon. The neighborhood is the beginning and end of every day. It remains part of our urban ecological setting, our urban habitat.

While the time-space compression and daily mobility practice reduce the social quality of the neighborhood, the space near to home remains as an everyday universal condition from which we first encounter public space. We need not promote some notion of place-based community or attempt to restore some lost sense of domestic social life. But we need not abandon social life as a design value in the neighborhood or refrain from creating public space in nearness. Perhaps the social qualities of neighborhood public space ought to change.

As daily life expands beyond the space of nearness, the neighborhood and the space of nearness reside somewhere between the polarized concepts of refuge and prospect; it provides refuge from a tumultuous and stressful urban lifestyle but it also provides prospect for a vibrant and dynamic urban lifestyle. As cities remake themselves as more livable and infuse a sense of refuge into the prospect of urban space, perhaps it is time for the neighborhood to finally embrace the city and infuse a greater sense of prospect into the refuge of nearness.

II

THE CONCEIVED SPACE OF FLOWS

The network society is an ideal type model established by Castells specific to the influences of information and communication technologies on society in general. As an ideal type model it is not based upon average or promoted as the normal universal condition throughout all of the global world. The network society represents a subset of society, albeit an the hegemonic and power subset, and is not inclusive but rather exclusive of many other social spaces or societies.

For this particular inquiry into the structuring of neighborhood space the model establishes the main societal forces operating on urban space in general and neighborhood redevelopment in particular. It is from this perspective that the model is helpful. However, the ideal type model, it is argued, does not adequately model the personal experience of those living within the network society. While Castells does not deny human agency or the power of personal experience he does not examine the implications of the network society in relation to human experience.

An investigation into the structuring of contemporary neighborhood space must reflect the broad societal characteristics described within the network society but the network society as a model can not be used for any investigation into the lived experience of everyday life. Lefebvre and his theory for the production of space is thus presented as a more comprehensive understanding of urban space that acknowledges the dominant forces of society while celebrating agency and the lived experience.

However the combination of Castells and Lefebvre is wrought with complexity. The two authors infamously challenge each other and passionately disagreed on the subject of space. In an effort to reconcile these differences two points are discussed. Firstly, Lefebvre's theory on the production of space must be contextualized within the 'spatial turn' at the end of the 60s and the beginning of the 70s. His theory on space which was simultaneously developed along side Foucault's heterotopia must be situated at the end of modernism and the dawn of post-modernism when women, immigrants, and other marginalized segments of society challenged the status quo and demanded change. Their works along

with many others challenged history as a singular reading, rejected the rational homogeneity of society and embraced the complexity of a heterogeneous space. While Castells disagreed with Lefebvre in terms of the politic of space, he most assuredly agreed with and acknowledged the importance of his work in deconstructing the singularity of space.

Secondly, the two prolific authors approached space from different ends and for different reasons. As a student of Lefebvre's Castells challenged the autonomy of urban space and thoroughly presented the failures of social science to comprehensively examine, analyze and understand the true notion of urbanity in relation to external forces of capitalism. In the network society Castells maintains a similar message; zooming out from urban space into global space he illuminates many societal processes operating on space. Since the 70s he has emphasized the societal rather than the personal. Contrastingly, Lefebvre promotes a theory of space that subverts any duality between social and natural science and promotes a theory of space that is as much based upon societal force as it is on the lived experience of the individual. Lefebvre is a master of deconstructing and questioning. As Castells states, Lefebvre is "always accurate, brilliant, in knowing how to detect new sources of contradictions" and deconstructing through a constant questioning (1977, 93).

The three main sections in this chapter critically review Castells' network society and the implications for urban redevelopment, discuss Lefebvre's theory for the production of space as a corrective for Castellian space, and present the combination of these two seemingly antagonistic authors as an appropriate model for the understanding of contemporary urban space. Due to the complexity of the topic of space and the opaque style which Castells and Lefebvre produce in prose, the following discussion of their particular concepts and theories of space is aided by several extensive quotes.

THE NETWORK SOCIETY

Castells presents the 'network society' as an ideal type sociological model specific to the global processes of information technology and the manifestation of and influence on space. He describes the economic transformations associated with these developments:

A new economy has emerged in the last two decades on a worldwide scale. I call it informational and global to identify its fundamental

distinctive features and to emphasize their intertwining. It is 'informational' because the productivity and competitiveness of units or agents in this economy (be it firms, regions, or nations) fundamentally depend upon their capacity to generate, process, and apply efficiently knowledge-based information. It is 'global' because the core activities of production, consumption, and circulation, as well as their components (capital, labor, raw materials, management, information, technology, markets) are organized on a global space, either directly or through a network of linkages between economic agents. It is informational 'and' global because, under the new historical conditions, productivity is generated through and competition is played out in a global network of interaction. (1996, 66)

Castells analyzes information technology as a global dynamic and explores the notion of a new societal space as resultant from capitalistic processes; a space he refers to as informational.

The term information society emphasizes the role of information in society. But I argue that information, in its broadest sense ... has been critical in all societies, including medieval Europe ... In contrast [to historical uses of 'information'] the term informational indicates the attribute of a specific form of social organization in which information generation, processing and transmission become the fundamental sources of productivity and power, because of new technological conditions emerging in this historical period. My terminology tries to establish a parallel with the distinction between industry and industrial. An industrial society is not just a society where there is industry, but a society where the social and technological forms of industrial organization permeate all spheres of activity, starting with the dominant activities, located in the economic system and in military technology, and reaching the objects and habits of everyday life. My use of the terms informational society and informational economy attempts a more precise characterization of current transformation, beyond the commonsense observation that information and knowledge are important to our societies. (1996, 21)

Within Castells' informational society information permeates all aspects of a social space, not only economic space. The network or informational society is presented as a powerful process in the social world that relies upon and

manipulates information and knowledge and produces abstract informational products rather than physical things. Although industry and industrial production continue to produce products at the highest volumes ever in human history Castells distinguishes contemporary industrial practice from previous eras by emphasizing the critical importance that information and communication technologies play in the production cycle.

The rise of the informational economy is characterized by the development of a new organizational logic which is related to the current process of technological change It is the convergence and interaction between a new technological paradigm and a new organizational logic that constitutes the historical foundation of the informational economy. However, this organizational logic manifest itself under different forms in various cultural and institutional contexts. (1996,152)

It is these different manifestations in which Castells is interested. They are critically different from previous societal paradigm in that the processes altering this space are not necessarily based upon the geographical boundaries of nation states but rather the informational network itself.

The critical matter is that these different positions do not coincide with countries. They are organized in networks and flows, using the technological infrastructure of the informational economy. (1996, 147)

Within such a network new social distinctions manifest within society; new divisions arise and new class relations emerge along new flowing boundaries disassociated with the traditional boundaries of society. For instance, information and communication technology alter the labor structure of the market.

The newest international division of labor is constructed around four different positions in the informational/global economy: the producers of high value, based on informational labor; the producers of high volume, based on lower-cost labor; the producers of raw materials, based on natural endowments; and the redundant producers, reduced to devalued labor. (1996, 147)

The last three categories may be associated with industrial society but in the network society information processes expose these markets to new, more implicit forces. The first category, the labor associated with the production of

information and the manipulation of it represent a new social class for Castells. The spatial logics of the network society is ever reliant upon information technology and produces new cultural distinctions and inequalities. For Castells:

The structure of this economy is characterized by the combination of an enduring architecture and a variable geometry. The architecture of the global economy features an asymmetrically interdependent world ... increasingly polarized along an axis of opposition between productive, information-rich, affluent areas, and impoverished areas, economically devalued and socially excluded. (1996, 145)

Again, these distinction are not specific to the network society but rather the ways in which these distinctions are being produced and manipulated is unique to the network society in that information and communication technology have transformed the society. And while Castells is centrally concerned with technology he does not promote a technological determinism.

Of course, technology does not determine society. Neither does society script the course of technological change, since many factors ... intervene in the process of scientific discovery, technological innovation, and social applications, so that the final outcome depends on a complex pattern of interaction. Indeed, the dilemma of technological determinism is probably a false problem, since technology is society, and society cannot be understood or represented without its technological tools. (1996, 5)

For Castells, technology and society are tautological; they are inseparable. Society produces technological innovations and technology simultaneously produces society.

For instance, in spite of the decisive role of military funding and markets in fostering early stages of the electronics industry during the 1940s–1960s, the technological blossoming that took place in the early 1970s can be somehow related to the culture of freedom, individual innovation, and entrepreneurialism that grew out of the 1960s culture of American campuses. (1996, 5)

Castells contextualizes the emergence of the computer industry within Silicon Valley as a dualism between the heavily funded military industrial complex and the individualism associated with the profound cultural shift of the 1970s.

Even though Castells maintains the independence of individualism and its influence on societal processes, he also maintains technology as informative of cultural practices.

Because culture is mediated and enacted through communication, cultures themselves, that is our historically produced systems of beliefs and codes, become fundamentally transformed ... by the new technological system. (1996, 328)

The innovations in information and communication technology to which Castells directs his attention profoundly altered societal processes associated with economic processes as well as cultural practices.

Having thoroughly discussed and illustrated the rise of the network society and the profound shifts in the social systems afforded by informational technology, Castells establishes a dualism between the 'space of flows' and the 'space of place' as representation of the antagonistic relationship between the spatial logics of the network society and local place. These two spaces, one of flow and another of fixity, are discussed in more detail below because they are essential concepts for the investigation into the structuring of space.

THE SPACE OF FLOWS

The network society systematically relies upon a space of flows which he qualifies as "a new spatial form characteristic of social practices that dominate and shape the network society" (1996, 412). He continues to qualify these flows as "not just one element of the social organization: they are the expression of processes dominating our economic, political, and symbolic life" (1996, 412). For Castells the space of flows is the societal equivalent to Descartes' ghost in the machine; it expropriates urban space implicitly through the dynamic and flowing logic of a global network of communication and information.

Simply put, the space of flows is the material organization of simultaneous social interaction at a distance by networking communication, with the technological support of telecommunications, interactive communication systems, and fast transportation technologies. (1996, 171)

Society is a networked system with multiple logistics operating simultaneously and in multiplicity. The logic operating within these networks of flow destabilize any traditional sense of a localized independent sense of place operating within

the sphere of globalism. While local place is perhaps lost, place is not lost all together. It is constituted in and by the space of flows. Castells states that "the space of flows is not a placeless place; it does have a territorial configuration related to the nodes of the communication network" (1996, 171).

The spatial articulation of dominant functions does take place ... in the network of interactions made possible by information technology devices. In this network, no place exists by itself, since the positions are defined by flows. Thus, the network of communication is the fundamental spatial configuration: places do not disappear, but their logic and their meaning become absorbed in the network. (1996, 412)

Place as manifest by the space of flows is not based on agency, corporeal experience, or personal memory but rather the intersection of communication technology and infrastructure. For Castells "the global city is not a place, but a process" (1996, 386).

As many traditional industries left the Western world for cheaper labor markets, a process which may be contextualized by the network society and the space of flows, a new economy emerged. With the decline of industrial production in many developed urban areas a new economy oriented towards service and experience, towards culture and innovation emerged. With the emigration of traditional industries the new economy produced information and services based on the logistics of globally interconnected capital.

The rise of the network society also produced abandoned industrial lands in many urbanized area. These lands are subsequently reconfigured through redevelopment schemes. Some lands are conceived as innovation centers for the new economy or as commercial parks for corporate powers. Other lands are conceived as entertainment districts oriented towards large cultural events. Still other lands are conceived as more traditional assemblages of urban space and include a mixture of residential and commercial land uses. Since the redevelopment of Baltimore inner harbor in the 1980s the network society and the space of flows have been operating on and transforming these post-industrial landscapes into new urban configurations.

Most of these conceptualizations are constructed by a global network of finance and produced by international development corporations speculating on under valued lands. These post-industrial development projects are

typically achieved through public-private-partnerships in which international development corporations and transnational banking institutions augment limited public expenditures and transform under used and under valued land into new production centers. However, the benefits from international capital investment are not equally shared between public and private participants and exemplify the disparate manifestations of the space of flows as evidenced in urban development. In 2001 the United Nations - Habitat office reviewed several hundred projects and "concluded that the promoters of multi-billion dollar mega-projects systematically and self-servingly misinform parliaments, the public and the media in order to get construction approval" (2). The findings from the report revealed "an unhealthy cocktail of underestimated costs, overestimated revenues, undervalued environmental impacts and overvalued economic development effects" (2). While the misrepresentation of information for profit is not specific to the network society the ways in which information governs much of contemporary urban development, especially the financial aspects, is uniquely specific to and exemplifies the space of flows. As industries emigrate from urban areas municipalities compete with other municipalities for private capital and attempt to stimulate new economic opportunities by offering under valued land and partnering with private interest to capitalize on the unrealized land value.

Castells' representation of society as ever dependent upon a space of flows is evidenced by the post-industrial redevelopment projects that are operating on and transforming urban space. Since this process of development and the subsequent subservience of place is the subject of this particular inquiry, the notion of place as represented by Castells demands more scrutiny.

THE SPACE OF PLACE

While municipalities respond to inter-city competition and attempt to promote a distinctiveness, they also create socio-political environments conducive for international investment. Cities differentiate themselves from other cities and create distinct socio-political spaces oriented towards the recruitment of capital. The redevelopment of industrial lands in western cities represents such spaces. These lands are typically transformed through an imposition of capital and signify the proliferation of network society and its recruitment of human capital and the development of a post-industrial class.

While such processes of development are associated with the loss of local identity Castells does not maintain the complete loss of place. He qualifies 'place' as a central experiential process by which people live and make sense of the everyday.

The space of flows does not permeate down to the whole realm of human experience in the network society. Indeed, the overwhelming majority of people, in advanced and traditional societies alike, live in places, and so they perceive their space as place-based. A place is a locale whose form, function and meaning are self-contained within the boundaries of physical contiguity. (1996, 423)

And while people continue to live in place, the space of flows continues to operate on and inform societal space and by extension the whole realm of human experience.

People do still live in places. But because function and power in our societies are organized in the space of flows, the structural domination of its logic essentially alters the meaning and dynamic of places ... The dominant tendency is toward a horizon of networked, ahistorical space of flows, aiming at imposing its logic over scattered, segmented places, increasingly unrelated to each other, less and less able to share cultural codes. (1996, 428)

The space of flows produces places devoid of cultural distinction. For Castells the space of flows produces a homogeneous architecture that evokes a placeless quality.

The space of flows is blurring the meaningful relationship between architecture and society. Because the spatial manifestation of the dominant interests takes place around the world, and across cultures, the uprooting of experience, history, and specific culture as the background of meaning is leading to the generalization of ahistorical, acultural architecture. (1996, 418)

The space of flows challenges vernacular organic expressions of architecture. However, the depiction of place as subservient renders individual experience subservient as well. An everyday experience of said architecture is not represented as a possible means of empowerment or identity formulation. Within Castellian space place is dominated by the space of flows and thus by extension, agency is subverted by structuralism. It is to this particular point that many criticize Castells.

The space of flows creates urban space through processes that are spatially and temporally defined by the logics of global capitalism and the advancement of communication and transportation technology. Castells describes two possible results from such an architecture expression.

Architecture and design, because their forms either resist or interpret the abstract materiality of the dominant space of flows, could become essential devices of cultural innovation and intellectual autonomy in the informational society through two main avenues. Either the new architecture builds the palace of the new masters, thus exposing their deformity hidden behind the abstraction of the space of flows; or it roots itself into places, thus into culture, and into people. (1996, 422-423)

In either option the space of flows reigns supreme. The space of place is either expropriated by and for the powerful hegemonic or the space of flows appropriates the space of place and alters culture. Architecture, as the literal representation of power and capital investment, works to perpetuate the network society and produce symbols of its power. As the network society enlist architecture as a messaging device the space of place is subordinated.

When Castells extends his model of societal structure into an architectural space he blurs the boundary of his own polemic distinction between the 'space of flows' and the 'space of place'. In reference to the urban morphology of Barcelona and Irvine as depicted in *Great Streets* (Jacobs 1993) Castells writes that "Irvine is indeed a place, although a special kind of place, where the space of experience shrinks inward toward the home, as the flows take over increasing shares of time and space" (1996, 425). Within the suburban context of Irvine the 'space of experience' shrinks inward toward the home. He implies that the space of flows takes over increasing shares of time and social space but does not describe the meaning of this new inward movement. The experience is simply labeled as inward and shrinking. With an expansive daily mobility practice taking place across real and virtual landscapes the experiential qualities of space expand outward from the self and the home into the public space of transportation infrastructure, telecommunications, and the Internet. The loss of place is not self evident.

The spatial structure of streets, whether it be the urban grid of Barcelona or the sprawling suburbs of Irvine, is a physical network through which people flow

but this is not Castells' space of flows. A suburban street pattern is not a new manifestation dependent upon the tele-communicative nature of the network society or the informational economy.

On the one hand he develops a brilliant model of societal processes affecting urban space. And, on the other hand, he abstracts this societal model as a metaphor for everyday experience without clarification of that actual experience. The spatial-experiential implications of the space of flows as a lived phenomenon is not adequately developed. Castells expands his metaphors of network and flow into the human experience without proper substantiation of the social impact of such a development. He assumes a structuralism.

The network society parallels the ideal type model by the nineteenth century German sociologist Ferdinand Tönnies in that it maintains a dualism between society and community or space of flows and space of place. In each ideal type model the distinction between each end of the dualism is assumed to be resultant from the technological developments associated with the time-space compression, an expanding spatial practice, and the emergence of an increasingly interconnected network of capitalism.

The reductionist dualism of space and place, mobility and fixity or structuralism and agency is common to many ideal types. The oppositional relationship between space and place emerged along side the transformation of daily life associated with industrialization, urbanization, modernization, and the time-space compression. Tönnies described a dualism between traditional communal structures associated with pre-modern civilization and the emergent societal structures associated with industrialization and modernism, *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* respectively. Madanipour distinguishes these two concepts according to the social intersubjectivity therein:

The *gemeinschaft* described the traditional communities which were rooted in particular places, where individuals related to each other through natural will and united through ties of blood and history. This was distinguishable from the *gesellschaft*, the modern societies in which trade and science created groups of individuals who are only related to each other through rational will to achieve certain ends. *Gemeinschaft*, therefore, refers to the organic union of individuals, based on the 'assumption of perfect unity of human wills as an original or natural condition' (Tönnies 37). *Gesellschaft*, on the other hand refers to the voluntary association of individuals for

particular purposes, ... 'the artificial construction of an aggregate of human being' (Tönnies 64). Although in both *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* individuals live together peacefully, ... their difference lies in that in the *Gemeinschaft* individuals 'remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, where as in the *Gesellschaft* they are essentially separated in spite of all united factors' (Tönnies 65). (187)

Industrialization and modern society marked the divergence away from traditional ruralism towards an urban space. Schubert defines *gemeinschaft* "as thick organic unities, characterized by hierarchies, habits, moral orientations, and emotions" and *gesellschaft* as contractual unities "controlled by conventions, laws, and public opinion" (23).

According to Wellman, Tönnies' "vision was part of a particular European debate about the transformation of societies – aristocrats, intellectuals, and parvenus coming to terms with the transformation of once-ordered, hierarchical societies of peasants and landowners, workers, and merchants" (1999, 5). Similarly, Castells' network society explicitly discusses the social transformation of society as informed by technological developments. Tönnies' dualism was "not only an isolated, nostalgic lament for the supposed loss of the mystical pastoral past where happy villagers knew their place" but also an explicit thesis on the social transformations of modern society and changing nature of social control and power (Wellman 1999, 4).

Castell's space of flows represents a particular depiction of *gesellschaft* specific to the twenty-first century in that the ideal type model describes the social transformations associated with the mobile practices and communicative tendencies of the network society but it does not address *gemeinschaft*.

The space of flows assumes a structuralism that must be distinguished from the experience of daily life and agency. Although the space of flows does not permeate down to the whole realm of human experience, the implications of the space of flows as a lived experience in the everyday are not thoroughly developed. Castells' treatment of the experiential aspects of the space of flows as a everyday place is less documented.

By reinforcing the binary operation of space and place Castells ironically promotes a sedentary metaphysics similar to the humanist geographers of the 1970s. From this perspective "place and roots are given vivid moral and ethical resonance over and above more mobile states of existence and forms

of identity" (Cresswell 2004, 11). Castells' space of place is held inferior and subordinate to the space of flows. Place is challenged by an increased mobility practice associated with the space of flows.

For the Chinese American human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, an understanding of place emerges through the kinesthetic experience of space; cultural meaning is layered upon space through motion and place is created as stationary. For Tuan "what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value" (6). While place is formulated in response to and through motion, place exists as a meaningful phenomenon that is "essentially a static concept. If we see the world as process, constantly changing, we would not be able to develop any sense of place" or self understanding (179). According to Tuan's conceptualization of place, the rise of the network society, the space of flows, and a new hyper mobility would indeed subordinate place.

While Tuan's "geographical engagement with phenomenological enquiry rescued the notion of place from oblivion it simultaneously constructed a notion of place which is essentialist and exclusionary, based on nations of rooted authenticity" (Cresswell 2004, 14). The implication of Tuan's depiction of place is that "mobility and movement, insofar as they undermine attachment and commitment, are antithetical to moral worlds" (Cresswell 2004, 13). Castells' space of flows maintains a similar moral stance, depicting the space of flows as a coercive force operating on the morality of local identity.

The space of flows and the network society clearing influence urban space; the validity of the Castellian space is obvious. While the global structures of capitalism have greatly informed local place and have existed as a powerful force informing social practice on multiple levels for centuries, the tele-communicative networks and information technologies greatly increase this trend. However, the implications for agency and the experience of everyday are not adequately reflected within the ideal type. While the model accurately reflects the powerful forces operating on urban space, it does not incorporate an active depiction of human agency. The space of flows cannot obliterate place, nor can capitalism annihilate it.

Lefebvre's model for the production of space yields a less definitive and more encompassing understanding of urban space that does not dwell in duality or reductionist thought. The following section contextualizes Lefebvrian space within the 'spatial turn' and subsequently discusses his theory for the production of space as a more appropriate theoretical model for this particular investigation into urban space.

THE SPATIAL TURN

Just as Castells analyzed the social manifestations of a changing societal space in relation to information technology, Lefebvre examined the social transformations associated with the emergence of postmodernism. Lefebvre's theory for the production of space must be situated within the 'spatial turn' and the social transformations associated with the tumultuous social movements of the late 60s and early 70s. David Harvey contextualizes the time in which Lefebvre developed his theory on space.

It [the city] had been superseded by a process of urbanization or, more generally, of the production of space, that was binding together the global and the local, the city and the country, the centre and the periphery, in new and quite unfamiliar ways. Daily life ... had to be reinterpreted against this background of a changing production of space. (1991, 431)

Lefebvre's theory on the production of space attempted to make sense of the profound social transformations following the second world war and place these transformations in relation to the lived experience of the everyday city.

Similar to the rise of late modernism at the turn of the century and the questioning of social traditions and customs, many social movements questioned if not outright challenged the cultural norms and societal traditions in the 60s and 70s. As Lefebvre stated:

Everything that derives from history and from historical time must undergo a test. Neither 'cultures' nor the 'consciousness' of peoples, groups or even individuals can escape the loss of identity that is now added to all other besetting terrors. Points and systems of reference inherited from the past are in dissolution. Values, whether or not they have been organized into more or less coherent 'systems', crumble and clash. (1991, 416)

Lefebvre did not aim to unify all the crumbles, avoid chaos, or promote cohesion. He wished to acknowledge the transition and recognize all the differences therein.

We may therefore justifiably speak of a transitional period between the mode of production of things in space and the mode of production of space. The production of things was fostered by capitalism and controlled by the bourgeoisie and its political

creation, the state. The production of space brings other things in its train, among them the withering-away of the private ownership of space, and, simultaneously, of the political state that dominates spaces. (1991, 410)

Lefebvre aimed to deconstruct the epistemology surrounding space and demonstrate multiple modes of production operating on and reformulating space. The spatial turn challenged the state and all hegemonic sources of power and promoted the multiplicity of othersness.

The state is consolidating on a world scale. It weighs down on society (on all societies) in full force; it plans and organizes society rationally with the help of knowledge and technology, imposing analogous if not homologous measures irrespective of political ideology historical background, or the class origins of those in power. ... In this same space there are, however, other forces on the boil, because the rationality of the state, of its techniques, plans and programs, provokes opposition. ... state-imposed normality makes permanent transgression inevitable. (1991, 23)

With permanent transgression operating upon the dominant societal space, other spaces must surely arise.

The reproduction of the social relations of production within this space inevitably obeys two tendencies: the dissolution of old relations on the one hand and the generation of new relations on the other. Thus, despite - or rather because of - its negativity, abstract space carries within itself the seeds of a new kind of space. I shall call that new space 'differential space', because, inasmuch as abstract space tends towards homogeneity, towards the elimination of existing differences or peculiarities, a new space cannot be born (produced) unless it accentuates differences. (1991, 52)

And thus for Lefebvre, the binary operations of abstract and absolute space, natural and social science are illusions; "The shifting back and forth between the two, and the flickering or oscillatory effect that it produces, are thus just as important as either of the illusions considered in isolation" (1991, 30). Such false dualism maintains a myopic perspective that conceals the true complexity of social space. Space, by its very nature, produces a multitude of identities.

His work, along with Foucault, opposed such dualisms and celebrated multiplicities. This epistemological shift in understanding space implied by the 'spatial turn' is well articulated by Foucault.

The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein. (22)

The spatial turn symbolizes the rejection of singular narratives or histories and promotes a multiplicity of identities operating in and on space.

As Foucault wrote, "We do not live in a homogeneous and empty space, but on the contrary in a space thoroughly imbued with quantities and perhaps thoroughly fantasmatic as well" (23). For Lefebvre this thoroughly imbued space is represented as 'social' space.

(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity - their (relative) order and/or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object. At the same time there is nothing imagined, unreal or 'ideal' about it ... (73)

The multiplicity of difference is the key defining feature of the spatial turn. The production of space as outlined by Lefebvre provided a panoptic view of space in all of its infinite variability. However, he "does not aim to produce a (or 'the') discourse on space, but rather to expose the actual production of space by bringing the various kinds of space and the modalities of their genesis together within a single theory" (1991, 16). His theory on space is intended to embody the multiplicity of identities and narratives operating on space.

THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

Similar to the manufacturing process of a factory, Lefebvre presents three 'moments' in the production of space. His theory on social space deconstructs the duality between the abstract and absolute space by interjecting a third space which he calls differential space (fig 2.01). And together these three moments represent the process structuring social space. It is a model about the processes of space rather than space itself.

While somewhat confusing, Lefebvre uses many names for each of the three modes; these modes include spatial practice, representations of space, and the spaces of representations (fig 2.02). These three moments in the production of space are referred to as the 'perceived-conceived-lived' triad of space; space is first perceived, then conceived, and ultimately, lived as an everyday.

Lefebvre develops a "radical phenomenology of space as the humanistic basis from which to launch a critique of the denial of individuals' and communities' 'rights to space'" (Shields 210). His paradigm on the production of space embodies a revolutionary space characteristic of the social transformation associated with the 60s and 70s. This was a time of significant social change throughout the western world. The political empowerment of people through group formation and political action lie at the very foundation of his work. It is a hopeful space that must be distinguished from the structuralism of Castells.

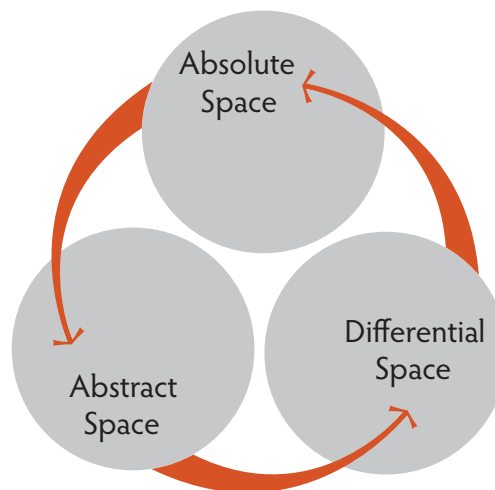
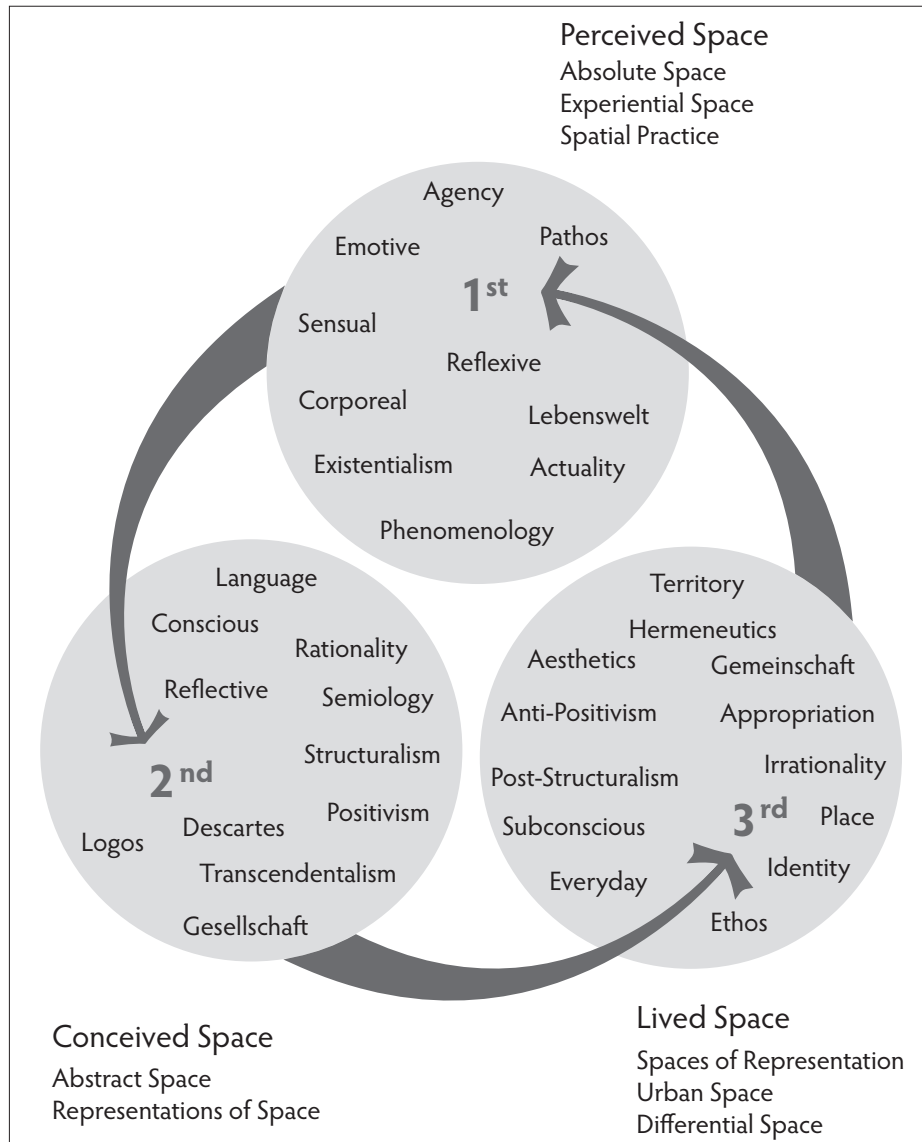


FIG 2.01

FIG 2.02



The Lefebvrian triptych for the production of social space implies a cyclical nature. The above diagram lists the main labels used by Lefebvre for the various moments in the production of space. The words within the gray areas are labels used by author.

While societal processes are held as the dominant mode in the production of space and contained within the conceived space, the theory also embodies an active depiction of human agency that is capable of informing societal structure through the perceived and lived spaces. Each mode is reviewed in the following three sections.

SPATIAL PRACTICE

The production of space begins with perception and experience. The first moment in the production of space is called 'perceived space' - the space of actual experience and perception. It contains the physicality of the world, the corporeal experience of it and all the actions by and in society. Fundamentally, perceived space embodies a phenomenological perspective of the body in relation to a field of corporeal and social phenomena; all life and knowledge of the world is experienced through the spatial practice of the body and is in constant flux. Spatial practice is more than the self and more than a phenomenological experience of the world and other selves. It contains all social actions at all scales of operation. It is an all encompassing space incapable of summation.

REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE

While the first moment in the production of space centers on a reflexive intuitive perception of the environment and all social action the second moment emphasizes a reflective referential process of understanding and cognition. The second moment in the production of space centers on abstraction by both individual and society. This second mode is referred to as 'representation of space' or 'conceived space' in that ideas are conceived of as representations of space rather than actual spaces unto themselves. Conceived space is the space of transcendental idealism similar to the supremacy of ideas and abstract thought as conceived by Descartes. Representations of space is a space of intentionality and consciousness. On an individual level, conceived space is the super ego in that it supersedes the body and the subconscious. It is an internal cerebral space. On the societal level, conceived space is the powerful and hegemonic space. It is within the conceived space that capitalism "strives to transform lived space and the natural work into a profitable force of production" (Gardiner 90). For Lefebvre conceived space is the dominant mode in the production of space. Castell's network society and all ideal type models reside here as a representation of societal space.

While highly abstracted and to a certain degree unreal as a physical phenomena, the representation of space is not unreal; it is a phenomena to be experienced as thought. It is similar to the geophilosophy produced by Deleuze, who, according to Doel and Clarke created a:

A fully fledged 'thinking space' in its own right: not an abstract space for thought (a space of consciousness, representation, reflection, theory, etc., that would claim to be removed from the play of the world), but a concrete space of thought (a portion, region or milieu within the play of the world) – an honest-to-goodness thinking space. (105-6)

In this regard the process of thinking is in itself a real act; an abstract spatial practice of sorts to be confronted as a real phenomenological experience, albeit a mental phenomenon. But the internal space of the human consciousness enters social space only when it is shared through communication; when it manifests through the spatial practice of language and is perceived by other selves rather than isolated as an internal thought process. The shared experience of an ideal is always different than the idea itself. This is the relationship between Lefebvre's conceived space and perceived space, between abstract and absolute space, and between the space of flows and the space of place.

There is a clear limit to the totality of any representation. Any ideal type mode of societal space is limited. In response to the limitations of representation and physical phenomena, Gunder and Hillier write that:

There must be something beyond our perceived understanding of social reality that symbolic theories of structure cannot entirely grasp. Symbolic structure cannot include everything. There must be a lack, a conceptual limit or 'outside' to symbolization itself. (231)

The symbolization of the space of flows is not all inclusive of social space nor is the representation of space or conceived space. It is precisely to this point that Lefebvre interjects a third space into the production of space.

SPACES OF REPRESENTATION

The third moment in the production of space embodies the intangible implicit qualities of everyday life. This third moment is referred to as 'spaces of representation' or 'lived space'.¹ It is an illusive dynamic space, distinguished from the cerebral space of representations and the absolutism of spatial practice. It is the subservient yet all powerful space of the unconscious. The lived space "is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate" (Lefebvre 1991, 39). Lived space is the space of appropriation; it layers meaning atop space and creates identities in place.

The lived space deals directly with the complex notion of place as a meaningful phenomenon. It is more than perception or the actual physicality place; it is an identity space that dwells within a particular culture and contrasts with the highly rational conceived space. For Gardiner the lived space is an everyday space "where we enter into a dialectical relationship with the external natural and social worlds in the most immediate and profound sense" (75). It is distinctly different from perceived space of spatial practice and the conceived space of representation. The lived space is a polarized space that is both oppressive and emancipatory.

On the one hand, the structuring structures of societal space characterize the lived space as a repressive everyday space in which people live their lives and perform routine tasks in an unaware state. Gardiner contextualizes Lefebvre's theory of space as a response to the commodification so characteristic of the modernity:

Daily life under modernity was thoroughly routinized and degraded. Colonized by the commodity and the instrumentalized needs of state and capital, everyday existence could no longer provide the framework through which human requirements for creativity and interhuman dialogue could be fulfilled. The promise of human

¹ As Haslum notes Nicholson-Smith translated the French 'espaces de representation' into 'representational space' rather than the direct translation of the 'spaces of representation'. The use of 'representational' unintentionally emphasizes the representational quality of space rather than the spatial qualities of representations. To describe the third moment as 'representational space' does not adequately distinguish the lived-space from the conceived space. For the purposes of this research, the third moment is described as 'spaces of representation' or 'lived space' – not 'representational'.

plenitude had been replaced by the passive and manipulated consumption of endless signs and images, designed to provide a surrogate form of gratification and to negate any potential social discontent. (158-159)

Within the modern structures of capitalism the everyday became a consumptive practice. For Lefebvre, modernism and the rise of an increasingly bureaucratic institutionalism reduced the creative emancipatory quality of everyday life. According to Gardiner "the reigning technocracy has become exclusively preoccupied with the administration of ever-larger institutions and systems, which results in a devaluation of particular human skills and expressions of creativity" (88). The everyday lived space is routinized into meaningless acts that subsume consciousness and diminish an active appropriation of place.

Lefebvre saw modernity as "the dissolution of intersubjectivity" – it replaced the sensual quality of world experience with an abstract quality of identity (Gardiner 83). With modernity the abstract image of self was inflated above the interrelation of self, other selves, and place (Gardiner 83).

The subversion of everyday life does not represent the totality of lived space however. The Lefebvrian notion of "everyday life represents a complex, multifaceted reality, a mixture of repressive and emancipatory qualities" (Gardiner 86). Although lived space contains the mundane quality of everyday life and the invisible rules of cultural norms and society structuring, it also contains the opportunity of spontaneous awareness. For Lefebvre, the everyday also held a latent opportunity for rebellion. There was a chance for an awakening. It is in this respect that Lefebvre instills an optimism within the lived space. There exists a possibility of a changed behavior and the annihilation of mundane everyday life. Through such realizations lived space represents a process of change.

For Lefebvre the lived space also contained the opportunity for liberation from the structuring structures. He imbued the lived space with an emancipatory quality; he characterized it as a revelatory spontaneous space in which people gained awareness through lived experiences. Lefebvre's model for the production of space was in many ways a means to disentangle the individual from modern structuralism and produce an resurgence of creativity. Lefebvre believed that "to reach reality we must indeed tear away the veil, the veil which is forever being born and reborn of everyday life, and which masks everyday life along with its deepest or loftiest implications" (57). Lefebvre hoped for the liberation of Modern Man.

Lefebvre was more concerned with "dramatic, celebratory ruptures from a routinized and degraded daily existence, as this occurred during periods of sociopolitical unrest" than he was concerned with the individualistic aspects of the everyday (Gardiner 164). Within the lived space there is the possibility of reciprocity and revolution as a shared process.

There is a reciprocity within the lived space; it is informed through spatial practice and cognitive thought but it also structures actions and cognition. As Crossley states, "we become what we are through our 'incorporation' of social structures ... in the form of habit, but our actions ... are at the same time what gives life to those structures and facilitates their reproduction" (4). Lived space informs the spatial practice and structures the representations of space through habit but individual action reciprocally structures and informs the lived space. This multiplicity resembles heterotopia as described by Foucault:

The space in which we live, which draws us out of ourselves, in which the erosion of our lives, our time and our history occurs, the space that claws and gnaws at us, is also, in itself, a heterogeneous space. In other words, we do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another. (23)

On the one hand there is an opacity to this space, an implicit second nature that conceals cultural meaning. And on the other hand there is a transparency to this space, an explicit spontaneity that reveals new meaning. The unconscious acts of the everyday, whether everyday thoughts or behaviors, abstractions or experiences, inform the lived space.

As the third moment in the production of space lived space does not represent an end in the cycle but a moment through which the production of space returns to the body and spatial practice. According to Shields the lived space "not only transcends but has the power to refigure the balance of popular 'perceived space' and official 'conceived space'" (201). While Lefebvre holds conceived space as the dominant space he also maintains a hopefulness, an optimistic belief that the lived experience has the transformative force to change things. It contains what Gardiner referred to as an 'anonymous creativity'. For Lefebvre, the third moment in the production of space is a revolutionary space. It is a space defined by a collective awakening of a shared subconscious.

A PROCESS OF PRODUCTION

Lefebvre infuses a reciprocal intersubjectivity between these space. For him the "relations between the three moments of the perceived, the conceived and the lived are never either simple or stable" (1991, 46). The three moments of space relate to each other.

For Lefebvre a cyclical model of social space overcame the contradictions between abstract and absolute space, reached beyond polarized dualisms, and thus more intricately depicted social space. In Lefebvrian space the dualism of self and society is depolarized by lived space. While power and rationality maintain a reflective egoism in the conceived space, the reflexivity of body maintain agency in the perceived space and the dynamic nature of identity dwell in the lived space. For Soja the triptych "decomposes the dialectic through an intrusive disruption that explicitly spatializes dialectical reasoning ... and produces what might best be called a cumulative trialectics that is radically open to additional othernesses, to a continuous expansion of spatial knowledge" (61). The relationships between the three modes of production illuminate the complexity of social life rather than obfuscate this complexity to a reductionist duality.

The Lefebvrian triad is a "way to think through how places are constructed and experienced as material artifacts; how they are represented in discourse; and how they are used in turn as representations, as 'symbolic places', in contemporary culture" (Harvey 1993,17). Much like the work of Deleuze, Lefebvre's model returned "every hierarchy to the superficial abyss whence it came" (Doel and Clarke 103). Lefebvre's model embodied an emancipatory quality that destroyed any positivistic causality.

THE URBAN SPACE OF LEFEBVRE AND CASTELLS

With Lefebvre and Castells promoting two contrasting theories on space is it reasonable to incorporate a Lefebvrian perspective into Castellian space? Is it appropriate to examine the production of space as produced by the network society? Such a proposition is discussed in the following pages. The discussion examines each of their respective points of departure for their particular analysis of space. Each author approaches space from different origins that produce different theories of space but these different origins do not necessarily produce incompatibilities.

Since Charles Darwin authored *On The Origins of Species* in 1859, social scientists have abstracted the urban environs as the natural habitat of a modern civilization, exploring the relationship between the physical environment and human behavior. The fundamental belief of the late nineteenth century was a positivistic one, a belief that urban space and social behavior could be and should be positively informed and improved through the provision of specific physical configurations of the built environment.

While Lefebvre and Castells saw urban space from different perspectives, they had different points of departure and different goals. Castells assumed a structuralism and did not explore space in relation to agency, while Lefebvre's theory of space centered on a process of appropriation and emancipation. While they both acknowledge societal forces as a structural phenomenon, they focus on different modes in the production of that structure; Castells illuminates structural processes and manifestations of urban space while Lefebvre describes a process of opposition to structure. Although Castells' exploration of structure does not negate agency, he does not dedicate much attention to it nor does he describe a process of structure. He focuses on the expropriation of urban space by dominant societal processes. Lefebvre's exploration into the production of space deconstructs the complexity of an emerging post-modern urban space by obliterating all dualities and questioning all. Lefebvre focuses on appropriation in the production of space.

Castells examined urban space while studying under Lefebvre and challenged the notion that urban space was a socio-spatial phenomenon constructed locally. In *The Urban Question* he exposes the ineffectiveness and limitations of the ideologies surrounding urban ecology.

At a time when the waves of the anti-imperialist struggle are sweeping across the world, when movements of revolt are bursting out at the very heart of advanced capitalism, when the revival of working-class action is creating a new political situation in Europe, 'urban problems' are becoming an essential element in the policies of governments, the concerns of the mass media and, consequently, in the everyday life of a large section of the population. (1977, 1)

The emphasis on 'urban problems' within social science as well as popular media was for Castells astonishing in that the very notion of 'urban' remained undefined. He dedicated his entire thesis to the subject of this enigma and answered the 'urban problem' was an 'urban question.'

Urban would then designate a particular form of the occupation of space by a population, namely, the urban centre resulting from a high concentration and relatively high density, with, as its predictable correlate, greater functional and social differentiation. Granted, but when one wishes to use the 'theoretical' definition directly in a concrete analysis, the difficulties begin. (1977, 10)

He goes on to examine the various definitions of urban as either a spatially derived entity with a certain level of density or as a socially derived entity with a certain level of social intersubjectivity. In both cases, Castells finds no definitive theoretical basis for urbanity. Castells' "structural solution to the 'urban question' thus offered a valuable corrective to the spatial determinism widely evident in urban studies ... whereby specific spaces were seen to dictate the lives of those who inhabited them" (Hubbard 74). He criticized those who "granted the city an autonomy and significance that it simply did not possess" (Hubbard 74) and overcame behavioralism with a new marxist critique of the modern city. And to this, we must thank Castells.

Much of Castells' work illuminates the implicit processes operating on urban space and informing place. For Castells "the network society increasingly appears to most people as a meta-social disorder. Namely, as an automated, random sequence of events, derived from the uncontrollable logic of markets, technology, geopolitical order, or biological determination" (1996, 477). Castells tries to disprove this notion of the 'uncontrollable' and show that the network society is anything but half hazard; it is rationally informed through power and production; a habitus that is imposed externally rather than created internally as one's own culture.

In his exploration of the structural qualities of capitalism and information technology, Castells provides a theoretical frame, postulating:

That societies are organized around human processes structured by historically determined relationships of production, experience, and power. Production is the action of humankind on matter ... , to appropriate it and transform it for its benefit by obtaining a product Experience is the action of human subjects on themselves, determined by the interaction between their biological and cultural identities, and in relationships to their social and natural environment. It is constructed around the endless search for fulfillment of human needs and desires. Power is that relationship

between human subjects which, on the basis of production and experience, imposes the will of some subjects upon others. (1996, 14-15)

In this excerpt Castells presents a triad of production-experience-power that is seemingly similar to Lefebvre's perceived-conceived-lived triad; however, Castells' 'experience' is actually quite different from Lefebvre's experiential realm. Castells' description of the experiential quality as conceptualized in his triptych further illustrates this difference:

Experience is structured around gender / sexual relationships, historically organized around the family, and characterized hitherto by the domination of men over women. Family relationships and sexuality structure personality and frame symbolic interaction. (1996, 15)

Castells' depiction of experience infuses social structuring into the personal experience and by doing so, does not afford an individual freedom to resist or create alternative meanings - 'the experience is structured'.

Hubbard criticizes Castells for his "cavalier dismissal of much contemporary urban theory ... he devotes insufficient attention to how structure is established: it is taken as a given rather than as an ongoing achievement" (76). He dismisses the theory of urban ecology as incomplete but then replaces the behavioralism of urban ecology with the structuralism of global capitalism without offering any clarity for agency or the lived experience.

Castells is rightfully concerned about the cultural inputs on human subjects but his societal space subverts experience as a means of empowerment. His model of space is devolutionary. Castellan reveals the rationality of power and simultaneously subsumes human agency within it. The subordination of place as conceptualized within Castells' ideal type model parallels the loss of place discussed by Harvey.

For him "the viability of actual places has been powerfully threatened through changing material practices of production, consumption, information flow and communication, coupled with the radical reorganization of space relations and of time horizons within capitalist development" (Harvey 1993, 24). As Massey contends, Harvey maintains capitalism and its developments as determinants of our understanding and experience of place but a more active depiction of place formation would necessitate that our experiences are not "influenced

simply by capital" (60) but rather "constructed out of a particular constellation of relations" (66) and intersubjective social experiences. Massey argues for a global sense of place that recognizes the relationship between place and space with a progressive depiction of human agency and mobile practice that contrasts with Harvey and Castells.

Massey's global sense of place suggests that places are intersections of flows and movements – they are highly particular only because of the unique way they embody the outside. So rather than thinking about places as bounded and rooted we can think of them as open and permeable – based on a politics of inclusion rather than exclusion. (Cresswell 2004, 29)

With an active depiction of place formation and agency as described by Massey the network society and the space of flows represent an opportunity for the proliferation of place rather than the subordination of it.

Clearly there are forces operating on urban space that follow the logic of the network society, the space of flows, and global capitalism. And these forces are clearly shaping urban development and contemporary neighborhoods. But the oppositional relationship of space and place within the network society is a false dualism. Global processes inform everyday experiences of urban space but they cannot subsume place or human agency.

Castells claims that "There is no specific theory of space, but quite simply a deployment and specification of the theory of social structure, in order to account for the characteristics of the particular social form, space, and its articulation with other historically given, forms and processes" (1996, 124). For Castells space is structured through societal processes. For Lefebvre space is structured by society as well as the self and other selves. This is precisely where Lefebvre and Castells disagreed. It is a fundamental difference between structuralism and agency. Castells' dualism makes societal processes more explicit but it accomplishes this through a reductionism that does not adequately reflect the process of structuring space as informed by agency and social movements.

For Lefebvre, Castells' model of space atrophies in an architectural space. As an ideal type model for social space the network society and the space of flows do not adequately embody the experiential. According to Gardiner, Lefebvre:

Refuses to believe that the ideological appearance of the system, its self-image, tells the whole story. For him, no matter how advanced

the 'crisis of representation', or how difficult it is to gain a reflexive awareness of alienation or understand society as a multifaceted totality, neocapitalism continues to generate internal contradictions and crises that erupt in periodic manifestations of social revolt which evinces a desire for a better world, a better way of life. At the heart of this belief is an image of the human subject as an active, creative force that always seeks to transform the conditions of its very existence, to turn one's life into a 'work of art'. In such a project, the transformation of everyday life from a habitualized and degraded 'dead time' into a space/time ripe with human potential and oriented towards self-realization, occupies a central place in Lefebvre's theoretical universe. (100-101)

Lefebvre asks questions about the meaning of urban space and the social quality of urban everyday life while Castells asks questions about the structural qualities operating on urban space and the impact of global capitalism. Castells' space embodies a structural foundation while Lefebvre's space embraces agency in a post-structuralist light. The two great thinkers on space are not incompatible.

CONCLUSION

Clearly Castells' space of flows can not be denied as a societal movement. The space of flows represents a new social development worthy of further exploration and as a relatively new development it should be studied carefully and not assumed to be all encompassing.

The idea of an 'information revolution' is powerfully present these days and is often viewed as the dawning of a new era of globalization within which the information society reigns supreme. It is easy to make too much of this. The newness of it all impresses, but then the newness of the railroad and the telegraph, the automobile, the radio, and the telephone in their day impressed equally ... It is clear that the relations between working and living, within the workplace, in cultural forms, are indeed changing rapidly in response to informational technology. (Harvey 2006, 62)

Clearly, the space of flows has drastically altered societal practices on multiple scales. But the actual physical constructions of urban redevelopments are still conglomerations of brick and mortar. Contemporary urban redevelopment operating within the space of flows is still based upon architecture and it not necessary distinct from previous periods of development.

Castells thoroughly examines urban space as a product and as a medium but the relationship between these two spaces - the space of flows and the spaces of place - is a reductionism that does not reflect the experience of daily life. People do not dwell in the abstracted space of flows. And while Castells maintains the space of place as distinct from the space of flows, he does not elaborate on the process of place in relation to agency. Place, as represented in the network society, exemplifies only place as informed by the space of flows. The notion of place is dynamic and reciprocal; it involves appropriation and expropriation and can not be subsumed by societal processes. The implications of the space of flows as a lived phenomena needs further examination.

Lefebvre's triptych is an appropriate model to examine the lived experience of the network society and deconstruct the dichotomy of the space of flows and the space of place. The act of deconstructing and questioning was more important to Lefebvre than structuring and answering. Lefebvre does not contend that the triad is all encompassing. It describes a process of production.

That the lived, conceived and perceived realms should be interconnected, so that the 'subject' ... may move from one to another without confusion – so much is a logical necessity. Whether [the perceived, conceived, and lived triad] constitutes a coherent whole is another matter. (1991, 40)

Lefebvre's triad is a process of revelatory exposition; a theoretical framework for the critical analysis of any discourse pertaining to the city. Lefebvre's triptych over comes the duality of conscious-subconscious, self-other selves, familiar-profane, the inside-outside, or the space of flows and the space of place. In this sense, the triad is a helpful theoretical frame for the exploration of Castells' space of flows and space of place as manifest in contemporary urban development.

For Harvey the Lefebvrian matrix seems to be "the only way to attack the rich complexity of social processes of place construction in a coherent way" (1993, 17). It denaturalizes the moral platform of communal space without promoting the societal structure and the space of flows as paramount. As a method of social inquiry it has the potential to expose the implicit processes and undermine the explicit forces operating on the individual and structuring the neighborhood.

III

THE PRODUCTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD SPACE

The neighborhood is presented here as a subset of urban space; an everyday space of nearness in proximity to home. This chapter develops the theoretical model for the production of neighborhood space by abstracting Lefebvre's triad as a new tripartite in which neighborhood space is conceived through the space of flows but also perceived and lived by those dwelling in the space of place. The neighborhood is conceptualized in triplicate as a corporeal experience of nearness, as an ideal conceptualization of residential space and as an internalized identity lived in place.

In the most basic sense the neighborhood is an association of meaning to a particular place that relates the self to other selves in everyday life and progresses from experience to memory and identity. It is as Keller asserts a "place with physical and symbolic boundaries" (89). It is precisely the symbolism associated with place that moves the lived neighborhood beyond the perceived neighborhood, beyond the physicality of structuring structures into the richly nuanced space of cultural meaning. And it is this symbolism that this research is aimed.

AN ABSTRACTION OF NEIGHBORHOOD SPACE

This chapter develops an abstraction of Lefebvrian space as a theoretical model for the production of neighborhood space. By replacing the word 'space' with 'neighborhood' the Lefebvrian trialectic is abstracted into 'neighborhood practice', 'representations of neighborhood', and 'neighborhoods of representation' (fig. 3.01).

The first section of this chapter is dedicated to the conceived neighborhood and contains a brief history of neighborhood planning as a representation of the dominant societal processes shaping urban neighborhood space. The second section pertains to the perceived neighborhood and personal experiences in nearness to home. This section has two parts; the first part is dedicated to the spatial practice of personal experience and perception while the second part is dedicated to the physicality of the neighborhood as informed by the spatial

practices operating on urban neighborhood space. The third section discusses the lived neighborhood as a meaningful phenomenon enacted through everyday life in propinquity to home.

THE CONCEIVED NEIGHBORHOOD

Societal structuring is the dominant space for Lefebvre; it is a space conceived by the powerful. It imposes a rationality from above onto those below. City planning is a conceived space in that it relies heavily upon ideation and abstraction and more often than not maintains power structures within society. There are alternative processes that challenge the hegemony of city planning, architecture and urban development; through a collaborative and participatory planning process are democratized but clearly urban development remains beholden to capital recruitment and economic development. Furthermore, the process of planning, even when structured as a democratic participatory and engaging process, assumes an abstract, institutional quality distinguished from the actuality of experience. Within the conceived space of planning, various representations of local place and community are projected into urban space as ideals. In this sense, city planning and architecture exemplify the abstract qualities of conceived space in that these professions rely upon an institutionalism and visual imagery removed and distinct from absolute space. They impose a set of normative ideas upon urban space. On the one hand city planning creates an imaginary space of ideals and intentions and on the other hand it relies upon normative codes and regulations to ensure a certain end result. In regards to the subject of neighborhood space, neighborhood planning or representations of neighborhood symbolizes the dominant conceived space.

THE MODERN NEIGHBORHOOD

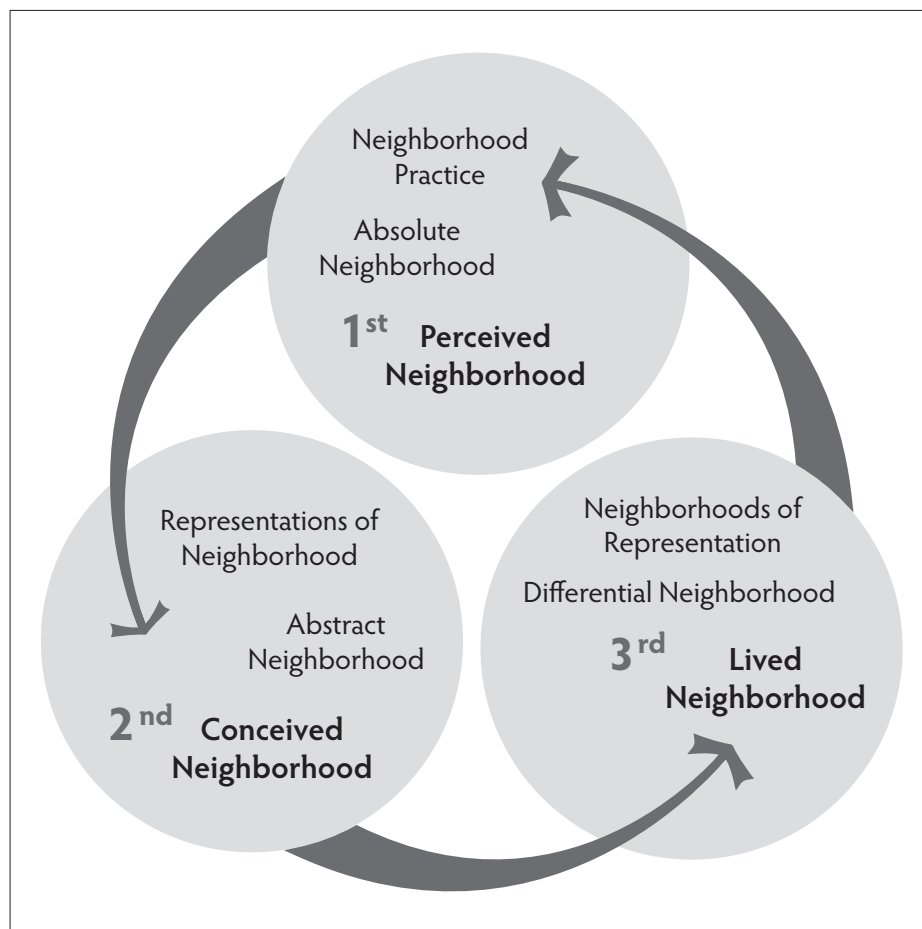
Since the late nineteenth century conceptualization of what neighborhoods ought to be and ways in which they ought to be developed have been prevalent in city planning. In many ways neighborhood planning emerged as a modern construct at the turn of the twentieth century in response to societal transformations. Much of the debate surrounding the rise of metropolitan life at the turn of the 20th Century centered on an expansive daily life through which the neighborhood diminished as an intimate space of familiarity. The American sociologist Charles Horton Cooley contextualized the ambivalence surrounding modern life in relation to an increased mobility practice:

In our own life the intimacy of the neighborhood has been broken up by the growth of an intricate mesh of wider contacts which

leaves us strangers to people who live in the same house How far this change is a healthy development, and how far a disease, is perhaps still uncertain. (1909, 26)

While the intimacy of the neighborhood had been broken by an expanding social practice, the social consequences of the time-space compression were not all negative. Cooley maintained a skeptical view of an increased mobility but he also maintained a cautious optimism about the resiliency of small communities.

FIG. 3.01



Lefebvre's triptych for the production of space has been abstracted to the production of neighborhood space.

In our own cities the crowded tenements and the general economic and social confusion have sorely wounded the family and the neighborhood, but it is remarkable, in view of these conditions, what vitality they show; and there is nothing upon which the conscience of the time is more determined than upon restoring them to health. (1909, 27).

For Cooley the family and the social life within the neighborhood were key features to which he would dedicate much thought. For him, the small groups within the neighborhood and the social interaction therein “are primary in several senses, but chiefly in that they are fundamental in forming the social nature and ideals of the individual” (1909, 23). For him, the restoration of neighborhood community was an important measure for the preservation of a healthy individual and thus a healthy democratic society. Cooley had developed an ideal type sociological model based on communication and social life to overcome the dualism between self and society in the modern era (1902, 1909, 1918). He wanted to empower the self through small social groups. Cooley promoted a triad of his own based on personal identity, primary group, and social organization that may be interpreted as a representation of self-community-society or home-neighborhood-city. Cooley created a continuum between the self and society with community as the important intermediary.

For Cooley, community life structures both the individual and society; community is an important intermediary space. He felt that “democracy ... cannot be vital solely by means of laws and institutions, and it does not presuppose a common will: democracy needs a culture rooted in authentically organized primary groups and associations” (Schubert 24). A functional democracy could not be represented by the conceived space of society; it must be practiced by the individual, informed by primary social groups and lived as an everyday act. For Cooley “the most important spheres of this intimate association and cooperation – though by no means the only ones – are the family, the playgroup of children, and the neighborhood or community” (1909, 24). The restoration of family and neighborhood represents a means to empower the ideal public self and improve urban space. The social intersubjectivity of the neighborhood represents a means forward to structure the self and improve social conditions within urban society.

Cooley promoted the neighborhood as an important space in which people came to know one another. For him, it was the social intersubjectivity within the neighborhood that produced a healthy democracy fully engaged with the populous. The neighborhood as conceived by Cooley represents a means to resist the time space compression and so improve the social conditions of modern urbanity. The neighborhood was a resistive space augmenting if not directly opposing the anonymity of modern urban space. On the one hand such notions maintained individual experience as paramount; and on the other hand, such notions relied upon other selves to further inform personal behavior. From this rationale, the neighborhood emerged as a conceived space, as a means of socio-spatial intervention for the amelioration of squalor conditions in an emerging industrial society.

Since the late nineteenth century city planners, architects and urban designers have relied upon the notion of neighborhood to reduce urban complexity and promote specific configurations of socio-spatial relationships to ameliorate the social fragmentation of urban space.

Utopian thinking of the past two centuries and the practical steps urban planning and design have taken to create local distinction, physical proximity and intersubjective interaction in public spaces can be seen as part of a long line of holism, where the main preoccupation has been the promotion of social integration in the face of what seemed to be the atomization of the society (Madanipour 188).

While concerned with local identity and distinction, and the social intersubjectivity of public space, the main concern at the turn of the twentieth century was the atomization and social fragmentation of everyday life. In this light the concepts of neighborhood and community were promoted as a means to augment an increasingly fragmented society; it was a means to mitigate the alienation and homogenization of society.

The neighborhood concept allowed planners to reduce the urban complexity into smaller, more manageable districts and so facilitate the implementation and management of various social programs. The American planner Clarence Arthur Perry, working in direct association with Cooley and the Sage Foundation, introduced the 'neighborhood unit' as an important "incubator for associational interaction" and social behavior synonymous with Cooley's primary groups and "the personality and moral perceptions of the individual" (Lawhon 117).

Perry produced four patterns for specific context ranging from the urban to the suburban. He put forward very specific ideas about the size of the neighborhood population, the critical components of the neighborhood, and the spatial organization thereof. The neighborhood unit was not a normative prescription though. As Perry himself stated, "The scheme is put forward as the frame-work of a model community and not as a detailed plan" (55). Perry's pattern for the suburban context greatly impacted the suburban development following the second world war. Much of the planned unit developments throughout North America and Europe for that matter built upon the concepts of the neighborhood units. Perry's pattern for the urban context also proved informative. Much of the urban renewal projects of the 1950s and 1960s built upon the concepts promoted by Perry (Rohe).

Lawhon writes, "Although the neighborhood unit likely was influenced by social and institutional issues of the early 1900s, it seems unlikely that a specific pattern of behavior was a chief aim of the concept" (124). The neighborhood unit was founded on democratic ideals in that the community was to determine their own qualifications of 'appropriate' behavior. The neighborhood, as conceived, was to promote a power from within and create a natural level of democratic engagement and civility. However, while originally intended to empower Cooley's small social groups, the neighborhood as practiced by the development industry and the planning profession relied upon an institutionalism directly contrasting with community. According to Perry the neighborhood unit represented a frame-work of a model community rather than a detailed plan. He wrote that, "Its actual realization in an individual real-estate development requires the embodiment and garniture which can be given to it only by the planner, the architect, and the builder" (Perry 55).

Even though community was the central value of the neighborhood unit, the professional planner was central to the realization of the planned neighborhood (Mumford). There was an internal conflict within the neighborhood unit or the conceived neighborhood in that the means to realize the neighborhood as a physical development were distinctly different than the communal values contained within the notion of neighborhood community or the lived neighborhood. For instance, the urban renewal of the 60s exemplified modern neighborhood planning in that it relied upon a societal institutionalism distinguished from community; it relied upon normative ideals founded in positivism and structuralism that contrasted with the primary groups and communal values of the original concept.

While the neighborhood was conceptualized as a means to ameliorate social disadvantage and respond to the urban crisis of 1960s, the urban renewal projects relied upon a Keynesian economic scheme that did not reflect the community values contained within the conceptualization of neighborhood. These projects, for the most part, were unaware of the social realities of local communities and ultimately diminished more often than ameliorated social conditions within the area (Banerjee and Baer). In a sinister perspective, the neighborhood was a property development mechanism, a capitalistic scheme through which modernism and the ideals of neighborhood were imposed from afar for profit.

The valuation of community typically associated with the concept of neighborhood contrasts with the means through which many neighborhood developments were realized (Chaskin). Ironically, modern neighborhood development negatively impacted the very thing it held most important. Eventually community opposition to modern redevelopment ended urban renewal and the practice of large scale neighborhood redevelopment as an imposition upon existing urban space. While massive neighborhood development remained in the suburban context as green-field development, large scale neighborhood planning and development in an urban context disappeared.

Not until industry began to leave urbanized areas did the concept of large scale neighborhood planning re-emerge in the urban center. This second movement of urban neighborhood planning is distinct from the previous version. These contemporary projects are similar to post-war residential towers in that they are filling a void left behind; but they are also distinct in terms of the socio-economic context in that the contemporary redevelopment responds to an urban crisis based on the flight of industry while the urban crisis of the 1960s was characterized as the flight of the affluent; certain segments of society left the city for a 'better' life in the suburbs.

THE PERCEIVED NEIGHBORHOOD

The perceived neighborhood contains the actual physical, dimensional and material quality of space as well as the actions and behaviors of human subjects therein. It is inherently different than the conceived neighborhood in that the perceived neighborhood is an absolute experience rather than abstracted ideal. The perceived neighborhood is a basic way of being in the world.

The etymology of 'neighborhood' reveals a fundamental nature of the perceived neighborhood. 'Neighborhood' is a combination of 'nigh', 'bower' and 'hood' which signify near, dwelling and the condition of being, respectively. Accordingly, a neighbor is someone dwelling near another self and a neighborhood is the condition of dwelling in nearness with other selves. The interactional experience between the self, other selves, and the physical environment define the neighborhood as a socially intersubjective ontological phenomenon; it is quite literally a way of being in the world. As a fundamental way of being in the world, people experience things corporeally and through an interactional process locate themselves in relation to the environment and other selves.

The neighborhood is an experiential field of social intersubjectivity based on the self, other selves, and the perceived space of propinquity. There is an interactional dynamic between body and the phenomena of propinquity. For Lefebvre the corporeal experience is central "for it is by means of the body that space is perceived, lived – and produced" (1991, 162). But we are not fully in possession of our own bodies. They are culturally coded over time. Our understanding of ourselves and our bodies is significantly structured by societal norms.

The perceived neighborhood is the first moment in the production of neighborhood space; it is a phenomenological experience centered on perception of the immediate environment close to home and is structured by both the self and society. While everyone experiences the socio-physio phenomena of propinquity differently, we can most assuredly say that everyone develops an understanding of these phenomena that in one way or another informs a specific definition of neighborhood that is particular to the individual at a minimum.

The perceived neighborhood is discussed in two sections; the first section discusses the notion of individual spatial practice through a historical reading of the time-space compression and the alteration of neighborhood practice. The second section discusses neighborhood development as a structural process informing the physicality of the actual neighborhood.

THE SPATIAL PRACTICE OF INDIVIDUALS

Contrary to the notion of a planned neighborhood development, the perceived neighborhood begins with the experience of phenomena in propinquity to home. For the individual the perceived neighborhood represents the

first moment in the production of neighborhood space; it supersedes the abstractions of conceived space and precedes the meaningful qualities of the lived neighborhood.

The social nature of the human condition and the social interaction therein define the innate quality of neighborhood. The social quality of the neighborhood is "clearly the nursery of human nature in the world about us, and there is no apparent reason to suppose that the case has anywhere or at any time been essentially different" (Cooley 1909, 24). For Cooley the neighborhood signifies a social process that is inherently human. More fundamentally, the perceived neighborhood represents a basic way of being. The perceived neighborhood represents a universal way of being in space - it is an ontological phenomena. It could be stated that everyone has a neighborhood; as inherently social beings people always dwell in nearness with other selves. However, the quality of the social intersubjectivity and the meaning of neighborhood are infinitely variable.

The social intersubjectivity within the neighborhood changed with advancement in transportation technologies and the rise of industrial era, capitalism, and the modern city. At the turn of the twentieth century the experience of other selves living in nearness changed profoundly. The time-space compression altered the social quality of urban space in general and the neighborhood in particular.

The rise of metropolitan life at the turn of the twentieth century emphasized an expansive daily life and a new individualism. The modern individual was emancipated from tradition and simultaneously paralyzed by the limitless potential of individuality and personal freedom.

What was new in the new individualism was the ability (and the pressure) to evaluate critically and to transform the social ties in which the individuals were embedded. The result was on the one hand a disruption of communities and social ties, on the other liberation or uprootedness of individuals. (Madanipour 188; parenthetical original)

The simultaneity of rupture and emancipation was frightening and exhilarating; it produced both anxiety and optimism. There was an inquisition of many traditional values and an uncertainty of many new values.

For instance the American sociologist Georg Simmel promoted the benefit of this new individualism and simultaneously maintained a healthy skepticism of liberal individualism, describing the schizophrenic personality as derivative of a tumultuous urban life:

On the one hand, life is made infinitely easy for the personality in that stimulations, interests, uses of time and consciousness are offered to it from all sides. They carry the person as if in a stream, and one needs hardly to swim for oneself. On the other hand, however, life is composed more and more of these impersonal contents and offerings which tend to displace the genuine personal colorations and incomparabilities. This results in the individual's summoning the utmost in uniqueness and particularization, in order to preserve his most personal core. He has to exaggerate this personal element in order to remain audible even to himself (Simmel 55).

For Simmel the cultural current of urban space was a highly mobile and facile phenomenon that could easily drown the individual in a cult of personality; however, the stream of individuality could also lift a person above the flooding waters. While the social advantages and disadvantages of an expansive daily spatial practice remained unclear, the social consequences for the neighborhood were clear.

The organic development of a spatially intimate neighborhood community based on a particular way of life was fundamentally altered by the rise of transportation technology and the expansion of personal spatial practice. Transportation and communication technology shifted neighborhood space.

It [the advancement of new transportation and communication technologies] was a move away from a solitary group in a single locale to contact between people in different places and multiple social networks. Households and worksites became important centers for networking; neighborhoods became less important (Wellman and Haythorntwaite 13).

The social transformation of society in general and the neighborhoods in general coincided with the ever-increasing compression of time and space, the expansion of everyday mobility, and individual spatial practice. As the practice of dwelling changed so did the neighborhood. The compression of time and space simultaneously produced an anonymous urban space distinguished from the social intimacy of more communal societies and altered the social intimacy of the neighborhood. The social quality of the neighborhood was disassociated with sustenance and the resiliency of a particular place-based community. Within modern industrial society neighbors no longer maintained social ties with one another for sustenance.

The goods and services that community members exchange are usually matters of convenience, rarely of necessity, and hardly ever of life and death. Community ties have become ends in themselves, to be enjoyed in their own right and used for emotional adjustment in a society that puts a premium on feeling good about oneself and others (Wellman 1999, 33).

The social intersubjectivity of the neighborhood declined. The neighborhood became more significant to the individual as a phenomenon related to personal fulfillment rather than sustenance. With an increased spatial practice expanding across the greater urban space, daily life occupies a greater spatial extent, dedicates a greater amount of time to mobility practice, and exhibits less social practice in propinquity to home. The space of propinquity diminishes both spatially and temporally with the expansion of the time-space compression.

We dwell in nearness with other selves but the social intersubjectivity is not what it was. We develop community through an expanded network located across the urban landscape disassociated with the space of nearness.

THE SPATIAL PRACTICE OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT

And while daily life expands so does the city. Many cities continue to build new neighborhoods. While the neighborhood is fundamentally defined by people living in the nearness together, it is also built. It is a constructed physical space often imbued with meanings articulated with specific patterns, textures, materials and other aesthetic configurations.

Designers and planners emphasize “the inherent power of the built environment to shape experience over the meaning given to a site by the interaction that occur within it” (Milligan 5). The configuration of things shape the urban realm and the structuring structures of the perceived neighborhood. Through design and the symbolic arrangement of patterns and color meaning is imparted to the human subject and identity associated with particular urban districts.

Most examples of designing urban neighborhoods try to delineate clearly the neighborhood so as to create a sense of distinction and identity. The creation of distinctive areas as a means of urban management and as a vehicle of market operation are both attempts from above, from the viewpoint of those who have the power of transforming the city through their professional activities.

In addition to these political and economic dimensions, however, there is a cultural dimension, as seen from a viewpoint from below. This is the viewpoint of the people who use and inhabit urban space and hence contribute to its transformation through the living patterns and demand. These processes lead to a collectivization of difference in the city, which is partly expressed in urban neighborhoods (Madanipour 183).

The duality here is the duality of urban space. It is experienced and it is built. The interesting questions for this particular research is, who is building the neighborhood? and for whom are they building these spaces?

The institutional quality of city planning transforms urban space through a professionalism oriented towards economic revitalization and identity formulation. According to Madanipour "the idea of creating some form of distinction and order in the apparently disordered city has remained largely the same" in the network society and such distinction may in fact lead to "an artificial fragmentation of cities" that expropriates place in a top down positivism (179). However, as Madanipour rightfully claims, the meaning of place is also informed through the individual experience of place. The spatial practice of urban development is a dominant force operating on urban space and contrasts with the spatial practice of individuals.

While the powerful forces within society exert a significant influence upon urban space, the notion of place inevitably relies upon the experience of individuals. The physical qualities of urban space surely imbue a place with meaning but individuals also experience the physicality in unique ways, formulate an personal understanding and produce meaning unto themselves. "However hard a designer might work to create a distinctive and memorable place, whether or not it has strong identity is dependent upon the observer – her culture, purpose, and mood" (Southworth and Ruggeri 496). And while some normative design models, such as New Urbanism, emphasize a particular architectural form in order to induce a specific spatial practice or behavior, the experience of that particular form and spatial practice depends upon the observer.

While urban development structures the physicality of the perceived neighborhood, individual spatial practice structures the experience of the perceived neighborhood. The meaning associated with a particular neighborhood form and experiences therein reside within the notion of the lived neighborhood.

THE LIVED NEIGHBORHOOD

The lived neighborhood represents a particular way of understanding and identifying one's self in relation to the physical environment and other selves living in close proximity. It is based on the notion of place and the layering of meaning upon space. It contains the meaningful qualities of place and the psychology of self identity and place identity (Galster).

While the concept of neighborhood has often been defined as "a limited territory within a larger urban area, where people inhabit dwellings and interact socially" (Hallman 13) contemporary neighborhood life is less defined as a socially interactive space. As Wellman writes, "The contemporary milieu of frequent residential mobility, spatially dispersed relationships and activities, and the movement of interactions from public space to private homes have all limited the amount of observable interactions in neighborhood" (1999, 15). In light of the time-space compression "contemporary communities are not limited to the neighborhood. Social life is composed of communities based on shared interests rather than kinship or locality" (Wellman and Haythorntwaite 10). Advances in communication technology such as the Internet and social media create virtual space in which people of like mindedness gather, share common interests and create communities based upon values rather than place (Purcell). According to Wellman "the personalization, portability, ubiquitous connectivity and imminent wireless mobility of the Internet all facilitate networked individualism as the basis of community" disassociated with the neighborhood (Wellman and Haythorntwaite 34). Social life and the networks of interpersonal relations associated with the space of flows tend to occupy urban space rather than the local neighborhood. Community practices detach from local place and proliferate through new media.

The contemporary neighborhood is less about togetherness or belonging and more about the self; it exists as an individuated network of disconnected personal mobility practices (Wellman 1999). Public spaces nearest the home "are increasingly losing their function of sociability for residents. They no longer represent the unit of life for a population sharing the same places and spaces" (Moser, Ratiu, and Fleury-Bahi 124). Such depictions of contemporary neighborhood space illustrate Sennet's 'tyranny of intimacy' and the withdrawal of social practices from the public space of the city to the private space of the dwelling.

While neighborhood as a place is commonly associated with the psychological sense of community in nearness to home, the everyday socio-cultural practices of the contemporary neighborhood manifests more commonly as an individual rather than communal construct (Filipovic). The relation between self and nearness, the “interplay between our psychological well being and the physical surroundings of that place we call home – our neighborhood” has evolved with the expansion of everyday life (Chavis and Pretty 638). The psychological necessity of community, “the universality of the experience of sense of community” creates new community spaces that are disassociated from the neighborhood (Chavis and Pretty 641). The importance of local place as a community space is diminished.

The lived neighborhood represents the everyday space in which residents enter public space and while the lived neighborhood is perhaps less frequently identified as a socially interactive community in contemporary western society, it still resides somewhere between the privacy of home and the anonymity of city. It is the space in which private life and public life interrelate; it is the space between the self and other selves. It is the initial space we first encounter when stepping through the front door out into the public world.

However a highly expansive daily mobility practice that takes place throughout urban space does not necessarily negate the formulation neighborhood place. The notion of neighborhood place is not negated by the time-space compression; it is simply altered. Place is still appropriated and made meaningful in one way or another. While the social interactions between neighbors and the prevalence of place-based community has diminished, place remains as a meaningful phenomenon created through the practice of everyday life; the neighborhood remains as an experiential field to which meanings are associated.

In fact, the notion of place identity and attachment to neighborhood as a place remain as psychological imperatives for any healthy society. For Cooper Marcus “our psychological development is punctuated not only by meaningful relationships with people, but also by close affective ties with a number of significant physical environments” (4). Place is an essential part of human development; it need not necessarily be based on community but it most assuredly need be based on the environment. Dovey writes about the meaningful qualities of home that is not dependent upon the notion of community:

Home can be a room inside a house, a house within a neighborhood, a neighborhood within a city, and a city within a nation. At each level the meaning of home gains in intensity and depth from the dialectical interaction between the two poles of experience Home is a place of security within an insecure world, a place of certainty within doubt, a familiar place in a strange world, a sacred place in a profane world. It is a place of autonomy and power in an increasingly heteronomous world where others make the rules. (1985, 11)

Dovey's conceptualization of home and the ordering principles therein emphasize a centered dualism between inside and outside, secure and insecure, sacred and the profane. The home, and by extension the neighborhood, symbolize safety and security, not necessarily community. If an understanding of propinquity remains concentrically oriented around the home and the neighborhood, it is perhaps centered on self identity rather than the community of place, but it still remains as a meaningful phenomenon linking personal identity to place.

As spatial practices expand across the greater urban realm people continue to dwell in nearness. The identity place remains as a fundamental way of being in the social world, albeit less communal in character. As Cooper Marcus states, "our motives for choosing a particular place are driven by ... the symbolic role of the house as an expression of the social identity we wish to communicate" (1995, 12). But there are implicit forces operating on identity formation. We knowingly and unknowingly formulate identities with places. As an extension of the home, there is a symbolic quality to the neighborhood that can not be associated with the conceived space of neighborhood representation in that it is lived rather than represented. The meaning of the lived neighborhood is distinguished from the physical and experiential quality of the perceived neighborhood and it is distinguished from the highly rational process of reflection associated with the conceived space. The lived neighborhood is an identity associated with place and appropriated through everyday life.

CONCLUSION

The abstraction of Lefebvrian space incorporates the various aspects of neighborhood space and maintains the social complexity associated with the notion of neighborhood. The perceived neighborhood reflects the physical qualities of neighborhood form as a collection of things experienced through individual spatial practice. This space represents the propinquity of Husserl's *Lebenswelt*. The conceived neighborhood represents the ideation of neighborhood planning. This space emphasizes the rationality of conscious reflection and abstraction. It is removed from the actuality of the perceived neighborhood. The lived neighborhood represents the identification with the neighborhood and the meaningful qualities associated to the space of propinquity.

Even with an individual spatial practice taking place across multiple scales of time and space, the neighborhood still represents an experiential realm between the city and home, between public and private. While contemporary spatial practice diminishes the community meanings of the neighborhood, it does not diminish the lived neighborhood as a meaningful entity. The lived neighborhood remains as a space to which people attach meaning. This space is represented by the notion of place identity and the meaningful relationship between self and the space of propinquity. The notion of neighborhood is universal; the social qualities therein are infinitely varied and nuanced.

The psychological need for social interaction and the formulation of community remains prevalent in the space of flows but the sense of community as a locally based phenomenon associated with neighborhood place is less prevalent. The identity of neighborhood has changed as personal social networks occupy a multiplicity of places throughout the greater urban milieu. However, as social life continues to expand across the city and dwell in the global space of flows, the neighborhood remains a phenomenological field of daily experience; albeit a less communally defined entity.

IV

AN INQUIRY INTO NEIGHBORHOOD SPACE

Based upon the triptych of neighborhood space as presented in the previous chapter we can see the neighborhood from three different perspectives. As a way of sensing and feeling the neighborhood can be seen as a corporeal phenomenon - the perceived neighborhood is something we experience. As a way of knowing and thinking the neighborhood can be seen as an epistemological phenomenon - the conceived neighborhood is something about which we think. And, as a way of being and dwelling the neighborhood can be seen as an ontological phenomenon - the lived neighborhood is something we inhabit. Within this triad of neighborhood space there are three different but interrelated moments in the production of nearness.

From each perspective of the theoretical triad the neighborhood exists as a phenomenon; it is an experiential phenomenon, an intellectual phenomenon, and a hermeneutical phenomenon. Accordingly, this particular investigation into neighborhood space could be broadly qualified as a phenomenological inquiry in triplicate. However, while phenomenology is an encompassing field that potentially unifies the perceived-conceived-lived triad, the method for such an inquiry is unclear.

The following chapter establishes the main empirical methods for the investigation into these various aspects of neighborhood space. In the first section, the case study is discussed as an appropriate method for an investigation into the structuring of neighborhood. Specifically, a single, extreme, context-dependent case study based upon multiple methods of analyses is argued as an appropriate structure for the inquiry into the phenomenology of place as lived within the space of flows.

The first section also discusses case selection in relation to the inquiry. Urban redevelopment, specifically post-industrial redevelopment, is presented as an appropriate context that is representative of the space of flows. The development of Jättavågen in Norway is presented as a particular example of post-industrial redevelopment that is indicative of the space of flows, both in terms of the

conceived space that created the actual development and the lived space of the occupants. Jättåvågen exemplifies the literal and figurative manifestation of the post-industrial society; it is a physical post-industrial redevelopment occupied by the post-industrial socio-economic class.

The second section in this chapter develops the analytical model as tripartite. The main structure of the case study is based on three types of analyses that correspond to each moment in the production of neighborhood space. The conceived space of neighborhood planning and the planning documents associated with Jättåvågen are examined through a descriptive analysis while the perceived space of neighborhood physicality is described through a series of spatial analyses. And the lived space of neighborhood identity is explored through an hermeneutical analysis of place. Together the first two phases of analyses represent a broad descriptive analysis of the neighborhood as planned and practiced. These particular analyses are not intended to be as totalizing as Foucault or as expansive and imaginative as Derrida. These two phases are not characterized as the empirical core of the inquiry but rather a contextualization of the various forces structuring neighborhood planning and the physicality of neighborhood space.

The operationalization of Lefebvre's theory on the production of space as an empirical study represents a challenge. Before discussing the specific methods of inquiry, a brief discussion about the non-totalizing nature of the inquiry is needed. On the one hand there is an all encompassing quality of Lefebvre's theory. And on the other hand there is an never ending questioning that ceaseless denies the possibility of any conclusion. It is a dynamic cycle of appropriation and expropriation. The operationalization of the theory is intended to reveal rather than conclude. The inquiry examines the real world social manifestation of social life in a contemporary neighborhood. This alone, is a challenging notion; infusing this investigation with a Lefebvrian ethos is another matter all together.

The abstraction of Lefebvre's space must maintain an interconnectedness between the spaces. Each respective analysis is developed as a specific method later in this chapter, reported separately in Part III and integrated into a comprehensive discussion of neighborhood space in Part IV. What follows immediately however, is a discussion about the specifics of the prescribed case study method.

CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

In the following section a multi-method context-dependent single extreme case study is argued as an appropriate scientific method of inquiry to explore the subversion of place by the network society and the space of flows. This section discusses case study methodology; the difference between single and multiple case study structures and the types of case studies such as context-dependent cases and extreme cases.

In general the case study method enables the systematic investigation of many real world phenomenon. In his writings for the Landscape Architecture Foundation, Francis states that "case study analysis is a particular useful research method in professions ... where real world contexts tend to make more controlled empirical study difficult" (1999, 6). He emphasizes the benefits of case studies and their ability to "often answer big questions at the intersection of policy and design" (1999, 6). In Yin's writings on case study methods, he states that "case studies are the preferred strategy [of investigation] when ... the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context" (1). The case study method is an appropriate analytical lens through which to examine contemporary neighborhood space.

CASE STUDY TYPES

There are many different types of case studies. Some case study types are explanatory and empirical while other types are more descriptive in nature. Francis identifies several types of case studies such as experimental, quasi-experimental, historical, story telling/anecdotal documentation and multi-method (1999, 4). Yin identifies three general types based upon the main investigative aim of the case study; some cases are descriptive in nature, some are explanatory, and still others are exploratory. While a descriptive case study provides some level of information, it does not penetrate the subject of neighborhood space and reveal the interrelations between the various moments in the production of space. The model of neighborhood space is not purely a descriptive mechanism. It is aimed at the relational qualities between the structural forces operating on neighborhood space.

Given the social complexity of neighborhood space and the infinite variability of human agency and subjectivity an explanatory case study creates several difficulties. Any singular explanation of neighborhood structure aimed at definitive relations reduces the complexity of the processes producing neighborhood space.

An exploratory case study is most appropriate to the investigative nature of this research in that it enables a reading of neighborhood space that transcends description and explanation. While the final results of this research are intended to explain contemporary manifestations of neighborhood space in relation to daily life, the process of investigation is exploratory and multi-faceted in character.

The case study for this particular research is a hybrid type that employs multiple methods of inquiry. Yin defines multi-method as a means of examination that poses parallel questions about a subject in different yet comparable scales and angles (151). The various modes of analysis and means of investigation should be complementary, asking similar questions in different ways. Yin asserts that "complementary inquiries can occur simultaneously or sequentially, but the initial analysis and reports from each inquiry should be conducted independently (even though the final analysis may merge findings from all the different methods)" (151; parenthetical original). Accordingly, each method of inquiry within the case study should examine neighborhood space from slightly different but yet complimentary perspectives that are conducted independent of one another.

Multiple methods are challenging in terms of the interrelation between each method and the synthesis of multiple inquiries. While the analytical complexities of multiple methods "may be difficult or impossible to summarize into neat scientific formulae" a comprehensive narrative of multiple methods is challenging but not impossible (Flyvbjerg 399). The dense content produced from multiple methods is the richest part of the inquiry and should not be reduced in the name of general truths for then it loses its value. The narrative style of a case study report is a benefit in that it is an opening-up rather than a summing-up; "The case study is itself the result" (Flyvbjerg 400). Even though a descriptive totaling of any case study is limited, the synthesis from multiple methods of inquiry may reach beyond pure description and reveal fundamental qualities of the phenomenon in question. It should celebrate multiplicity and avoid totaling. The synthesis should avoid the singularity of a structural determinism. It should embrace Foucault's heterotopia.

A SINGLE CONTEXT DEPENDENT CASE STUDY

Case study inquiries are often designed as comparative studies with multiple cases so that some general truths may be derived. The selection of multiple cases maintains an objectivity through the rational selection of comparable

cases based upon statistical variables. However, the desire for comparability and the resultant universal truisms often reduces the social complexity of human behavior and the specificity of environmental context to such an extent that the study may not reflect the reality of the social phenomenon or at least the social complexity therein.

While multiple cases may enrich research through comparison, the generalizability of multiple cases is, in some ways, less than that of one case in that much of the richness of subject and context is lost in an attempt to control for comparability. The reductionism associated with comparative case studies does not reflect the social complexity of the phenomenon. The findings from such studies are generalizable only within the limited depiction of reality. It is context which should be studied and made explicit if a generalized conclusion is to be garnered.

For Flyvbjerg "concrete, context-dependent knowledge is therefore more valuable than the vain search for predictive theories and universals" (392). Furthermore, he challenges the notion that generalizable truths can not be derived from individual case studies citing the major scientific knowledge that has emerged from context-dependent case studies. More often than not, the initial realization of true scientific knowledge is gained from a context dependent case and then only after that moment, tested in other cases. Flyvbjerg questions the superiority of generalizability as the only measure of empirical science and knowledge generation within social science:

Formal generalization is only one of many ways by which people gain and accumulate knowledge. That knowledge cannot be formally generalized does not mean that it cannot enter into the collective process of knowledge accumulation in a given field or society. A purely descriptive, phenomenological case study without any attempt to generalize can certainly be of value in this process and has often helped cut a path towards scientific innovation. (394)

A context dependent study may create new knowledge through a descriptive analysis of a particular case but it may also illuminate certain relationships to be examined through subsequent research.

THE EXTREME CASE OF THE SPACE OF FLOWS

Castell's depiction of the network society and the space of flows is an ideal type model and as such it has several general characteristics: 1) it is not ideal in terms of idealism, morals or ethics but rather ideal as a logical or thinking exercise; 2) it is not based on average but rather extreme cases; and 3) it is based on abstract representations of reality rather than empirical observation (Grönlund). Without an empirical manifestation these models persists as mental representation, as an ideal. Even though ideal type models are based on the social conditions associated with a particular segment of the population the observed social tendencies must manifest at some observable level. Rather than selecting three cases emblematic of the space of flows, the research aims to explore its existence in one case. Before extrapolation of the network society, the research must first discover the space of flows as a lived phenomenon and explore the subtle social manifestations therein.

While many scholars accept the network society as a sociological norm others criticize the assumed structuralism and impoverished perspective of agency depicted by Castells. It is to this point, that this particular research begins; it examines the space of place in relation to the space of flows but it is not structured as a negative hypothesis to verify or falsify the ideal type model. The inquiry is structured as an exploratory, multi-method, context-dependent, single extreme case study of contemporary neighborhood space.

The research examines how the space of flows is structuring contemporary neighborhood space as structural process and through agency. Specifically, it asks how mobility as a structural influence is expropriating the neighborhood and informing the physicality of post-industrial redevelopment; and conversely, how everyday mobility practice in nearness to home is appropriating physical space and structuring neighborhood identity. The dualism within the grammatical structure of the research question is intentional; it represents the dualism of the space of flows and the space of place. The dualism is however deconstructed through the triad of neighborhood space.

CASE SELECTION

The selection of an 'appropriate' case is a controversial aspect to all case studies. Contrary to the common rule of objectivity prescribed to most case selection, Flyvbjerg maintains that the subjectivity of case selection yields a precise advantage rather than disadvantage. The selection of a single case is often discouraged as a 'biased' practice. As a method of inquiry the single case

"maintains a bias towards verification, understood as a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions" (Flyvbjerg 398). He continues, "the alleged deficiency of the case study and other qualitative methods is that they ostensibly allow more room for the researcher's subjectivity and arbitrary judgement than other methods" (2006, 398). But more often than not, researchers report that their preconceived notions were in fact wrong; "It is falsification and not verification that characterize the case study" (Flyvbjerg 399). Furthermore, the selection of an extreme case is helpful when the research focuses on unusual, less representative cases that are not well suited for comparison. The selection of comparable cases of neighborhood space reduces the complexity of the neighborhood and denies the significance of context; something on which neighborhoods are inherently dependent.

The research is fundamentally interested in neighborhood space as lived in contemporary daily life and as conceived by the societal structures described by Castells. In order to conduct such a study, the actual neighborhood selected for research must meet two criteria. Firstly, it must have been planned as a comprehensive neighborhood in the digital age (in the space of flows). AND secondly, it must have been occupied by residents. The area of study must have been informed through a master planning process rather than an organic process of social ecology and community expression. If the neighborhood evolved overtime as a natural organic sequential outgrowth of community, the abstraction of the neighborhood as a planning concept would be difficult if not impossible to discuss. Furthermore, not only must the selected neighborhood have been planned but it should have been planned relatively recently within the space of flows. Again, the contemporary quality is an important part of the research in that the network society and the space of flows is a relatively contemporary phenomenon having developed within the Internet age. It must have international forces operating on its articulation. The trans-national development industry easily satisfies this criteria. The selected case must also have been occupied - it must exist as a real space for the everyday qualities of lived space to emerge. In other words, it must exist as a lived phenomenon enacted by those who have occupied the space of flows.

POST-INDUSTRIAL RESIDENTIAL REDEVELOPMENT

For many western cities the transformation of derelict industrial lands and post-Industrial redevelopment are a commonality oriented towards the recruitment of capital and improvement of economic performance. The redevelopment of the Baltimore harbor in the 1980s signified in many ways the beginning of this

movement. Not by chance did this movement coincide with the emergence of new processes operating global capitalism and the industrial flight from urban space. It is at this point in time that corporations, especially in the financial markets, entered a global arena largely aided by advancements in information and communication technology.

Contemporary redevelopment projects responding to this industrial shift away from the urbanized area include HafenCity in Hamburg, Hammarby Sjostad in Stockholm, Orestad in Copenhagen, Brygge in Oslo, Kings Crossing in London, the Diagonal Forum in Barcelona, the World Exposition in Lisbon, the Vastra Hamnen in Malmo, the River Gauche in Paris, Solar City in Linz, and Borneo and Sporenburg Islands in Amsterdam. Post-Industrial redevelopment is a societal process in westernized developed urban areas and an ideal context for the inquiry into the structuring of contemporary urban space.

While these redevelopment projects have been developed through phases spanning several decades, there is a clear emphasis placed upon the plan. These planned neighborhoods are not informed as an accumulative community expression. In fact, the absence of an existing residential community within these abandoned industrial lands emphasizes the planned nature of these development schemes. These projects are situated within existing urban space and typically exude an urban ethos that is highly visual. Furthermore, these redevelopment projects are often realized through an integrated network of finance operating globally in the space of flows. These projects represent the placeful qualities of the space of flows and mobile global capital. The selection of a post-industrial site is an appropriate context in which to explore the lived meanings associated with the space of flows.

Post-industrial residential development often assumes a high level of mobility, both in terms of the mobile capital accumulated to finance the actual construction of the space but also in terms of the social mobility necessary to occupy the space. These projects are typically oriented towards a population with a certain level of social mobility associated with the post-industrial managerial class. It is a population distinguished from the previous industrial labor in that they do not produce things but rather information. The contemporary lifestyle represented by these spaces can not be described as some vague notion of traditional community lived in propinquity to home. Although, the marketing of these developments may in fact manipulate consumer sentiments for some lost nostalgic sense of a premodern lifestyle in which local community is held

as an ideal, these redevelopments are more often than not promoted as new and innovative; sold as a contemporary futuristic space for new urban lifestyles. These development projects market themselves towards a specific audience and assume a certain level of social mobility.

These projects reflect the space of flows, both through the global development industry, as well as, the everyday rhythms of those living in place. Accordingly, post-industrial residential redevelopment is an appropriate context for an investigation into contemporary life as manifest in the network society in that it represents an extreme case of the space of flows.

JÅTTÅVÅGEN

When much of the industry in western cities was declining in the 1970s the city of Stavanger emerged as a critical industrial space for the innovation of petroleum exploration and extraction associated with the North Sea. A large industrial area near Stavanger called Jåttåvågen was annexed and then dramatically transformed by the production of large infrastructure associated with the Norwegian oil industry. And after twenty five years of production, Jåttåvågen declined as an industrial space due to the societal processes of globalization and neoliberalism. After thirty years of industrial activity Jåttåvågen was designated as a redevelopment area in the early 1990s. The space was to be a new urban district with commercial and residential space.

While the final regulation plan was legislated in 2000, only one third of the area has been developed to date. An inquiry into the social aspects of a neighborhood still under construction presents several challenges; spatially and temporally. Firstly, the spatial size of Jåttåvågen may not contain enough residents; the constructed area may be too small a population for an inquiry into neighborhood. But neighborhoods exist at multiple scales. It may manifest at the district scale but it may also exist at the street and block scale. While Jåttåvågen is incomplete, the constructed area contains over five hundred dwelling units. An inquiry into a relatively new neighborhood development may yield new and interesting insights. The incomplete nature of Jåttåvågen is an opportunity for learning.

Furthermore, the incomplete nature of Jåttåvågen and the relative newness of the area may limit the appropriation of the neighborhood. The identification of neighborhood space is related to time spent in residence. The newness of the area is exemplified by the on-going construction processes rather than some deeply entrenched identification of place that has emerged over multiple

generations. However, any sense of neighborhood is temporary and dynamic regardless of time. The notion of neighborhood space is always ever shifting, with or without construction activity. Urban space is never done. In general people are moving between houses and neighborhood more than ever before. A limited time in place represents an increasingly normal state of the contemporary neighborhood. The temporal aspects of a new neighborhood are not inappropriate; they are an attribute for an investigation into new and contemporary neighborhood developments. The relatively limited time in residence could yield interesting insights into the appropriations of place and formulation and articulation of new neighborhood identities.

Structured as a context-dependent single case study the inquiry examines the extreme condition of the space of flows as manifest in urban space. Post-industrial redevelopment in general and Jättåvågen in particular represent an appropriate context for the examination of contemporary neighborhood space that is representative of the space of flows. The following section develops the analytical model and specific methods of inquiry.

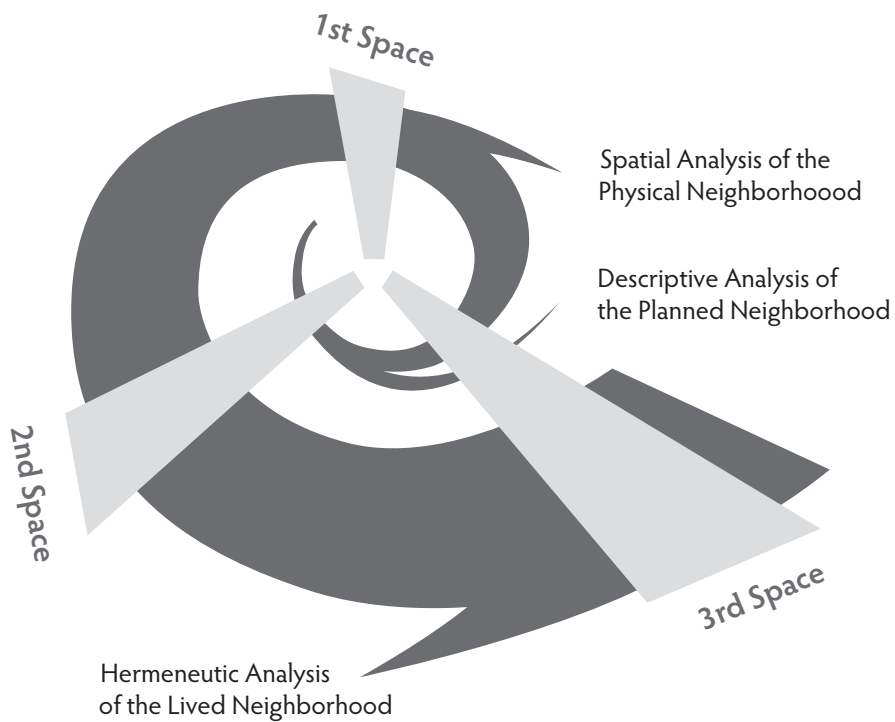
ANALYTICAL MODEL

The analytical model analyzes Jättåvågen through the trialectics of neighborhood space. The model begins with the dominant space of the conceived neighborhood and the spatial practice of neighborhood development. The conceived space of Jättåvågen is examined through a descriptive analysis of three planning texts. The perceived space of Jättåvågen is describe through a series of spatial analyses of the actual constructed neighborhood. The analysis terminates with an hermeneutical inquiry exploring the meaning of neighborhood space (fig. 4.01). Each armature of the analytical model responds to the fundamental nature of that particular aspect of neighborhood space. Together these analyses enable a zooming-in of the network society; a micro-ing of the space of flows.

A DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE CONCEIVED NEIGHBORHOOD

Within the highly politicized realm of city planning, municipal planners and local politicians produce narratives to support their specific conceptualizations of urban development. As a public profession planning relies upon rhetoric when advocating for particular projects, policies, or decisions deemed appropriate. The descriptive analysis specific to this armature of the analytical model outlined within this research summarizes the argumentation within the discourse of a particular planning project. Again, the analysis is not a deconstruction of the actual discourse.

FIG. 4.01



Rhetorics may be defined as the art of discourse; the mastery of developing a particular narrative as truth through the use of language. As Dear asserts “the conventional definitions of the word ‘rhetoric’ draw attention to the structures of writing and speaking, as well as to classical notions of the art of persuasion” (453). When crafting a particular narrative or discourse in planning rhetoric is an important technique; the subtle art of persuasion is key for any discourse to succeed. Accordingly, an analysis of rhetoric examines the ways in which particular values, narratives, or discourses are constituted and propagated through particular strategies. However, a rhetorical analysis is not necessarily deconstructing the meanings within a particular discourse but rather illuminating the particular ways in which that discourse is produced and propagated. It is in this sense that the descriptive analysis of the conceived neighborhood may be conceptualized as a rhetorical analysis. That said, it is not intended to be such; the analysis does not rigorously follow the strict rules of rhetorics. It is intended as a summary reading of the planning associated with Jåttåvågen.

The descriptive analysis summaries three planning documents associated with Jåttåvågen and includes the grammatical, as well as, the illustrative content. The documents analyzed include:

- *Jåttåvågen: Site and Landscape Analysis* (Department of Culture and City Development (abbreviated as ‘DCUD’), 1999) ¹
- *Jåttåvågen – Urban Development in Stavanger: An Open Norwegian City Planning Competition* (Norwegian Architects Association (abbreviated as ‘NAA’) 2000) ²
- *Municipal District Plan: Jåttåvågen* (Department of Culture and City Development (abbreviated as ‘DCUD’), 2001) ³

Together these documents represent several years of planning and contain a wealth of information specific to the conceptualizations of contemporary neighborhood space and the representation of this particular place.

¹ Original Norwegian title reads “Jåttåvågen: Steds og landskapsanalyse”

² Original Norwegian title reads “Jåttåvågen: Byutvikling i Stavanger: Åpen nordisk byplankonkurranse”

³ Original Norwegian title reads “Kommunedelplan Jåttåvågen 2001”

The analysis of these planning documents is not intended as a comprehensive reading of the discourse surrounding the entire planning process of Jättåvågen, but rather as an exploration of the representations of Jättåvågen as depicted in the main documents of the planning discourse. Qualitative interviews with professionals involved in the planning and design of Jättåvågen augment the analysis of the planning discourse. Interviews with designers, planners, developers, and municipal officials involved in the design of the project yield further insights into the conceived notions of neighborhood as represented in the texts. These interviews are intended to document the intentions of the neighborhood as designed and provide insights into the conceived space of the neighborhood.

While the abstract ideation of Jättåvågen represents one discourse specific to planning, the actuality of Jättåvågen as constructed, as an architectural three dimensional text, represents another discourse to be analyzed. The analysis of the physical qualities of the neighborhood represents the second armature of analytical model and is discussed in the following section.

A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF THE PERCEIVED NEIGHBORHOOD

Any representation of space, any plan or architectural rendering, is an abstraction and should be distinguished from the actuality of experience. The constructed space is experientially different than the abstract nature of a plan. It is to this point that the second part of the analysis is oriented; it examines the constitutive parts of the resultant urban form as a physical thing. The analysis is performed as a reading that is more architectural than rhetorical and relies upon several spatial analyses. The analysis is intended as a comprehensive description of Jättåvågen and is not performed as a comparison between the plan and the constructed space.

The critical reading of neighborhood spatiality relies upon four methods of analyses; a typomorphological analysis describes the new architectural structure of the area, an accessibility analysis describes the connectivity between architecture and landscape architecture; a land cover analysis categorizes the landscape surface by material type; and lastly, a landscape features analysis documents the prevalence of site amenities. The spatial reading of Jättåvågen is intended as a descriptive analysis aimed to establish a basic understanding of the neighborhood space as informed by architectural structures, architectural accessibility, the materiality of the landscape, and the type and prevalence of landscape features.

These four types of analyses respond directly to the research question; they establish the basic characteristic of the neighborhood. The subsequent analysis of the lived neighborhood is then layered upon this basic reading of neighborhood spatiality.

The analysis of architecture from a typomorphology perspective describes the physical structures planned by local municipal and constructed by the development industry in particular. This analysis describes the architectural structure according to building height and type while the analysis of accessibility describes the relationship between said architectural structure and adjacent open space. The analysis of land cover type describes the basic materiality of the resultant open landscapes while the analysis of landscape features describes the basic intent of the landscape.

While the architectural volumes frame adjacent open space the entries for each building represent potential movement into and out of neighborhood open space. Access into and out of buildings represent the experiential relationship between architecture and neighborhood space. It is to this point that the spatial analysis emphasizes accessibility. Accordingly, neighborhood open space is analyzed in relation to the accessibility of adjacent architecture.

The manner of access is a critical component to the experiential qualities of any landscape. Accordingly, all possible access points are categorized according to transit modality type and land use type; transit modality is categorized as vehicle or pedestrian while land use is categorized as residential or commercial. The pedestrian access points are further distinguished as single entry for an individual dwelling unit or as a common entry for multiple units. Barriers to access within the landscape, such as raised planters, elevation differences, seat walls, fences and guardrails are noted within the text to further characterize accessibility of the open space.

An analysis of land cover is performed to categorize the landscape by surface type and so provide a more detailed characterization of the materiality of the area. The systematic categorization of land by cover type is used in a variety of spatial analyses. Some analyses emphasize gross aggregate land types on a nation or global scale while others analyses emphasize subtle variations and distinctions of land cover types associated within a particular field of inquiry. Land cover analyses have been promoted by the United States Geologic Survey in an effort to monitor and analyze the transformation of land cover type over time and

illustrate the dynamic relationship between ruralism and urbanism. At a small scale, land cover analyses are used to model various effect of climate change at the local level. Certain categorizations of land cover type reflect different material attributes that have different temperature attributes and are studied in relation to global climate change. Similar categorization schemes are also studied at the local urban level when modeling local impacts of global climate change.

Land cover data sets associated with land cover analyses are typically derived through remote sensing procedures. The mapping of land cover within Jättåvågen is generated through aerial photography and then extensively verified in the field. Land cover is analyzed according to the following types: wooden surfaces; granular surfaces; synthetic surfaces; vegetation areas; lawn areas; and concrete and asphalt surfaces. While some land cover studies report tree canopy as a land cover type, tree canopy is not included as a land cover type in this research because the tree canopies are too small; however, trees are included as a point coverage.

The land cover analysis is further augmented through the recordation of landscape features such as site furniture, waste and recycle containers, public art, recreational fields, fountains, seat walls, and play area structures. The documentation of landscape features provides an understanding of the intended use of each area. For the most part landscape lighting and bicycle racks are not included graphically but mentioned within the text when prevalent. This analysis describes the intended structural quality of the space; it is not a quantitative method but rather qualitative.

Together the descriptive analysis of the main planning documents and the spatial analysis of the constructed neighborhood reveal the structural qualities of the contemporary neighborhood development. Together, these two analyses document the processes and spatial manifestations of the space of flows in place. And while both analyses examine Jättåvågen as envisioned and built, the analysis or reading of Jättåvågen as planned and spatialized neglects the lived experience of residents and their perspective of the space as an everyday phenomenon. These first two types of analyses illuminate the implicit values associated with Jättåvågen as planned and practiced and enable the subsequent layering of everyday life and the deeper hidden meanings associated with the lived neighborhood as an individual experience. This later analysis is discussed in the following section.

A HERMENEUTIC ANALYSIS OF THE LIVED NEIGHBORHOOD

In general a hermeneutic analysis reveals the implicit values of meaning through explicit examination of interpretations. In this particular research the hermeneutic analysis examines the interpretations of neighborhood and the implicit meanings associated with and layered upon the neighborhood as an everyday phenomenon. The intention of this analysis is to determine the qualities of the neighborhood identity and then, subsequently explore the relationship between these meanings and daily life in propinquity. This particular phase of the inquiry relies significantly upon a survey instrument; however, qualitative interviews and behavior observations further augment the survey instrument. The subsequent sections within this chapter develop the specific methods of inquiry but first a brief discussion of the hermeneutical cycle follows.

THE HERMENEUTIC CYCLE

The physical aspects of the neighborhood are on the one hand imbued with meaning from the architect, the planner, and others involved in the creation of urban form and on the other hand the neighborhood is experienced and interpreted by human subjects who perceive and then reflect upon this experience and place value on certain objects and events. This is the double hermeneutic of urban space. The city itself is a cultural artifact. Meaning is imbued as physical symbol to urban space through architecture by the architect and through everyday life by the resident; the developer and the neighbor. This is the dichotomous cycle through which place is made. The hermeneutical analysis in this inquiry examines the lived neighborhood as a meaningful phenomenon as interpreted by residents.

And while Seamon believes phenomenology to be a useful method of inquiry "to reconcile the difficult tensions between feeling and thinking and between firsthand lived experience and secondhand conceptual accounts of that experience" he also contends that there is no universal explicit method specific to phenomenology (2).

The criticisms of phenomenological research are several. On the one hand, the positivists criticize phenomenological research as "subjective, soft and anecdotal" and on the other hand, the post-structuralists and deconstructionists "question phenomenology's belief in commonality, continuity, pattern and order" (Seamon 17). From either perspective, the merit of the phenomenological research are questioned on the basis of reliability. However, the meaning of the lived neighborhood as appropriated in everyday life is not a positivistic

construct, nor is it exclusively individually based. The sense of neighborhood can not be structured by architecture alone. And it can not be structured as a purely individually constructed phenomenon. The neighborhood is a socially intersubjective phenomenon. It cannot be revealed through a singular reading of cause and effect, nor can the interpreted meaning be true for all.

The phenomenological research experientially derived is quite empirical in the literal sense. The phenomenological "approach can be called empirical, though the term is used much differently than by positivists scientists who refer to data that are materially identifiable and mathematically recordable" (Seamon 8). For the empirical phenomenologist an "understanding arises directly from ... personal sensibility and awareness rather than from the usual secondhand constructions of positivist science" (Seamon 8). Through observation of and engagement with the phenomenon the subtle hidden qualities reveal themselves. It is this primary relationship between individual and environment that informs the researcher's as well as the residents' experience and interpretation of the neighborhood.

While any reflection upon and interpretation is limited by conscious thought, the validity of such reflection is clear. And while interpretations are inherently subjective, that does not dismiss interpretation as an illegitimate representation of truth. Although interpretations may reveal only portions of a holism, interpretations are revealing. They tell us something about the subject of inquiry. And through multiple interpretations common patterns and trends may appear.

Seamon defends the reliability of a phenomenological inquiry, stating that:

Reliability from a phenomenological perspective cannot be defined as some equivalence of measurement based on some predefined scale of calculation separate from the experience and understanding of the researcher. Rather, reliability can only be had through what can be called intersubjective corroboration – in other words, can other interested parties find in their own life and experience, either directly or vicariously, what the phenomenologist has found in her own work? In this sense, the phenomenologist's interpretations are no more and no less than interpretive possibilities. (15)

An phenomenological inquiry produces interpretative possibilities derived through firsthand experience and engagement with the subject that can only be confirmed by the audience and their experiential field. Furthermore, for Seamon the reliability and generalizability of any single phenomenological inquiry can

not be found explicitly in the results but rather in the interpretations offered by the researcher and in the reactions to the research by the audience.

The researcher's engagement with the interpretations provided by residents and the interpretation of their interpretations represents a triple hermeneutic informed by the architect, the resident, and the researcher. A simple report summarizing the interpretations by residents clouds the researcher's own bias and may also fail to reveal the more intricate qualities of the phenomenon.

Accordingly, the hermeneutical analysis is, on the one hand, based upon residents' interpretation of the lived neighborhood and on the other hand based upon the researcher's interpretation. The distinction between these two interpretations are explicitly identified in the reporting of results.

Surveys represent one of the most common ways in which attitudes and opinions about social topics are examined in social science. Within this particular research a survey instrument is used to interpret the lived neighborhood and discussed in more detail in the following section.

EMPIRICAL METRICS

While the hermeneutical analysis is an exploratory interpretative phenomenological investigation of contemporary neighborhood space, the analysis is not without an empirical structure. Neighborhood space is explored as a multi-variate phenomenon. This particular inquiry into the lived neighborhood focuses on daily life hypothesizing that access and mobility influence the appropriation of neighborhood space as place. The interpretation of the lived neighborhood is based primarily upon a survey instrument but the analysis also relies upon observations and interviews with residents. What follows is a brief description of the empirical metrics and the definitions of independent and dependent variables.

The dependent variable is defined as the appropriation of space; it is a multi-variate phenomenon based on place satisfaction, attachment, and identity. According to Moser, Ratiu, and Fleury-Bahi satisfaction with place is a necessary precondition "for wellbeing and the appropriation of neighborhood" space (126). The research must first operationalize 'satisfaction' prior to the measurement of place attachment or the exploration of identity. The measurement of satisfaction is based largely upon the works of Proshansky and Ruggeri who established several specific instruments for the measurement of satisfaction, attachment,

and identity (Proshansky; Ruggeri 2009). The measurement of satisfaction is based on a series of likert questions asking residents about the levels of safety, privacy, comfort, and control within the neighborhood. The measurement of place attachment and place identity is again based largely upon the works of Proshansky and Ruggeri.

The independent variable is defined as daily mobility practice and hypothesized to influence the appropriation of neighborhood space. Like the appropriation of space, mobility is also a multi-variate phenomenon. There are multiple metrics associated with mobility, many of which are contained within the notion of an expanding spatial practice that occupies the greater urban realm. In this particular research mobility is operationalized and measured several ways.

The accessibility between buildings and neighborhood open space is one particular metric of mobility in nearness to home. Greater accessibility between buildings and open space hypothetically increases the degree of neighborhood satisfaction, attachment, and identity.

Mobility is also defined as daily transit behavior and operationalized as transit modality. It is a surrogate for spatial practice and hypothesized to influence the appropriation of space and the development of neighborhood place; walking is hypothesized to be positively correlated with neighborhood satisfaction, attachment, and identity while automobility is assumed to be negatively correlated.

While not necessarily associated with mobility, other social demographic variables such as age, income, household size, and education are also incorporated as independent variables and explored as possible influences on the appropriation of space and the development of the lived neighborhood.

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

The survey instrument represents the main method of inquiry for the hermeneutical analysis; however, qualitative interviews and extensive behavior observation augment the survey instrument. The eight-page survey and an introductory cover letter written in Norwegian were distributed through the postal service to five hundred apartments within the study area (Appendix I & II; see Appendix III for an English version of the survey). The initial survey cover letter also recruited residents for qualitative interviews. The survey structure builds upon the analytical model of neighborhood space by asking questions specific about the neighborhood as 'perceived', 'conceived', and 'lived'.

The first main group of questions pertain to neighborhood practice: Lefebvre's first moment in the production of space. This section assesses spatial practice in terms of transit modality, annual automobility, aeromobility, and the spatial distribution of daily mobile practice. Two questions specifically address the spatial distribution of daily transit behavior; question 4 provides a range of distance in kilometers for various types of destinations while question 5 provides a check list for specific retail and commercial destinations within the study area. Question 21 measures the patronage of local shops located within the local shopping center within the neighborhood.

Four more questions address individual spatial practice within the neighborhood. Question 6 provides a check list for possible uses of neighborhood open space while questions 7, 8, and 9 asks residents to estimate the time spent in neighborhood open space, the time spent socially interacting with neighbors, and the time spent on private terrace during a typical summer week.

The survey also contains a series of likert questions measuring resident agreement and disagreement about various aspects the neighborhood and daily life. Some questions emphasize spatial practice and behavior while others emphasize the abstract notion of an ideal neighborhood. Each question contains a series of statements to which respondents report their level of agreement or disagreement on a four-phased likert scale; strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, somewhat agree, and strongly agree. The questions were intentionally structured on four phase so as to avoid any neutrality.

Question 10 focuses entirely on daily mobility practice and contains six statements. Question 11 focuses on the actual neighborhood and contains six statements. Question 13 focuses on the abstract notion of an ideal neighborhood and contains seven statements. Question 15 focuses on neighborhood identity and contains nine statements. Question 19 focuses on the theoretical model of neighborhood space and contains seven statements with various combinations of neighborhood as a concept, as an experience and as an meaningful phenomenon.

While many of the questions are specifically created for this particular research and are not based upon existing empirical data, the final statement within question 15 is based upon the empirical investigations into place-identity (Dixon and Durrheim; Proshansky; Ruggeri). According to community psychology "the degree of place attachment to a site is best measured through

the perceived substitutability of other sites for the one in question; that is, the higher the acceptability of substitutes for the place, the lower the degree of place attachment to it" (Milligan 7). The last statement within question 15 is this structured as a negative.

Questions 16, 17, and 18 represent the semiotics of language specific to the aspects of place attachment and the appropriation of place through the process of naming. These three questions are open word responses.

Several questions within the survey measure the spatial aspects of neighborhood space through an illustrative method similar to the work by Lynch. In question 20 respondents are asked to indicate the location of their home, the main route to and from the neighborhood, and the general boundary of the neighborhood. In question 22 respondents are asked to locate their home and then circle three areas; their most commonly experienced open space, their most ideal open space, and their most meaningful open space. These two questions operationalize the Lefebvrian triplicate; the three subareas represent the perceived neighborhood, the conceived neighborhood, and the lived neighborhood respectively. These maps represent an exploration of the analytical model more than an actual spatial manifestation or territory. Each area illustrated by residents is digitized, geo-referenced, quantified as a spatial entity, and explored in relation to other data; however, correlative results from such an inquiry are dubious. These two questions in particular are more experimental.

The last sections within the survey pertain to the actual architecture of the house and the social demographic. There are several questions within the survey that explore the notion of neighborhood in relation to various aspects of the actual architecture of the house. Question 23 and 24 are structured as binary questions about primary residence and ownership of house. Question 25 records the prevalence of private terrace, private garden, private storage, and private roof terrace. Question 26 records the floor(s) on which each survey respondent dwells. Question 27 records the prevalence and type of dedicated parking space.

The last few pages of the survey contain questions about demographic information. Question 28, 29, 30, and 31 pertain to the general characteristics of the household. Question 28 quantifies the number of car(s) associated with each household. Question 29 measures household (family) size. Question 30 quantifies the number of school-age children in the house. And question 31 measures household income by range. Question 32 records the tenure in months

lived in current location while question 33 measures the number of residences maintained throughout life. Question 34 through 39 deal with gender, age, employment field, employment status, educational level, and place of birth. Question 40 asks respondents to list ways to improve the neighborhood and question 41 asks if there is anything else to which the respondent would like to speak. These demographic questions establish the social demography of the survey population and serve as measurement of 'post-industrial' socio-economic class.

SURVEY ANALYSES

The frequencies for each item contained within the survey are analyzed to provide a descriptive assessment of the results and develop a better understanding of the data set. Subsequently, a factor analysis is performed to simplify the data complexity of the thirty-five likert scales as well as understand the internal logic between these variables. The factor analysis clarifies the relationships between the various likert scales and enables subsequent analyses such as correlation, covariance, and regression.

The criteria for an acceptable factor are as follows: firstly, items must load at or above a .35 (as calculated through a principal axis factor analysis with a promax rotation) on only one factor; secondly, there must be at least three items on each factor; and thirdly, the eigenvalues for each factor must be greater than 1.0. Additionally, Cronbach's alpha is computed for each factor as an internal test of reliability; a Cronbach's value of .35 is used as a minimum criterion for reliability. And lastly, each factor is analyzed in terms of the respective percent of variance.

Multiple co-linearity of likert variables – the derived factors discussed above and the individual items that did not load into a factor – must be analyzed prior to the analyses of correlation and covariance between dependent and independent variables. As a basic criterion, independent variables with correlations greater than 0.70 should be excluded. With co-linear variables removed correlations between independent and dependent variables are determined using the Pearson method for the neighborhood satisfaction scale and the Spearman method for place attachment item.

Ultimately a regression analysis is performed to examine the possibility of a predictive model for the production of neighborhood space that relates the appropriation of neighborhood space to mobility practice and other variables associated with the neighborhood space. The regression analysis contains two calculations; a stepwise multiple linear regression is performed for the

neighborhood satisfaction scale and a logistical regression is performed for the dichotomous place attachment item.

In general the statistical validity of any survey analysis depends upon sample size and the return rate. However, with slightly more than five hundred apartments or possible cases within the study area, the optimal sample size for the study area is a mute point. The area is the sample and there is no way to increase that size. While a high return rate may validate the survey analysis as representative of the entire study area, the survey analysis is not intended to be totaling or representative of the neighborhood. Again, it represents an interpretation of neighborhood space as reported by respondents.













While the likert scaled questions on perception of neighborhood represent the main means through which the lived neighborhood is interpreted, observations of behavior in the neighborhood and qualitative interviews with residents augment the survey analysis and provide real vivid examples of specific interpretations. These observations and interviews are not quantified but rather used to illustrate key findings in the analysis. These methods are discussed in the following section.

OBSERVATIONS

In addition to the survey instrument several other methods are incorporated into the research. Daily life is observed through the mapping of behavior, the recordation of behavior traces, and the quantification of traffic volume. Behavior observations are used to verify transit modality and movement patterns as well as characterize the general patterns of use within the neighborhood. The observation of neighborhood open space is not intended as a documentation of a diminished sense of community but rather an investigation to the actual use of space. The observation of behavior traces and other aspects of the neighborhood are documented through photography and noted in a sketchbook. Specific discrete areas are also observed for two to three hour periods in which transit mode as well as general social behavior are recorded through annotation method referenced as 'motation' (Halprin). For this particular research the type of movement and all social behavior is recorded on one sheet for each area (fig. 4.02). Other environmental design researcher have relied upon similar observation and recordation methods (Gehl, Hester 1984; Whyte). Other methods employed by anthropologists such as 'ghosting' or 'tag-alongs' reveal in greater detail the subtle nuances of daily life (Kusenbach). The extensive observations of open space and the behavior of residents therein

functioned similarly. And lastly, a radar was installed to measure the vehicular traffic along the main internal road into the neighborhood in the fall of 2010. The radar recorded the amount of traffic entering and exiting the study area for sixteen days. If the roadway had significant amounts of traffic it may serve as a boundary to neighborhood sociability (Appleyard). Together the information garnered through observation augment the survey instrument.

FIG. 4.02

Location Motation		
Category		
Mode		
Direction	 	 
Quantity		
Distinction		
		
		
		
		
		
		
Notes		

Through the annotation of motion various transit modalities and associated behaviors were recorded.

INTERVIEWS

Several qualitative non-structured interviews with residents provide an open format for the exploration of lived neighborhood. The interviews provide an opportunity to verify survey findings and improve upon ambiguous responses to the survey instrument. The interviews explore the relationship of a daily life and the space of propinquity. After asking each respondent to remember their last walk through neighborhood and to imagine the materiality of that experience, each respondents describes their experience in detail. However, interviews require participants to reflect and require abstraction rather than direct experience. As a method of inquiry interviews may not reveal the depth of actual experience or the intricacy of the lived neighborhood in that they rely upon conscious reflection. The interviews enrich the other methods of investigation and provide a more nuanced depiction of contemporary neighborhood space. The interviews are not statistically quantified but rather incorporated into the results to augment the survey data and provide real life anecdotes of the lived neighborhood. They provide depth to the hermeneutical analysis.

REPORTING

The findings from the inquiry are reported through a linear analytical structure that progresses from the dominant conceived space of neighborhood planning to the perceived space of neighborhood spatiality and concludes with the hermeneutical qualities of the lived neighborhood. A descriptive analysis characterizes the conceptualizations of neighborhood space within three planning documents, a spatial analysis describes the physical qualities of the resultant neighborhood space, and a hermeneutical analysis explores the lived neighborhood as a meaningful phenomenon in relation to daily life. Together these multiple modes of inquiry explore the simultaneity of neighborhood space and examine the structuring of contemporary neighborhood space from multiple perspectives. The findings are reported in Part III and subsequently synthesized into comprehensive discussion in Part IV.

CONCLUSION

The methods as outlined in this chapter were developed in response to the analytical model on the production of neighborhood space. The case study method was selected as the general structure of the inquiry in that it enabled multiple modes of analyses for each mode in the production of neighborhood space. The investigation is structured as an exploratory, single, extreme,

and context-dependent case study with multiple methods of inquiry. The examination of contemporary urban space and socio-spatial manifestation of the space of flows in the multiplicity of everyday place are measured within this inquiry through multiple methods.

The theoretical model which structures neighborhood space into three modes of production is further abstracted into an analytical model in which each mode of neighborhood space is analyzed through a particular mode of inquiry. The planned neighborhood is examined through a descriptive analysis, the built neighborhood is examined through a spatial analysis, and the lived neighborhood is explored through a hermeneutical analysis. The descriptive analysis summarizes the three main planning documents for Jättåvågen. The spatial analysis describes architecture in terms of structure and accessibility and assesses the landscape in terms of materiality and amenity. And the hermeneutical analysis examines the notion of place through a survey instrument, behavior observation, and interviews.

While the analysis is structured as exploratory and revelatory it is not without an empirical structure. The inquiry into the lived neighborhood examines the relationship between daily mobility practice and the appropriation of neighborhood space as a multi-variate phenomenon, hypothesizing that access and mobility influence the appropriation of neighborhood space as place.

While the research examines the spatial manifestation of an ideal type model promoted by Castells, the research is not intended as a falsification of said model. The inquiry is not structured as a binary system from which Castellian space is either verified or falsified. Rather, the investigation is exploratory in that it searches for the meanings of the lived neighborhood and explores the interrelation of the various structures operating on the neighborhood. As such, the study relies upon multiple methods of inquiry to analyze the neighborhood from various perspectives. The three modes of analyses discussed in this chapter are reported in the following chapters in Part III and then synthesized into a discussion in Part IV.

V

JÅTTÅVÅGEN AS A CONCEIVED SPACE

In 1998 on the sixteenth of November the Stavanger City Council designated Jåttåvågen as a development opportunity due to the declined industrial function of the area. The subsequent planning process for Jåttåvågen spanned an intense three year period in which multiple representations of urban space were explored. The planning process progressed from an initial site analysis to the formulation of a development program that was then integrated into a design brief for an international design competition. From competition three compelling proposals emerged. These three winning proposals were then integrated into the master plan for the area.

Three key documents from this process serve as the material to be analyzed in this chapter. These documents include:

- Jåttåvågen: Site and Landscape Analysis (Department of Culture and Urban Development (abbreviated as 'DCUD'), 1999)
- Jåttåvågen – Urban Development in Stavanger: An Open Norwegian City Planning Competition (Norwegian Architects Association (abbreviated as 'NAA') 2000)
- Municipal District Plan: Jåttåvågen (Department of Culture and Urban Development (abbreviated as 'DCUD'), 2001)

The review of these documents is a descriptive analysis introducing the reader to the site and the predominant representations of Jåttåvågen as a development area. The analysis is reported chronologically in three sections specific to each document; however, prior to the reporting of the analysis the landscape paintings of Bernhard Hinna are presented as an introduction to the representational qualities of the conceived space and the persuasive nature of imagery in general. These illustrative works exemplify the evocative nature of imagery in general as well as contextualize the project area historically, for Bernhard Hinna lived in and around Jåttåvågen in the late nineteenth century.

BERNHARD HINNA AND THE REPRESENTATION OF SPACE

The landscape paintings of Bernhard Hinna serve as an excellent introduction to the representations of space in that they are quite literally representations. In 1890 B. Hinna painted a landscape composition on his living room wall entitled 'Morning Mist' or 'Morgenstemning' in Norwegian (fig. 5.01). The painting depicts a working harbor called Nautholmen located along the western shores of Gandsfjord in the exact location where petroleum platforms would be innovated in the 1970s and new post-industrial housing would be constructed in the 2000s. A sail boat anchored at a small stone pier along on the eastern shores of Jåttåvågen is depicted on the left and a small barn or shed in the right portion of the painting. With the sails drawn the mast rises vertically above Lifjell Mountain and pierces the horizon in the upper left corner. The landscape is not depicted with a sublime quality where nature is all powerful and dominant but rather the landscape is depicted as a working mercantile agrarian space. It is a representation of a cultural landscape humanized through the inclusion of laborers, a small shed, and a boat.

FIG. 5.01



Morning Mist (Hinna, Bernhard . Morgenstemning. 1890. Kunts Gallery, Stavanger)

Within the Site and Landscape Analysis a landscape painting with a very similar composition was included (fig. 5.02). Forty years after painting 'Morning Mist' B. Hinna painted another version of the same landscape entitled "Motif from Jåttåvågen". A woman is inserted in the bottom right corner of the painting in place of the laborers near the barn in 1890. According to the caption within the site and landscape analysis the painting represents the agrarian landscape and the small mercantilism practice of trade within the greater region. Boats carrying fertilizer from Bergen used Nautholmen as an access point for the surrounding agricultural fields.

The different compositions of these two landscapes exemplifies the representation of space, the conceived space of Lefebvre. Images quite literally structure the narrative. They are controlled and manipulated to represent different atmospheres and communicate different messages. The agricultural landscape and mercantile quality depicted by B. Hinna in these two paintings contrast with the industrial practices associated with canneries and ship building located several kilometers north in Stavanger.

With the loud sporadic rumblings of a train laying five hundred meters behind the perspective within the paintings, both depicted landscapes are markedly different from the actuality in which they were painted. In this regard the paintings only partially represent the context in which they were conceived. They are perhaps nostalgic remembrances of yesteryear; a way of life that was either, gone or going soon. The actuality of the Jåttåvågen landscape can not be solely described as agrarian when industry defined the economic space of the city and dramatically transformed the social space of its inhabitants.

FIG. 5.02



Motif from Jåttåvågen (Hinna, Bernhard. Motif fra Jåttåvågen. circa 1930. Kunts Gallery, Stavanger)

In contrast to the agrarian / mercantile ideal depicted in "Morning Mist" or the romanticism depicted in "Motif from Jåttåvågen" B. Hinna had in fact traveled internationally and experienced the rise of modernism in Europe. He had been to Paris, walked along the Champs-Élysées and even studied with Matisse in 1910 (fig. 5.03). He had seen the Eiffel Tower, ridden trains through the underground, and seen some of the first cafes and restaurants that would come to define the western urban experience. He had witnessed Paris at the turn of the century - the quintessential manifestation of modern urban space that would inform much of city planning for the next hundred years. And with all of this experience, he depicted Jåttåvågen as a agrarian atmosphere and imbued the space with a romantic tinge (fig. 5.04). These particular representations promote a specific atmosphere that is particular and exclusive. The paintings of B. Hinna illustrate the incomplete nature of representation as well as the emotional power of imagery. And in this regard, the paintings are representations removed from the totality of actuality. They are incomplete but nonetheless true.

FIG. 5.03



The influence of Matisse is evident in this painting by B. Hinna (Hinna, Bernhard. Boulevard Saint Michel. 1910. Kunts Gallery, Stavanger)

The three planning texts to be analyzed in this chapter are similar to the representative quality of B. Hinna's painting in that they also represent a particular perspective that is also distinguished from the totality of actual experience. These three texts represent Jättåvågen in a particular manner that is incomplete and biased. These three texts are analyzed as representations of space in the following three sections.

FIG. 5.04

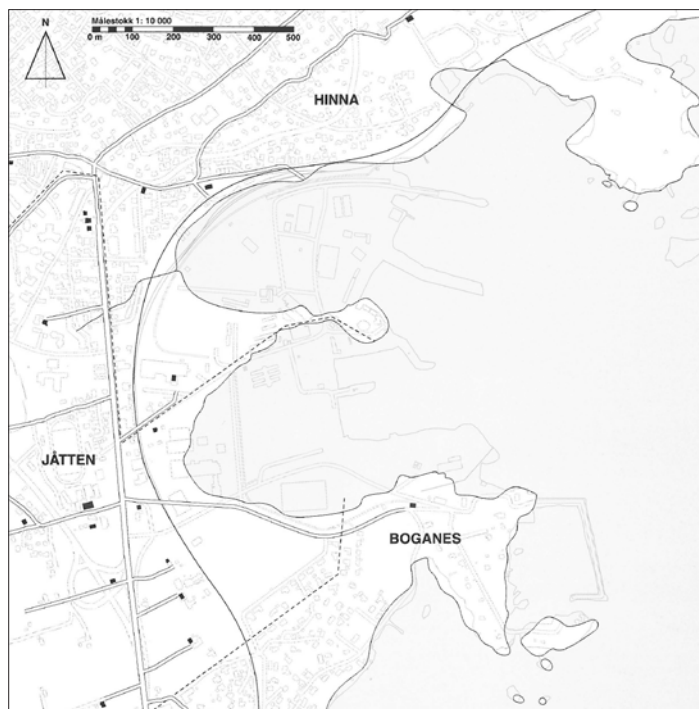


This particular painting illustrating the agrarian atmosphere of the Jæren region won the silver medal prize at the World's Exposition in Paris at the turn of the twentieth century. (Hinna, Bernhard. Myrlænde. 1899. Kunts Gallery, Stavanger)

SITE AND LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS REPORT – 1999

In 1999 the Stavanger municipality examined the historical development patterns of the area, analyzed the key architectural features, and published the findings. The analysis focused on Jåttåvågen and the surrounding urban area known as Hinna. The first part of the report analyses the landscape through typomorphology and identifies the major morphological patterns and structural elements of the urban environment according to three historical periods. The first period focuses on the agrarian structures that preceded the twentieth century; the second section focuses on the residential form that emerged in the first sixty-five years of the twentieth century; and the third period focuses on the industrial form that emerged after 1965 and the discovery of petroleum reserves in the North Sea. The second part of the report analyzes the landscape analysis of the area.

FIG. 5.05



The urban structures constructed prior to 1900 are shown in black in the above image; other elements constructed after this period are shown in gray (DCUD 1999, 9).

TYPOMORPHOLOGY

The typomorphological analysis documents the evolution of the urban form from the late nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century. The first section focuses on the low density architectural features present in the agrarian landscape prior to the twentieth century (fig. 5.05). The circulatory elements included the main road running north and south, the railroad running along the shore line, and several local access roads. Another landscape painting by Bernhard Hinna is also included in this section to further illustrate the rural quality of this era (fig. 5.06).

FIG. 5.06



The image above depicts the agrarian landscape of Hinna and the fjordic landscape of Gandsfjord from the perspective of Hinnaberget. (Hinna, Bernhard. Utsikt mot Gandsfjorden. year unknown. Kunsts Gallery, Stavanger)

During the first sixty-five years of the twenty-first century Jåttåvågen remained largely unaltered. Even with the addition of a train station in Hinna, the area remained primarily an agrarian community through the middle of the twentieth century (Analysis 1999, 10). The surrounding areas of Hinna and Boganes were developed as low density garden villas with a small amount of local mercantile shops along the local main street (fig. 5.07). A painting by Johan B. Hinna, the son of Bernhard Hinna, illustrates the landscape character of Jåttåvågen and Hinna in the 1950s (fig. 5.08). In contrast to open agricultural landscape depicted by his father, the image documents the residential development in the area. While the uncultivated lands within Hinna are replaced with garden villas, Jåttåvågen remains as an agricultural field on the horizon. Neither image here illustrates the social qualities associated with Stavanger and the industrial production there. These landscapes remain disassociated with the urban.

FIG. 5.07



The image above illustrates the low density residential development in Hinna during the 1950s. (Hinna, Johan. B. Utsikt mot Gandsfjorden. 1956. Kunts Gallery, Stavanger)

FIG. 5.08



The urban structures constructed between 1900 and 1965 are shown in black in the above image; other elements constructed after this period are shown in gray (DCUD 1999, 11).

However, the agrarian landscape of Jättåvågen would be transformed dramatically after 1965. According to the folklore surrounding Norwegian oil exploration Ed Jobin who managed the day-to-day operations for Conoco Phillips called Olav Christiansen at the Norwegian Oil Directorate on 23 December in 1969 to announce the discovery of oil (NRK). This was the famous early christmas gift for Norway. Contrary to this reading of history; however, the discovery was not a single moment in time but rather a steady development that evolved after 7 September 1969 when Ed Seabourn called management and declared that he could “cover the North Sea from here to the North Pole with oil” but then stipulated that there were problems with the well (Bøe). The tumultuous climatic conditions of the North Sea and the rugged subsea topography made extraction of the valuable natural resource difficult. Clearly new technological innovations were imperative for the successful withdraw of the previous mineral reserves. But perhaps equally precious was the public perception of the industry and its worth to the country. Clearly a mythology about petroleum was being constructed.

While Conoco Phillips and the Norwegian Oil Directorate constructed the discourse surrounding the emerging oil industry, the extraction of said oil remained challenging. The North American exploration and extraction technology that developed in direct response to the calm climatic conditions of the Gulf of Mexico did not work adequately in the North Sea. The much harsher environmental conditions of the North Sea demanded new innovations for platform design and extraction technology. The development of new technologies and infrastructures that responded directly to the specificity of the North Sea required new lands.

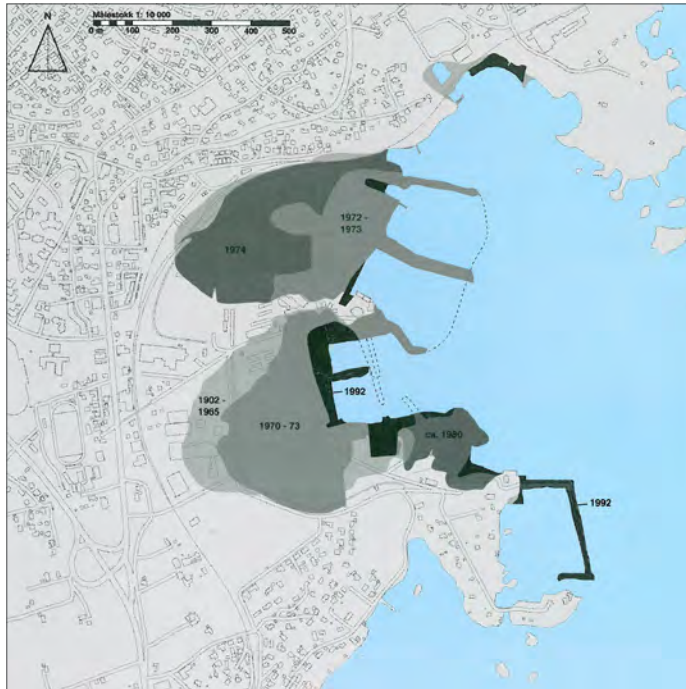
With the discovery of oil the Norwegian Oil Directorate turned its attention towards the development of a Norwegian expertise that would stimulate the emergence of a new industry and assure the realization of a Norwegian petroleum market. Several cities within Norway directly competed for the industry specific economic opportunities.

As a large area with a relatively simple ownership arrangement Jåttåvågen was an ideal location for the development of a new industry. Since 1887 the railroad had isolated Jåttåvågen from the surrounding areas and prevented any development. In many ways the site remained as a protected harbor fortified against the land and open to the sea; it was well suited for a new industry oriented towards the North Sea.

From 1973 to 1995 Jåttåvågen was drastically transformed for the construction of petroleum infrastructure such as platforms and storage tanks. Within twenty-two years eighteen massive projects were produced at Jåttåvågen. During this time Jåttåvågen changed dramatically, "the landfill, the shoreline, the buildings and the road system were constantly changing" through processes that were "exclusively controlled by the interests of production" (DCUD 1999, 14).¹ The transformation of the area was dynamic; it was altered dramatically for the

¹ "... utfyllinger, kailinjer, bebyggelse og veisystem har vært i konstant endring gjennom hele perioden, en prosess utelukkende styrt av hensynet til produksjonen" (DCUD 1999,14).

FIG. 5.10



The shoreline in Jättåvågen transformed dramatically between 1965 and 1995 (DCUD 1999, 15).

production of each project (fig. 5.09). Jättåvågen was similar to a large sandbox in which the sand shifted from here to there. And while the leaning tower is identified as a cultural landmark, the typomorphology analysis does not reflect the structures associated with the industrial fabrication during this thirty-four period. The construction of each project produced massive structures greater than any architectural feature in the entire region. These architectural forms are important features unrepresented in the typomorphological analysis.

Concurrent and subsequent to the discovery of oil and the areas surrounding Jättåvåge, Boganes, Vaulen, and Hinna, continued to develop as a low-density garden villa suburban space (fig. 5.10).

FIG. 5.10



The urban structures constructed between 1965 and 1999 are shown in black in the above image (DCUD 1999, 13).

LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS

The second section within the 'Site and Landscape Analysis' contextualizes the dominant landform features of the area, identifies significant sight lines and landmarks, delineates barriers to access, locates existing vegetation, and describes the general features of the coast. The analysis identifies the existing observable cultural resources such as stone walls and old street patterns to be preserved or integrated into new urban patterns. The landscape analysis emphasizes landform and access as the two key attributes of the area.

The etymology of the word 'hinna' signifies a short cut and may represent the natural landscape quality of the area in that the Hinna area exists a low lying passage between two fjords with two hills, Jättånuten and Hinnaberget, on either side. Accordingly, the area was then named for the relationship between these landscape features and may symbolize the connection between Hafsfjord in the west and Gandsfjord in the east (fig. 5.11). This east and west landform connection contrasts with the predominant patterns of movement identified by the typomorphology analysis. Only with the suburban development of the late twentieth century does the east and west pattern emerged.

FIG. 5.11



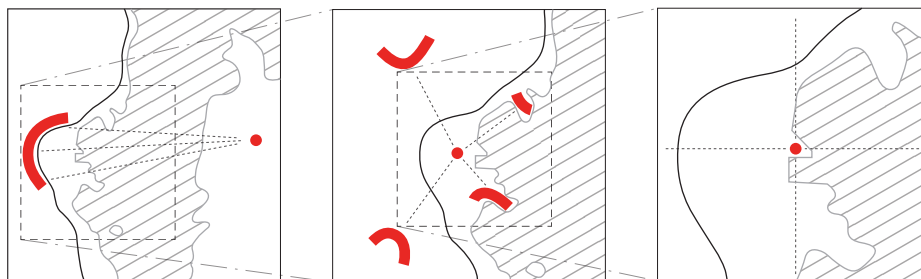
The topographical features of the landscape establish the spatial quality of Jättåvågen as a connective space between Hafsfjord and Gandsfjord (DCUD 1999, 17).

The report is largely based upon the dominant visual features of the landscape (fig. 5.12). Situated within the local topography Jåttåvågen is characterized as a large flat low-lying landscape room defined by three mountains; Jåttånuten, Hinnaberget, and Lifjell. The hills to the northwest and southwest, Hinnaberget and Jåttånuten respectively, define the inward quality of the space while the hills to the east across the fjord define the outward quality of the space. The garden villas of Boganes and the natural parklands of Vaulen frame the northern and southern edges along the sea and the leaning tower provides the central architectural feature of the area.

The report superficially analyses the landscape and does not explore the regenerative ecological processes of the landscape. The report identifies a natural beach in the north and several existing vegetative areas adjacent to the railroad as key natural elements but does not discuss the ecological processes associated with these habitats or analyze the natural factors that predate the existing condition. As a descriptive analysis the report fails to describe the ecological layers of the landscape that predated the existing urban structure. There is no mention of the habitat value associated with the natural creek flowing from Hinnaberget into the coastal wetlands along the fjord.

While the report explicitly limits the scope of analysis to an architectural perspective it fails to reveal the implicit qualities associated with the physical forms. The report contextualizes the existing site as an inaccessible isolated area. Jåttåvågen is presented as an open canvas; a “sea room” in need of a new identity and improved access (1999, 30). However, Jåttåvågen was not a blank slate. It

FIG. 5.12



The key landscape features are represented as a diagrammatic triptych depicting the view from Jåttåvågen to the mountain across the fjord (left), the four landscape features surrounding Jåttåvågen (middle), and the leaning tower in the center of Jåttåvågen (right) (DCUD 1999, 16).

represented an important part of Norwegian history in that it was a key place in which a significant portion of the petroleum industry and innovation emerged. The industrial production associated with Jättåvågen contributed greatly to the exploration and extraction of petroleum reserves in the North Sea and in part transformed Norwegian society. The three decades of industrial production at Jättåvågen mark a profound sociological transformation. The socio-economic transformation of Norwegian society is an important part of the history not represented in the analysis of Jättåvågen.

The industrial success of Jättåvågen must be associated with the massive influx of wealth and subsequent social transformations of Norwegian society. And while the Norwegian economy continues to rely heavily upon petroleum industry Norwegian society remains every dynamic, transforming from an industrial to an informational society.

THE DECLINE OF JÄTTÅVÅGEN AND THE RISE OF THE NETWORK SOCIETY

Jättåvågen declined as an industrial space due to the globalization of industrial practices and technological innovations that mobilized much of the industrial processes associated with oil exploration and extraction. New advancements in nautical architecture, pipeline technology, and subsea robotics diminished the importance of fixed infrastructure and development of massive infrastructure as had been produced at Jättåvågen.

The decline of Jättåvågen is emblematic of societal trends within the developed world, specifically the decline of government regulation, the promotion of a free market ideology, and the globalization of capitalism. The processes surrounding the construction of the first platform at Jättåvågen drastically differ from the processes surrounding the last platform, in that, the first concrete holding tank, Ekofisk, constructed in the 1970s was heavily influenced by and dependent on government involvement and local labor while the last project, Heidrun, constructed in the late 1990s was based more on a global process of production. The first decades of Norwegian petroleum industry characterized by a high level of government involvement and regulation while the later decades were more representative of government deregulation, privatization, neoliberalism, and the space of flows.

Norwegian Contractors, the company responsible for the development of platforms at Jättåvågen, emerged under strong government regulation that among other things, specified Norwegian labor. Over the years however the company evolved into an international consultancy oriented towards the global

practice of petroleum exploration, extraction, refinement, and conveyance. And, as the company entered the global markets, it also entered the global market of financial speculation. The firm was acquired by Aker Solutions Corporation, renamed as Aker Marine Contractors (AMC), and quickly became a global consultancy firm that exported industry specific knowledge pertaining to the design and assembly of platforms and other major infrastructural components of the industry to other international markets around the world. In 2011 Aker Solutions sold AMC to an international corporation by the name of EMAS. Not only did the industrial production associated with the industry globalize, so did the actual company. The firm itself became a product to be purchased and consumed on the global financial markets. Even the state-owned petroleum company, Statoil, has expanded beyond the Norwegian sphere of influence in the North Sea and entered the speculative markets of natural gas and tar sands in North America and Africa. These transformations represent the emergence of neoliberalism, the network society, and the space of flows as manifest in the cultural context of Norwegian society.

In only thirty years Jättåvågen witnessed the rise and fall of an industry and transitioned from an agrarian landscape into and beyond an industrial space. In the early 1970s the state run petroleum industry dramatically transformed the area into an industrial space and in the 1990s architects and urban designers re-imagined the area as a new urban space. The farmlands of Bernhard Hinna which had been piled atop with landfill and transformed tens of times for the construction of massive petroleum infrastructure, were re-imagined once more as a post-industrial landscape befitting the network society.

DESIGN COMPETITION SUMMARY CATALOG – 2000

Shortly following the designation of Jåttåvågen as a development opportunity the Stavanger municipality launched an international design competition for the re-imagination of the area. Jåttåvågen was presented as an imaginative space onto which futuristic representations could be applied.

The design jury observed five general trends within the submitted designs. Several groups organized the space into three distinct parts that more often than not divided the district. Other groups proposed a single unifying concept for the entire district; however, these proposals tended to disconnect the north and south areas and neglect the cultural landscape and distinguishing character of the area. Still other proposals infused a connective landscape theme throughout the entire district but often neglected the local character of the area. Other proposals emphasized the seafront as a significant feature but struggled to connect the site to the adjacent areas. And lastly, some groups structured the area as a series of linear elements with distinct functional and architectural identities (NAA 2000, 4).

While the competition represented a way of learning, as a way to visualize Jåttåvågen as a place of residence and commerce, the specifications within the design brief actually limited the exploration of Jåttåvågen as something other than a predefined configuration of residential and commercial land use. While the design brief encouraged respondents to innovate new ideas for housing typologies that promoted an urban ethos and exemplified sustainability in some vague manner. In fact, the brief limited the design proposals to a specific idea. By specifying a range of residential units in the design brief, proposals from the design competition explored small variations of a similar theme. Most of the proposals represented within the design catalog did not explore alternative programs for Jåttåvågen or significantly challenge the residential and commercial densities specified in the brief.

The design jury felt that no single design entry successfully responded to the design brief in a comprehensive manner. Accordingly, the jury selected three proposals as winners and made note of several other proposals that were deemed significant in some aspect of the represented design program. The three successful proposals include "dot.line", "yoto", and "urbs in rure". These three entries represent the dominant narrative of what Jåttåvågen ought to be. Each proposal represented Jåttåvågen in a specific way. These three proposals are reviewed in the following pages.

"DOT.LINE"

Lund Hagem Architects structured Jåttåvågen as a sequence of experiences organized around a sweeping green 'dragoncorridor' aligned with the leaning tower and stretching northward towards Vaulen (fig. 5.13). The proposal created a sequence of experiences that began as an architectonic space with an urban ethos and transitioned into a grand waterfront promenade at the sea. The waterfront was composed as a series of green open spaces extending from the dense urban center to the more natural landscape to the north. While the emphasis placed upon the leaning tower as a key landmark was not a new idea, in fact, the site and landscape analysis from 1999 specifically recommended such an idea, Lund Hagem Architects represented the tower as a landmark in association with the main axial promenade and open space system.

The neighborhood was structured as a combination of long linear housing in the southern area, orthogonally organized housing in the sea, and massive blocks on the northwest portion of the site between the water and the railroad tracks (fig. 5.14). The concept was criticized by the jury for the massive building footprints within the interior space and the limited developed in the southern area. Nonetheless, "dot.line" presented a powerful image representing the architectural qualities of an urban waterfront as a procession of experiences. However, there were two other winning proposals that further structured the notion of public space in Jåttåvågen.

FIG. 5.13



The green corridor stretches from Vaulen in the north along the new urban waterfront to Boganes in the south (NAA 2000, 7).

FIG. 5.14



The illustrative master plan from Lund Hagem Architects identifies blocks in the northwest, residential sea houses along the waterfront and a garden villa type development in the south near Boganes (NAA 2000, 6).

“YOTO”

Several young environmental designers from Tromsø working in collaboration with 70° N Architects structured Jåttåvågen as a rectilinear grid that was juxtaposed with an interconnected meandering network of landscapes (fig. 5.15). The design proposal maintained an axial entry that was similar to the “dot.line” proposal but it was not aligned with the leaning tower. The proposal provided a secondary axis of services oriented towards to adjacent areas in the northwest while. While the jury questioned the appropriateness of the urban grid in relation to existing cultural landscape patterns, they welcomed the concept of an interconnected landscape network and the programmatic connections with adjacent areas. Such a concept complimented the existing landscape patterns of Boganes and Vaulen and presented a means to reduce the massive architectural representations of Lund Hagem.

FIG. 5.15

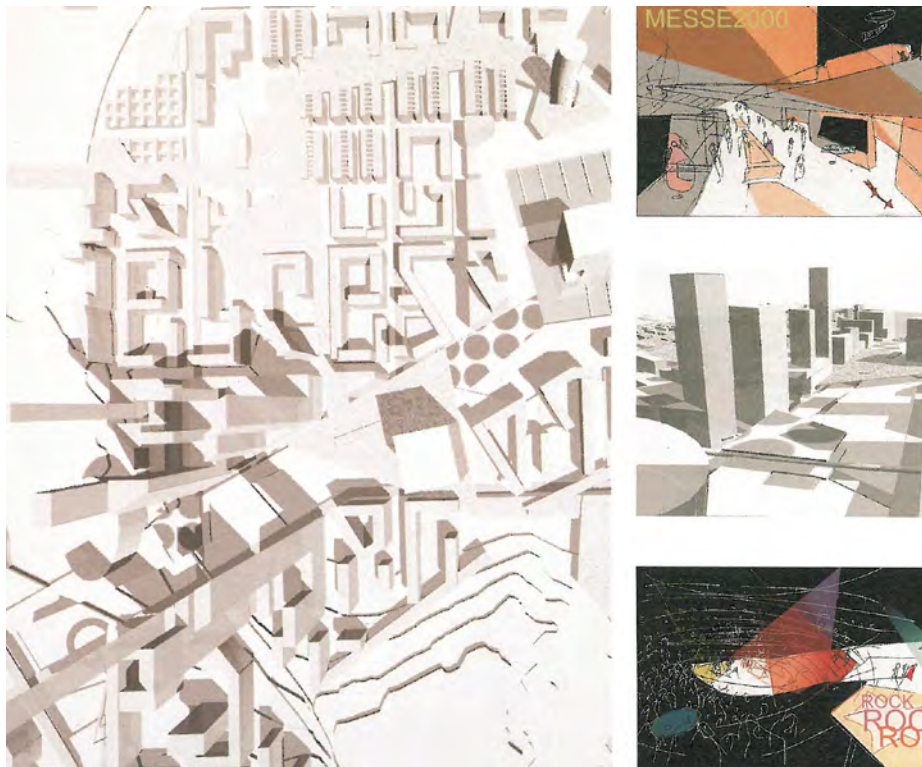


The illustrative master plan from 70° N Architects structures Jåttåvågen as an urban grid with an interconnected landscape network (NAA 2000, 8).

The neighborhood was structured as an urban grid with several different architectural configurations of residential space. Tall residential towers were sporadically placed along the waterfront. Small modular houses and row houses were arranged in the northern areas. The interior blocks were framed by discontinuous housing with courtyards.

The “yoto” proposal also included a stadium complex as a new programmatic item that would theoretically transform the space into a spectacle from time to time (fig. 5.16). This notion was not only emblematic of the experience economy or cultural economy, it also infused the idea of grand public events into the representation of Jättåvågen. It represented Jättåvågen as a social space for public spectacle.

FIG. 5.16



A volumetric illustration from 70° N Architects represents the central area as a dense urban area oriented towards the social spectacle of rock concert (NAA 2000, 9).

“URBS IN RURE”

Logg Architects structured the area as a low density villa with an ecological emphasis (fig. 5.17). The proposal emphasized the regeneration of ecological processes associated with the coastal landscapes of Gandsfjord. Through ‘deliberate neglect’ these restored lands would emerge over time as vibrant natural resources rich with wildlife. The proposal restored coastal wetlands, constructed a canal, and brought the fjord-scape into the central area. While many design proposals also reconfigured the waterfront, this particular intervention was compelling for the jury in that it juxtaposed the sensitive ecological dynamics of coastal wetlands with the development of a new residential quarter.

FIG. 5.17



The illustrative master plan from Logg Architects structures Jättåvågen as an ecological space with moderate residential development (NAA 2000, 11).

The neighborhood was structured as a mixture of small to medium houses scattered across the landscape in a disorganized fashion. The jury criticized the proposal as limited in terms of the development opportunities; the garden villa ethos did satisfy the specified densities as stated in the design brief. Furthermore, the proposal exhibited an internal conflict in that the concept of 'deliberate neglect' juxtaposed the highly maintained quality of a villa landscape. The orientation of the architectural elements ignored local climatic conditions and did not exhibit a systematic approach to environmental design. And while the proposal restored habitat in the interior portions of the area, the shoreline remained unaltered. The ecological ethos of the plan did not manifest at the sea or in the architecture itself. In the end though, the emphasis placed upon the sea and landscape ecology provided programmatic elements for the expansive and yet unspecified landscape network presented in the "yoto" proposal.

JURY DELIBERATION

These three design proposals when taken together as a whole represent the ideation of Jättåvågen as determined by the design jury. In summation of these three proposals Jättåvågen is represented as an urban district with a formal axis oriented towards the leaning tower. The central area is represented as a grand space for large cultural events and contemporary urban life; it is a conflicted space in which the everyday and the spectacle commingle. And the open space is represented as a network of landscapes with a diversity of ecological qualities and cultural programs.

By inviting professionals to participate in the ideation of Jättåvågen, the design competition signifies a democratic process in which alternative ideas are explored. However, the representation of Jättåvågen was not profoundly altered by the design competition. The design proposals more vividly illustrated the socio-spatial qualities of the area as a real estate development.

While the concept of a stadium altered the program for the development of Jättåvågen, the design competition confirmed preconceived notions as formulated by the planning department and the Hinna Park development corporation. For instance, the design program for the competition brief stipulated a range of 1,500 to 2,000 dwelling units and 5,000 to 8,000 offices; these are the exact numbers that are contained in the final regulation plan that was published one year after the design competition. In this regard, the preconceived notion of what Jättåvågen ought to be in terms of density and in terms of what the market would demand was confirmed by the selection of particular design proposals that maintained similar numbers.

The concepts represented within these three proposals appealed to a wide audience. There is an urban emphasis for the urbanist, an ecological ethos for the environmentalist, a historical emphasis for the cultural landscape preservationist, and of course, a wealth of investment opportunities for the capitalist. As a rhetorical technique, the selection of multiple design proposals appeals a wider audience and perhaps garners greater political momentum. However, the selection of these three proposals and the concepts contained within these designs represents conflicting ethos. The ecological emphasis within the “urbs in rure” concept may balance the architectonic massing of “dot.line” and structure the landscape of “yoto” but the concepts may also conflict with one another. The concept of garden villas expressed in the “yoto” and “urbs in rure” compliment the existing neighboring residential areas but contrasts with the urban ethos placed upon Jättåvågen.

The integration of these various concepts into one single plan represented a major challenge for the subsequent planning of Jättåvågen. The municipality was to somehow develop a coherent master plan for the area working in collaboration with the Hinna Park development corporation as well as representatives from the three winning proposals.

DISTRICT MASTER PLAN – 2001

The master plan for Jättåvågen contains four sections: the first section contextualizes the plan and planning process; the second section summarizes the general intent of the plan; the third section delineates specific development opportunities through land use regulation; and the fourth section discusses implementation strategies for the first phase of

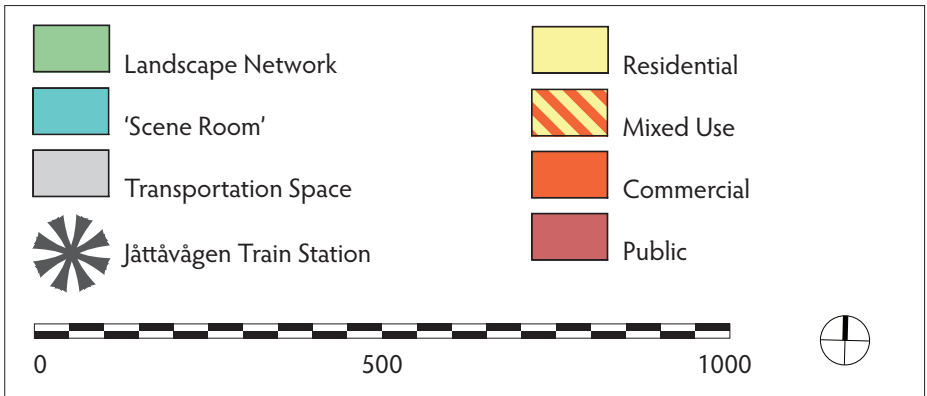
At the most basic level the master plan delineates areas within the district for commercial and residential development and delineates a network of public space (fig 5.18). Most of the housing is located along the waterfront while most of the commercial space is concentrated near the train station. A mixture of commercial and residential development opportunities are located between the central commercial area and the residential areas along the periphery. Additionally, three development opportunities for civic institutions are included within the plan but the area for these sites are small when compared to the total district. These development opportunities, whether private or public, are connected through an hierarchical transportation system with regional and local streets as well as an expansive network of public space that contains a variety of open space types and functions.

FIG. 5.18



The land use plan located the commercial areas nearest the train station and the residential areas along the sea. The two arcs shown above represent 500 meter and 1000 meters radii from the starred train station.

LEGEND



The subsequent description of the plan is reported in four sections: the first section contains the district center and is associated with the train station, the commercial stadium complex, and several key open space elements; the second section contains the public space along the waterfront and is associated with the leaning tower, pier, and the canal; the third section contains the residential areas on the periphery of the district; and the fourth section contains the landscape network throughout the whole district.

DISTRICT CENTER

In many regards, the master plan in general and the district center in particular were intended to stimulate economic growth and recruit private capital for the development of underutilized lands. The commercial areas associated with the district center were to be a "feeding ground for competency-based, work-intensive businesses" associated with technological innovations (DCUD 2000, 16).² While the plan was an explicit appeal to the recruitment of capital investment, it also maintained flexibility as a key feature. The plan did not identify specific commercial uses but rather prohibited traditional industry with high levels of noise and other environmental pollutants that would conflict with the adjacent residential areas.

The red hued image on the front and back of the master plan is an abstract collage that depicts the three main principles for the district center; alternative transportation, the experience economy, and a highly architectural public space called 'Scene Room' (fig. 5.19). The passenger train in the foreground symbolizes a connective urban space serviced by public transportation. The stadium complex on the right reflects a performative atmosphere of a large public event alit with spot lights. A series of glowing electronic screens and building facades extend the performative atmosphere of the experience economy into the main axial promenade or 'Scene Room'. The district center is depicted here as a vibrant space that is highly urban and active and linked to the leaning tower on the horizon.

² "... næringsområde for kompetansebaserte, arbeidsplass-intensive virksomheter" (DCUD 2000, 16).

FIG. 5.19



The cover for the master plan emphasizes the main entry promenade with the leaning tower on the horizon, the stadium complex with large cultural event, and the regional light rail in the foreground (DCUD 2001, 47).

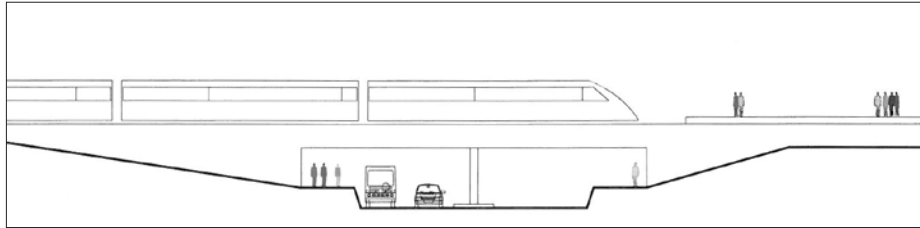
CENTRAL STATION

The district center was to take "maximum advantage of its proximity to light rail"³ and promote the train station as a prominent architectural feature from which one could view the central open spaces associated with the leaning tower and the waterfront (2000, 16). The train station "should be a clearly visible and easily accessible part of the plan that constitutes the gateway to Jåttåvågen, for both motorists and public transport" (DCUD 2001, 46).⁴ The station was to emphasize the core area and create an socially interactive public space. Yet the regulatory guidelines for the station do not stipulate the articulation of any any architectural feature or integrate the station into the circulatory system but rather minimally established basic dimensions for multiple modes of traffic flow disassociated from the station (fig. 5.20). And while the regulation of floor area ratios structured the architectural volumes to a certain degree, the plan did not specify architectural volumes to maintain specific view corridors. The regulation and guidelines within the master plan for this particular place makes no assurance of architectural or social performance.

³ "... maksimalt utnytter beliggenheten ved jernbane/bybane" (DCUD 2000, 16).

⁴ "... skal være en godt synlig og lett tilgjengelig del av dette byrommet som utgjør innfallsporten til Jåttåvågen, bade for kjørende og kollektivt reisende" (DCUD 2000, 46).

FIG. 5.20



The main entry into Jättåvågen shown above illustrates the vehicular traffic requirements for the underpass under the lightrail (DCUD 2001, 69).

The descriptive portions of the master plan provide some clues as the intended qualities for this area. For instance, photographs of two architectural models designed by OMA depict a complex layering of architecture atop transport infrastructure in Almere, Netherlands. The imagery is included within the plan as an example of urban complexity and the successful articulation of contemporary architecture but the inclusion of this particular image relies upon the reputation of Rem Koolhaas rather than the actual architectural configuration depicted. The example does not manifest in the regulation of the new entry street for the district or the expression of the train station as an architectural feature. The access road quite simply assures access for development rather than some social performative criteria.

The text within the plan made mention of the importance of parking restrictions, stating that “next to a good public transport system the strict regulation of parking is an effective means to reduce the growth of traffic” (DCUD 2001, 45).⁵ However, the inclusion of any meaningful parking regulation was not realized. Rather than establish maximum parking ratios, the plan specified minimum parking ratios with one parking space for every hundred square meters of commercial or residential space. A parking space was essentially represented as a right, inextricably linked to the house or office. While the train station represented the public transportation goal for the area, the plan lacked any meaningful regulation that would encourage the use of public transit.

⁵ “... ved siden av et godt kollektivtilbud det sterkeste virkemiddel for å redusere veksten i biltrafikken” (DCUD 2000, 45).

The provision of parking was undoubtedly a critical requirement for the market approach of the plan that effectively undermined the goal of public transit. Within the highly automotive context of Stavanger a market oriented plan most assuredly produced an urban fabric that was also highly automotive in character. Any meaningful and effective regulation of automobility would have contrasted with the open market ethos of the plan and may have reduced the marketability of the development in terms of recruiting interested investors and promoting the sale of property. The alternative transportation goal was perhaps an impossibility within a purely market-oriented solution.

As an underutilized land on the periphery of two adjacent cities Jåttåvågen was conceptualized as a new urban space highly accessible to the region, not necessarily the adjacency to neighboring urban areas. As stated in the plan “the area has a very central location in the region, halfway between Stavanger and Sandnes, 7 km from Sola Airport and 3 km from the Ullandhaug campus” (DCUD 11).⁶ As a development site, Jåttåvågen was less than two kilometers from the highway, eight kilometers from the Stavanger, and twelve kilometers from Sandnes. The accessibility of Jåttåvågen as a vehicular space was an attribute for the development of the area. In this regard, the representations of public transportation is a rhetorical technique to gain approval.

THE SPECTACLE

While the core area was conceived of as a transportation oriented development of sorts, it was also conceived of as a grand space for the experience economy and the commodification of culture. The central open space was conceived of as flexible and dynamic performative space (fig. 5.21); the space was to evoke a variety of moods and host a mixture of cultural programs.

A stadium complex located immediately east of the train station and south of the main entry street could accommodate large cultural events and shape the core area as well as the public space therein as a social spectacle.

⁶ “Området har en meget sentral beliggenhet i regionen, midt mellom Stavanger og Sandnes, 7 km fra Sola flyplass og 3 km fra Universitetsområdet på Ullandhaug” (DCUD 2000, 11).

FIG. 5.21



The image above illustrates an sporting event within the stadium and adjacent open spaces (DCUD 2001, 48).

Another image within the master plan depicted the public space as a 'scene room' (fig. 5.22). The text contained within the image for this concept describes everyday life as vulnerable and helpless:

Jugglers are coming!

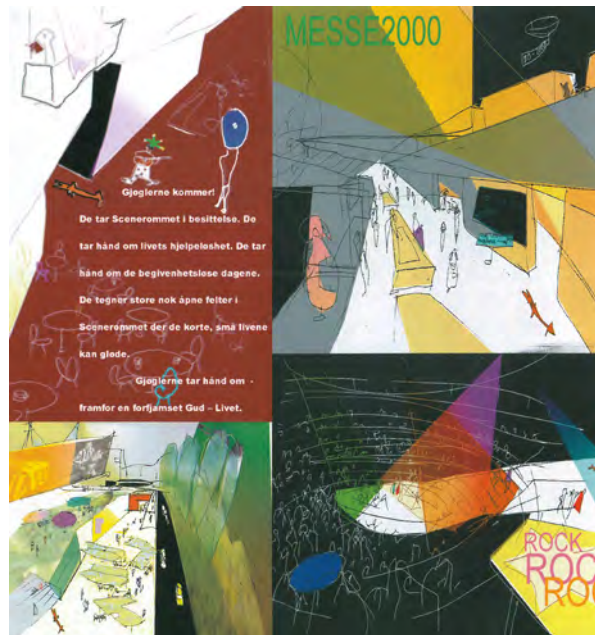
They take the scene room and own it. They care about the helplessness of daily life. They care about the uneventful day. They draw large enough open fields in the scene room where the short, small lives can glow. (DCUD 26).⁷

The cultural programs in this case jugglers, appropriate the public space and infuse daily life with meaning and bring light to mundane everyday. While dramatically abstract and perhaps lost in translation the text characterizes the daily life as vulnerable; people do not have the ambition or power to create unique experiences or overcome the oppressive quality of a mundane everyday

⁷ "Gjøglerne kommer!

De tar scenerommet i besittelse. De tar hånd om livets hjelpeløshet. De tar hånd om de begivenhetsløse dagen. De tegner store nok åpne felter i scenerommet der de korte, små livet kan gløde" (DCUD 2000, 26).

FIG. 5.22



Everyday life and the grand social spectacle of a rock concert are represented as a collage (DCUD 2001, 26).

life. They are helpless. Ironically, the uneventful day is liberated through the cultural programming produced by institutionalism of the local municipal and corporations organizing large social spectacle, not the individual.

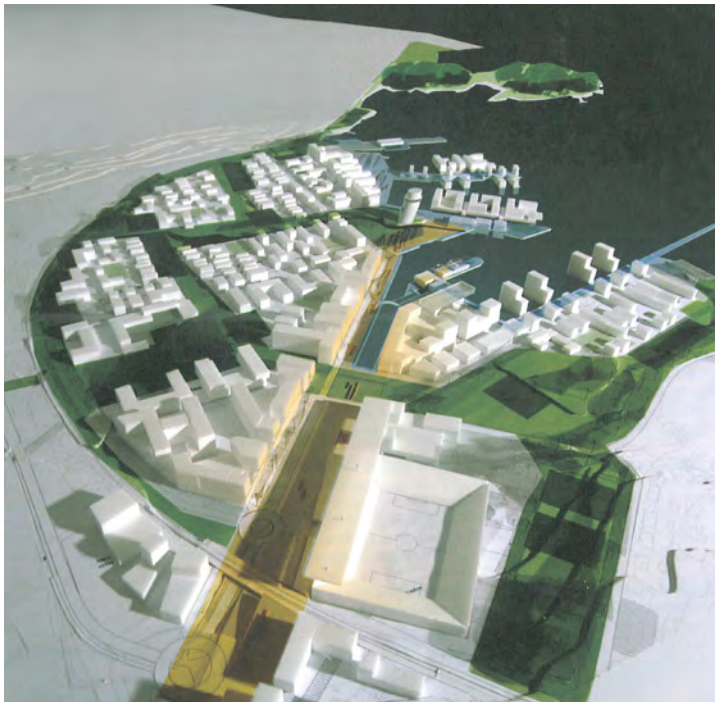
Realistically however the cultural programs associated with the stadium operate only sporadically and leaves everyday life still vulnerable for the great majority of time. The stadium, located immediately adjacent to the train station, was planned as a public space that would be empty and abandoned on most days. With only a few events each year, the social quality of the space is uneventful more the three hundred days a year. So daily life would in fact dwell within an abandoned landscape designed for an intensity of use dissimilar to the everyday.

CENTRAL OPEN SPACE

The public space within the central area contains two key open spaces; one open space is organized as a linear sequence of spaces from the train station to the leaning tower and the sea front while the other open space is organized as a central plaza located at the intersection of the linear open space and the district landscape network.

The formal axial promenade aligned with the leaning tower represents the main entry experience for the district and a key structural concept for the central open space system (fig. 5.23). It is the primary access for the entire district and serves as a central corridor of the open space network, linking the train station and the central area to the waterfront and the greater landscape network. The linear space was to be programmed as an event space with a highly urban character framed by tall architectonic volumes (fig. 5.24).

FIG. 5.23



The model illustrates the main axial promenade as the key open space feature of the plan (DCUD 2001, 24).

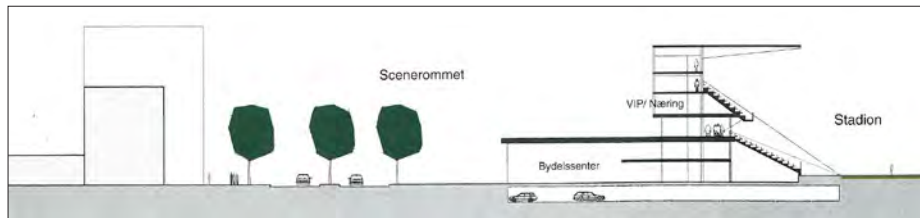
FIG. 5.24



A conceptual axonometric diagram contains tall architectural volumes framing the open space along the main promenade (DCUD 2001, 74).

The main linear promenade humanized the new urban space as a pedestrian space; extending the urban architectonic aesthetic towards the sea and visually connecting the new district to the leaning tower. However, the master plan specified only two traffic lanes and a central median for this main axis. There was no minimum dimension or specification provided for the pedestrian space in this area. And while the implementation strategy provides some clues as to the intended architectural relationship between the stadium and the main promenade, the relationship was not regulated as an architectural volume. While the stadium is presented as a terraced volume in the descriptive section of the master plan the representation is not legally binding (fig. 5.25).

FIG. 5.25



While the regulation of the main promenade emphasized the vehicular space, the regulation plan contained a sectional illustration depicting the stadium complex as a terrace volume that related directly to the promenade (DCUD 2001, 77).

The central plaza, the other key open space, was a key element of the district center linking the central area and all of its activities to the surrounding areas; it was conceived of as a central node in the landscape network. It was to balance the compactness of the central area with a generous open spaces. Within the land use plan it is designated as a special open space to be programmed at a later date in coordination with the stadium complex and the development of a cultural program. The area was to relate directly to adjacent buildings and maintain sight lines to Gandsfjord (fig. 5.26) and the new small boat harbor to the east as well as the train station to the west (DCUD 2001, 65). The area was represented as a connective space, both visually and physically.

CENTRAL WATERFRONT

The central waterfront, the second section of the master plan, contains a mixture of different land uses with commercial activity located in the central area and the residential designations located in the northern and southern peripheries. The canal connects the district center to the mixed use area surrounding the leaning tower while a waterfront promenade connects the adjacent residential waterfront areas to the central area.

CANAL

The main promenade extends along the canal and connects the district center to the leaning tower. The areas immediately adjacent to the canal are designated as a mixed-use areas and described as "more intimate space than the urban space around the district central area" (DCUD 2001, 49).⁸ The area is more of an everyday public space compared to the grand episodic nature

⁸ "... mer intimt rom enn byrommet rundt bydelscenteret" (DCUD 2000, 49).

FIG. 5.26



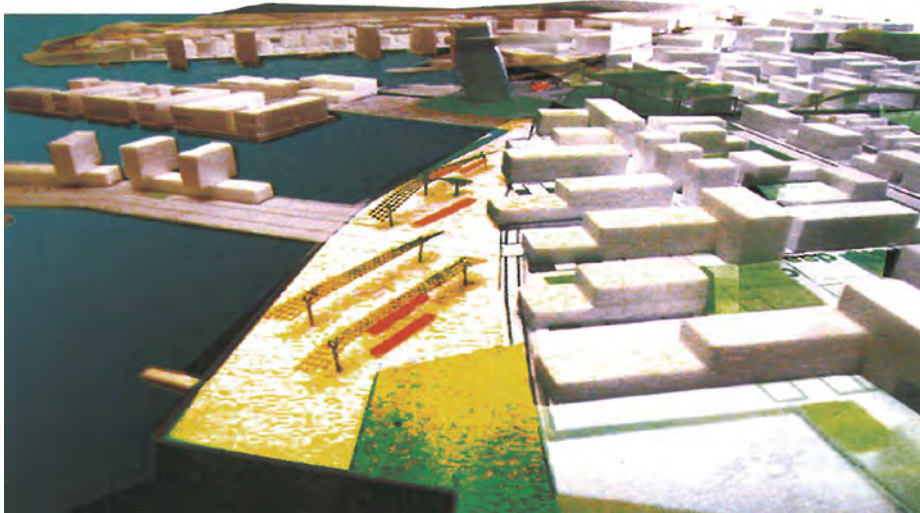
The photograph above illustrates the visual connection between the plaza in the center and the harbor promenade oriented towards the horizon (DCUD 2001, 76).

of the cultural programs associated with the central district. It was to be daily inhabited by residents and laborers. However, the canal area is also more urban and commercial than the residential areas along the waterfront to the north and south.

LEANING TOWER

The leaning tower represents the main landmark of the district but it is also the central feature of the central waterfront. Surrounded by a small amount of designated public landscape the leaning tower is also adjoined by a conference center and a mixture of commercial and residential space. And while the leaning tower park is designated as a special public space to be coordinated with future developments the conference center located immediately adjacent to the leaning tower represents a private sporadic land use, similar to the stadium, that will not consistently contribute to the everyday quality of public space. The waterfront to the north of the leaning tower is represented as a generous urban public space serving both residents and visitors but no specific relationship between architecture and the waterfront is specified (fig. 5.27). The waterfront to the south of the leaning tower is represented as a public promenade extending the central promenade from the district center. The portions of Jättåvågen along the waterfront further to the north and south are primarily represented as residential zones and discussed in the following section.

FIG. 5.27



The above image illustrates the open space along the waterfront north of the leaning tower (DCUD 2001, 28).

HOUSING

The residential areas as described within the plan exhibit three different qualities. While the leaning tower represents the public waterfront, much of the waterfront is in fact designated as private development opportunities for residential properties. The docklands in the north and harbor area in the south are designated as residential land uses. The inland residential areas are designated as an urban experience structured on the linearity of streets, promenades, and the landscape network while the southern residential areas nearest Boganes are designated as urban villas.

The distinction between these residential zones relied primarily on different floor area ratios. This strategy was promoted as an effective means to “provide a wide range of housing types with different standards and diverse qualities” (DCUD 2001, 39).⁹ While floor area ratios were used as an approximation for different building types and densities, the plan did not specify housing types beyond basic volume constraint or maximum density (fig. 5.28). So while the plan promoted “housing for all types of people in a modern city” it made no specific provisions for family housing or low to moderate income housing (DCUD 2001, 16).¹⁰ The plan stipulated that housing type or style be informed by the local market and consumer preferences rather than determined by government regulation.

The plan attempted to control the development opportunities nearest the water “so that access to the waterfront is not privatized”¹¹ but then simultaneously located the highest densities along the waterfront (DCUD 2001, 28). By locating the tall residential buildings along the seashore the shadows were minimized for adjacent areas but such a strategy effectively privatized the seafront. The Project for Public Space (PPS) discourages the provision of residential space along public waterfronts for the conflict of use, “A high concentration of residential development undermines the diversity of waterfront use and creates pressure to prevent nighttime activity from flourishing” (PPS 2011). The high residential density along the waterfront obscures views to the sea for the buildings further inland and diminish the public qualities of the waterfront.

⁹ “... gi et bredt tilbud av boligtyper med ulike standarder og varierte kvaliteter” (DCUD 2000, 39).

¹⁰ “... boligtilbud til alle typer mennesker i en moderne by” (DCUD 2000, 16).

¹¹ “... slik at kontakten med sjøen ikke privatiseres, men kommer fellesskapet til gode” (DCUD 2000, 28).

FIG. 5.28



The sun and shade analysis for the architectural volumes are shown above for 13:00 (left) and 19:00 (right) during the summer solstice (top) and the equinoxes (bottom) (DCUD 2001, 33).

Other residential areas further from the waterfront were limited in height and intended to exhibit a more comfortable urban quality in terms of the relationship to the street, adjacent buildings, and the provision of local services. The plan encouraged the provision of non-office commercial use at street level near the residential area so that a "sense of belonging and identity"¹² could emerge but

¹² "... a gi tilhørighet og identitet ..." (DCUD 2000, 39).

such designations were not specified within the land use plan (DCUD 2001, 39). The plan projected certain values without implementing effective guidelines or other regulatory measures to realize the stated goal. At the most basic level the residential areas are characterized as dense residential towers along the waterfront, low lying garden villas in a networked landscape, or urban village configuration with a variety of services and an active street life. These are the three representations within the plan.

LANDSCAPE NETWORK

While Jättåvågen was conceived of as a place for the investment of private capital, the public quality of the area was not to be sacrificed. The plan stipulates that Jättåvågen should not be developed solely as private property but also "developed as a common area for Hinna and as an attraction for the entire region" (DCUD 2001, 17).¹³ Quite simply the space of flows was not to subsume the notion of public space. While the commercial and residential spaces were planned to maximize flexibility and market responsiveness the plan presented the landscape network between these delineated development opportunities as public space that was non-negotiable. The network of public space represented the main means to achieve a balance between private and social capital.

Public space was promoted as a means to regulate urban development "in that public space both facilitates and directs new growth to where it is most desirable" (DCUD 2001, 25).¹⁴ The entire network of open space was conceived of as a resistive structure that would embody a certain public quality regardless of market circumstances; the landscape would adapt to the changing nature of the development without losing the important quality of an inclusive public space (DCUD 2001, 25). The landscape represented a means of civility which was not to be entrusted to the market.

The notion that landscapes may resist the influence of private development is reductive in reasoning in that it neglects accessibility as a key determinant. Such reasoning also minimizes the relationship between the land use of a particular building and the social quality of the adjacent open space. While open space may maintain a certain quality of publicness in ownership, the development

¹³ "... utvikles til et fellesområde for Hinna bydel og en attraksjon for regionen" (DCUD 2000, 17).

¹⁴ "... gjennom at byrommene både legger til rette for og styrer ny vekst dit hvor dette er ønskelig" (DCUD 2000, 25).

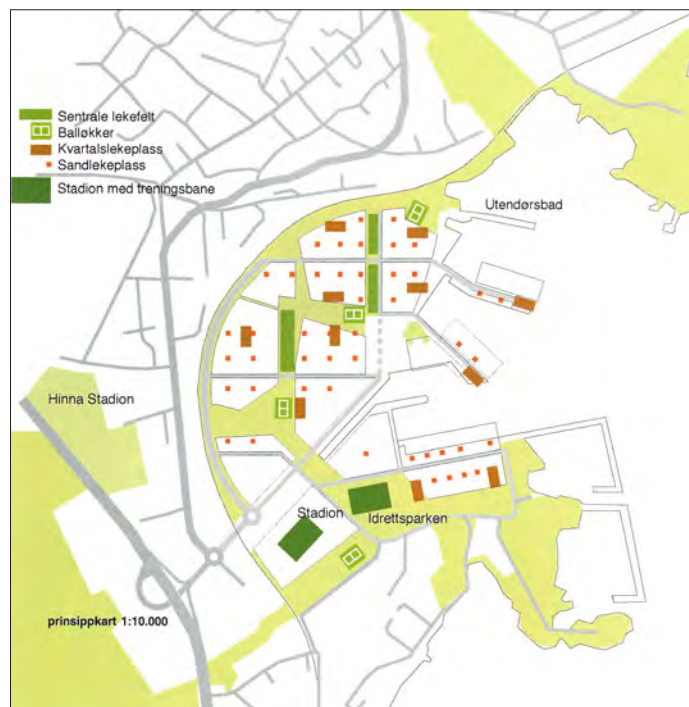
properties adjacent to these lands also effect the social quality of said open space and may reduce this desired publicness.

The plan delineates numerous outdoor rooms with distinguishing qualities; some areas are more urban while others are more natural in character. The more natural spaces were to evoke an ecological ethos that promoted biodiversity while the more urban open spaces were to evoke the vibrancy of contemporary city life.

ACTIVE RECREATION

Besides the central open space and the public space associated with the leaning tower, most of the open space is represented as either active recreational fields or natural parklands. The landscape network is significantly informed through the provision of active recreational programs; the plan includes three centralized play fields, two ball fields, eleven play areas, and forty-five sand lots for children throughout the district (fig. 5.29). In addition to these recreational areas, the

FIG. 5.29



The recreational prescriptions for the public landscape network were quite extensive (DCUD 2001, 35).

FIG. 5.30



The recreation areas were represented as socially vibrant spaces (DCUD 2001, 34).

landscape area east of the stadium is designated as an active recreational park containing a private practice facility for the Stavanger Viking Football Club and several public fields for children of various ages.

The intended social quality for these play areas is represented through an abstract image depicting an evening scene in which the night's sky is filled with kites and glowing lanterns decorated with an Asiatic floral pattern (fig. 5.30). The image emphasizes the social quality of the space as a socially intersubjective and devoid of any architectural feature. The image represents a climatic condition dissociated with Scandinavia. The warm atmosphere depicted within the image juxtaposes the actual experience of the place; wearing shorts or a skirt on a breezy evening in Norway is generally not a warm comfortable experience. The image reflects the climatic conditions of a warm mediterranean summer rather than a cold windy evening in Stavanger.

PARKLANDS

The other areas within the landscape network not designated as active recreational fields and unspecified in program are designated by default as parkland and include the southern boundary area along Boganes, the waterfront park at Gandsfjord, the northern boundary area along the railroad, the Hinna beach area, and portions of the landscape corridor connecting the central plaza to the northern boundary of the site.

The plan includes several photographs of other design projects to communicate the intended quality for the open spaces unspecified in program. Even though the parklands were not meaningfully or effectively programmed as parkland, the plan does include several images alluding to the desired qualities. Several of these images rely upon the names and reputations of the other projects deemed successful by environmental professionals. For instance, Leça da Palmeira, a swimming pool complex in Portugal designed by Alvaro Siza, was included as an example of a successful swimming facility along a waterfront that created a vibrant public space without obstructing the views from land to the sea (DCUD 2001, 52). The selection of Siza is interesting in that the document could have easily referenced the natural park north of Jättåvågen called Vaulen or other popular places within the region rather than rely upon the international prestige of Siza's Leça da Palmeira.

A photograph of Parc André Citroën, a thirty-five acre redevelopment project in Paris from the 1990s, is included on the last page of the plan without any explanation. The illustration depicts a sloping plaza with ornamental trees on the left and a glass pavilion in the background (DCUD 2001, 83). The reference is perhaps presented as an example of a successful urban park; however, such a reference is questionable. Again, the Project for Public Space (PPS) evaluated the park and found the space to be inhospitable:

The entire periphery of the park is a series of fussy little design vignettes that fail to accommodate people's normal uses, such as sitting in groups or even just watching other people. Various theme gardens, follies, and grade-separated paths restrict the user experience to one monotonous act: looking at objects. The entrances, playgrounds, seating, and activity areas are complete failures compared to Paris's better parks. (PPS 2012)

The visual reference to Parc André Citroën is an appeal to character and reputation rather than actual performative qualities of social and pedestrian experience. Much of the area is structured as open space but not coordinated with adjacent architecture in terms of land use, program, or access.

The intended social quality is further symbolized through the depiction of an expansive lawn with people picnicking and leisurely enjoying the space (fig. 5.31). The stylized image depicts a heavily used meadow with lots of people on the lawn and a sloping hill in the background. This particular image does not reflect the architectural quality of Jättåvågen, the entire landscape network

FIG. 5.31



A stylized rendering of an imaginary picnic area full of people eludes to the social qualities prescribed to the open space (DCUD 2001, 29).

within Jättavågen is defined by adjacent architecture. The inclusion of this image must then signify the social intent for the area rather than the physical qualities of the envisioned space. Accordingly, the imagined parklands were represented as a highly popular and active landscape.

Other parts of the landscape network were represented as coastal wetlands and riparian habitats but the plan does not specify areas for the development of such ecological function. Similar to the rhetoric of sustainability, the concept of biodiversity is an argument that is not integrated into the regulatory framework through performative criteria or locational designations.

The landscape network is presented from multiple and perhaps conflicting perspectives. On the one hand the landscape is characterized as green parkland with an ecological ethos and on the other hand it is represented as a highly programmed space for active recreation or other social quality that is not ecological in character. The abstract images of a riparian ecosystem (fig. 5.32) or coastal wetland (fig. 5.33) juxtapose the heavily programmed atmosphere associated with play areas and the architectonic character prescribed to Jättavågen.

FIG. 5.32



The riparian landscape represents the desired ecological qualities as stated within the plan but such programs were not spatially specified within the plan (DCUD 2001, 31).

FIG. 5.33



A wooden boardwalk meanders through the tall grasses of a coastal wetland and illustrates the ecological values prescribed to landscape network (DCUD 2001, 32).

Together, the open space network represents the space between buildings; the critical space in which the social qualities of the district are to be realized. These are the spaces in which neighbors are to interact, the spaces through which train passengers are to walk, and the space in which fans are celebrate. The open space network is the social space in which one experiences the district and formulate an understanding of place.

CONCLUSION

The three planning texts reviewed in this chapter represent different phases in the ideation of Jättåvågen. Together these three documents rationally analyzed the existing conditions and identified opportunities, openly explored a variety of architectural articulations for the area, and ultimately produced the urban structure for the area through a formal master planning process.

The initial assessment of existing conditions relied upon a historical typomorphology of the urban structure that was based upon the existent visual quality of the area and the surrounding urban context. This particular analysis remained largely superficial and neglected the deeper societal meanings associated with the development of Jättåvågen as a key site for the petroleum industry and the subsequent transformation of Norwegian society.

The summary catalog for the design competition contains highly visual representations of the architectural potential of Jättåvågen. The three winning proposals characterized the area an urban district with a formal axial promenade oriented towards the leaning tower and framed by architectonic volumes. The central area was represented as a grand space for large cultural events, contemporary urban life, and commercial development; it was represented as a space for grand cultural experience as well as the everyday life. The open spaces throughout the district were represented as a network of landscapes with a diversity of qualities for ecological restoration and social vitality. None of these entries represented the quality of daily life; they simply provided a variety of residential spaces on the periphery of the center and along the waterfront.

The master plan represented Jättåvågen as a development opportunity with a strong public ethos. The master plan maintained a rationality largely oriented towards the market economy and the promotion of a new socially active urban space. The commercial specifications within the plan were purposefully vague and obtuse so as to cast a wide net and maximize flexibility and market responsiveness. This approach brought with it a large amount of uncertainty and ambiguity in terms of the quality and character of the commercial space as well as public space. This ambiguity was augmented through the regulation of floor area ratios, land use designations, and the promotion of an inclusive public landscape network. The plan delineated areas for the development of commercial and residential property in relation to an integrated network of public landscapes. These lands were described in a variety of ways but all of them promoted some notion of public vitality and social activity.

Based upon these findings, does the master plan exemplify local planning as situated within the network society? Yes and no. Clearly, the plan is an appeal to capital investment flowing through and operating in a global market that is heavily reliant upon the space of flows. There are no provisions within the plan for social equality and a variety of housing products; the residential aspects of the project are oriented towards the real estate market and largely unregulated and uninformed by local governance. The commercial development opportunities within Jättåvågen are oriented towards the informational economy and intended to serve as a node in the global network of the new economy. And lastly, the entertainment programs associated with the stadium exemplify the experience economy and the commodification of culture; it embodies a process of cultural programming ever dependent upon institutions and private companies. It does not reflect the vernacular culture, the 'authentic' culture, that emerges organically from within. But the master plan does delineate opportunities for local place. The entry sequence into the district structured as an axial promenade oriented towards the leaning tower celebrates the history of petroleum innovation. The creation of place through the architectural configuration and visual arrangement of things does not necessarily ensure that place will emerge; place is not prescribed through planning but rather emerges over time through personal experience and the generation of meaningful identities. In this regard, the large provision of public space as stipulated within the master plan represents a great many opportunities for the appropriation of space as place.

VI

JÄTTÅVÅGEN AS A PERCEIVED SPACE

This chapter reviews the actuality of Jättåvågen as perceived space – that space in which all social activities manifest. The following pages describe the physical qualities of the first phase of development as outlined in the last section of the master plan. This area includes the commercial stadium complex in the district center, a mixed-use commercial-residential area near the canal, a residential area near the sea, and a public daycare facility. The first phase of the development also contains a variety of open spaces including the main axial promenade, a central plaza, a canal promenade, a pier promenade, a harbor promenade, a waterfront park, and several open landscapes along the southern boundary with Boganes. The key transportation elements within the first phase of development contains the train station and the various roadway improvements inside and outside the development area. Minus the central plaza and the waterfront park at Gandsfjord, all of these elements were completed by the summer of 2011 and included in the following descriptive analysis.

The descriptive analysis emphasizes the spatial and material qualities of the resultant urban form and establishes a basic understanding of the physicality of the structured neighborhood. The space is systematically described through four analytical perspectives. The architectural structures are qualified according to a basic typological analysis that categorizes the general volumetric character of the district. The relationship between building and open space is described through the categorization of each building entry according to transit modality and land use type. Subsequently all open space is categorized by surface material type. And lastly, the prevalence of landscape features are mapped. Together these descriptive analyses characterize the district open space in general as well as the intended use of the smaller open spaces within the area.

All possible access points are categorized according to transit modality type and land use designation; transit modality is categorized as vehicle or pedestrian while land use is categorized as residential or commercial. The residential pedestrian access points are further distinguished as an entry for a single dwelling unit

or as a common entry for multiple units. Access to private storage area is also distinguished within the analysis. Barriers to access within the landscape, such as raised planters, elevation differences, seat walls, fences and guardrails are noted within the text to further characterize accessibility of the open space.

An analysis of land cover is performed to categorize landscape by surface type and so provide a more detailed characterization of the area. Land cover is analyzed according to the following types: wooden surfaces; granular surfaces; synthetic surfaces; vegetation areas; lawn areas; and concrete and asphalt surfaces. Tree canopy is not included as a land cover type because the trees is too small; however, the trees are included as a point coverage. Furthermore, the specificity of the land cover analysis for private areas is limited in scope and accuracy due to restricted access. The land cover type for these areas is approximated according to the major land cover type as perceived by the researcher.

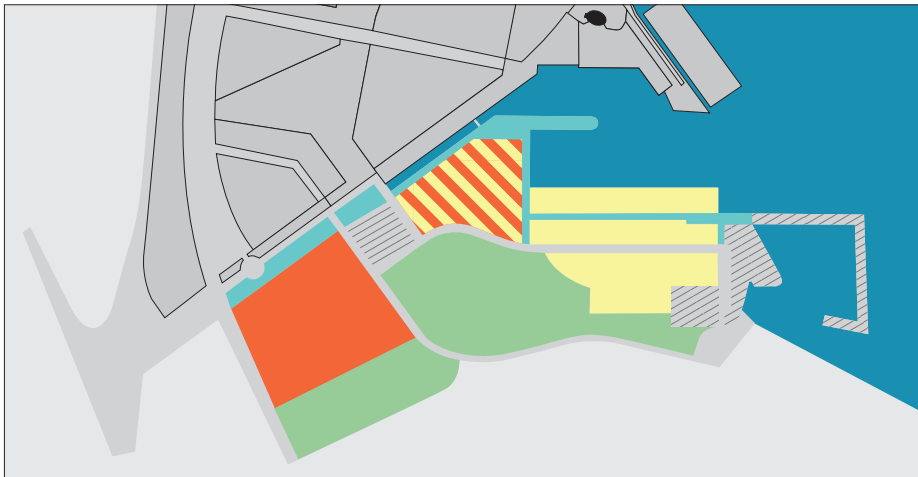
The descriptive analysis is further augmented through the recordation of landscape features such as site furniture, waste and recycle containers, recreational equipment, and play area fixtures. The recordation of these features is intended to provide an understanding of the intended use of the space. For the most part landscape lighting fixtures and bicycle racks are not included graphically but mentioned within the text when prevalent.

In totality the analyses are primarily descriptive in nature; however, when appropriate, the discussion diverges from a purely descriptive reading of the area to emphasize the differences between the built product and the planned product. The mention of these differences is not intended to explain the causes for such divergences but rather illustrate the difference between conceived space and perceived space; between the conceptualization of Jättåvågen and the actuality of Jättåvågen.

PHASE I DEVELOPMENT

The first phase of development contains three general areas or zones largely based upon different land use regimes (fig. 6.01). The stadium complex and commercial space located nearest the train station in the district center represent the first zone and contain 56,500 square meters of interior space. The mixture of commercial and residential space located along the canal and pier represents the second zone and contain 46,500 square meters of interior space. And lastly, the residential space located nearest the fjord represents the third zone and contains 34,500 square meters of interior space. While the day care facility, central plaza, waterfront park, and small boat harbor were not constructed at the time of investigation, these areas are included in the analyses. The grand formal public space includes the urban axial promenade extending from the district entry along the canal to the waterfront. The other public spaces within the district include the parklands along the southern boundary with Boganes and a variety of smaller spaces located between the development zones identified in the master plan. The following discussion briefly reviews the land use zones within the first phase of development and then proceeds into a more thorough discussion of the qualities of the open spaces therein.

FIG 6.01



The land use plan for the first phase of development contained a mixture of commercial space (red); residential space (yellow); mixed use (red and yellow stripes); public open space (green); urban 'scene room' (aqua); and transportation space (gray). The gray areas with black stripes were not developed at the time of investigation. These include the central open plaza, the daycare center, waterfront park, and small boat harbor.

DISTRICT CENTER – COMMERCIAL ZONE

The district center contains a large commercial complex built around a stadium with a capacity of 16,000 persons. The commercial stadium complex is constructed as a common podium structure with parking beneath and 20,000 square meters of office space. The retail spaces at ground level contains commercial tenants oriented towards merchandise or services such as fitness. The open space within the commercial zone includes the main axial promenade and the small open spaces associated with the train station and the stadium complex.

CANAL AND PIER AREA – MIXED USE ZONE

The canal and pier area contains a mixture of commercial and residential space. The majority of commercial space is located adjacent to district central plaza, the canal promenade, and pier while the residential space is located nearest the sea, further east from the center. The commercial area contains 15,300 square meters of office space along the canal and 12,500 square meters along the pier while the residential area contains approximately 18,700 square meters of interior space. The private parking garage underneath includes more than four hundred parking spaces with approximately 280 spaces associated with the commercial space and 180 space associated with the residential space. In the surface parking lot adjacent to Laberget there are six parking spaces dedicated to visitor parking. The open space within the canal and pier area includes the canal promenade, the pier, the harbor promenade, and several publicly accessible open-air courtyards.

HARBOR AREA – RESIDENTIAL ZONE

The residential area along the harbor promenade contains approximately 330 dwelling units and 550 dedicated parking spaces. The total residential interior space is approximately 54,900 square meters. The residential zone is structured as a hierarchy of densities with lower densities to the south near Boganäs and higher densities to the north along the sea. The residential density progresses from single-family detach houses in the south to twelve story apartment buildings in the north; row houses, townhouses, and smaller apartment buildings are located between these two extremes.

The open space within the residential zone includes an active recreation area atop the old landfill / dump site, two large lawn areas along the southern boundary with Boganes, a harbor promenade, a harbor plaza, and two landscape corridors connecting the harbor promenade to the southern open space near Boganes.

The remaining portions of this chapter present a descriptive analysis of the area in relation to access, land cover, and the prevalence of landscape amenities. The analysis is reported in two parts; the first part focuses on the district center and the second part focuses on the mixed-use and residential areas east of the center. The report flows as a spatial narrative reading from the district center to the canal and pier area and then proceeds eastward to the areas along harbor and Laberget.

DISTRICT CENTER

The district center is urban core of the Jättåvågen and is oriented around a new train station with a commercial stadium complex. It should be noted that, while not included in the district plan, a high school located just west of the train station is included within the analysis. The following sections describe the district center in two parts: the areas west and east of the train station.

WEST SIDE OF THE TRACKS

The area west of the train station includes the southbound platform, the Jättå school, and adjacent library (fig. 6.02). The school contains 16,000 square meters of interior space and 150 parking space. The open space immediately south of the school is composed primarily as an open lawn with a football field surfaced with synthetic safety material. The open space is framed by the gravel path running west to Jättånuten. An open-air courtyard surfaced with wood adjoins the lawn area and contains several highly articulated benches, decorative planting areas, and a sculpture. Asphalt parking lots cover most of the open space west and north of the school. The main parking lot to the north contains a few decorative planters and a sculptural element. Bicycle and pedestrian trails are located between the parking areas and the adjacent streets. The open space east of the school is surfaced as lawn and slopes down several meters towards the southbound platform of the train station. Except for the recreational area south of the school, the open space within this area contains very few landscape features.

LEGEND

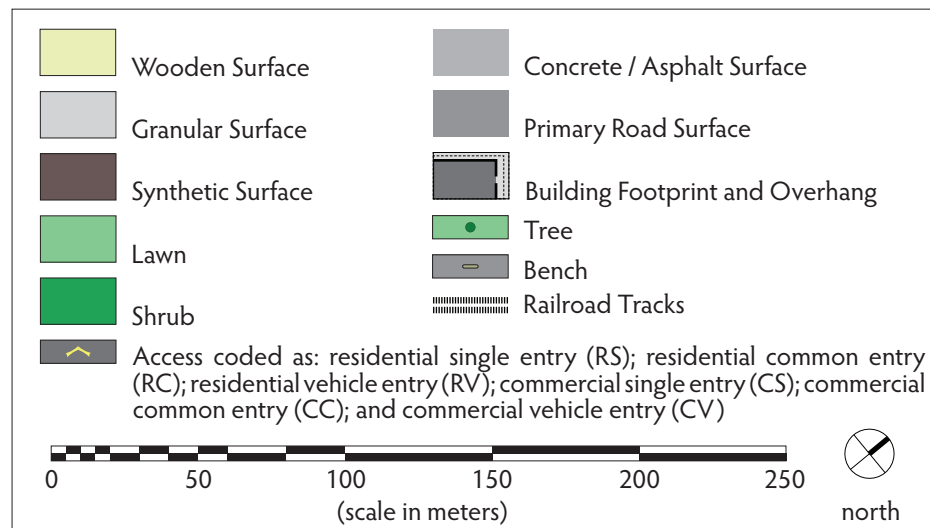


FIG 6.02



All access points indicated above are not coded as specified in legend since all entries are associated with the Jättå School.

The main entry for the school is almost fifty meters from the main road and obscured behind an expansive asphaltic parking lot (fig. 6.03). Several traffic bollards were placed within the school entry forecourt to further defined the space as a pedestrian space. While the school represents a potentially significant public land use with more than a thousand people per day contributing to the planned pedestrian quality of the area, the space appears a vehicle space rather than a pedestrian space. Furthermore, the spatial relationship between the school and Jåttåvågveien diminishes the pedestrian quality of the main axial promenade.

THE STATION

The train station elevated several meters above the street represents the geographic center of the area. The station is framed architecturally by Jåttå school to the west and the commercial stadium complex to the east with Jåttåvågveien to the north and a gravel trail to the south. Two bicycle and pedestrian trails pass over Jåttåvågveien and connect to the platform to the areas further north. The platform contains hundreds of metal fixtures for bicycle parking and two open-air pavilions with 30 meters of seating.

The southbound platform directly accesses the adjacent school and the associated open spaces via a series of ramps and stairways; however, the station is quite conspicuous, obscured from view and dislocated from the street and

FIG 6.03



The parking lot in front of the Jåttå School as viewed from the Jåttåvågveien.

grand axial promenade (fig. 6.04). There is no designated area for passenger loading and unloading; there is no forecourt or entry plaza associated with the station. From the nearest parking space dedicated to universal access, a person in a wheelchair must first travel more than a hundred meters before attempting to climb the 80-meter long access ramp to the platform. The station is not a station; it is a platform with limited physical and visual accessibility.

The reconfiguration of the vehicle circulation infrastructure in the area creates a large unoccupied space between the new train station and adjacent urban areas. From the platform passengers must walk down a long stairway and through the parking lot before reaching the main road. And from there, they must then pass through an underpass and then walk more than another hundred meters towards the bus stop. The distance to any destination in the adjacent neighborhoods is even further. The station is not a station and it is not central.

The development plan for the district specified that the train station be designed as a highly visible element. Minus a modest glowing sign under the overpass the constructed station lacks any architectural expression. The overpass spanning Jättåvågveien is not celebrated as an architecture feature that signifies the grandeur of a train station. Nor is Jättåvågveien expressed as a gracious entry experience; it consists of four traffic lanes, two bicycle and pedestrian pathways, and a modest central median.

FIG 6.04



The train station is located behind a parking lot and obscured from view by adjacent architecture. The yellow color in the photograph above emphasizes the concrete wall marking the vertical separation between the parking lot and the station platform.

EAST SIDE OF THE TRACKS

The area east of the train station contains the northbound platform, the commercial stadium complex, and several associated open spaces (fig. 6.05). The north bound platform is composed as a mirror image of the southbound platform and contains an open-air pavilion, seating, and bicycle parking. The northbound platform is accessible from the adjacent open space associated with the commercial stadium complex; however, none of the commercial spaces directly connect with the platform or provide any services typically associated with a transit center or even open onto the platform (fig. 6.06). There is even a strange covered terrace near the central stairway that appears as an entry forecourt without a door. The purpose of this space is completely unknown. It could have been a protected place for bicycle racks or lockers but it lacks any features, minus an ashtray.

The architectural volumes located immediately adjacent to the platform obstruct the visual connectivity between the station and district open space. The constructed stadium complex and associated commercial space obscure the visual relationship between the train station and the leaning tower as specified within the plan. The specified view corridor between the station and the district open space requires an oblique orientation of the stadium; however, the constructed stadium was reoriented orthogonally towards the station and the main entry road and so blocks the specified view corridor.

LEGEND

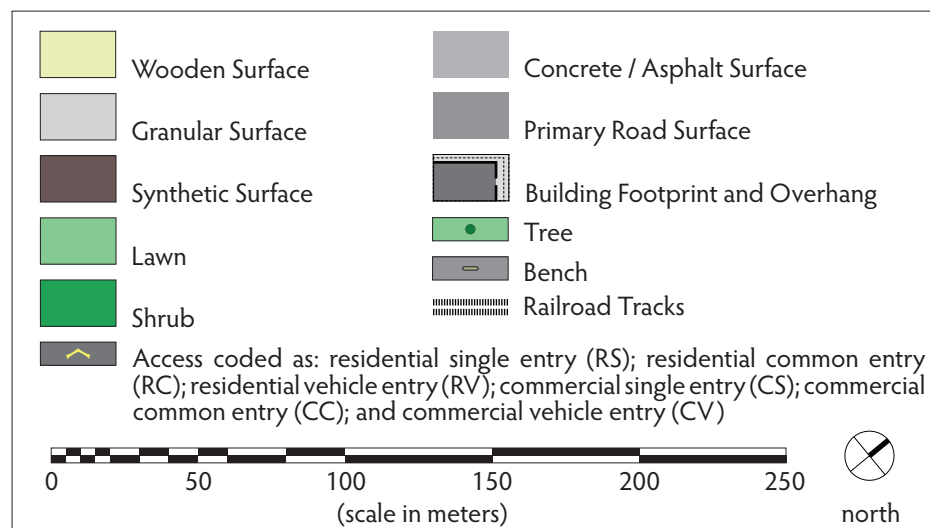
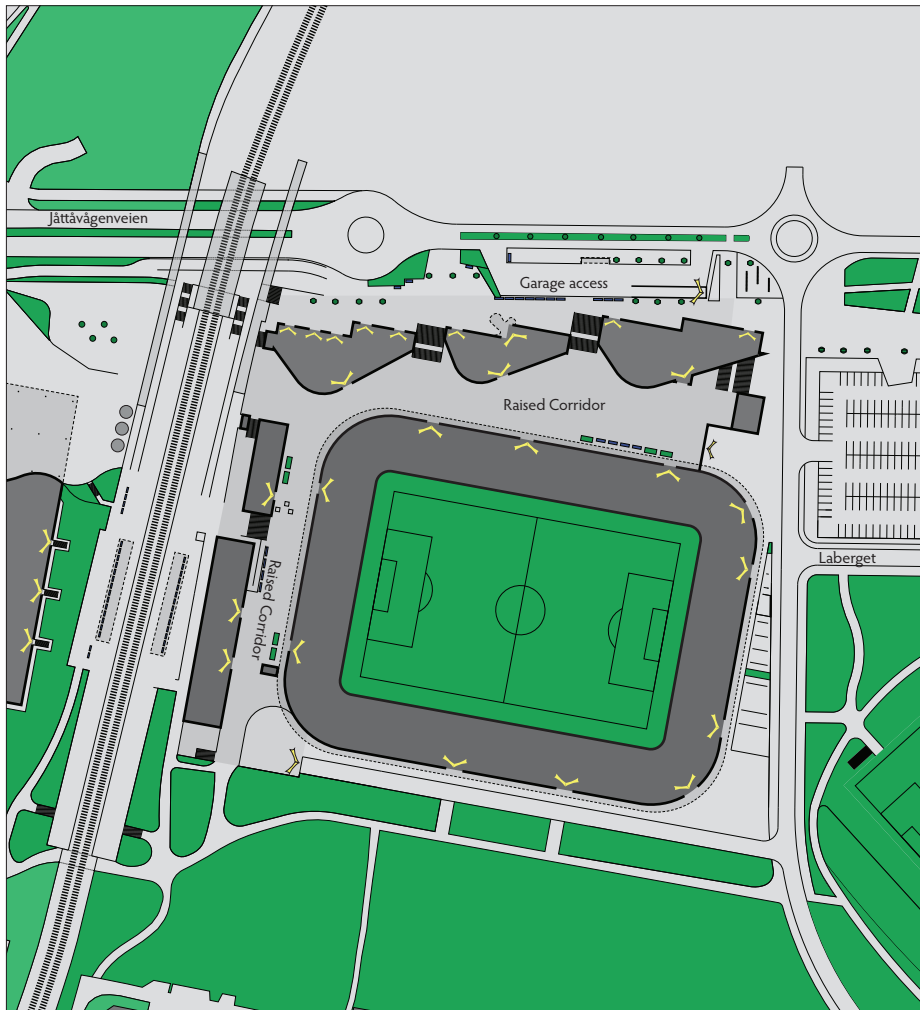


FIG 6.05



All access points indicated above are not coded as specified in legend since all entries are associated with the commercial stadium complex.

The stadium complex is structured as a single podium construction with multiple architectural volumes protruding upwards. Three architectural volumes frame the northern facade along the main promenade while two smaller volumes frame the western facade along the train station. A shopping center is located on the ground floor of these five buildings.

The open space is composed of two linear corridors between the stadium complex and adjacent commercial structures. These two corridors are located several meters below the north bound platform and more than three meters above the street level. Most of the commercial space in this area is primarily office and does not produce a high level of social activity in the immediate area; the space is quite empty when the stadium is not occupied. The corridor parallel to the train station contains four raised planters, four wooden benches, and three glass opening lighting the shopping center underneath. The space is quite austere. The adjacent commercial buildings connect to the open space through three entrances along an unarticulated facade (fig. 6.07). The corridor also adjoins an expansive lawn area to the south. The space is designed for maximum occupancy associated with large 'public' events at the stadium (fig. 6.08).

The corridor parallel to the main entry road contains three raised planters and four benches. The three adjacent buildings directly connect to the open space through three shared commercial entrances. The conference center within the stadium also connects to the open space. The eastern terminus of this corridor adjoins the planned central plaza via a wide stairway.

FIG 6.06



The commercial space immediately facing the northbound platform is inaccessible.

At the eastern terminus of this raised corridor is the loading area for the shopping center. While the central plaza was intended as a festival space to be programmed in coordination with large cultural events and used in conjunction with the stadium, the eastern facade of the stadium complex does not architecturally acknowledge the central plaza as the important social space. Even the large stairway from the elevated corridor is not coordinated with a cross walk or oriented towards the leaning tower.

AXIAL PROMENADE

The public space north of the stadium complex was planned as the formal axial promenade framed by commercial buildings on either side. In practice the space was constructed primarily as a concrete walkway with several small vegetation areas. The landscape features include a generous provision of bicycle parking, several benches, trees, lighting, and a series of raised concrete seat walls and blocks delineating the boundary between vehicular and pedestrian space. The commercial buildings access the promenade through three common entries for the adjacent office space and two common entries for the adjacent retail space. Several restaurants directly access the promenade and provide outdoor patios with seating.

Shopping centers in general produce opaque facade and reduce the connectivity between architecture and adjacent open space. In Jättåvågen the shopping center diminishes the social activity of the promenade by internalizing pedestrian movement within the commercial complex. Several stores within the shopping center reduce direct access to the promenade by closing doors and covering the windows (fig. 6.09).

FIG 6.07



The commercial buildings associated with the interior landscape corridors are accessible only through a few entry points; most of the facades area quite opaque.

The main vehicular entry for the parking facility underneath the stadium complex and shopping center further reduces the pedestrian quality of the promenade. The vehicular access occupies the main pedestrian space and disconnects the promenade from the bus stop. The pedestrian realm is located between the vehicular access corridor and the closed facades of the shopping center. The area immediately east of the entry for the underground parking contains three rows of metal bicycle parking fixtures and serves as an informal skating area. This area most successfully frames the leaning tower as a landmark on the horizon.

The signage for the commercial stadium complex competes with the leaning tower as a key feature and renders the axial promenade as a commercial strip mall rather than public pedestrian space. The concrete surface of the promenade functions informally as vehicle space; concrete blockades along the street have been added to fortify the pedestrian space and prevent vehicles from mounting the curb.

FIG 6.08



The interior open space corridor shortly before a concert event.

The main axial promenade represents a key planning concept that structures the identity of Jättåvågen and improves access. And while it was planned as a gracious entry experience oriented towards adjacent commercial buildings and the leaning tower, the space was constructed more as an automotive infrastructural space with limited access from the adjacent architecture and rather isolated from the train station.

The district center in Jättåvågen was not necessarily conceived of as a neighborhood center. The district center differs from most normative models for neighborhood planning in several ways. For instance, schools are often located in the central area of a neighborhood and separated and shielded from adjacent urban structures. In Jättåvågen the school was located on the periphery between a train station and a busy road. The retail centers associated with neighborhoods do not typically contain commercial stadium complexes or shopping malls. And lastly, most neighborhoods planned near public transit stations generally locate residential areas to minimize walking distance to and from public transportation. In Jättåvågen the residential areas are located further than five hundred meters from the station. The district center was infused with an urban ethos largely informed by commercial development opportunities and oriented towards the automobile rather than some notion of neighborhood.

FIG 6.09



The Meny grocery store closed several entries along the axial promenade and diminished the space the social quality of public space.

WATERFRONT ARCHITECTURE

The development area east of the district center contains multiple buildings and contrasts with the relatively simple ownership structure of the district center which only contained two parcels, the school and the commercial stadium complex. In an effort to develop a general understanding of the multiple developments east of the district center, the buildings are categorized by height into four ranges: the first group contains buildings with less than four floors; the second group contains buildings with four to six floors; the third group contains buildings with seven to nine floors; and the fourth group contains buildings with ten and twelve floors (fig. 6.10).

Even though the canal and pier area was zoned as a mixture of commercial and residential land use, the area was developed as three separate parcels; two parcels along the canal and pier were developed as commercial while another parcel was developed as residential. The commercial buildings along the canal and pier range in height between three to four floors. The residential buildings nearest the canal and pier contain four buildings with the tallest portions located on the periphery, near the harbor. While these buildings were not designed as a singular podium construction they are structurally integrated through the parking garage underneath. These four buildings contain 198 dwelling units.

LEGEND

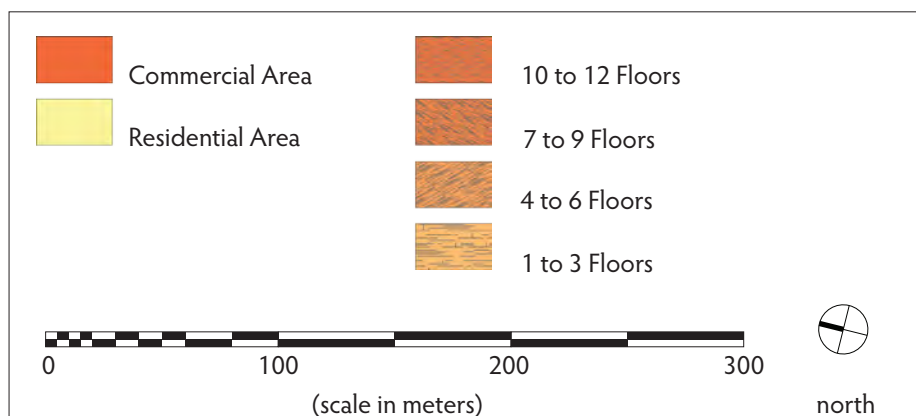


FIG 6.10



The residential development along Laberget is composed of several building types that progress from lower densities in the south to a higher densities in the north. The northern most area contains four mid rise towers with five to twelve floors. This area contains a total of 168 dwelling units. The residential area immediately north of Laberget contains three building complexes organized into a block configurations with buildings located on the periphery and a publicly accessible open-air courtyard on the interior. This area contains a total of 114 dwelling units. Except for some of the mid rise towers constructed within the sea all of the buildings north of Laberget are constructed above parking.

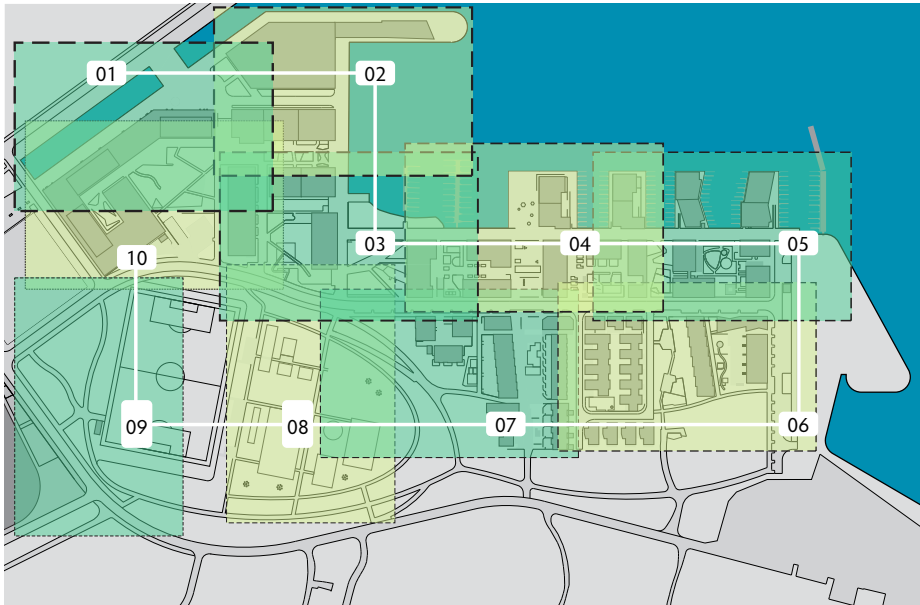
The residential area along the southern edge of Laberget contains a series of apartment buildings with two to five dwelling units. This area contains 33 dwelling units in total. The southern most area contains six single-family detached houses and seven linear arrangements of houses with varying degrees of common walls; some of these developments are more town house than row house. Together these seven complexes contain a total of 42 dwelling units.

These architectural structures frame the open space to be examined in the following spatial analyses. The subsequent analysis is reported from west to east and east to west; from the canal promenade to the seafront and from seafront back to the canal promenade (fig. 6.11). These ten maps are reported in three sections: the first section focuses on the open spaces associated with the canal and pier area; the second section focuses on the open spaces associated with the harbor area; and the third section focuses on the spaces along the main internal road, Laberget.

CANAL AND PIER AREA

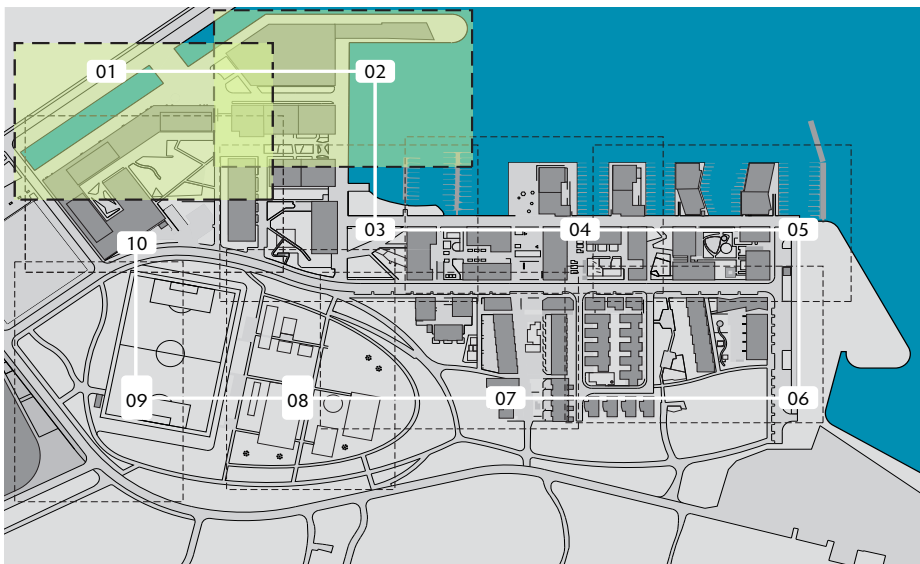
The analysis for the canal and pier area is reported through two maps (fig. 6.12). The tenth map also pertains to the canal and pier area but it is reported at the conclusion of this section.

FIG 6.11



The analysis of the residential area is organized into ten areas illustrated above.

FIG 6.12



The analysis for the canal and pier area is reported in two parts illustrated above and shaded in green.

THE CANAL PROMENADE AND PLAZA

The axial promenade extends from the central commercial area towards the leaning tower along the canal (fig. 6.13). While referenced as a canal, the rectangular water feature is quite shallow and when animated with the ornamental sprays of water appears more as a fountain than a canal. Along the entire canal promenade there are three access points from the adjacent commercial building; however, two of these are not used frequently. The edge of the canal is framed by nine small ornamental trees. Minus these trees, the canal promenade lacks any landscape feature. There are no seating opportunities, no benches, and no seat walls; only one stairway leading to an office courtyard raised three meters above grade.

The connection between the planned central plaza and the canal promenade is actually inaccessible; the main pedestrian connection within the district master plan does not have access ramps for people with disabilities to overcome curbs! And yet, even without an access ramp for wheel chairs or bicycles, regulatory signage was added at the entrance of the canal promenade to discourage automobile use of the area (fig. 6.14). While not designated as such, the space appears as an informal road with minimal features for the pedestrian.

LEGEND

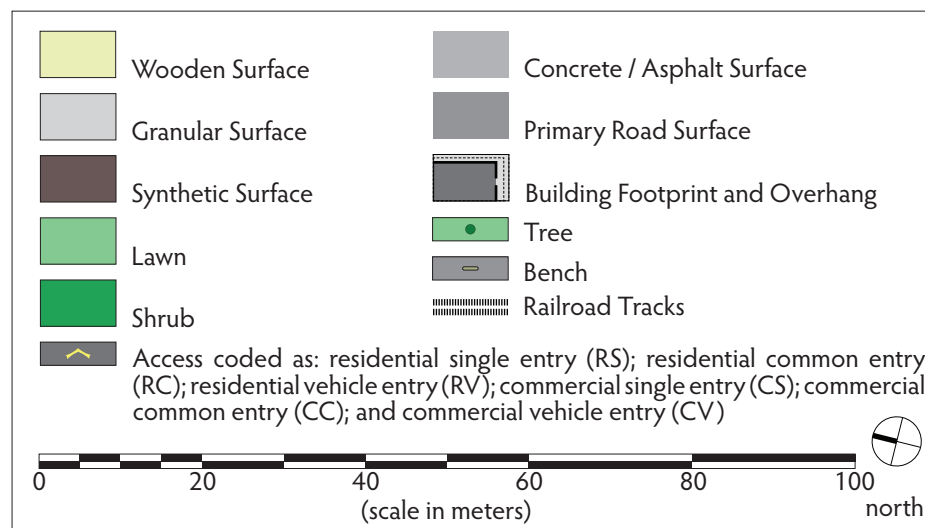


FIG 6.13



The transitional space between the canal promenade and the pier to the north was envisioned as a highly visual space oriented towards the leaning tower and aligned with the mountain to the east, Lifjell (fig. 6.15). This area, referenced as the canal plaza, is framed by two adjacent commercial buildings with direct access to the space. There is also an access point into the private parking garage located in the building complex to the south. Although there are two small areas surfaced in lawn, most of the area is concrete and functions as the vehicle access for delivery and passenger drop off. The only landscape features include four benches located within the forecourt under a cantilevered portion of the commercial pier building. There is also a small wooden amphitheater bordering the sea.

From the canal plaza the open space network continues in two directions, extending northeasterly towards the pier and eastwardly towards Lifjell.

FIG 6.14



The canal promenade is composed as a wide concrete space resembling a roadway.

THE PIER AND LIFJELL PROMENADE

The linear open space associated with the pier is surfaced entirely in asphalt (fig. 6.16). The space contains seven benches oriented towards the leaning tower and numerous metal bicycles racks near the building. The open space surrounding the commercial building on the pier is accessed through several entrances; however, most of these are service entrances infrequently used. Most of the facades are without an entry or window at street level. Minus two small boat harbors to the south The eastern terminus of the pier is constructed as an expansive asphalt space with no landscape features whatsoever. The asphalt surface does contain an inscription taken from the official communication documents associated with the Norwegian Parliament in 1974-1975 which reads, "We must ensure that the oil era will be an epoch and not just an episode." * [Vi må sørge for at oljealderen blir en epoke og ikke bare en episode.]

The development of the pier was constructed in the winter of 2012 and was not complete during the time of investigation. However, it should be noted that the development of the pier as a commercial land use contrasts with the plan that stipulated if the pier were to be developed, the building would contribute towards the public quality of the space. With only one entry the public quality of the commercial building on the pier remains uncertain.

FIG 6.15



A view corridor visually connects the Canal Plaza to Lifjell mountain in the east.

The Lifjell promenade is surfaced in concrete with planting areas to the north and a wooden walkway to the south. A large commercial building frames the northern edge of the corridor while a large residential building with five small private terraces raised several steps above the wooden walkway frames the southern edge. Several benches are located along the commercial building to the north but they are not oriented towards the view.

Parallel to the Lifjell promenade there is a linear courtyard raised several meters above the promenade and framed by residential buildings to the north and south (fig. 6.17). Along the north edge there are private terraces with several benches and small planting areas to reinforce the boundary between private dwelling and public space. The landscape contains two small lawn areas, several raised planters, and two play areas for children with synthetic safety surfaces and play equipment that is quite sculptural in character. This space is accessed by six private terraces and six common entries for the adjacent building. The courtyard ends in the east at a stairway leading down to the harbor promenade and the waste and recycling containers at the harbor level.

LEGEND

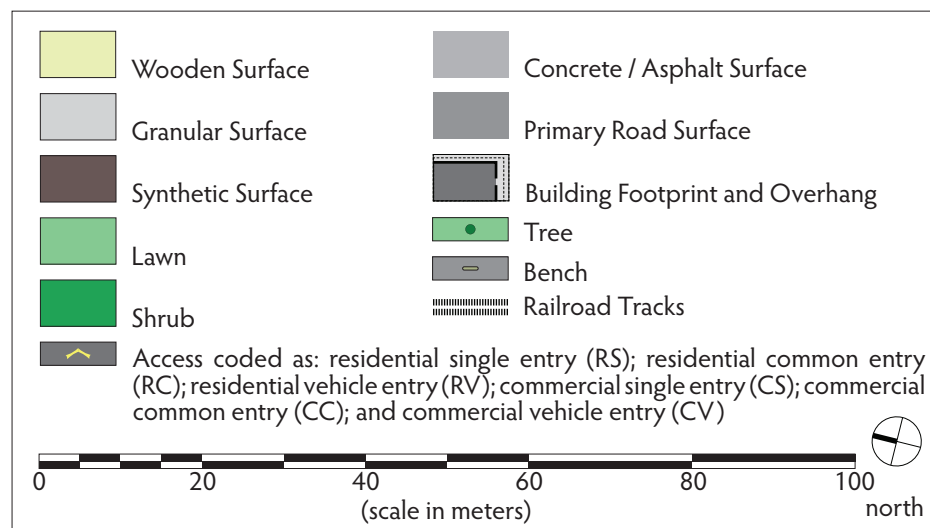
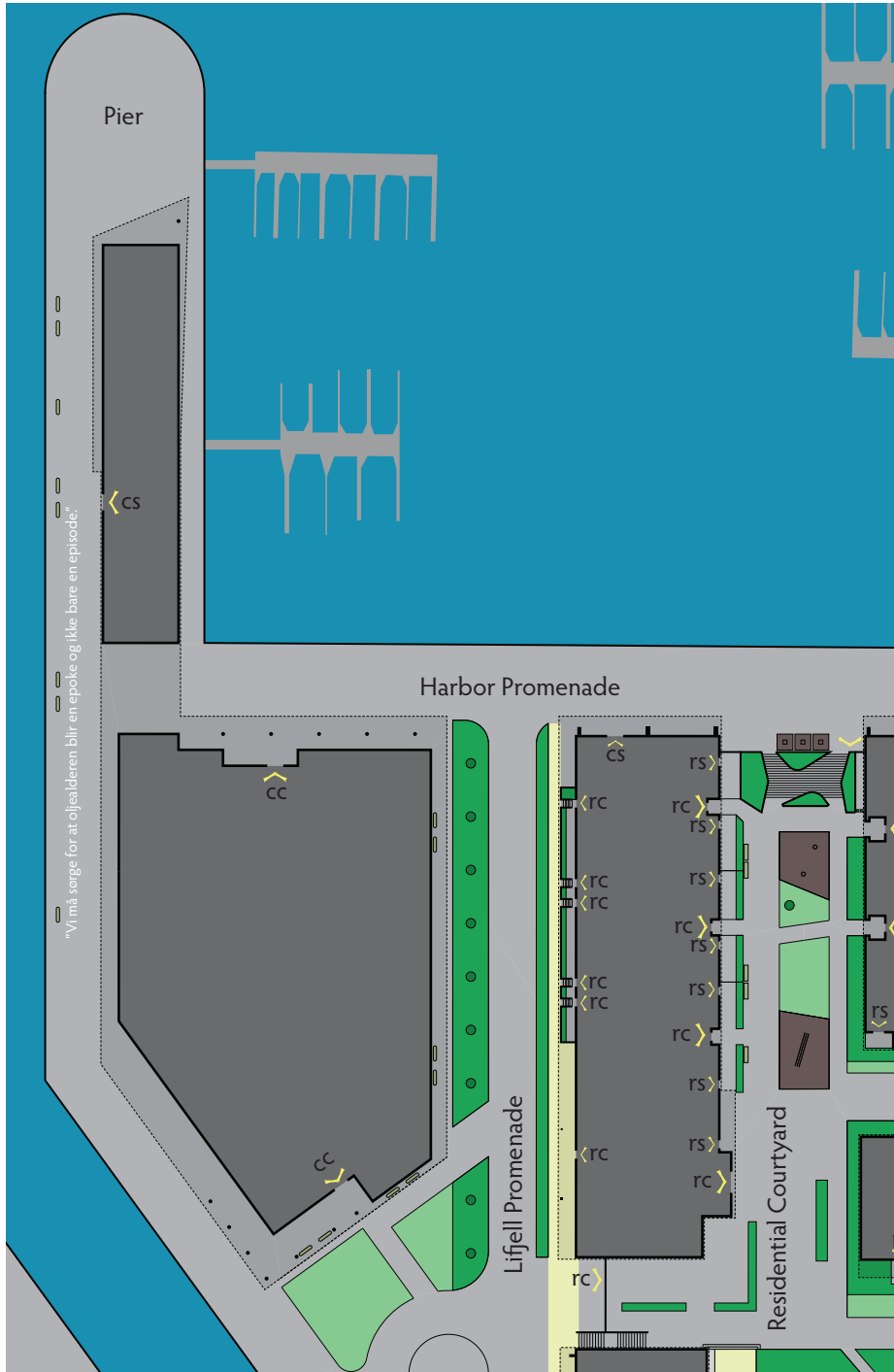


FIG 6.16



The eastern terminus of the Lifjell view corridor and the residential courtyard connect with the harbor promenade which is framed by an eight floor residential building. The surface is composed entirely of concrete. The waste and recycle bins are the only landscape features in this area. The underground parking for the adjacent residential buildings directly accesses the promenade in two places but there is no direct connection from individual residential quarters. Two commercial spaces located on the ground floor directly access the promenade; however, one has been vacant for more than three years.

The public waterfront in the canal and pier area is extremely austere as a physical space, disassociated with adjacent architecture. The interior courtyards contains more vegetative qualities and exhibits a more intimate atmosphere for the adjacent residents. In total the area does not meaningfully promote a public ethos; it is commercial and residential.

FIG 6.17



The publicly accessible residential courtyard contains several sculptural play areas for children and a variety of planting areas.

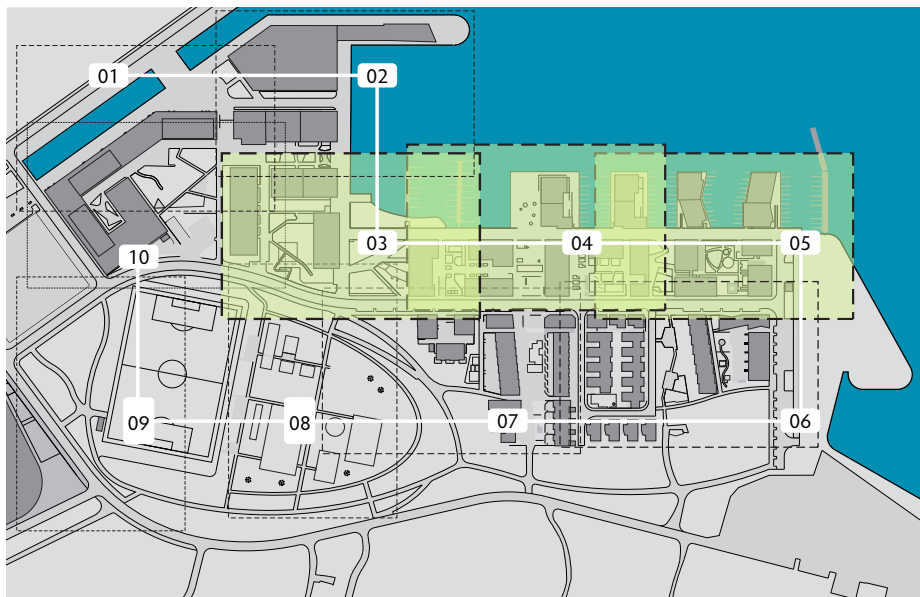
HARBOR AREA

The description of the harbor area is reported through three maps and organized around the western, central, and eastern portions of the harbor promenade (fig. 6.18).

HARBOR PROMENADE WEST

The harbor promenade west area contains a courtyard, three residential buildings, and the transitional space in which the harbor promenade turns eastward towards Lifjell. Two residential buildings frame the western edge of the harbor promenade (fig. 6.19). This north-south portion the promenade is composed entirely of concrete and features waste and recycle bins as the only landscape amenities. The area is accessed by a common pedestrian entry for the residential building to the west and a vehicular entry for the parking structure. There is also a wide concrete ramp that connects the promenade to a raised courtyard via a passageway under the building.

FIG 6.18



The courtyard is framed by three buildings with separate podium construction and shared parking beneath. The courtyard contains several lawn areas, ornamental plantings, two sandy play areas for children, and two informal access roads paved in asphalt. The landscape contains several seating arrangements. On the eastern edge of the courtyard there are five private terraces with direct access to the space. On the north side, there are five private terraces with direct access to the space. And on the west side there are five individual apartments with direct access to the space and two common access points for the other apartments located above the ground floor. Most of the southern boundary is elevated above Laberget and framed by a low protective fence, placed atop the concrete wall for the parking structure beneath.

The large residential building at the western terminus of the harbor promenade contrasts with the planned connection between the harbor area and the central plaza (fig. 6.20). The concrete ramp that connects the harbor promenade to the courtyard is perhaps an attempt at maintaining connectivity but there still another building obscuring the connection between the ramp and the district center.

LEGEND

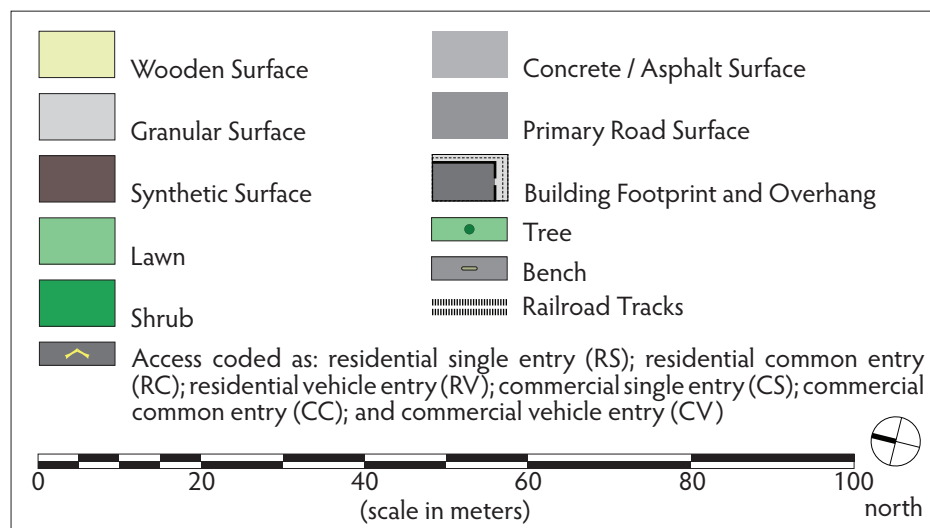
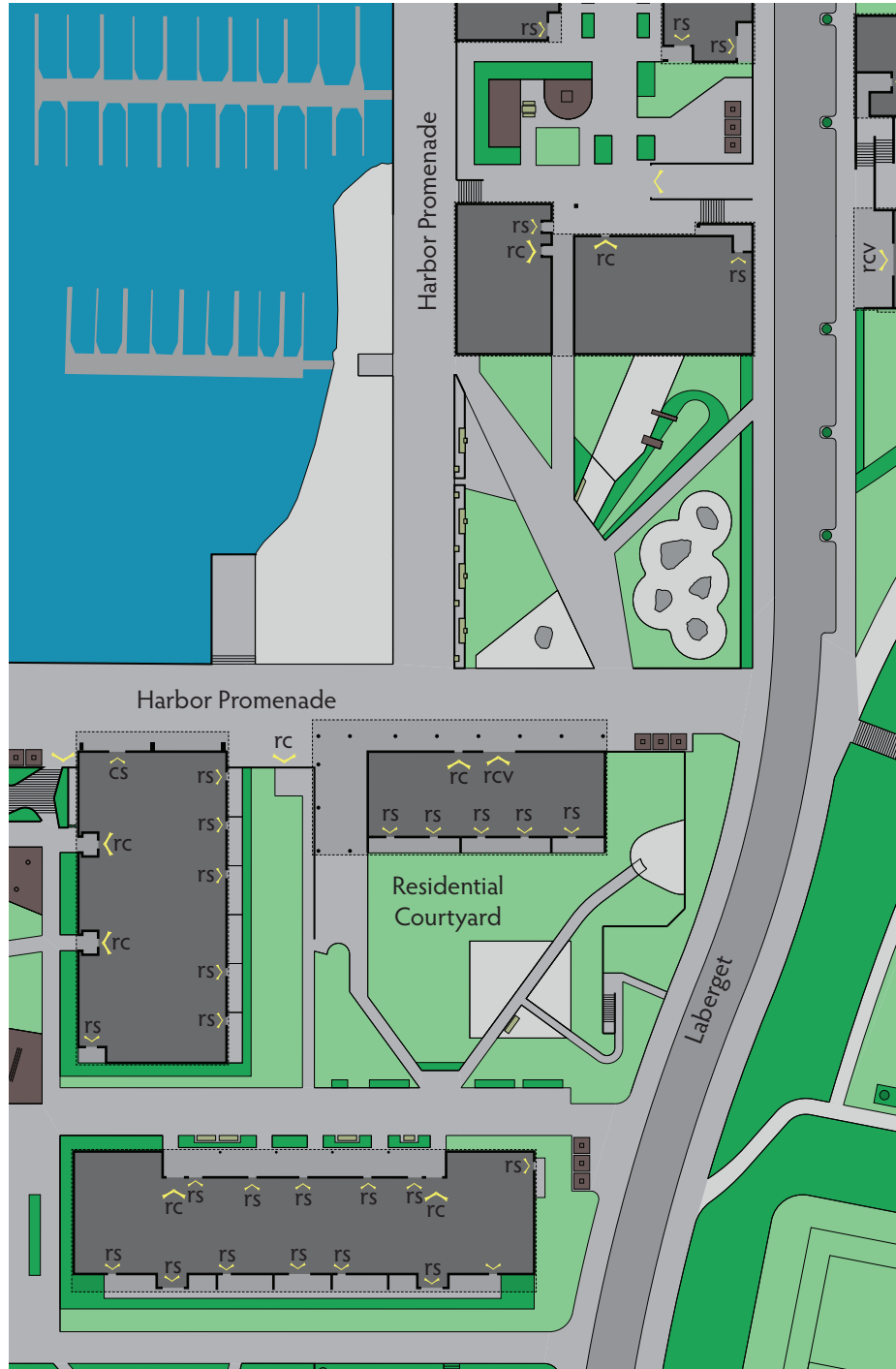


FIG 6.19



This transitional space where the harbor promenade turns eastward towards Lifjell contains a granular area to the north and a more formally organized landscape to the south (fig. 6.21). There are also two small boat harbors located to the north. The space is framed by two residential buildings to the east and west but no dwelling units within these buildings directly access the area. In this area the promenade is delineated by a long concrete seat wall with wooden benches. Beyond the seat wall lay an active recreation area with a play ground for children and a diagonal path for circulation through the area. There are also several large boulders placed within gravel. These spaces appear as sculptural compositions but may also function as play areas for children. The space primarily functions as a pass-through space connecting the harbor promenade with Laberget.

FIG 6.20



The first building to be constructed in Jättåvågen was located at the terminus of the main harbor promenade and blocked the connection harbor and the district center.

HARBOR PROMENADE CENTRAL

The harbor promenade central area contains two residential courtyards, the harbor promenade, the harbor plaza, and a landscape corridor (fig. 6.22). The residential buildings south of the harbor promenade are composed as block configurations with four to five volumes atop a common podium while the residential buildings north of the harbor promenade are composed as single towers varying between five and twelve floors in height.

The first courtyard south of the harbor promenade is framed by architectural volumes with a common podium construction. The landscape contains a play area for children, waste and recycling bins, several seating arrangements and raised planters. The space is raised more than a meter above the street level. There are thirteen pedestrian access points for individual dwellings, three common access points for the other dwellings located above the ground floor, and one common vehicular entry for parking structure beneath.

FIG 6.21



The harbor promenade is framed by residential buildings and contains a few adjacent public landscapes.

The harbor plaza north of the promenade is surfaced in concrete and contains several concrete platforms as a metaphor for the massive concrete structures developed at Jättåvågen during the production of petroleum infrastructure (fig. 6.23). A series of wooden stairs and integrated benches frame the north and west edge of the plaza. Along the northeast corner of the plaza there is an access ramp to the wooden harbor walkway surrounding the residential building located in the sea.

The entry forecourt for the adjacent building is located on the east side and raised above the promenade and accessed via an inclined ramp. The entry forecourt also includes an enclosed bicycle parking area. The next residential building to the east is constructed with a similar relation to the promenade and also surrounded by a wooden harbor walkway.

LEGEND

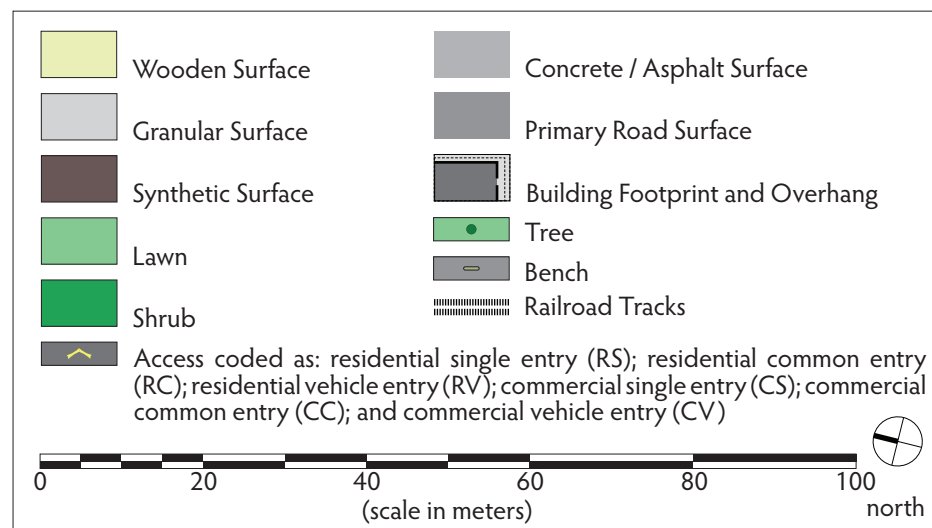
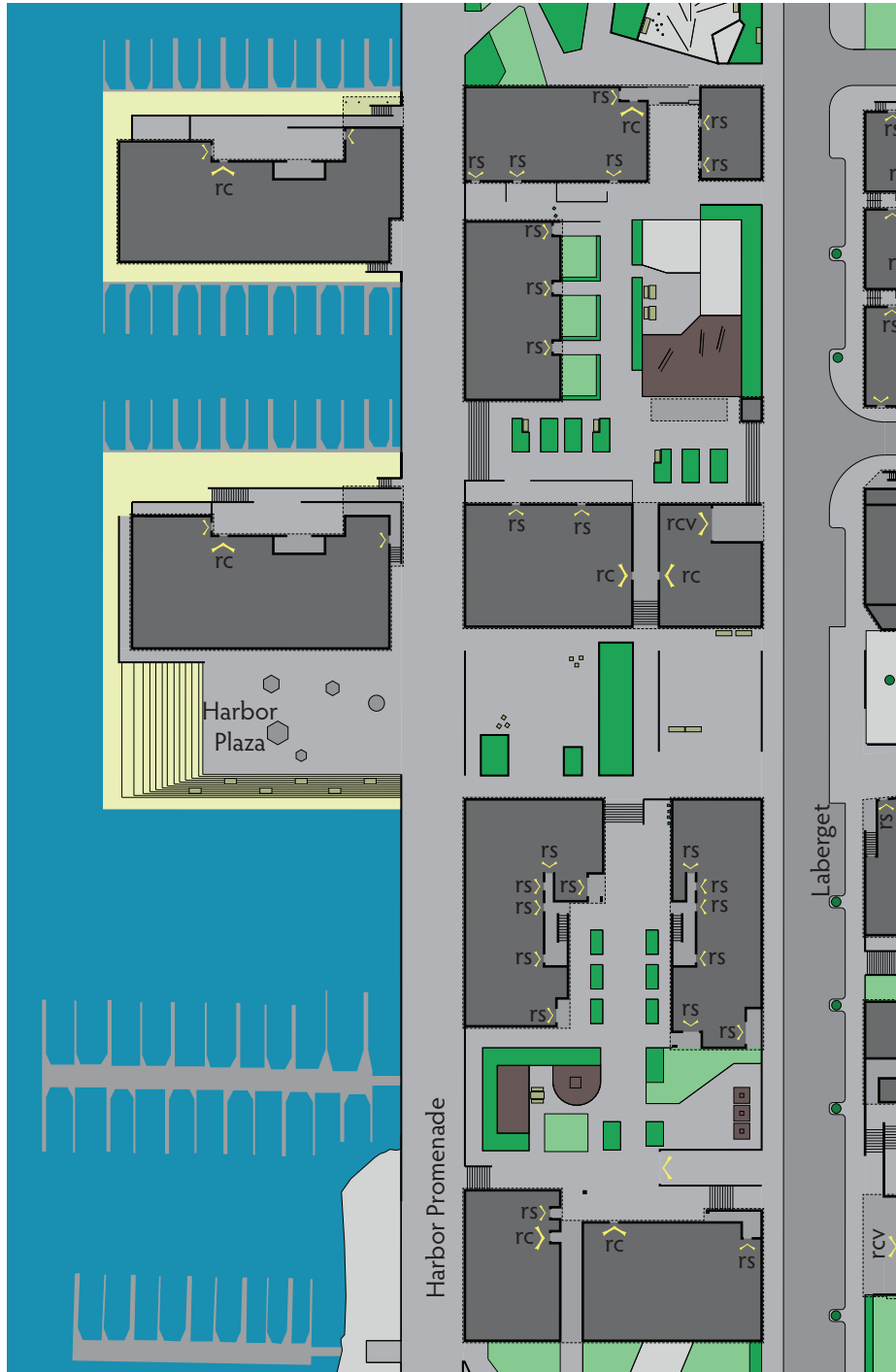


FIG 6.22



The open space south of the harbor plaza is configured as two small plazas delineated with seat walls and raised planters. The long linear seat walls decrease the connectivity between the promenade and the open spaces further to the south (fig. 6.24). The space contained several fixed seating arrangements. None of the adjacent buildings directly access the area but there are two access corridors to the adjacent residential courtyards.

The next residential courtyard still further to the east is framed by five volumes atop a common podium construction. The landscape contains a play area with synthetic safety cushion surface, two additional sandy play areas for children, multiple planting areas, a covered area for bicycle parking, and a few arranged seating areas. The space is raised above the street level and accessed directly from eight individual private terraces. There are three common access points for the other dwellings located above the ground floor and one common vehicular entry for the parking.

FIG 6.23



The harbor plaza transitions from the harbor promenade to the sea with a series of wooden steps.

HARBOR PROMENADE EAST

The harbor promenade east area contains an open landscape, a residential block with interior courtyard and two large residential towers in the sea with wooden harbor walkways (fig. 6.25). The open space corridor between the harbor promenade and Laberget is framed by four buildings from two different block configurations. The area contains an inclined vegetative area and gravel path near the harbor promenade and a sandy play area for children near Laberget. The area has several wooden benches integrated into the seat walls surrounding the play areas. The raised planters and seat walls along Laberget disassociated the area from the street and associates the area with the adjacent residential buildings.

The eastern most residential courtyard is framed by four buildings with a common podium construction. The landscape contains an interconnected network of small paths, a variety of planting areas, a play area for children, a raised circular planter, a storage facility, a covered bicycle parking area, a partially covered common grilling area, and several seating areas. The space is raised ten steps above the street level. There are eleven access points for individual dwellings, two common access points for the other dwellings above the ground floor, and one common vehicular entry for the private parking garage below.

FIG 6.24



The landscape corridor south of the harbor plaza contains several raised planters and fixed seating arrangements.

The two residential buildings north of the promenade in the sea are surrounded by a continuous harbor walkway surfaced with wood and slate tiles. These spaces contain a few benches and metal fixtures for bicycle parking. The space is accessed from the promenade via a ramp and stairway. Each building has four common entry points accessible from the harbor.

The harbor promenade terminates at Gandsford with a small boat harbor to the north and a row of perpendicular street parking to the south. The landscape surface is primarily asphalt. The landscape features include the waste and recycling contains. And no buildings directly access this area.

Having reached the eastern edge of the harbor promenade the following sections describe the areas along the main interior road, Laberget.

LEGEND

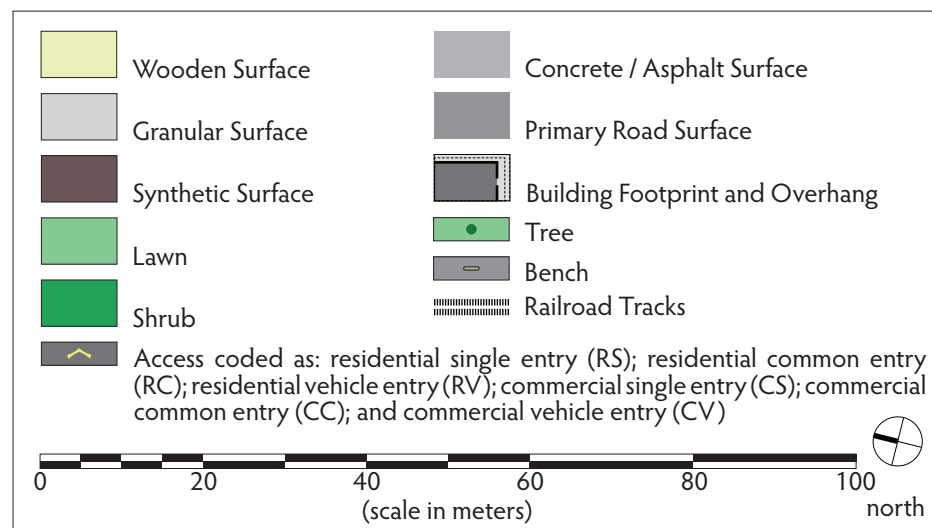
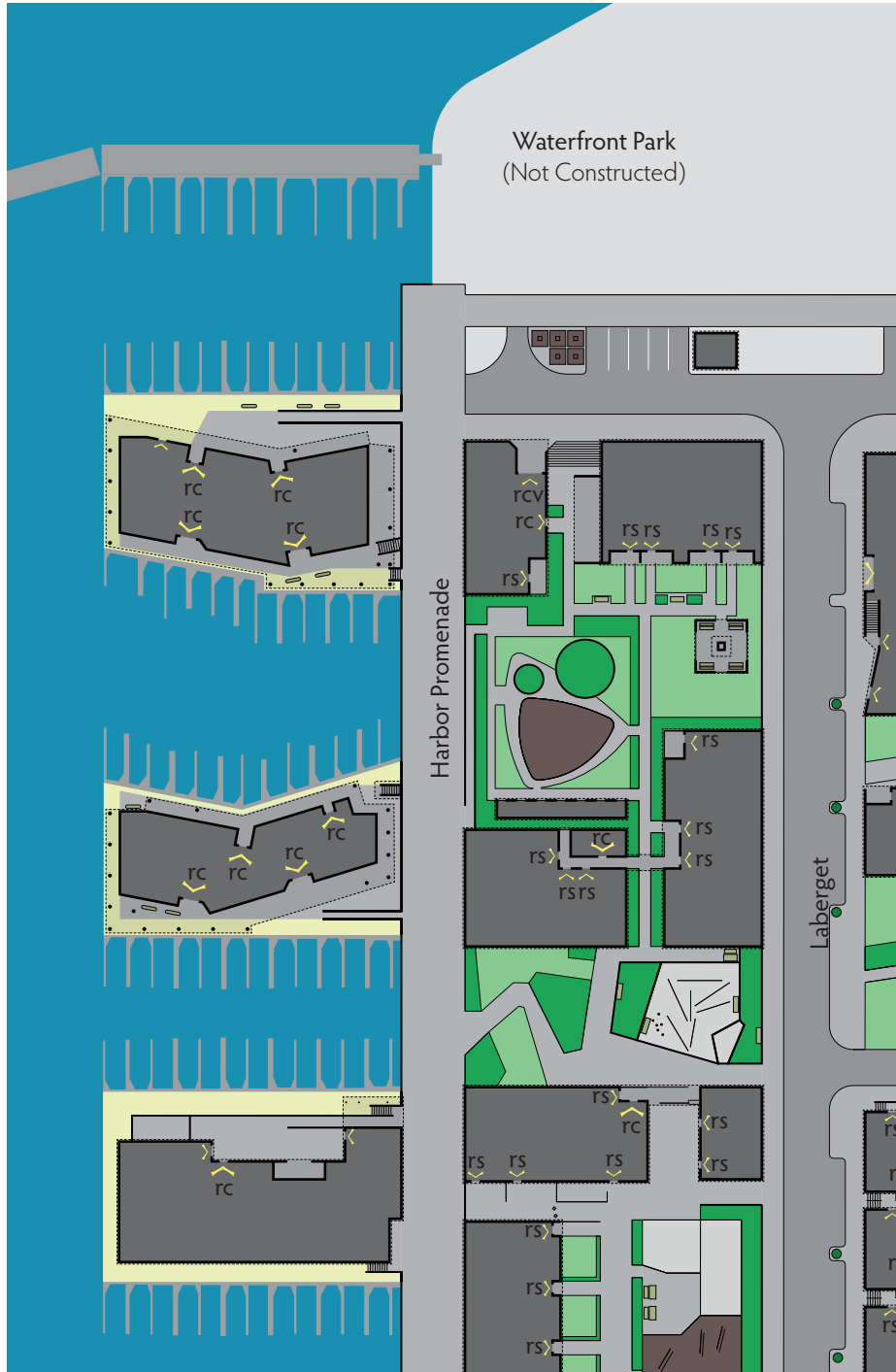


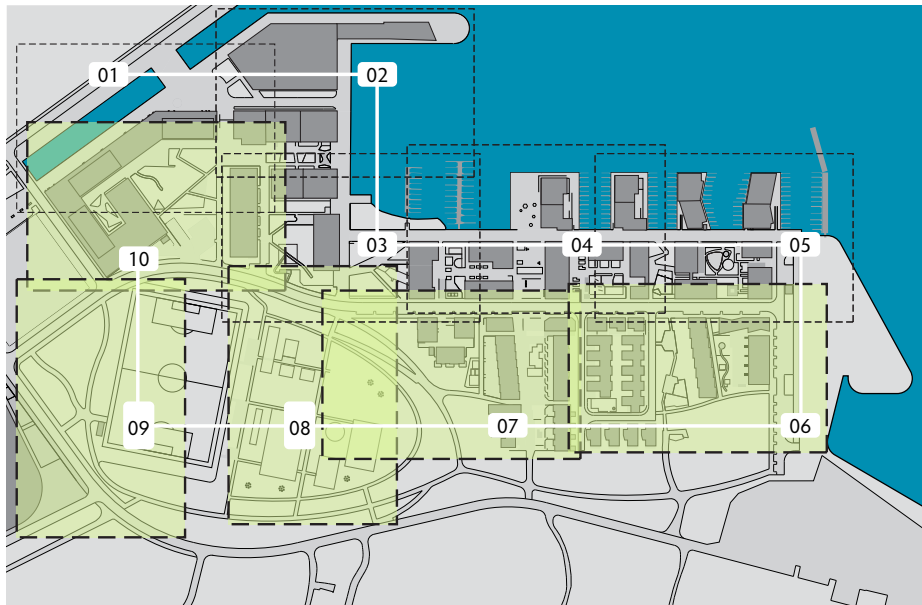
FIG 6.25



LABERGET AREA

The description of the Laberget area is reported through five maps organized from east to west (fig. 6.26). The subsequent landscape analysis follows Laberget from the east to west, from the seafront to the district center. The residential areas south of Laberget are reported in two sections; Laberget east and west. And the open landscapes south of Laberget are reported in two sections; parklands east and west. The last map contains the central plaza and office courtyard associated with the commercial developments along the canal. The expansive open lawn areas along the boundary with Boganes are contained within the analysis but only partially; the areas nearest Gamle Jättåvåg are not included.

FIG 6.26



The analysis for the Laberget area is reported in five parts illustrated above and shaded in green.

LABERGET EAST

The eastern area south of Laberget contains two open space corridors between three rows houses, the opens space associated with Laberghagen, and portions of the lawn areas near Boganes (fig. 6.27). Between the most eastern row houses there is a small open space with a serpentine path. The space is composed mostly of gravel and asphalt. The landscape features include a play area with modest play equipment for children and several arrangements of small trees. To the east there are several private terraces raised above the open space and constructed atop the private parking garage below. The row houses to the west directly access the area. The small apartment building along Laberget also connects to the area through one common entry point from the private parking garage on the ground floor.

Further to the west there is another open space corridor with vegetation, a small asphalt basketball court, a sandy play area for children, and a meandering gravel path (fig. 6.28). The area also contains several benches near the play areas. On the west side, the space is framed by Laberhagen and a row of houses across the street. And, on the east side, the space is framed by private gardens. The space is primarily accessed from the street. The area is surfaced primarily as lawn and shrubs and dotted with the occasional tree. The open space to the south is graded into several rolling mounds and framed by four adjacent single family detached houses (fig. 6.29).

The residential landscape immediately adjacent to Laberghagen is for the most part dedicated to parking and primarily composed of asphalt. While each dwelling unit along Laberghagen directly accesses the street, the automobile space seems to extend beyond the street and diminish the pedestrian quality (fig. 6.30). Most of the vegetation in this area is located away from the street behind the row houses in private gardens. The private yards often disassociated from the street within the inner block of Laberghagen are composed of lawn, shrubs, and wooden patios. The area also contains a small play area for children on the southwest corner of the interior block. The small sandy play area is framed by decorative vegetation and is framed by the adjacent houses and a low fence. The larger apartment between houses along Laberget contains a small courtyard raised above the street. The space is composed of concrete unit pavers and a few raised planters. Several individual dwelling units directly access this space and one unit directly accesses the street.

LEGEND

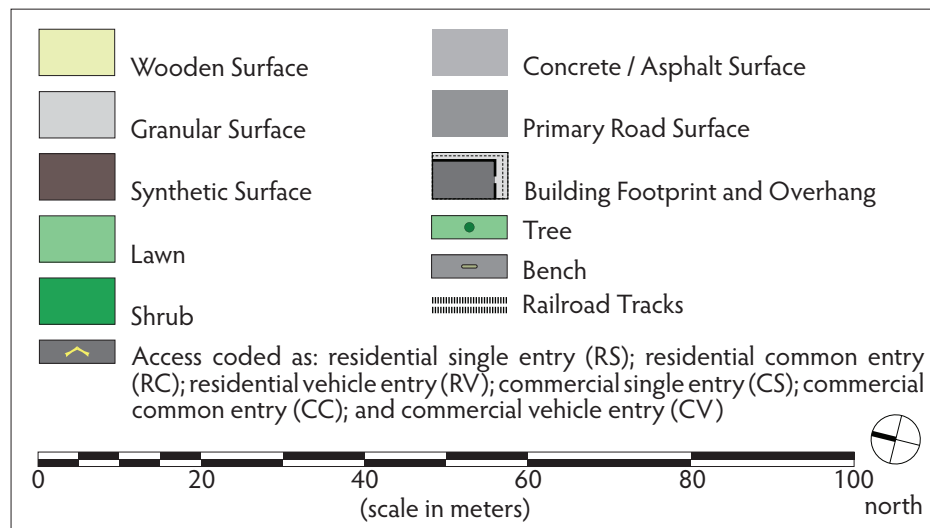


FIG 6.27



FIG 6.28



The public landscape corridor south of Laberget contains a series of small areas for recreation and leisure.

FIG 6.29



Four single family detached houses face the undulating lawn and open landscapes on the southern boundary of Jåttåvågen near Boganes.

FIG 6.30



Laberghagen is primarily structured as an asphaltic landscape dedicated to the vehicle rather than the garden.

FIG 6.31



The public landscape corridor south of the harbor plaza and the leaning tower is framed between two rows of houses and serves as a vehicle access rather than park.

FIG 6.32



Raised above the open landscapes along the boundary with Boganes, the active recreational fields affords views out across Gandsfjord to Lifjell.

LABERGET WEST

The western area south of Laberget contains an open space corridor between row houses, a portion of the lawn area near Boganes, a series of open spaces associated with private gardens, and a portion of the active recreational fields atop the old landfill site.

The open space framed between two rows of houses located west of Laberghagen is composed of asphalt and concrete on the west and a series of play areas and raised planters to the east (fig. 6.33). While the row houses along the western edge directly access to the space through individual pedestrian entries the area is largely dedicated to the vehicle (fig. 6.31). The eastern edge is framed by the raised private terraces associated with the adjacent row houses. Further south the area is surfaced as structurally reinforced lawn with a few plants, a few seat walls and a table with two benches. Two single detached houses frame the western edge while four row houses frame the eastern edge with raised private terraces.

Further west lay another open space corridor located behind the last row of houses. This area is framed by several apartment buildings to the west and a row of houses to the east with raised private terraces. The surface contains a gravel pathway, a sandy play area, vegetation, and a lawn area planted with trees.

LEGEND

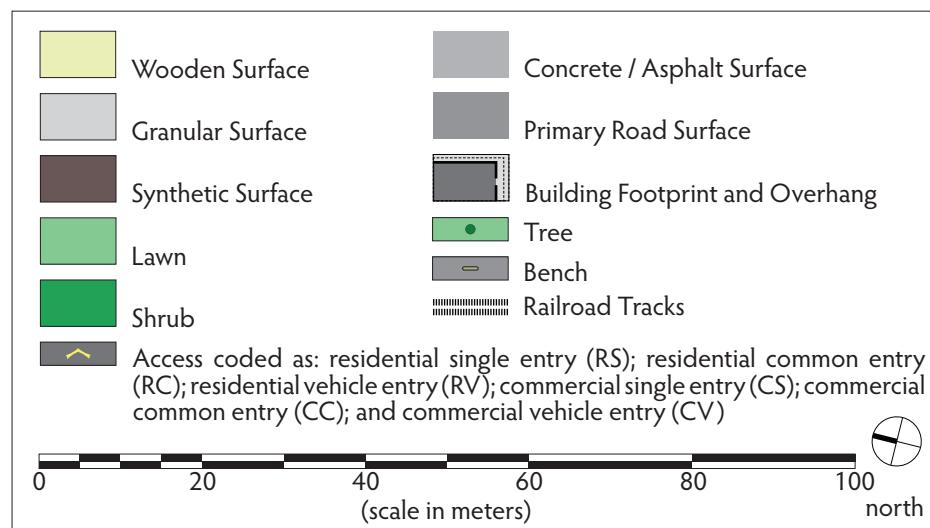


FIG 6.33



The residential courtyard located between the three apartment buildings is composed of concrete unit pavers and a few planters. Four individual apartments directly access the space at ground level. Three apartments along the southern edge directly access a small lawn area framed by an ornamental row of plantings.

The western portion of the area contains the active recreational fields raised several meters above the open landscapes along the southern boundary near Boganes. The elevated area is a plateau of sorts with views across Gandsfjord to Lifjell mountain (fig. 6.32). This area is discussed in the following section.

LABERGET PARKLANDS - EAST

The eastern parklands south of Laberget contain a series of active recreational fields and expansive lawn areas located above the old landfill site (fig. 6.34). The western edge of the area contains a stone terraced amphitheater facing the practice field for the local professional football club. The area is visually isolated from the main circulatory network of roads and paths and elevated several meters above the adjacent landscapes. The surface is composed of vegetative areas and gravel paths. The steep slopes surrounding the area are planted with shrubs. The landscape features included a series of play areas for children of different ages, a sand volleyball court, two gravel football pitches, several lawn areas, and a series of linear ornamental plantings of shrubs and trees. The landscape features include a variety of seating arrangements primarily associated with the play areas but also located along the decorative planting areas.

LEGEND

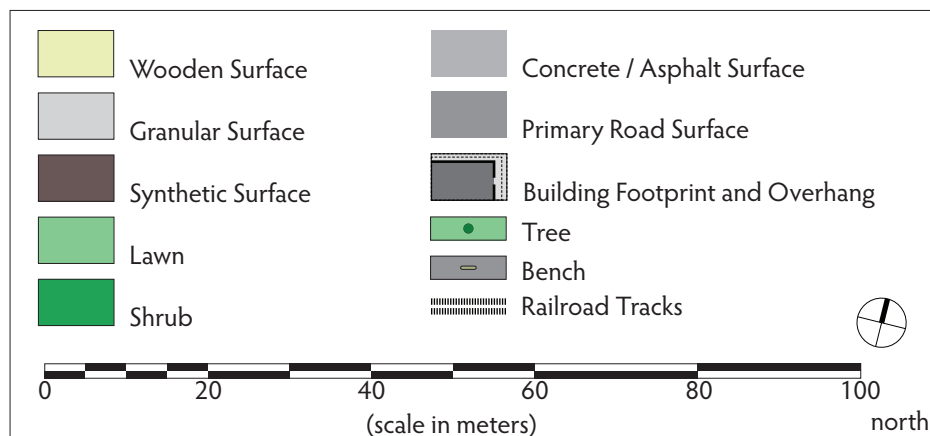
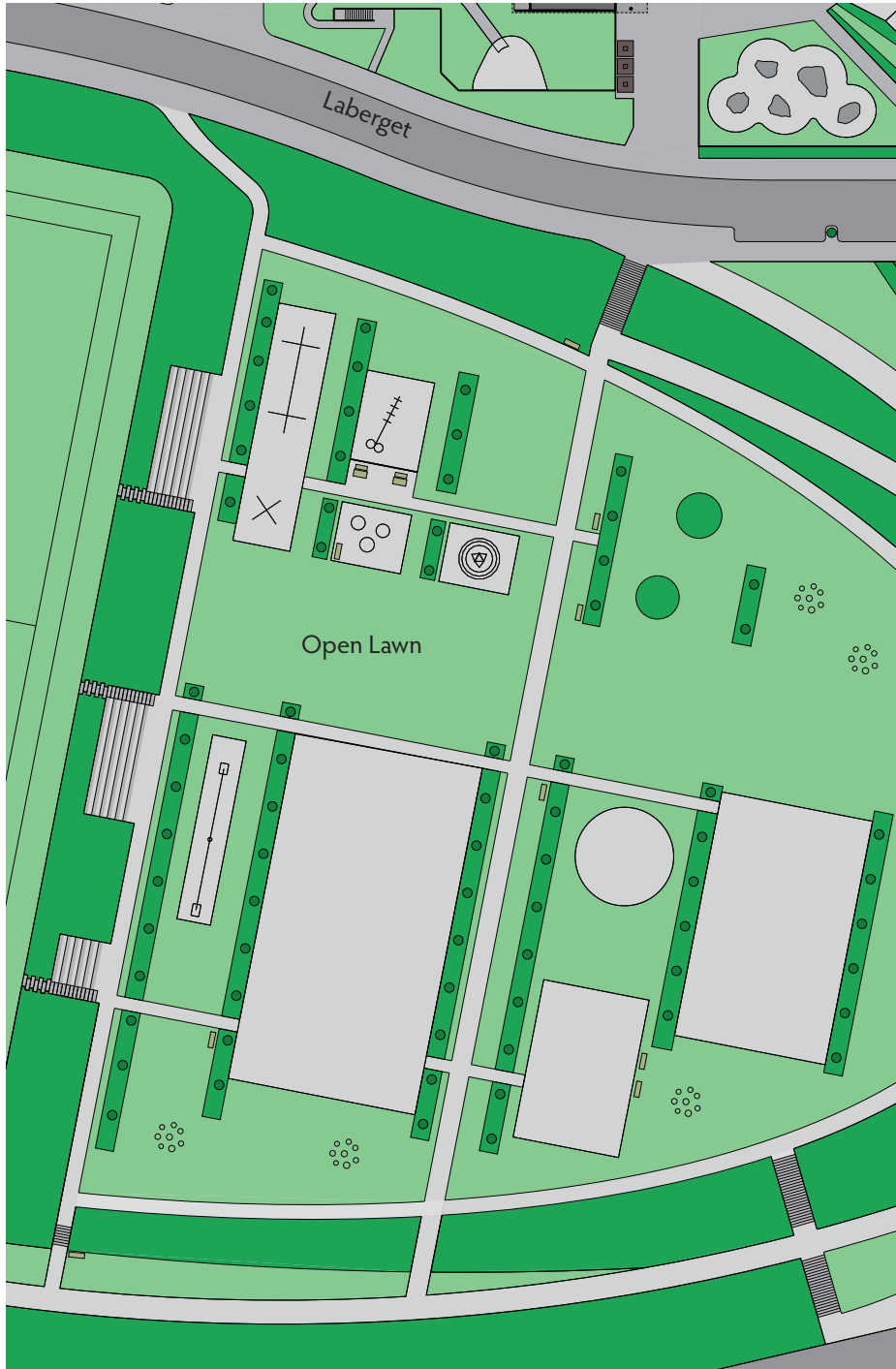


FIG 6.34



LABERGET PARKLANDS - WEST

The western parklands south of Laberget contain two meandering gravel pathways and gently mounds of lawns at the corner of Laberget and Gamle Jåttåvåg (fig. 6.35). The area contains no landscape features other than vegetation and does not directly connect to any adjacent architecture. The area is primarily a pass-through space, connecting the open space near Boganes and the stadium to the planned central plaza (currently functioning as a parking lot) to the north.

The area immediately east of the stadium contains several trees and numerous metal fixtures for bicycle parking. This space is associated with the grand social spectacle of sporting events and other such activities. It is not associated with the neighborhood space of Laberget.

LEGEND

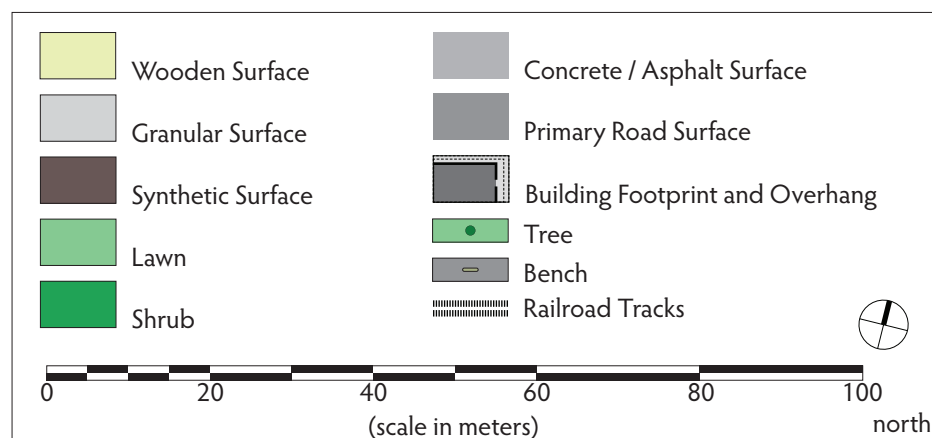


FIG 6.35



LABERGET –CENTRAL PLAZA AND OFFICE COURTYARD

The last open space analysis map contains the commercial building along the canal with a publicly accessible open-air landscape courtyard and the planned central plaza for the district (fig. 6.36). The planned central plaza is surfaced in asphalt and functions as a parking lot for adjacent commercial buildings. The courtyard associated with the office building contains a play area for children, several lawn areas, planting areas, and a gracious promenade along the northern edge surfaced in wood. Besides the fixed seating arrangements in the small plaza near the play area and recreational play fixtures the landscape in this area is devoid of other features. The portion of the courtyard nearest Laberget is dedicated to guest parking, loading zone, and access lanes for the underground parking garage for all the buildings within the canal and pier area and used by both vehicles and bicycles. The space connects to the adjacent commercial building through multiple entrances. The four private terraces associated with the residential building to the east access the area but are located across an small access road and a linear arrangement of decorative plantings.

LEGEND

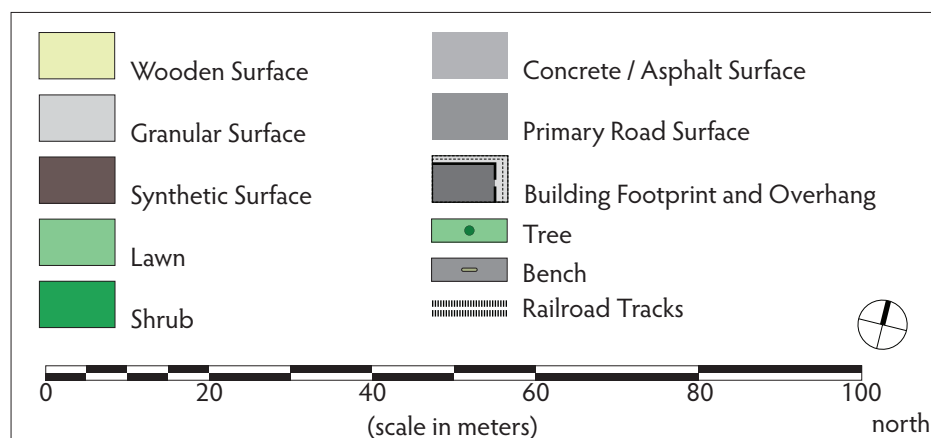
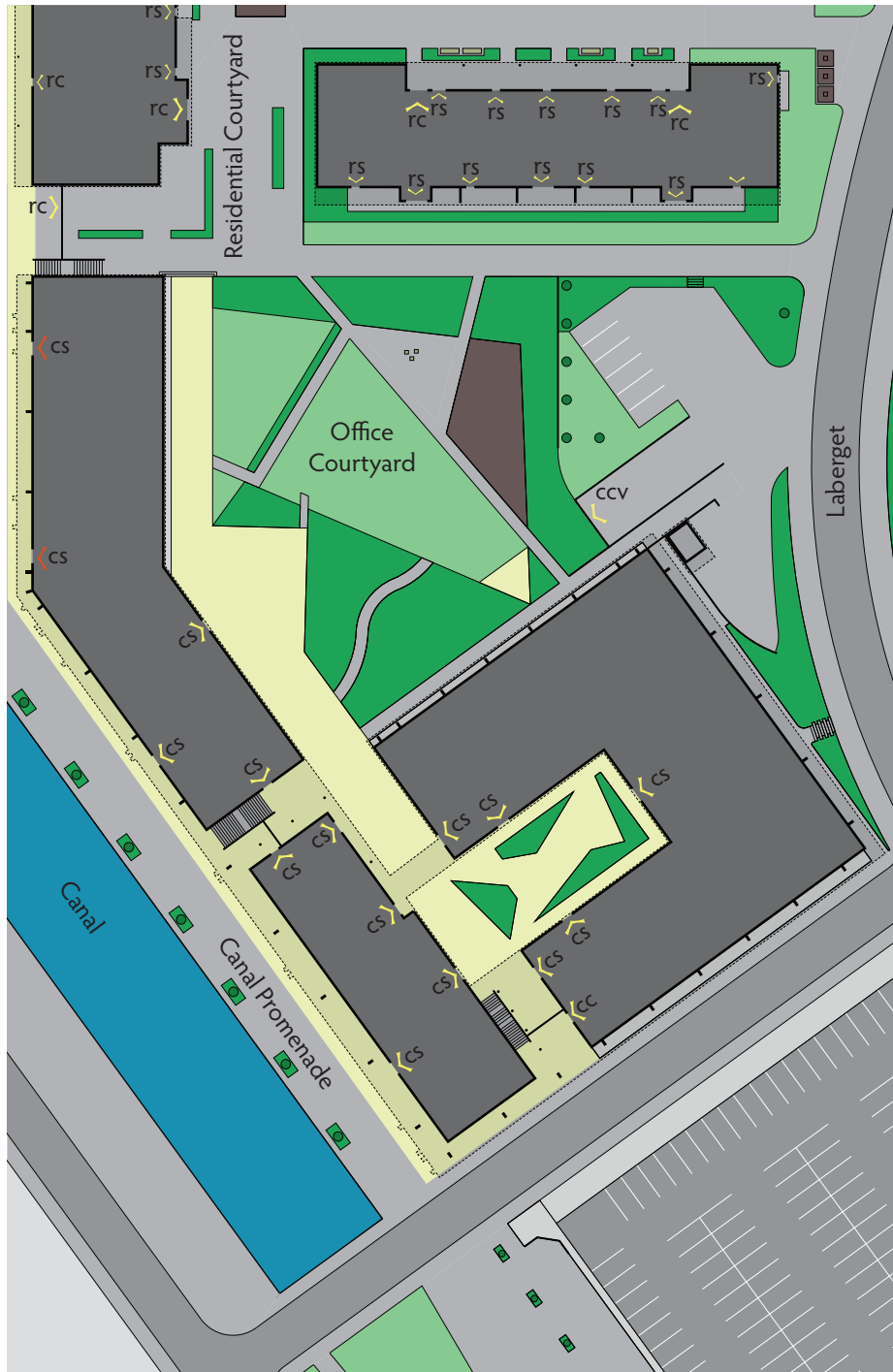


FIG 6.36



SYNTHESIS

The description of the various spaces within Jättåvågen emphasized the physical and material qualities of the neighborhood. In the following pages the descriptions of land cover, accessibility, and amenity for each area are synthesized into a more general discussion about the area in total. A more comprehensive discussion is presented in Part IV of the thesis.

LAND COVER SYNTHESIS

The land cover type analysis systematically describes the open space as a constructed space and provides a general depiction of the neighborhood open space in terms of surface materiality (fig. 6.37). In general the asphaltic roadway system, concrete pedestrian areas, and interlocking unit pavers within the interior courtyards of several residential building complexes are represented as impervious surfaces and primarily represent the space of motility; the space for all possible movement, whether automobile or pedestrian, surrounding most buildings.

The other less extensive or frequent land cover types include wood, synthetic, or granular surfaces and are represented as semi-impervious surfaces. Most of the granular surfaces represent the sandy play areas for children, gravel recreational fields, and bicycle trails through the more natural landscapes. The unrealized waterfront park and daycare facility are also categorized as granular in that the surface in these areas were gravel at the time of inquiry; the waterfront park served as an informal gravel parking lot for much of the investigation.

The lawn and shrub areas are represented as pervious surfaces. The majority of these areas are located along the southern portions of the area near Boganes and represent opportunities for leisure and unstructured play. Some of the courtyards and landscape corridors along Laberge also contains significant vegetation areas.

LEGEND

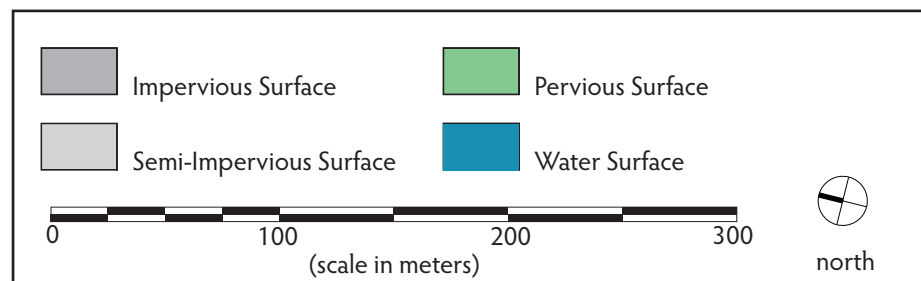


FIG 6.37



LANDSCAPE AMENITY

The description of landscape amenity was intended to characterize the general intent for each specific open space. Based upon the reported findings the recreational play areas represent the most common feature within the neighborhood landscape (fig. 6.38). There are twenty-two facilities in the relatively small area. The recreational program defines much of the open space while the remaining portions of the landscape remain undefined.

Even though the development along Laberget incorporated several open spaces into the network of public landscape that were not included within the master plan, these spaces are largely under programmed and lack amenity. The areas are minimalist in style. Other types of landscapes commonly associated with residential areas such as community gardens, dog parks, or central commons are not included in the open space network. The open spaces associated with the canal, pier, harbor promenade, and harbor plaza contain limited opportunities for a prolonged experience of place.

FIG 6.38



The open landscapes within Jättåvågen contain numerous recreational play areas; the blue asterisks represent play areas for young children while the red asterisks represent active recreational facilities such as basketball.

ACCESSIBILITY

While the train station and the reconfiguration of Jåttåvågveien generally provided access to the area, Jåttåvågen remains relatively isolated (fig. 6.39). The new bicycle and pedestrian circulation connections improve access to Jåttåvågen from the adjacent areas but the improved access does not imbue the space with some grand sense of publicness; the district open space remains relatively inaccessible for the greater public. And the open space associated with the harbor promenade and Laberget are located on the periphery, more than five hundred meters from the station. These parks remain relatively inaccessible in comparison to other public parks along the shores of Gansfjord.

Within the district, access to open space is also limited. Except for the vehicular access into private parking garages, none of the residential buildings along the harbor promenade or Laberget directly access adjacent public space. Along these two major movement corridors there is not one door directly accessing the street, the promenade, or even the public landscapes between private property. The residential development is quite introverted (fig. 6.40). The harbor promenade serves as an informal road for loading and unloading rather than as a pedestrian space (fig. 6.41).

FIG 6.39



The access improvements for Jåttåvågen included one main entry (red asterisk) and several pedestrian and bicycle entries (yellow asterisk).

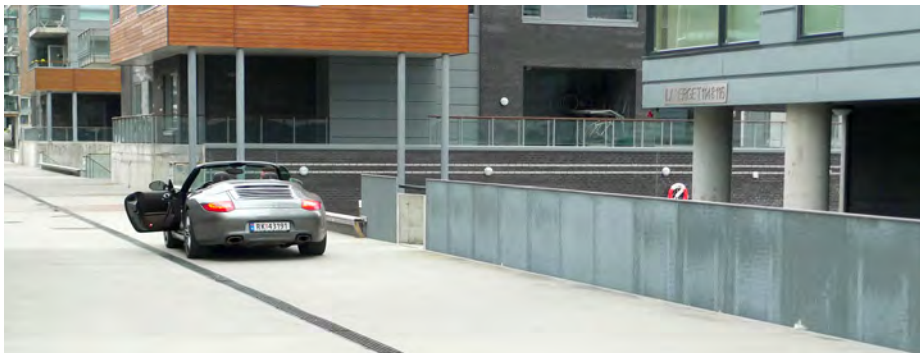
While much of the parking within the first phase of development has been concealed in private garages located within the structures, parking continues to inform the relationship between the building and the street. With parking structures located below street level and the residential space located above street level, the building perimeter often appears to be fortified and inaccessible at the street level (fig. 6.42). South of Laberget, parking areas are located at street level and residential areas located above street level. Such configurations diminish the connectivity between private dwelling and public space. The surface parking on Labgerhagen associated with the row houses occupies much of the open space adjacent to the pedestrian realm; the space appears as vehicular rather than pedestrian.

FIG 6.40



The harbor promenade is not directly accessed from adjacent architecture and appears as a concrete corridor with little amenity.

FIG 6.41



The harbor promenade serves as a loading area for local residents.

Even though the architecture does not directly connect with much of the public space, there is a large prevalence of privately owned but publicly accessible open space, the majority of which are residential courtyards (fig. 6.43). These residential courtyards raised above the street and partially enclosed by adjacent architecture represent semi-private open space with limited public access. Even though these spaces are publicly accessible, access is typically achieved through a covered corridor or several stairs. The dwelling units immediately adjacent to the courtyard increase the perceived private nature and intimacy of the space. While public access is not physically denied, the space appears as a semi-private space. Conversely, some of the public spaces adjacent to the private property are relatively inaccessible to the general public and exist as semi-public space. These spaces appear more private than public.

FIG 6.42



None of the buildings along Laberget directly access the public street or provide a transitional space between public and private areas; each building was built to the edge of the property.

Even though the residential buildings located within the sea are surrounded by a publicly accessible wooden boardwalk, the harbor is separated from the public promenade and associated with the private boat harbors. While not configured as a gracious public waterfront these semi-private spaces effectively privatize the waterfront.

On the one hand these spaces are open to the public and on the other hand they exist as a territory defined by and associated with adjacent private property. This quality may also extend beyond these privately owned areas into the greater public space. And at the same time, most dwelling units within the area do not directly access public space. Whether semi-private or public in nature, the open space within the area is more visually than physically accessible. So while public space remains relatively isolated from the greater public due to limited access into and out of district, the open space surrounding the residential buildings remains relatively inaccessible for the immediate residents. With limited connectivity between the residential architecture and the immediate open space, combined with the limited accessibility of the district in general, the public nature of the district landscapes is uncertain.

FIG 6.43



The ownership of land is represented as a continuum in which light green is public, dark green is semi-public, yellow is private, and tan is privately owned but publicly accessible.

CONCLUSION

While most of the components within the first phase of development were constructed according to plan, several key concepts described within the district plan were unrealized in physical form. For instance the first residential building developed in Jättåvågen was located at the western end of the harbor promenade and obscured any visual connection between the harbor and the central plaza. The location of this building directly violated the concept of accessibility ascribed to the public waterfront as stipulated within the plan. The train station serves as another example; it was not prominently expressed as an architectural feature nor visually connected to the district center as specified within the master plan. In contrast to the stipulation within the plan, the train station was not developed as a key architectural feature and does not appear as a significant landmark. It is, in fact, isolated from the street and obscured by adjacent architecture. The commercial buildings next to train station deny any visual connectivity between the station and the central open spaces in the interior of Jättåvågen. And while the school appears as a significant architectural element in the landscape, it is also disassociated from the street and the main entry promenade.

While Jättåvågen was represented as an urban district serviced by public transportation, the actual development was largely oriented towards the automobile. The fact that the planned central plaza remains as an asphalt parking lot rather than formal pedestrian space illustrates the limited use of alternative transit and the powerful demands of the automobile.

The shopping center within the commercial stadium complex provides comfortable interior space year round but diminishes the promenade as a key public space. The promenade could have been configured as a colonnade similar to the colonnade along Torgallmenningen in Bergen (fig. 6.44). The commercial complex could have created a comfortable outdoor environment with shelter from rain and individual entries into numerous street-facing retail spaces. As a constructed space, the promenade reads as a vehicular rather than pedestrian space and the open space associated with the stadium complex raised several meters above the street and below the train station remain unoccupied as a significant public space.

The location and dislocation of certain land uses diminish the social potential of the public space. For instance, Jättå school which remains unoccupied during the evenings and weekends does not create the social vitality of an urban district. The students activate the surrounding public space only during commute hours and lunch time. And as a potential user group, notoriously inconspicuous teenagers avoid public space; they optimize Oldenburg's third space. High school students represent a special social group with needs that must be distinguished from the adult user; teenagers often occupy the spaces on the periphery rather than the center.

The stadium represents another land use designation in conflict with the everyday quality of public space. As an event space it is used infrequently during the year and remains primarily as an unoccupied space with little contribution towards public space during most of the year. As an infrequent activity the stadium need not occupy the area immediately adjacent to the train station, the pedestrian promenade, or the district center. In terms of potential everyday use the location of the school and the stadium do not work well with the vision of the district center as socially vibrant urban area.

Furthermore, the public vitality of the open space associated with the canal and pier is relatively limited due to the development of commercial offices rather than retail space or other more publicly oriented land uses. The canal promenade is not appropriated by the comings and goings of employees; it is viewed from their offices. Minus the commute hours and lunch time, these spaces are relatively underused.

While access to the district was improved though several key infrastructural projects, Jättåvågen remains relatively inaccessible. The new train station, the reconfiguration of adjacent roads, and the new entry road for the district connect Jättåvågen with the adjacent urban structure; however, these projects also created an expansive transitory space with little amenity. The project created an infrastructural space that isolated the train station and the district from adjacent urban structure.

The district remains a relatively isolated area on the periphery between Stavanger and Sandnes. With only one vehicle entry Jåttåvågen operates as a large cul-de-sac of sorts. It exists as suburban development with an urban aesthetic on the periphery of the city. Jåttåvågen, it would appear, was developed as an area for private interests to be accessed primarily through private vehicle. If the general public is to occupy open space and appropriate the area, the public must first overcome the limited accessibility of the district.

Most of the buildings within Jåttåvågen are disassociated from open space. The buildings exhibit a fortified architectural aesthetic in which the main entries for buildings are not articulated. In fact, the doors are quite inconspicuous. None of the buildings along Laberget or the harbor promenade directly access public space. The tallest buildings maximize views to the sea while the mid sized buildings turn inwards towards semi-private courtyards.

FIG 6.44



The public space associated with the residential areas is a highly visual configuration of decorative plantings and brightly colored play areas but the space does not sustain any lingering activity in place. The public space lacks many landscape amenities typically associated with neighborhood park. However, the descriptive analysis reported in this chapter does not reflect the lived quality of the neighborhood. The actuality of the space as a social phenomenon lived by those who have occupied the area is reported in the next chapter.

VII

JÄTTÅVÅGEN AS A LIVED SPACE

The manifestation of Jättåvågen as a constructed space represents the physical and material aspects of perceived space and so represents the spatial practice of local planning and its engagement with the development industry. But perceived space also contains the spatial practice of individuals and the subjectivity of human agency. A purely spatial reading of a particular environment is a partial reading in that it neglects experience and perception and the meanings that may result from a particular experience and be attached to a particular place. The two previous chapters discussed Jättåvågen as an idea and as a thing. The following chapter discusses the spatial practice of individuals and the meanings associated with the lived neighborhood.

The survey instrument as described in Chapter IV and referenced in Appendix III represents the main empirical mode of inquiry for this particular reading of neighborhood space. And while the survey represents the primary means through which the neighborhood is analyzed, qualitative interviews, behavior mapping, observations of behavior traces, quantification of vehicular traffic through the aid of radar technology augment the information obtained through the survey.

The survey results are reported in two parts; the first part reports the frequencies of the survey results while the second part reports the findings of multiple analyses performed on the data set.

FREQUENCIES

Of the 500 surveys distributed in Jättåvågen during the month of June in 2011 96 were returned. Of those 96 surveys, three were excluded from the following analyses because two respondents were under the age of 18 and one survey was more than 30% incomplete. With a total of 93 surveys, the response rate was 19%. The survey responses represented 93 households and a 189 individuals persons.

The frequencies for the various survey items are reported in four general groups. The first section reviews the social demographic characteristics of the survey respondents. The second section reports the frequencies for physical attributes of the residences. The third section reports on the spatial practice of residents in terms of transit behavior, transit modality, and their specific uses of neighborhood open space and local shops. This section documents the spatial practice within the neighborhood in detail and is augmented by several additional modes of observation. The fourth section reports the perceptions of neighborhood. This section deals exclusively with the thirty-five likert questions. The significant trends represented in these frequencies are noted within the descriptive text that follows.

SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHICS

The social demographic variables include gender, age, education, employment, annual household income, household size, and number of children under 18 years of age. Other questions within the survey ask respondents about employment status, length of tenure in neighborhood, number of places lived previously, and place of origin. The survey also includes several binary questions about primary place of residence, and ownership of property and private car (tab. 7.01). The frequencies for these variables are reported in the following paragraphs.

GENDER

A little more than half of the respondents identified themselves as female while slightly less than one half identified themselves as male. The survey population is representative of the area in general in that in the city of Stavanger, women also represent half of the population.

AGE

While the survey quantified age by years, the data is reported in groupings of ten years with approximately one fifth of the respondent population represented within each range of age. Slightly more than one fifth of respondents were between the age of 20 and 29 while almost a quarter of respondents were between 30 and 39. Less than one fifth of respondents were between 40 and 49 while almost a quarter of respondents were between 50 and 59. Slightly less than one fifth of respondents were older than sixty.

In 2001 the age distribution for the city of Stavanger and the Hinna area was slightly different than the respondent population. For both Hinna and Stavanger

TAB 7.01
FREQUENCIES FOR DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

VARIABLES	N	%
GENDER		
Male	43	47
Female	49	53
AGE		
23-29	20	22
30-39	21	23
40-49	16	17
50-59	21	23
60-69	6	6
70-82	8	8
Education		
High school diploma	28	31
Bachelor degree	30	33
Master degree	29	32
Doctoral degree	3	3
EMPLOYMENT		
Petroleum industry	33	35
Management	14	15
Healthcare industry	12	13
Engineering	9	10
Financial services	8	9
Education	8	9
Administrative	7	8
Public administration	7	8
Retired	5	5
Construction industry	5	5
Merchandise and retail	4	4
RETIRED		
	12	13

Note:

less than one fifth of the population identified themselves as being in their 20s, 30s, or 40s. And slightly more than one tenth identified themselves as being in their 50s. In comparison, the survey population contains higher percentages of people in their 20s and 30s. And while survey respondents were equal to the population distribution for the 40s, the survey population had twice as many people in the 50s.

EDUCATION

Except for three respondents with doctoral degrees, the reported educational levels are evenly distributed; one third of respondents completed high school, one third obtained a bachelor degree, and another third obtained a master degree.

Within the Rogaland region, slightly more than one half of the population graduated from high school, one quarter completed a bachelor degree, and less than one tenth obtained a master or doctoral degree. Within the city of Stavanger almost one half of the population completed high school while another two fifths of the population obtained a bachelor, master, or doctoral degree (SSB, 2010). In comparison to these already high educational characteristics of the region, more than two thirds of the survey population obtained a degree from a university; the educational level within the survey population is higher.

EMPLOYMENT

Slightly more than one third of respondents work in the petroleum industry while less than one fifth work in management. More than one tenth of respondents work in the healthcare industry while one tenth work as engineers. Slightly more than one tenth of respondents were retired.

If the employment fields based on service are combined (management, engineering, and financial services) almost one third of respondents work in positions related to the service economy. If the less frequently indicated fields of work (advertising and marketing, creative industry, information and communication technology, and research and development: these are not shown in table) were added to this index, one half of the respondents work in fields related to the new economy. If respondents who indicated petroleum industry as their field of work, three quarters of respondents work in the service economy. The survey population represents the post-industrial or managerial class associated with network society, the space of flows, and the informational economy.

HOUSEHOLD SIZE

Two fifths of respondents live with another person while slightly less than one third of respondents live alone (tab. 7.02). One fifth of respondents lived in households of three persons while one tenth lived in household with four or five persons.

On average two fifths of the Stavanger population live alone while one third of Hinna population live alone. One quarter of residents from Stavanger and Hinna live with another person. More than one tenth of the households in Stavanger and Hinna contain three people while another one tenth are identified as households of four. In this regard, the survey population has a lower rate of people living alone and a higher rate of people living with another person. The survey population has a higher rate of households of three and a lower rate of households of four.

PREVALENCE OF CHILDREN

Four fifths of respondents live in households without children and slightly more than one tenth of respondents live in households with one child. Less than one tenth of respondents live with two or more children. The 31 children represented in the survey responses account for less than one fifth of the total survey population (189).

The age group younger than 19 years of age represents one quarter of the population for Stavanger and almost three tenths of the population for Hinna. In this regard, the survey population exhibits a slightly lower percentage of children when compared to the adjacent areas.

INCOME

Almost one half of all respondents reported an annual household income greater than a million NOK. Less than one fifth reported between 800,000 NOK and a million NOK while one tenth of respondents indicated that their annual household income was between 700,000 NOK and 800,000 NOK. Less than one tenth of respondents reported an annual household income that was less than 400,000 NOK. Less than one tenth of respondents reported an annual household income between 400,000 NOK and 500,000 NOK; less than one tenth reported between 500,000 NOK and 600,000 NOK; and less than one tenth reported between 600,000 NOK and 700,000 NOK.

In 2010 the average annual income for Norway, Stavanger, and Hinna was 449,300 NOK, 441,000 NOK, and 543,000 NOK respectively (SSB, 2010). Based on these numbers, an annual household income for two adults living together would on average be approximate to 882,000 NOK to 1,086,000 NOK. Seemingly, the survey population matches these averages. The question within the survey was not well structured in that it did not illicit a precise value for respondents claiming more than one million NOK annual household income. Secondly, the question stated as range can not be averaged.

For respondents living alone the most common response for annual income was between 500,000 NOK and 600,000 NOK - slightly higher than the averages reported for the city and district. However, more than half of the 30 individuals living alone reported an annual income greater than 600,000 NOK; and almost one quarter of those living alone reported an annual income greater than a million. The reported annual household income for people living alone indicates a degree of wealth in contrast to the national and regional averages.

OWNERSHIP OF PRIMARY RESIDENCE

Every respondent indicated that Jättåvågen was their primary residence and except for three responses, everyone owned the property as well.

OWNERSHIP OF VEHICLE

Minus one response, everyone owned at least one car. Three fifths of respondents owned one car while almost one third owned two or more cars. On average one third of Stavanger residents do not own a car while almost three quarters have at least one private car. The prevalence of automobile ownership is much higher in Jättåvågen.

PLACE INDEX

Less than one tenth of respondents indicated that they had lived in one or two places for the entirety of their lives, while slightly more than one third of respondents had lived in three to five places during the course of their life (tab. 7.03). Another two fifths of respondents had lived in six to ten places and less than one fifth had lived in more than 11 places.

This particular statistic was created for this research to measure the relative mobility of each respondent over time. It does not however account for the context of individual mobility. It is difficult to ascertain the significance of a relatively low place index. For instance, one interviewee lived in three places within the Hinna area and witnessed the dramatic transformation associated with the discovery of

TAB 7.02
FREQUENCIES FOR DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

VARIABLES	N	%
HOUSEHOLD SIZE		
1 person	27	31
2 persons	36	40
3 persons	18	20
4 or 5 persons	9	10
CHILDREN UNDER 18		
No children	73	79
1 child	12	13
2 children	5	5
3 children	3	3
ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME		
Less than 300,000 NOK	3	3
300,000 to 400,000 NOK	5	6
400,000 to 500,000 NOK	6	7
500,000 to 600,000 NOK	6	7
600,000 to 700,000 NOK	6	7
700,000 to 800,000 NOK	9	10
800,000 to 1,000,000 NOK	15	17
More than 1,000,000 NOK	40	44
PRIMARY RESIDENCE		
Yes	90	100
OWNERSHIP OF RESIDENCE		
Yes	87	97
No	3	3
CAR OWNERSHIP		
One car	59	63
Two cars	28	30
Three cars	2	2

Note:

petroleum and the development of Jåttåvågen. Another interviewee lived in two places that were drastically different. The first interviewee observed the changes to place with a certain level of regret and scrutiny while the second interviewee welcomed the dramatic shift as an incredible opportunity for a better life.

PLACE OF ORIGIN

Almost one half of respondents indicated that their place of origin was Stavanger, slightly more than one tenth identified Rogaland as their place of origin, and slightly more than one quarter indicated Norway as their place of origin. Almost nine tenths of respondents identified Stavanger, Rogaland, or Norway as their place of origin. While the question does not directly ask respondents to indicate ethnicity or nationality, there is a high likelihood that people identifying their place of origin as Norway are of Anglo-Germanic origin, especially with the average age of respondents being 44. Four decades ago foreign born immigrants represented less than three percent of the national population (SSB, 1976). It is only within the last few decades that the numbers of ethnic minorities living in Norway have risen.

TENURE

The length of residence within the area is reported by year from 2004 to 2011. Less than one tenth of respondents arrived in 2011, almost one fifth arrived in 2010, and another quarter arrived in 2009. One fifth of respondents arrived in 2008 while more than one tenth arrived in 2007 and exactly one tenth arrived in 2006.

For the most part respondents are highly educated Norwegians working in the informational economy and earning an annual income greater than the national or municipal average. And when compared to the regional averages respondent were much more likely to own a car, much less likely to have children, and less likely to live alone.

These demographics statistics are important for they generally locate each person within a greater social space that is representative of social status and economic opportunity. It is here within Bourdieu's habitus that preferences for various cultural practices manifest according to income, education, age, and other social variables. The social demographics of respondents undoubtedly inform the perception of neighborhood and thus influence the analysis of neighborhood space. This relationship between habitus and the lived neighborhood is discussed in later chapters. For now, the discussion continues to report frequencies for other questions within the survey.

TAB 7.03
FREQUENCIES FOR DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES

VARIABLES	N	%
PLACES LIVED IN FOR 1+ MONTHS		
1-2 places	6	7
3-5 places	32	35
6-10 places	37	41
11 or more	15	17
PLACE OF ORIGIN		
Stavanger	44	48
Rogaland	11	12
Norway	24	26
Scandinavia	3	3
Europe	5	5
North America	2	2
Asia	1	1
Central America	1	1
TENURE BY YEAR		
2011	6	6
2010	18	19
2009	24	26
2008	18	19
2007	13	14
2006	9	10
2005	2	2
2004	3	3

Note:

ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF HOME

The architectural features measured within the survey include the prevalence of a private roof terrace, balcony, garden, and dedicated parking. The level of each residence was also included a key attribute and measured by floor. Most of these variables are associated with and serve as surrogates for building type.

While each house had a private balcony and dedicated parking space, only one fifth of respondents indicated that their residence had a roof terrace and slightly more than one tenth had a private garden (tab. 7.04).

Almost one third of respondents lived on the first or second floor while one fifth lived on either the third or fourth floor. Slightly more than one quarter lived above the fourth floor and slightly more than one fifth of respondents lived on multiple floors. All respondents living on multiple floors lived in a row house, town house, or single family detached house. With only one fifth of the respondents living in row houses or single detached houses, the architectural context in which much of the survey population is living can be distinguished from the regional norm which is largely characterized as low density garden villa.

TAB 7.04
FREQUENCIES FOR PHYSICAL FEATURES OF RESIDENCE

VARIABLES	N	%
HAVE DEDICATED PARKING	93	100
HAVE PRIVATE BALCONY	93	100
HAVE PRIVATE ROOF TERRACE	17	19
HAVE PRIVATE GARDEN	11	12
LEVEL OF MAIN RESIDENCE		
1st floor	14	15
2nd floor	13	14
3rd floor	11	12
4th floor	8	9
5th floor	7	8
6th floor	4	4
7th floor	4	4
8th floor	2	2
9th floor	2	2
10th floor	2	2
11th floor	2	2
12th floor	2	2
1st to 2nd floor	7	8
1st to 3rd floor	11	12
2nd to 3rd floor	2	2

Note:

DAILY MOBILITY PRACTICE

The results from the survey on daily mobility practice are reported in three sections. The first section pertains to transit modality, the second section pertains to the spatial distribution of mobility practice, and the third section pertains to neighborhood spatial practice.

TRANSIT MODALITY

The frequencies for transit modality indicate that slightly more than one third of respondents drive 80% of the time for all transit needs while less than one fifth drive 100% of the time for all transit needs. Less than one fifth use the car for 60%, 40%, and 20% of all transit needs (tab. 7.05). Almost two thirds of respondents never use the train while one third use the train 20% of the time for all transit needs. Nine tenths never use the bus for any transit needs while one tenth use the bus 20% of the time for all transit needs. Two thirds of respondents never bicycle for any transit needs while almost one quarter bicycle 20% of the time for all transit needs. Almost half of respondents never walk while two fifths walk 20% or less of the time for all transit needs. The four highest percentiles for an individual response field for the transit modality question represented no transit at all; 87%, 63%, and 59% of respondents reported 0% use of the bus, bicycle, and train. And the fourth highest response field was driving 80% of the time; 37% of respondents marked this field.

The fact that almost half of the respondents under represented walking as a mode of transit can be interpreted in several ways; clearly more than half of the survey population walk more than 0% of the time. One interpretation is that respondents did not qualify leisure activity as related to transit.

When compiled into one data set walking is the second most frequent mode of transit: respondents drive 63% of the time, walk 16%, bicycle 13%, ride the train 11%, and take the bus 3% (tab 7.06). The transit modality is primarily automotive in character but other modes are minimally represented (fig. 7.01).

The timing and frequency for this automotive practice occurs during the normal commute times in the morning and evening. Total hourly vehicular traffic was measured along the main interior road, Laberget, for a sixteen-day period in the fall of 2010 (fig. 7.02). The observed traffic pattern reveals two peaks for the daily commute times and a slightly different trend on the weekends. On average the total number of cars exiting Laberget during the regular weekday morning between 5:00 and 11:00 was almost 400. Assuming one car per household and

TAB 7.05
FREQUENCIES FOR TRANSIT MODALITY

VARIABLES	N	%
CAR		
0%	3	3
20%	14	15
40%	13	14
60%	14	15
80%	34	37
100%	15	16
TRAIN		
0%	55	59
20%	29	31
40%	5	5
60%	2	2
80%	2	2
BUS		
0%	81	87
20%	9	10
40%	3	3
BICYCLE		
0%	59	63
20%	20	22
40%	6	7
60%	4	4
80%	3	3
100%	1	1
FOOT		
0%	42	45
20%	40	43
40%	3	3
60%	2	2
80%	6	7

Note: Items with zero percent not reported

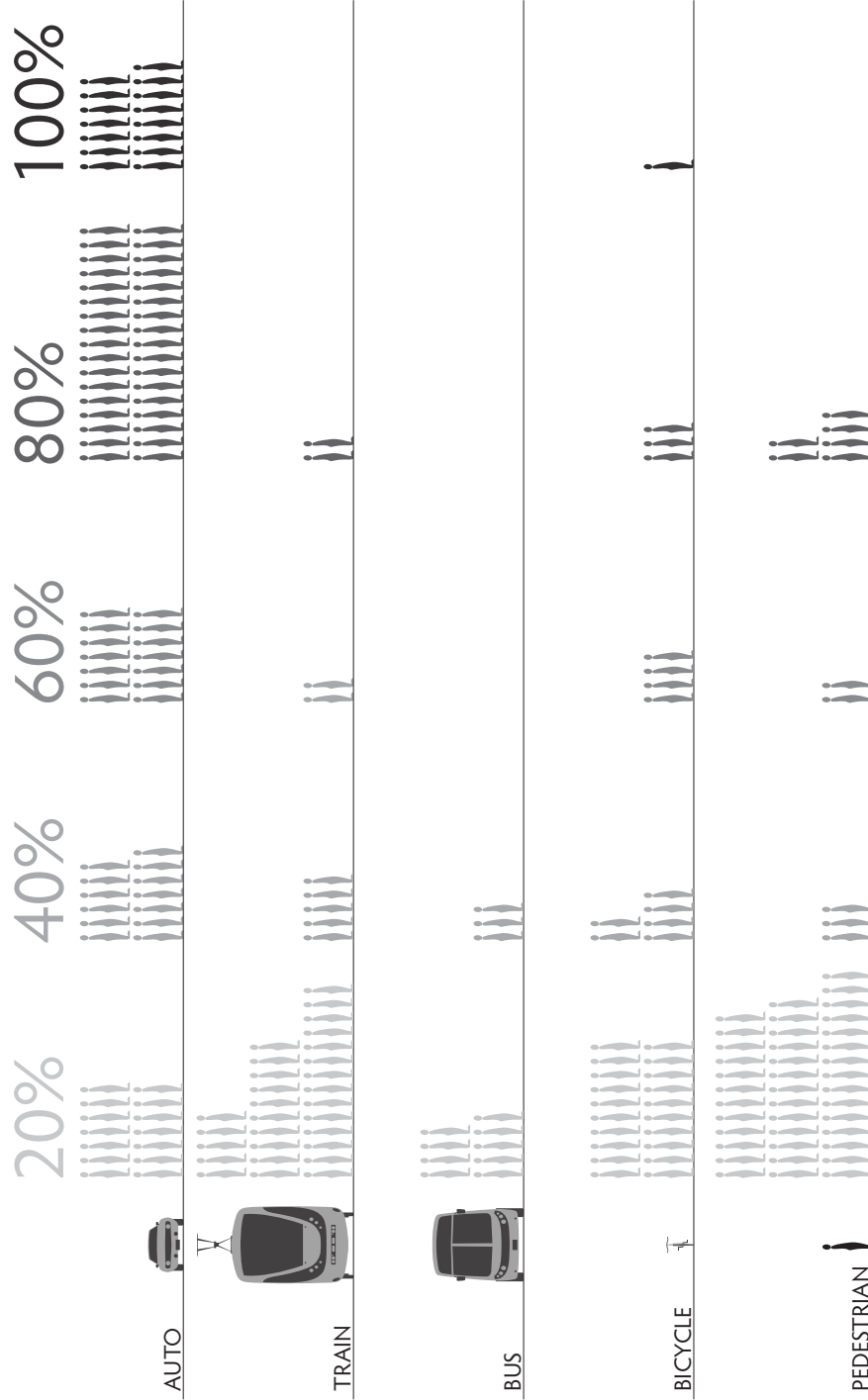
TAB 7.06
FREQUENCIES FOR TRANSIT MODALITY

VARIABLES	N	%	M	SD
COMPOSITE TRANSIT MODALITY				
Car	93		63.10	28.58
Foot	93		16.34	21.25
Bike	93		13.12	22.16
Train	93		11.40	17.29
Bus	93		3.23	8.99
Other	93		0.65	3.55
ANNUAL KILOMETERS DRIVEN				
Less than 10,000 km/yr	27	29		
10,000 to 14,999 km/yr	42	45		
15,000 to 20,000 km/yr	12	13		
More than 20,000 km/yr	9	10		
ANNUAL FLIGHTS FLOWN				
1 to 4 flights per year	34	37		
5 to 10 flights per year	34	37		
11 to 20 flights per year	16	18		
21 to 50 flights per year	7	8		

Note: Mean is percent of daily mobility practice.

Figure at right illustrates transit behavior as reported by respondents according to transit type and percent of total daily transit. Indications of 0% use of transit types are not shown in the image but the top four responses for this particular question were reported as 0% with 87% of respondents never riding the bus, 63% never riding the bicycle, 59% never riding the train, and 45% never walking!

FIG 7.01



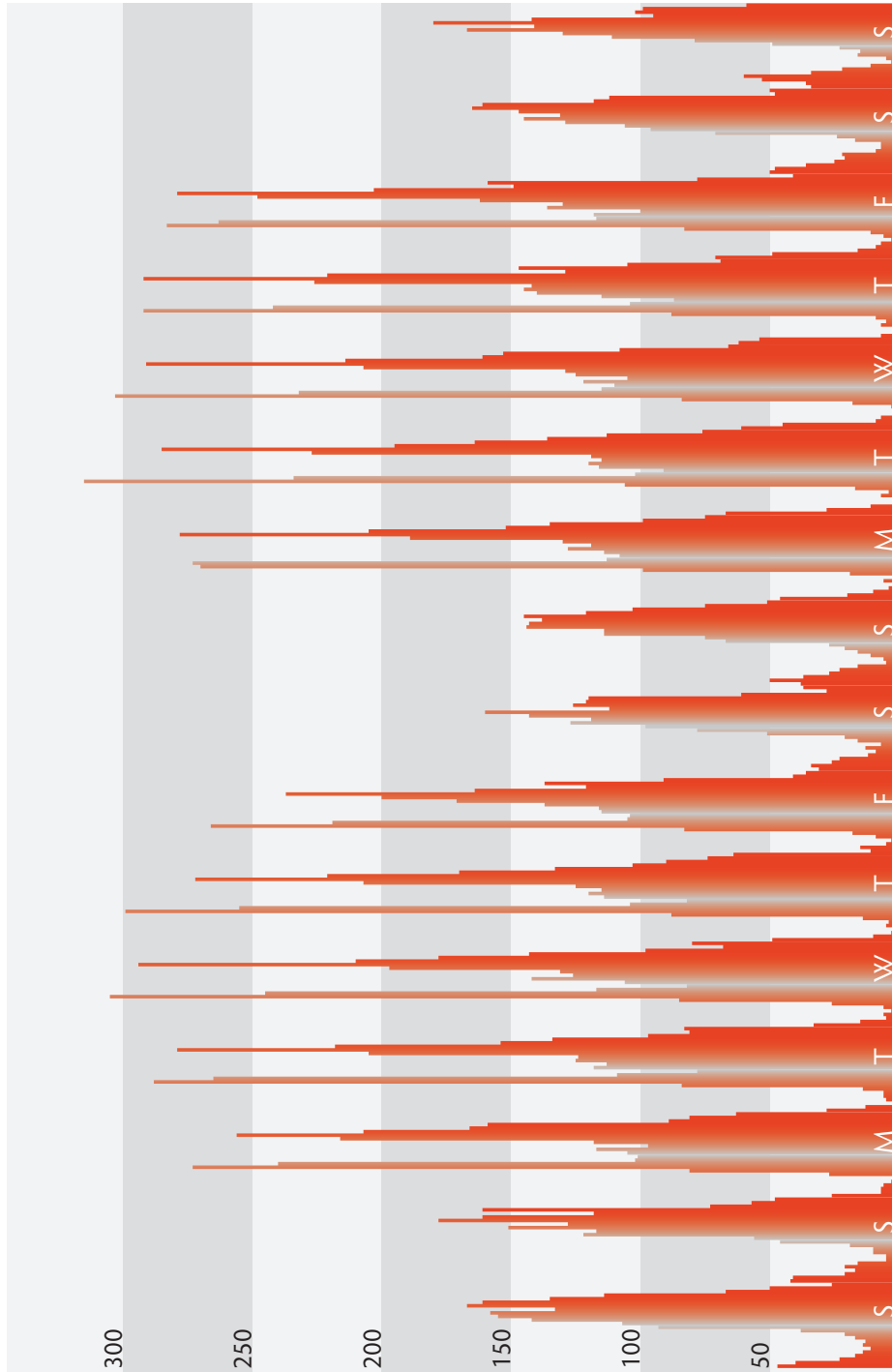
no carpools, approximately four fifths of the population drive as the primary mode of transit in the morning. This agrees with the reported transit modality reported in the survey.

In response to a question about annual distance driven, three tenth of respondents reported that they drive less than 10,000 kilometers per year while almost half of respondents drive between 10,000 and 14,999 kilometers per year. Slightly more than one tenth of respondents drive between 15,000 and 20,000 kilometers and another tenth of respondents drive more than 20,000 kilometers per year. The reported automobile use is comparable to the national average in that the average person drives between 30 to 35 kilometers per day or 11,000 to 13,000 annually (SBB, 2010).

In response to a question pertaining to aero mobility three quarters of respondents indicated that they fly ten or less times per year while one quarter flies more then ten times per year. The question was poorly designed in that the numerical response was ambiguous; it was unclear if the specified number represented an individual flight or a round trip flight. However, if the reported number is assumed to represent an individual flight and two individual flights are interpreted as round trip journey, the average respondent travels round trip about five times a year. If the reported number is assumed to represent roundtrip travel, the average doubles. In either scenario, the data indicate a relatively high degree of aero mobility.

Figure at right illustrates the hourly vehicle traffic on the main interior road, Laberget, for a sixteen-day period in October 2010. The vertical axis represents the number of vehicles recorded per hour. The horizontal axis represents time. Each red line stretching vertically represents the amount of vehicle traffic for each hour of the day. The low dips in the figure represent the least amount of traffic. The high peaks represent the morning and evening commute hours.

FIG 7.02



SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF MOBILITY PRACTICE

The spatial distribution of daily mobility practice is reported as distance from Jättåvågen for twenty specific destinations. The areas in Jättåvågen and Hinna fell within the one kilometer range while Stavanger, Sandres, and Forus fell within the ten kilometer range. The various destinations are categorized as institutional, obligatory, and preferential as a way of understanding and reporting the information thematically (Vilhelmson 1999, 178). The institutional destinations include work, school, and daycare. The obligatory destinations include the grocery store, bakery, doctor, dentist, pharmacy, and bank. The preferential destinations include other stores not associated with the grocery store, dry cleaners, fitness center, hair salon, fitness center, restaurant, bar, cafe, friends, parents, and cabin.

For the 'work' field, more than three quarters of respondents indicated that their primary work place was between one and ten kilometers from home while one tenth of respondents located their primary place of work within one kilometer. Slightly more than a tenth of respondents indicated that their work place was between ten and a hundred kilometers away.

For the 'school' field, almost two thirds of respondents located the facility within one kilometer from home while another third of respondents located the school between one and ten kilometers.

For the 'daycare' field half of the respondents located the facility within one kilometer from home while the other half located the daycare between one and ten kilometers.

For the 'grocery' field, slightly more than nine tenths of all respondents located their primary grocery store within one kilometer from home and slightly less than one tenth of respondents indicated that their primary grocery store was between one and ten kilometers from home. For the 'bakery' field, four fifths of respondents located their primary bakery within one kilometer from home while one sixth of respondents indicated that their primary bakery was between one and ten kilometers.

For the 'doctor' field, three quarters of respondents indicated that their primary doctor was between one and ten kilometers from home while almost one fifth of respondents located their primary doctor within one kilometer. Another ten of respondents located their primary doctor between ten and a hundred kilometers.

For the 'dentist' field, almost three quarters indicated that their dentist was located between one and ten kilometers from home while almost one sixth of respondents located the facility within one kilometer. Slightly more than one tenth located their primary dentist between ten and a hundred kilometers.

For the 'pharmacy' field, slightly more than nine tenths of respondents located the primary pharmacy within one kilometer from home while another one twentieth indicated that their primary pharmacy was between one and ten kilometers.

For the 'bank' field, four fifths of respondents indicated that their primary bank was between one and ten kilometers from home while slightly more than one tenth of respondents located their primary bank within one kilometer. Almost one tenth of respondents located their primary bank between ten and a hundred kilometers.

For the 'other shops' field, almost one half of respondents located the facility within one kilometer and almost another half located the item between one and ten kilometers. One twentieth of respondents located the shop between ten and hundred kilometers.

For the 'dry cleaners' field, almost three quarters of respondents indicated their the facility was between one and ten kilometers from home while almost one fifth of respondents located the facility within one kilometer. Almost another tenth of respondents located the dry cleaner facility between ten and a hundred kilometers.

For the 'tanning center' field, almost one half of respondents located the facility within one kilometer from home while another one half of respondents indicated that the facility was between one and ten kilometers.

For the 'hair salon' field, slightly more than half of respondents located their primary hair salon within one kilometer from home while slightly more than one third of respondents indicated that their primary hair salon was between one and ten kilometers.

For the 'fitness center' field, almost three quarters of respondents indicated that their primary fitness center was within one kilometer from home while another quarter located their fitness center between one and ten kilometers.

For the 'restaurant' field, slightly more than one half of respondents indicated that their primary restaurant was between one and ten kilometers from home while slightly more than one third of respondents located their primary restaurant within one kilometer. One tenth of respondents located their restaurant between ten and a hundred kilometers.

For the 'bar' field, four fifths of respondents indicated that their primary bar was between one and ten kilometers from home while one tenth of respondents located their primary bar within one kilometer. Another one tenth of respondents located their bar between ten and a hundred kilometers.

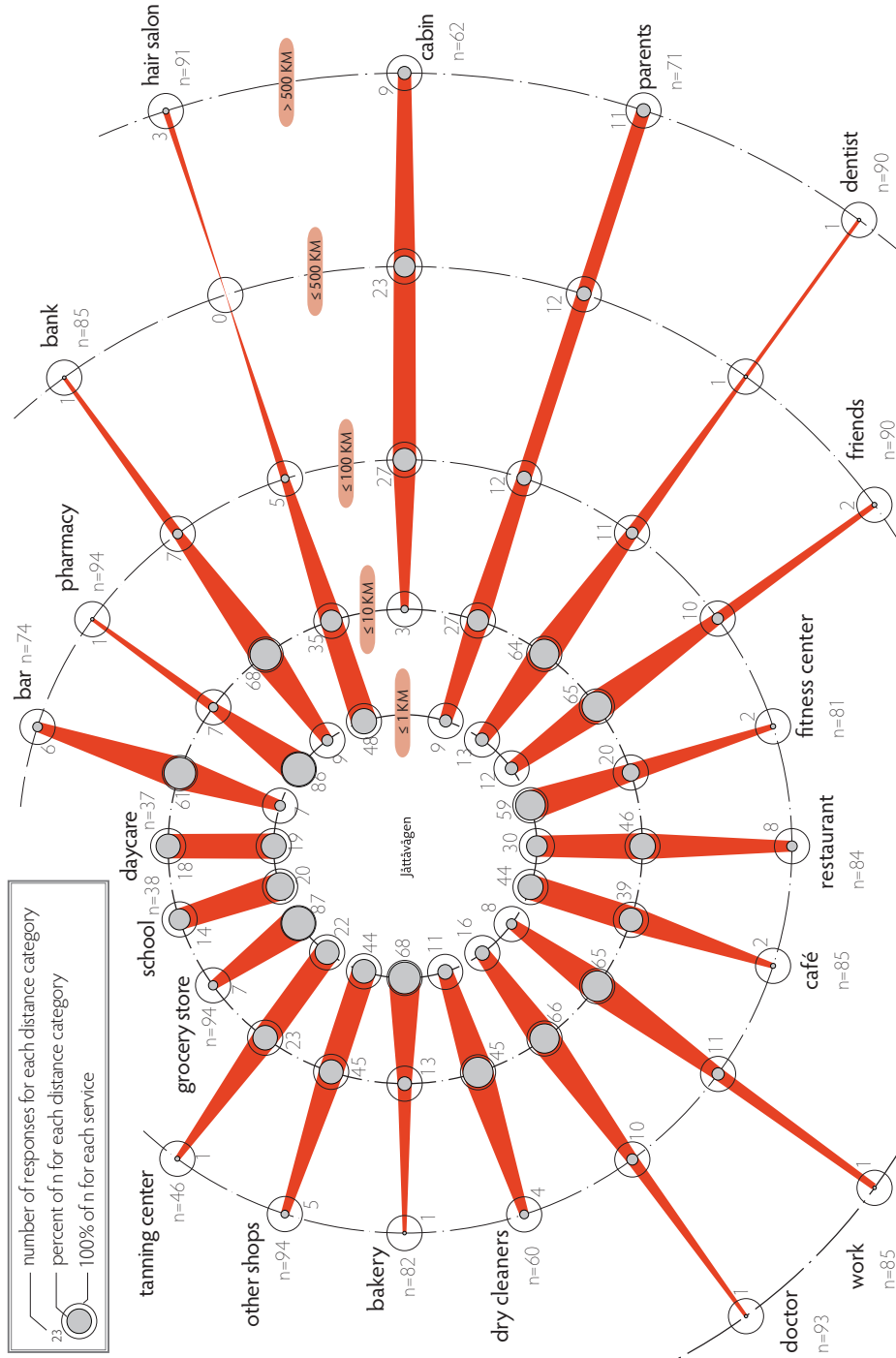
For the 'cafe' field, slightly more than one half of respondents located their primary cafe within one kilometer from home while almost one half indicated that their primary cafe was between one and ten kilometers.

For the 'friends' field, almost three quarters of respondents indicated that the primary residence of their friends were located between one and ten kilometers from home while one sixth of respondents located the residence of their friends within one kilometer. Another one tenth of respondents located their friends between ten and a hundred kilometers. With a relatively high level of international travel reported, respondents must have friends in other countries, further than five hundred kilometers. It seems that respondents tended to report friends as an everyday phenomenon. The responses to this particular question may reflect the daily social life rather than the entire social practice of each respondent.

For the 'parents' field, more than one tenth of respondents located the primary residence of their parents within one kilometer while two fifths of respondents indicated that their parents lived between one and ten kilometers. Almost one fifth of respondents indicated that their parents lived between ten and a hundred kilometers while less than one tenth located the primary residence of their parents between a hundred and five hundred kilometers. Less than one

Figure at right illustrates the spatial distribution for twenty different daily transit destinations. The inner parts of the circle are spatially closer to Jättåvågen while the outer parts of the circle are further from the area. The five concentrically oriented circles signify distances of 1 km, 10 km, 100 km, 500 km, and greater than 500 km. The total number of responses for each destination are noted next to each title in the diagram. The red portions visually unify all responses for each item. The small circles with gray interiors indicate the number of responses for that particular distance category.

FIG 7.03



tenth of respondents indicated that their parents lived more than five hundred kilometers away. The twenty-two respondents who chose not to answer this particular question may represent an older age demographic and be without parents. With four fifths of respondents reporting that their parents live within a hundred kilometers, a clear majority of respondents have multiple generations in close proximity.

For the 'cabin' field, almost half of respondents located their cabin between ten and a hundred kilometers from home while slight more than one third of respondents indicated that their cabin was between a hundred and five hundred kilometers from Jättåvågen. More than one tenth indicated that their cabin was located more than five hundred kilometers away. With almost two thirds of all respondents owning a second home, there is also a clear indication of wealth represented in the survey population.

The spatial distribution of institutional, obligatory, and preferential destinations for respondents exhibits a limited spatial extent within a ten kilometer range (fig. 7.03). As indicated from the survey and radar measurements, the spatial practice is primarily automotive in character with limited geographical extent. The more local transit behavior is reported in the following section.

NEIGHBORHOOD SPATIAL PRACTICE

A series of questions pertaining to spatial practices within the neighborhood ask respondents to report specific uses associated with the neighborhood as a part of the greater urban environment and as a specific open space.

Two questions measured patronage of local shops in the Hinna area and in the shopping center within Jättävågen. For the local shops in the Hinna triangle area, almost three quarters of respondents patronized the post office, while two thirds of respondents patronized the Rema 1000 grocery store and the Statoil gas station (tab. 7.07). For the local shopping center almost every respondent patronized the Meny grocery store while slightly more than four fifth patronized the Vitusapotek pharmacy and the other Rema 1000 grocery store (tab. 7.08). The patronage of local shops in the area tended to be oriented towards obligatory needs such as groceries and the post office, as well as, the obligatory needs of the automobile and household pets.

TAB 7.07

FREQUENCIES FOR PATRONAGE OF LOCAL SHOPS

VARIABLES	N	%
WHICH STORES DO YOU USE IN THE GREATER HINNA AREA?		
Post office	69	72
Rema 1000 (grocery store)	64	67
Statoil (gas station)	60	63
Coop prix (grocery store)	30	31
Bilvask (carwash)	17	18
Hinna Health Clinic	16	17
Other	15	16
Hinna Bistro (restaurant)	15	16
Dolly Dimple's (restaurant)	12	13
Shanghai Restaurant	10	10

Note: Items less than ten percent not reported

TAB 7.08
FREQUENCIES FOR PATRONAGE OF LOCAL SHOPS

VARIABLES	N	%
WHICH STORES DO YOU USE AT THE LOCAL SHOPPING CENTER?		
Meny (grocery store)	92	96
Vitusapotek (pharmacy)	82	85
Rema 1000 (grocery)	79	82
Mester Grønn (florist)	63	66
Notabene (stationary/bookstore)	61	64
Phad Thai (restaurant)	57	59
Pasta Pasta (restaurant)	43	45
MX Sport (sporting goods store)	43	45
Nille (house and home store)	43	45
Jærbakeren (bakery)	38	40
In Line Frisør (hair stylist)	38	40
Arena Treningscenter (fitness center)	31	31
Sunkost (health and nutrition store)	26	27
Vesla og Broremann	26	27
Linus Leker (toy store)	22	23
Dyrego (pet store)	18	19
B Young (retail fashion)	17	18
Brillehuset (eyewear)	16	17
Eureka	16	17
Vikingbutikken (football club store)	12	13

Note: Items less than ten percent not reported

Four additional questions pertain to the use of neighborhood open space. The first question asked respondents to select uses of open space from a list of provided activities (tab. 7.09). Four fifth of respondents use the neighborhood open space for walking and short trips to the shopping center while almost half of respondents use the open space for training. Two fifths of respondents use the open space to socialize with neighbors or friends or use the open space for sun bathing; these two fields are not necessarily simultaneous. One third of respondents use the open space for barbecues while one fifth of respondents walk with their children through the open space and make use of the play areas. One fifth of respondents also use the neighborhood open space when washing the car or walking the dog. More than one tenth of respondents use the space for gardening while one tenth use the piers for fishing.

The other three questions about uses of neighborhood open space ask respondents to report the amount of time spent in neighborhood open space, on private balcony, and socializing with neighbors (tab. 7.10). Almost one quarter of respondents spend more than five hours a week in the neighborhood open

TAB 7.09
FREQUENCIES FOR USE OF NEIGHBORHOOD OPEN SPACE

VARIABLES	N	%
HOW DO YOU USE YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD OPEN SPACE?		
Walking	84	88
Shopping	78	81
Training	47	49
Socializing with neighbors	40	42
Sun Bathing	38	40
Socializing with friends	37	39
Grilling	30	31
Playgrounds	22	23
Walking with children	20	21
Washing the car	20	21
Walking the dog	18	19
Gardening	14	15
Fishing	10	10

Note: Items less than ten percent not reported

space while almost one third of respondents spend between two and five hours in the area. One quarter of respondents spend between one and two hours while another quarter of respondents spend less than one hour in the area. The average response for the amount of time spent in neighborhood open space was somewhere between two and five hours (4.36).

Almost one third of respondents spend more than five hours a week on their private balcony while almost half of respondents spend between two and five hours on their balcony. Less than one fifth of respondents spend between one and two hours on their balcony while less than one tenth of respondents spend less than one hour on the balcony. The average response for the amount of time spent on the private balcony was about two hours (4.01).

Slightly more than half of respondents socialize with their neighbors less than thirty minutes a week while one fifth of respondents socialize between half an hour and a full hour per week. Another ten of respondents socialized between one and two hours with neighbors while slightly more than another tenth of respondents socialize between two and five hours a week with neighbors. The average response for the amount of time spent socializing with neighbors was about an hour (1.97). The three highest percentile for individual responses were less than 30 minutes with neighbors (52%), 2-5 hours on terrace (44%), and more than 5 hours on terrace (32%). Accordingly, survey respondents spend a lot of time on the terrace not talking with neighbors.

In summary of transit modality the private vehicle is the primary mode of transit. Except for the infrequent use of cabin and international travel, the spatial practice is relatively local in geographical extent. The spatial practice within the immediate neighborhood is oriented towards practical matters like the procurement of groceries, gasoline, and post. Neighborhood spatial practice is primarily oriented towards functionality. And while walking is not reported as a significant mode of transit almost every respondent indicated that walking is the primary use of neighborhood open space. For whatever reason, walking in neighborhood is not considered part of their regular transit behavior. On average respondents spend almost as much time on their balcony as in the public space and about half as much time socializing with neighbors. On average neighborhood open space is used slightly more than two hours per week during the summer season.

TAB 7.10
FREQUENCIES FOR TIME SPENT IN NEIGHBORHOOD OPEN SPACE

VARIABLES	N	%	M	SD
ON AVERAGE HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU SPEND IN TOTAL IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD OPEN SPACE DURING A TYPICAL SUMMER WEEK?				
	92		4.36 ^a	1.22
Less than 30 minutes	7	8		
31–60 minute	14	15		
1–2 hours	22	24		
2–5 hours	28	30		
More than 5 hours	21	23		
ON AVERAGE HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU SPEND IN TOTAL ON THE TERRACE OR PATIO DURING A TYPICAL SUMMER WEEK?				
	92		4.01 ^b	0.92
Less than 30 minutes	1	1		
31–60 minutes	6	7		
1–2 hours	14	15		
2–5 hours	41	44		
More than 5 hours	30	32		
ON AVERAGE HOW MUCH TIME DO YOU SPEND IN TOTAL WITH YOUR NEIGHBORS DURING A TYPICAL SUMMER WEEK?				
	92		1.97 ^c	1.24
Less than 30 minutes	48	52		
31–60 minutes	19	20		
1–2 hour	9	10		
2–5 hours	12	13		
More than 5 hours	4	4		

Note: Items coded 1=less than 30 minutes; 2=31–60 minutes; 3=1–2 hours; 4=2–5 hours; and 5=more than 5 hours. Item marked a was reported as significantly more frequent than item marked b which was rated more frequent than item marked c.

NEIGHBORHOOD PERCEPTIONS

There are thirty-five questions structured as likert scales pertaining to the perception of daily life and various aspects of the neighborhood within the survey. These thirty-five scales are reported below in five sections pertaining to daily mobility, the actual neighborhood, the ideal neighborhood, neighborhood identity, and neighborhood space.

DAILY MOBILITY

The first series of likert scales were directed towards daily mobility practice in relation to the neighborhood (tab. 7.11). Almost three fifths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their daily activities took place throughout the city. Slightly more than one third somewhat agreed and slightly more than one fifth strongly agreed while slightly more than one quarter somewhat disagreed and more than one tenth strongly disagreed with the statement.

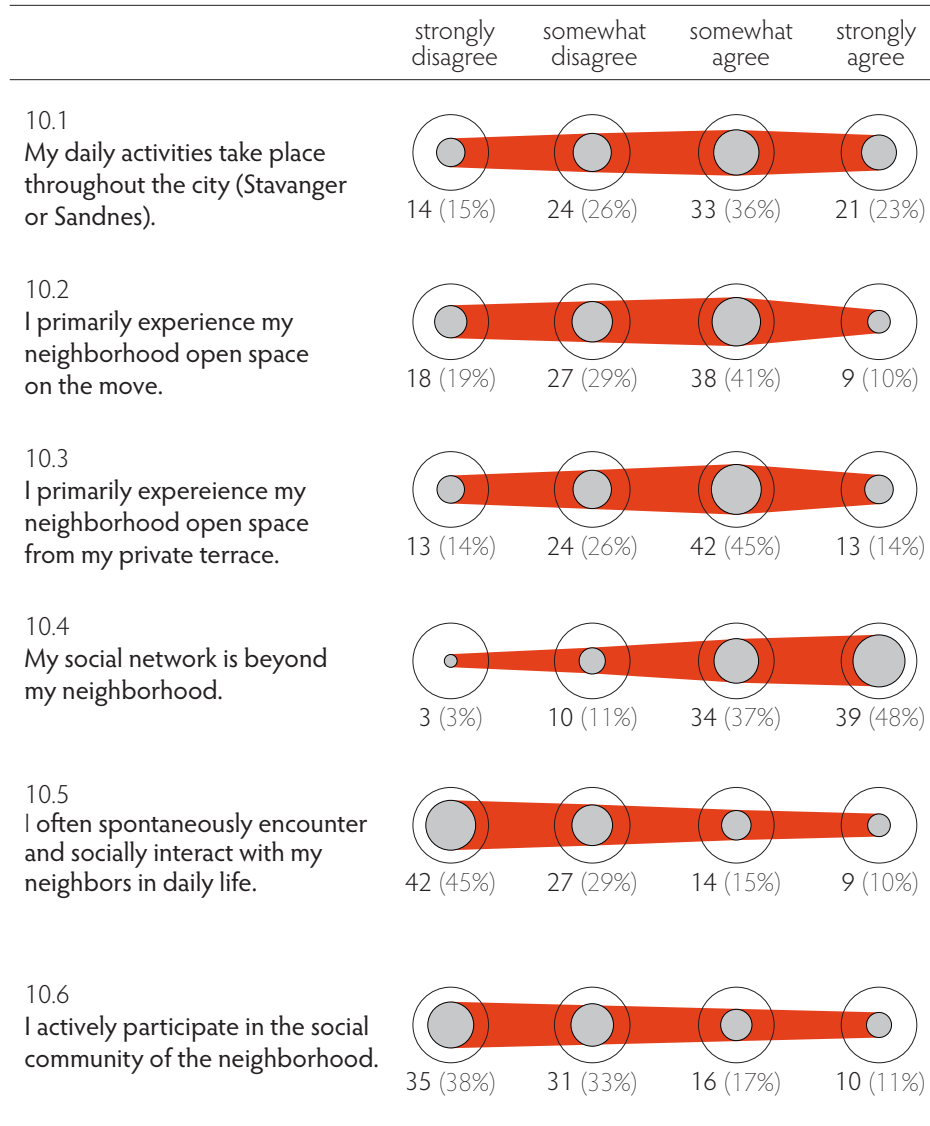
One half of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they primarily experienced their neighborhood open space on the move. Slightly more than two fifths of respondents somewhat agreed and almost one tenth strongly agreed while almost three tenths somewhat disagreed and one fifth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Almost three fifths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they primarily experienced their neighborhood open space from their private terrace. More than two fifths of respondents somewhat agreed and more than one tenth strongly agreed while slightly more than one quarter somewhat disagreed and more than one tenth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their social network was beyond their neighborhood. Slightly more than one third of respondents somewhat agreed and almost half strongly agreed while slightly more than one tenth somewhat disagreed and less than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Three quarters of respondents somewhat or strongly disagreed with the statement that they often encounter and socially interact with neighbors. Less than one fifth somewhat agreed and slightly less than one tenth strong agreed while almost three tenths somewhat disagreed and almost one half of respondents strongly disagreed with the statement.

TAB 7.11
FREQUENCIES FOR PERCEPTION OF DAILY MOBILITY



Note: The outer circle for each agree/disagree field represents the total N for each questions while the inner gray circle represents the N for that particular agree/disagree category proportional to total N. The N for each agree/disagree category is listed as an absolute number below each circle and as a percent of N within the parentheses.

Seven tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly disagreed with the statement that they actively participate in the social community of the neighborhood. Less than one fifth of respondents somewhat agreed and slightly more than one tenth strong agreed while almost one third somewhat disagreed and less than two fifths strong disagreed with the statement.

In general the majority of respondents evaluated the neighborhood as safe and agreed that the neighborhood was a good place to raise children. A great majority of respondents were also satisfied with the local shops and services in the area. However, there is less commonality among respondents in regards to the residential nature and social quality of the neighborhood; two thirds of respondents agreed that the neighborhood was primarily a residential place in which it was easy to meet neighbors while one third disagreed with such statements. In general respondents did not perceive the neighborhood as a socially interactive phenomenon. Most respondents maintain a social network that is not based on the neighborhood. The majority of respondents did not socially interact with neighbors or participate in the community. There is less commonality among respondents in regards to the spatial extent of daily activities and the mode in which they experience the neighborhood.

ACTUAL NEIGHBORHOOD

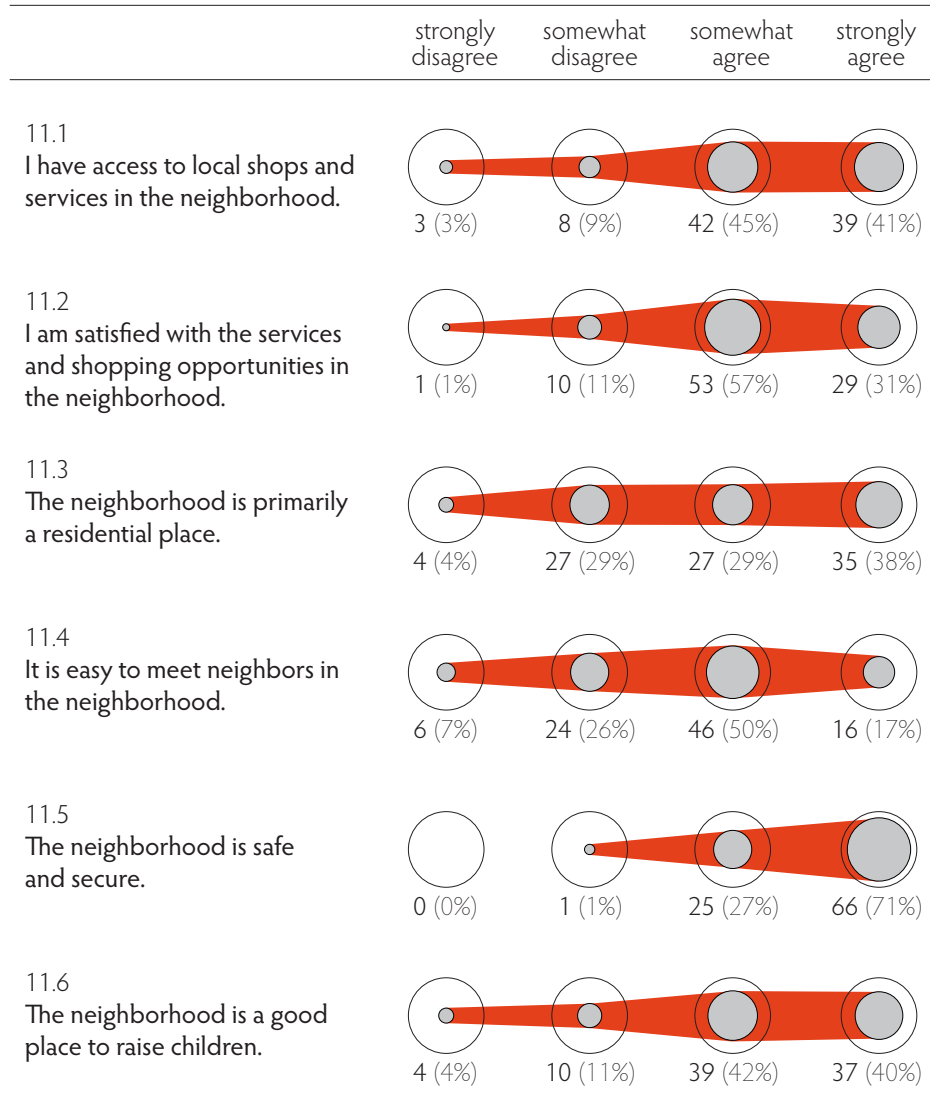
The second series of likert scaled questions asked respondents about their actual neighborhood. These questions are less experiential and more evaluative (tab. 7.12).

Almost all respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they have access to local shops and services in the neighborhood. Almost one half of respondents somewhat agreed and more than two fifths strongly agreed while less than one tenth somewhat disagreed and less than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they were satisfied with the services and shopping opportunities in the neighborhood. More than one half of respondents somewhat agreed and one third strongly agreed while one tenth somewhat disagreed with the statement.

Two thirds of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they neighborhood was primarily a residential place. Almost three tenths

TAB 7.12
FREQUENCIES FOR PERCEPTIONS OF ACTUAL NEIGHBORHOOD



Note: The outer circle for each agree/disagree field represents the total N for each questions while the inner gray circle represents the N for that particular agree/disagree category proportional to total N. The N for each agree/disagree category is listed as an absolute number below each circle and as a percent of N within the parentheses.

of respondents somewhat agreed and almost two fifths strongly agreed while almost three tenths somewhat disagreed and almost one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Two thirds of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that it was easy to meet neighbors. Almost one half of respondents somewhat agreed and less than one fifth strongly agreed while slightly more than one quarter somewhat disagreed and slightly more than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Minus one respondent, everyone somewhat or strongly agreed that the neighborhood is safe. Slightly more than one quarter of respondents somewhat agreed and almost three quarters strongly agreed.

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that the neighborhood was a good place to raise children. Almost one half of respondents somewhat agreed and two fifths strongly agreed while one tenth somewhat disagreed and slightly less than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

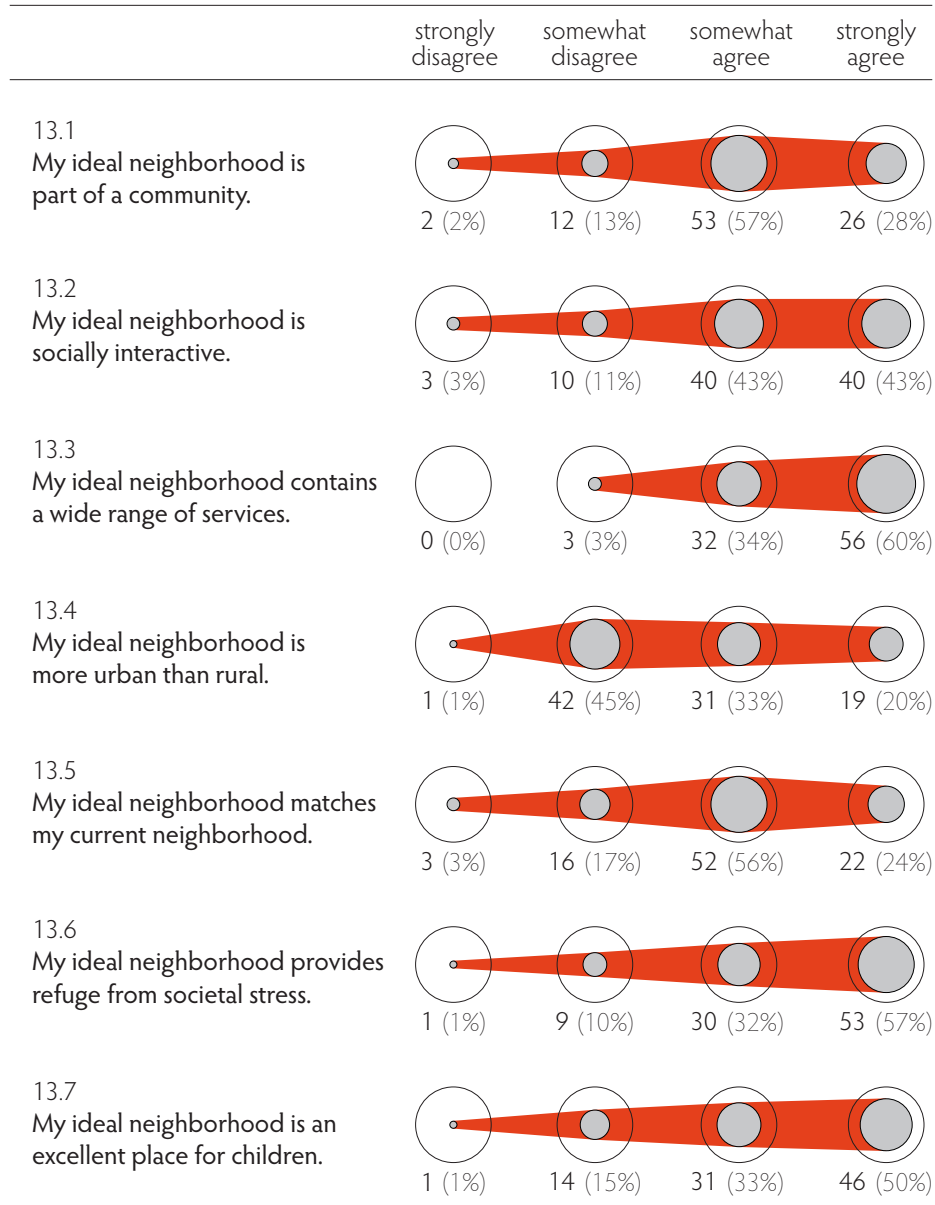
In general the majority of respondents evaluated the neighborhood as safe and agreed that the neighborhood was a good place to raise children. A great majority of respondents were also satisfied with the local shops and services in the area. However, there is less commonality among respondents in regards to the residential nature and social quality of the neighborhood; two thirds of respondents agreed that the neighborhood was primarily a residential place in which it was easy to meet neighbors while one third disagreed with such statements.

IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD

The third series of likert scaled questions asked respondents about their own personal mental construct of an ideal neighborhood (tab. 7.13).

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their ideal neighborhood was part of a community. More than one half of respondents somewhat agreed and three tenths strongly agreed while more than one tenth somewhat disagreed and less than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

TAB 7.13
FREQUENCIES FOR PERCEPTIONS OF IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD



Note: The outer circle for each agree/disagree field represents the total N for each questions while the inner gray circle represents the N for that particular agree/disagree category proportional to total N. The N for each agree/disagree category is listed as an absolute number below each circle and as a percent of N within the parentheses.

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their ideal neighborhood was socially interactive. Two fifths of respondents somewhat agreed and two fifths strongly agreed while one tenth somewhat disagreed and less than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Almost all respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their ideal neighborhood contained a wide range of services. Slightly more than one third of respondents somewhat agreed and six tenths strongly agreed while less than one twentieth somewhat disagreed with the statement.

About one half of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their ideal neighborhood was more urban than rural. One third of respondents somewhat agreed and one fifth strongly agreed while almost one half somewhat disagreed with the statement. The definition of urban or rural is not objective and the difference between these two terms is unclear.

Four fifths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their ideal neighborhood matched their current neighborhood. More than one half of respondents somewhat agreed and one quarter strongly agreed while less than one fifth somewhat disagreed and less than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their ideal neighborhood provided refuge from societal stress. One third of respondents somewhat agreed and more than one half strongly agreed while one tenth somewhat disagreed with the statement.

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their ideal neighborhood was an excellent place for children. Slightly more than one third of respondents somewhat agreed and almost half strongly agreed while less than one fifth somewhat disagreed with the statement.

In general the ideal neighborhood is a socially interactive community that provides refuge from the stress of everyday life and is a wonderful place for children. The majority perceived their ideal neighborhood as a functional entity in that it hosted a variety of services. And while high levels of service may be associated with an urban context, there was less commonality among respondents in regards to the urban or rural quality of their ideal neighborhood. The central tendency for this particular question may reflect the subjective quality of these

two terms in particular. The meanings of urban and rural varies from person to person. Regardless of these differences and the different constructs an ideal neighborhood, three quarters of respondents agreed that Jättåvågen matched their ideal.

NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITY

The fourth series of likert scaled questions asked respondents about their neighborhood identity. These questions are less imaginary and more personal (tab. 7.14).

Three quarters of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their neighborhood felt as if it was part of a community. More than one half of respondents somewhat agreed and less than one fifth strongly agreed while one fifth somewhat disagreed and one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Almost all respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they could be the person they wanted to be in their neighborhood. Three tenths of respondents somewhat agreed and more than two thirds strongly agreed while less than one twentieth somewhat disagreed with the statement.

Two thirds of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they were happy with the level of social interaction within the neighborhood. More than two fifths of respondents somewhat agreed and less than one quarter strongly agreed while more than one quarter somewhat disagreed and more than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Three quarters of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their neighborhood had its own identity. One half of respondents somewhat agreed and more than one fifth strongly agreed while one fifth somewhat disagreed and more than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that the neighborhood architecture fit well with who they were as a person. Almost six tenths of respondents somewhat agreed and one quarter strongly agreed while more than one tenth somewhat disagreed and almost one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

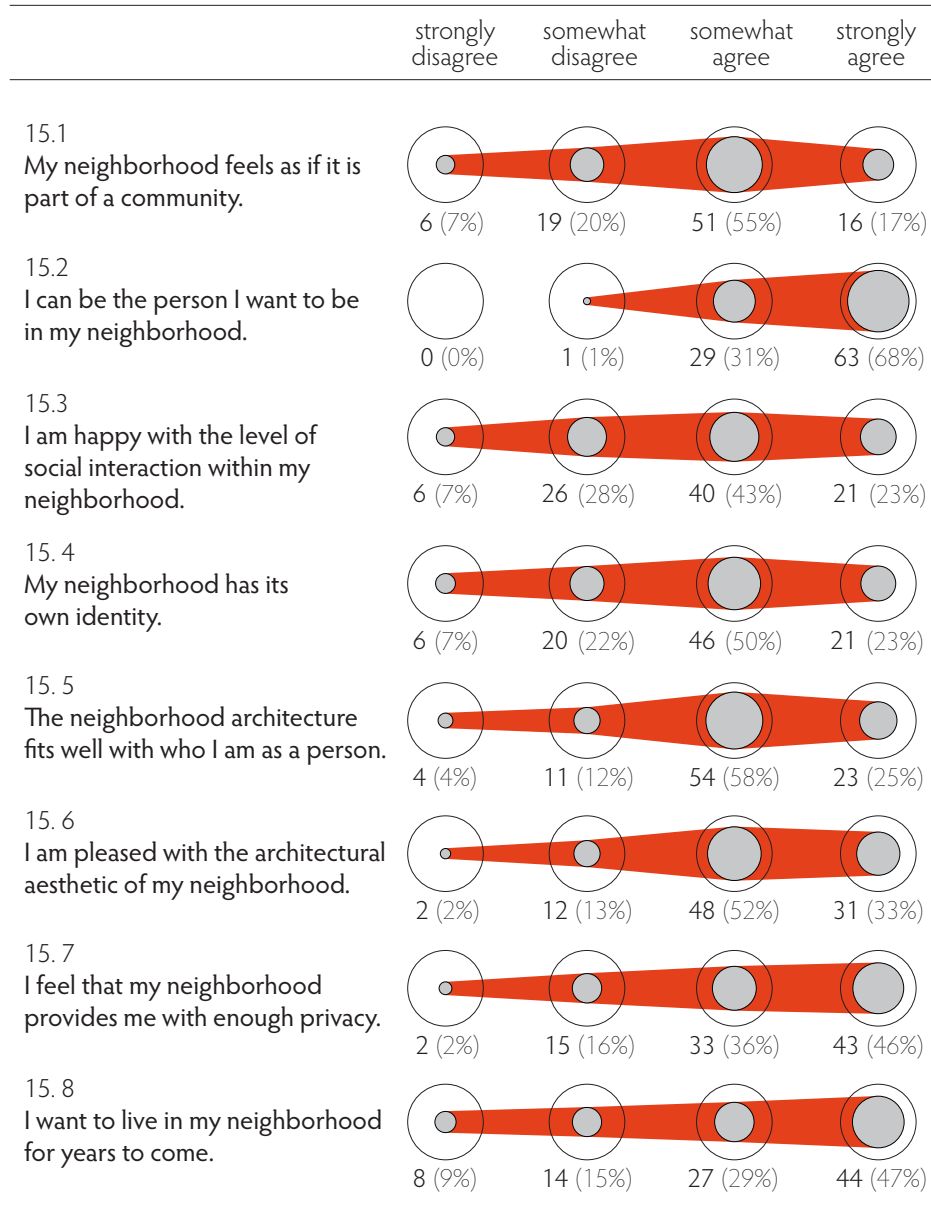
Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they were pleased with the architectural aesthetic of the neighborhood. One half of respondents somewhat agreed and one third strongly agreed while more than one tenth somewhat disagreed and less than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Four fifths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they felt that their neighborhood provided them with enough privacy. More than one third of respondents somewhat agreed and almost one half strongly agreed while less than one fifth somewhat disagreed and less than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Three quarters of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they wanted to live in the neighborhood for years to come. Almost three tenths of respondents somewhat agreed and almost one half strongly agreed while less than one fifth somewhat disagreed and less than one tenth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Based on these responses, there is a clear majority that is comfortable in the neighborhood; they can be the person they want to be and the neighborhood architecture fits well with who they are. They are pleased with the architectural aesthetic of the neighborhood and feel that the neighborhood provides them with enough privacy. About three quarters of respondents plan to stay in the area for years to come. There is less commonality among respondents in regards to the uniqueness of the neighborhood and their satisfaction with the level of social interaction within the neighborhood.

TAB 7.14
FREQUENCIES FOR PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD IDENTITY



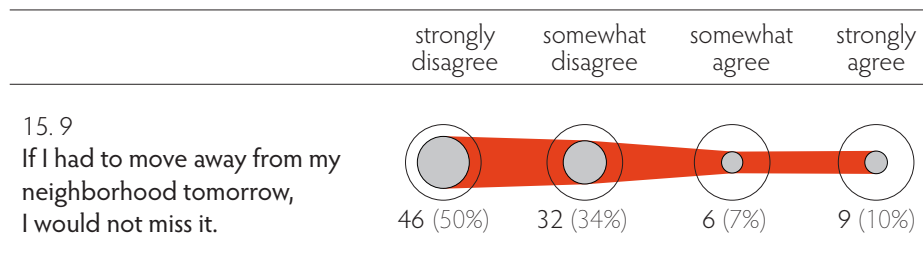
Note: The outer circle for each agree/disagree field represents the total N for each questions while the inner gray circle represents the N for that particular agree/disagree category proportional to total N. The N for each agree/disagree category is listed as an absolute number below each circle and as a percent of N within the parentheses.

PLACE ATTACHMENT

The last likert scaled statement dealing with neighborhood identity pertains to place attachment and is based on previous empirical investigations into the identity of place. The statement is structured in the negative because attachment to place and other meaningful phenomenon is made more apparent in the absence or loss of said meaningful phenomenon.

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that they would not miss their neighborhood. Less than one tenth of respondents somewhat agreed and slightly less than one tenth strongly agreed while one third somewhat disagreed and almost one half strongly disagreed with the statement (tab. 7.15). The majority of respondents identify with the place and are attached to it as a meaningful phenomenon.

TAB 7.15
FREQUENCIES FOR PERCEPTIONS OF PLACE ATTACHMENT



Note: The outer circle for each agree/disagree field represents the total N for each questions while the inner gray circle represents the N for that particular agree/disagree category proportional to total N. The N for each agree/disagree category is listed as an absolute number below each circle and as a percent of N within the parentheses.

NEIGHBORHOOD TRIPLICATE

The fifth series of likert scaled questions examined the polarity and relationship between the three modes of production described within the theoretical model (tab. 7.16).

Two thirds of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their daily activities limited the sense of belonging they felt in the neighborhood. More than one quarter of respondents somewhat agreed and one twentieth strongly agreed while one third somewhat disagreed and one third strongly disagreed with the statement.

Two thirds of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their daily activities limited their participation in the community. More than one quarter of respondents somewhat agreed and less the one tenth strongly agreed while more than one third somewhat disagreed and one quarter strongly disagreed with the statement.

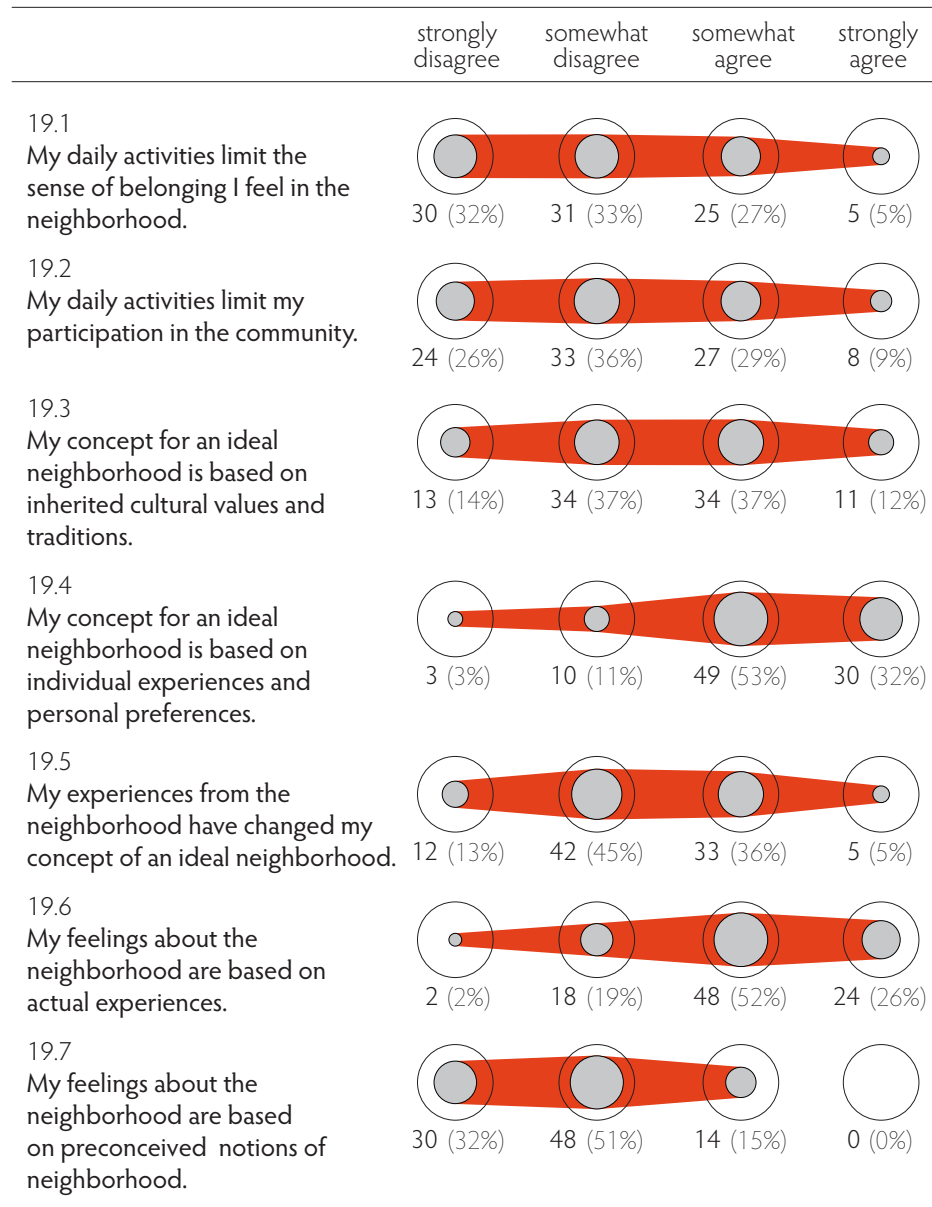
About one half of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their concept for an ideal neighborhood was based on inherited cultural values and traditions. More than one third of respondents somewhat agreed and one tenth strongly agreed while one third somewhat disagreed and less than one fifth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their concept for an ideal neighborhood was based on individual experience and personal preference. One half of respondents somewhat agreed and one third strongly agreed while one tenth somewhat disagreed and one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement. An overwhelming majority of respondents denied the influence of cultural programming; Bourdeau's habitus was not consciously acknowledged by the respondents.

Three fifths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their experiences from the neighborhood had changed their concept of an ideal neighborhood. More than one third of respondents somewhat agreed and one twentieth strongly agreed while almost half somewhat disagreed and more than one tenth strongly disagreed with the statement.

Four fifths of respondents somewhat or strongly agreed with the statement that their feelings about the neighborhood were based on actual experiences. One half of respondents somewhat agreed and one quarter strongly agreed while

TAB 7.16
FREQUENCIES FOR PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD TRIAD



Note: The outer circle for each agree/disagree field represents the total N for each questions while the inner gray circle represents the N for that particular agree/disagree category proportional to total N. The N for each agree/disagree category is listed as an absolute number below each circle and as a percent of N within the parentheses.

one fifth somewhat disagreed and less than one twentieth strongly disagreed with the statement. More than three quarters of respondents somewhat agreed or strongly in the statement; feelings were based on experiences.

Almost nine tenths of respondents somewhat or strongly disagreed with the statement that their feelings about the neighborhood were based on preconceived notions. Less than one fifth of respondents somewhat agreed while one half somewhat disagreed and one third strongly disagreed with the statement.

Based on these responses, most respondents feel that their spatial practice does not limit their sense of belonging or their participation in the neighborhood community. In other words, their daily mobility practice is not a constraint on the space of propinquity. However, about third third did express some level of trepidation about daily mobility practice in relation to their sense of belonging and participation in the neighborhood community.

Respondents felt that their concept of an ideal neighborhood and their feelings for the actual neighborhood were based on individual experiences rather than inherited cultural values or traditions. And yet more than half of respondents disagreed with the statement that their experiences of the neighborhood had changed their concept.

The responses for the thirty-five likert scales exhibited limited variance; for twenty-three likert items almost three quarters of all responses exhibited a clear directionality towards either agreement or disagreement. Three of the likert items elicited a very clear directionality with more than nine tenths of respondents agreeing with the statement (fig. 7.04). A great majority of respondents agreed that their actual neighborhood was safe and secure, their ideal neighborhood was highly functional, and that they were able to be the person they wanted to

FIG 7.04

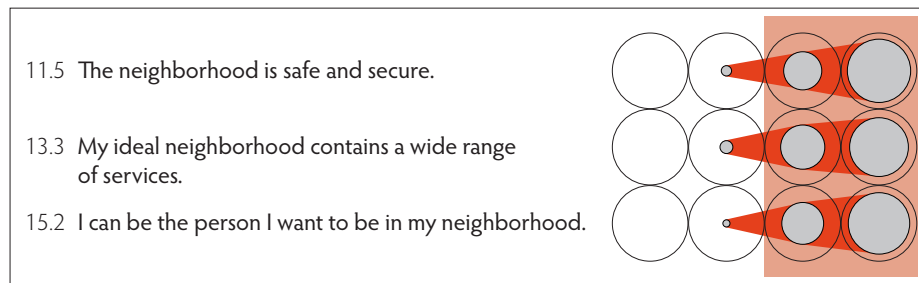


FIG 7.05

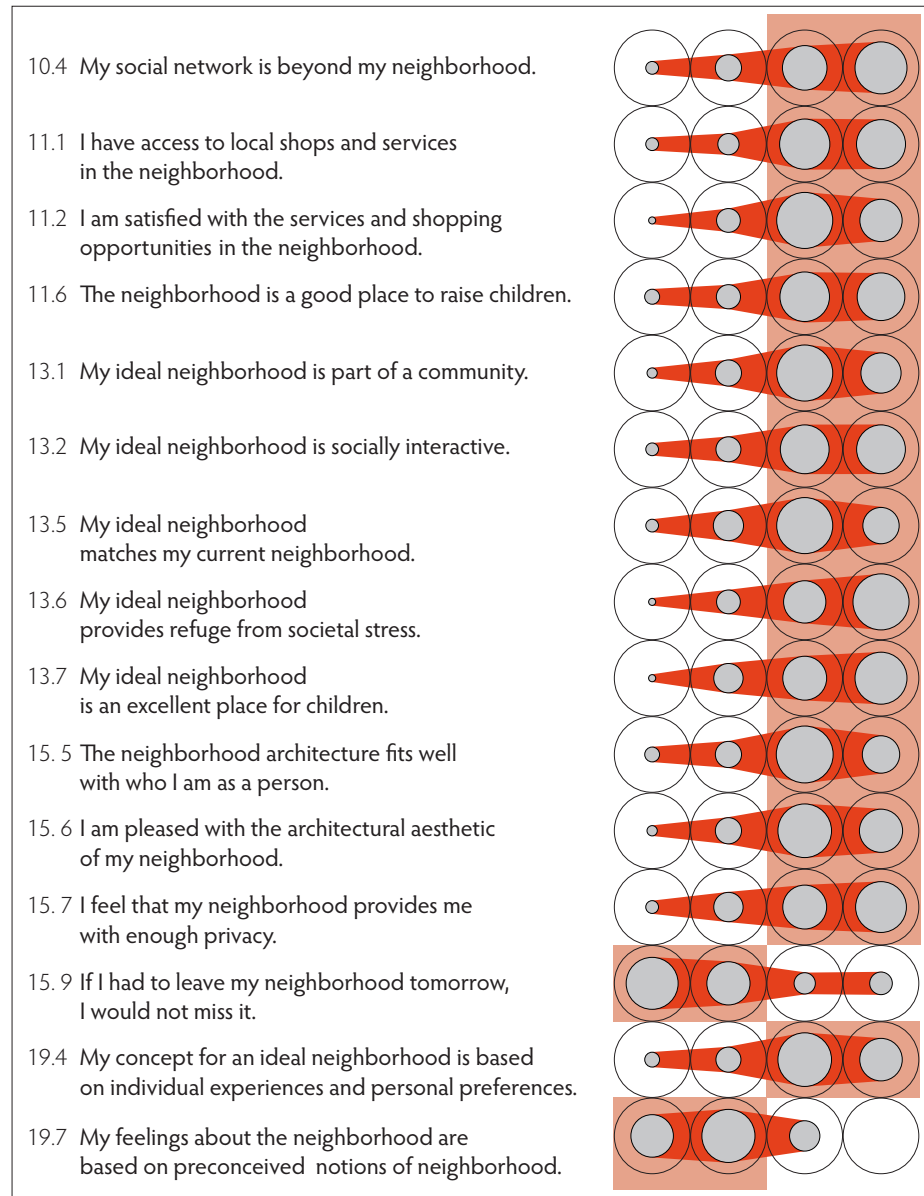


FIG 7.06

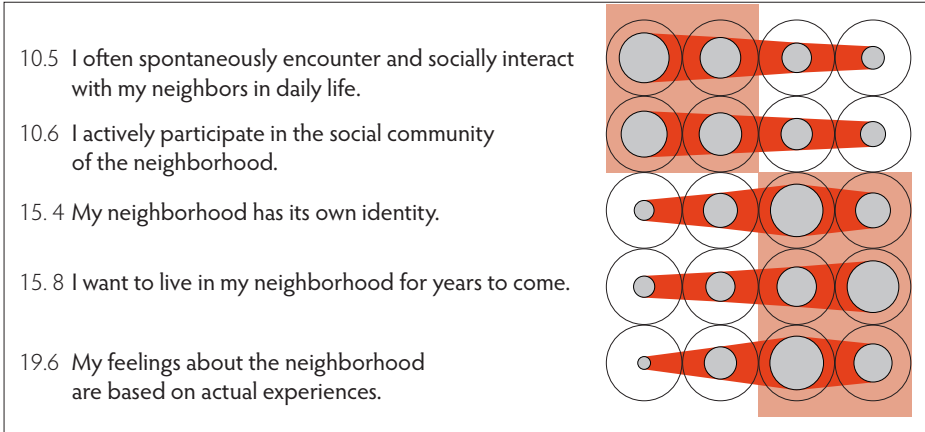
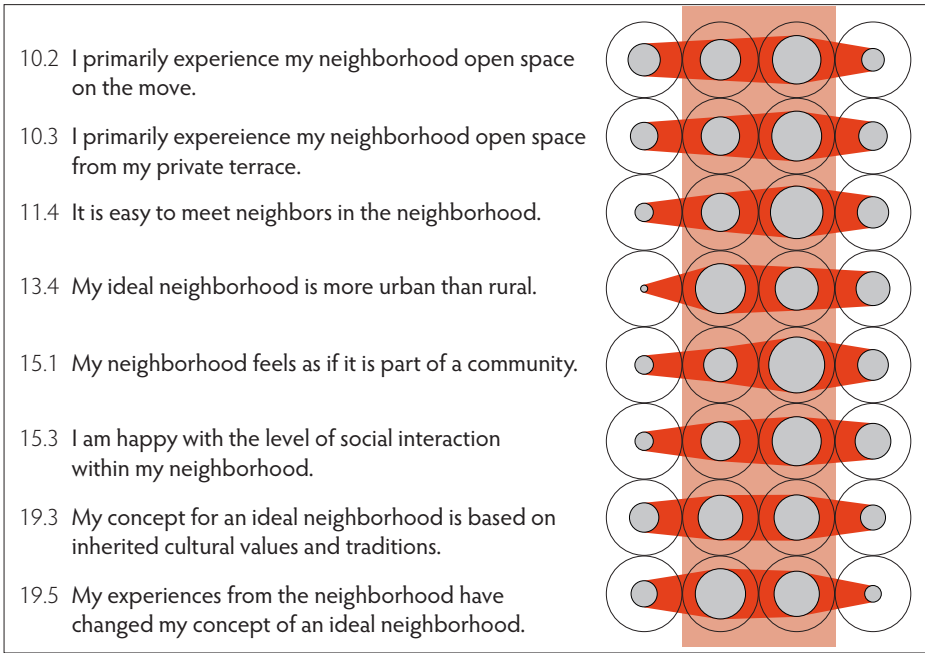


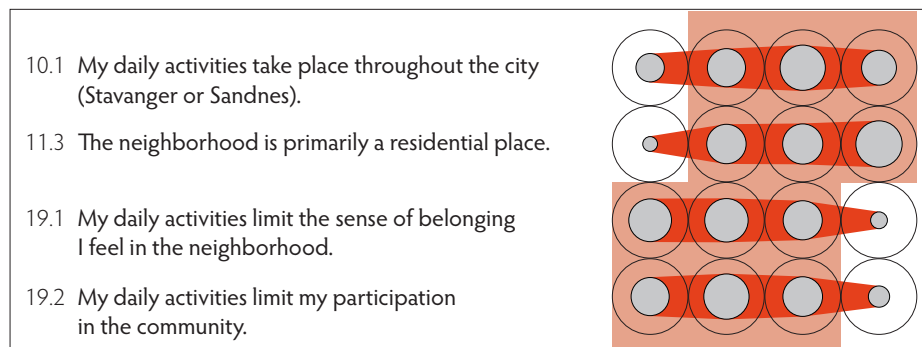
FIG 7.07



be. Fifteen of the likert items elicited a clear directionality with more than four fifths either agreeing or disagreeing with the statement (fig. 7.05). And another five of the likert items elicited a common directionality with more than seven tenths of respondents either agreeing or disagreeing with the statement (fig. 7.06).

The remaining twelve likert scales exhibited less directionality, a greater central tendency, and a higher degree of variance. For eight of these likert items more than seven tenths of respondents either somewhat agreed or somewhat disagreed with the statement: somewhat being the key sentiment (fig. 7.07). These eight items exhibited a greater central tendency and perhaps reflect a greater level of ambiguity. Four other likert items exhibited a higher degree of variance with more than three quarters of responses distributed across three different types of agreement or disagreement (fig. 7.08).

FIG 7.08



ILLUSTRATIVE NEIGHBORHOOD

The first question asking residents to delineate their neighborhood in general revealed several spatial groupings. Almost one third of respondents (29 out of 91) defined their neighborhood space as a small geographic area immediately adjacent to their home; these individuals encircled an area equivalent to the block and did not include areas across the street or in other parts of the development. Almost one quarter of respondents (23 out of 91) defined their neighborhood as the entire development of Jättåvågen. Almost one fifth of respondents (18 out of 91) defined their neighborhood as the residential area east of the district center. More than one tenth of respondents (13 out of 91) defined their neighborhood as an intermediary space smaller than the whole district or residential area and larger than the block or street.

The second question asking respondents to illustrate three different space in the neighborhood that coincided with the analytical model proved too difficult to summarize. Only one third of the 93 respondents successfully completed this particular question. The division of neighborhood space as perceived-conceived-lived was perhaps a bit too complicated of a task.

With the frequencies for each question in the survey reported in the preceding pages, the following section analyses the survey data and attempts to determine the statistical relationships between these variables.

SURVEY ANALYSIS

The survey analysis is divided into three sections; the first section reports the results from the factor analyses of the likert questions; the second section reports the results from the correlation and covariance analyses for dependent and independent variables; and the third section reports the results from the regression analyses for neighborhood satisfaction and place attachment.

FACTOR ANALYSIS

Factor analyses were performed on the likert scales for two reasons: firstly, to understand the nature of and relationship(s) between these items; and secondly, to reduce the complexity of data associated with the thirty-five likert items by grouping individual questions that exhibit similar statistical tendencies into factors. The discussion of these factor analyses is augmented by several questions from the survey pertaining to neighborhood

As a basic statistical criterion, any factor analysis should include five cases per item. With approximately 93 survey responses or cases, the factor analysis was limited to 18 questions or items. Accordingly, the factor analysis of likert items is divided into two categories dealing with the actual neighborhood and the abstract neighborhood.

THE ACTUAL NEIGHBORHOOD

A principal axis factor analysis of 18 items pertaining to respondents' perceptions of daily mobility practice, neighborhood performance, and neighborhood identity was performed (tab. 7.17). The items pertaining to perception of actual neighborhood features and practices loaded on five factors and accounted for 66% of the variance.

The six items loading on the first factor accounted for about 27% of the variance. These items related to neighborhood architecture, personal identity, and a desire to live in the neighborhood for years to come. Other items dealt with respondent satisfaction with the architectural aesthetic as well as the degree of privacy and social interaction within the neighborhood. A question about the current neighborhood matching the ideal neighborhood was included within this factor analysis because it asked respondents to compare their actual neighborhood to their ideal. This particular evaluative measure also loaded on the first factor. This factor is accordingly labeled as 'Neighborhood Satisfaction' in the following discussion.

Items loading on the second factor pertained to the social life of the neighborhood and accounted for about 13% of the variance. The three items loading on this factor pertained to the spontaneous social encounters between neighbors, the active participation in the neighborhood community, and the expansion of one's social network beyond the neighborhood. This factor is accordingly labeled as 'Neighborhood Sociability'.

The items loading on the third factor pertained to feelings that the neighborhood was part of a community, the ease of meeting neighbors in the neighborhood, and the uniqueness of the neighborhood identity. These three items accounted for about 10% of variance. This factor is accordingly labeled as 'Neighborhood Community'.

Items loading on the fourth factor accounted for 8% of the variance and pertained to the experiential aspects of the neighborhood open space and quality of the neighborhood as primarily a residential place. This factor is accordingly labeled as 'Bedroom Community'.

Items loading on the fifth factor also accounted for 8% of the variance and pertained to perceived functionality of the neighborhood. Items that loaded highly on this factor pertained to satisfaction with local services and shopping opportunities in the neighborhood, the belief that one could be the person one wanted to be in the neighborhood, and the accessibility of local shops and services in the neighborhood. This factor is accordingly labeled as 'Individual Functionality'.

With a Cronbach alpha of 0.60 or higher for all scales in the actual neighborhood factor analysis these five factors exhibit an acceptable level of internal reliability. Accordingly, the items were then averaged to create five factor scales: neighborhood satisfaction; limited neighborhood sociability; neighborhood community; bedroom community; and individual functionality.

Two individual items did not load with any other items on these factors. These two items pertained to the perception of neighborhood as safe and secure and the perception that the neighborhood is a good place to raise children. These two items were used separately in the analyses as individual non-loading items. Additionally, none of the items pertaining to neighborhood space loaded on any factor. These items were also used separately in the analysis as individual non-loading items. Other items from question nineteen pertaining to the concept of an ideal neighborhood were analyzed in the second factor analysis specific to the abstract neighborhood.

The average scores and standard deviations for the factors and individual non-loading items for the actual neighborhood as perceived by respondents are tabulated (tab. 7.18). On average respondents tended to agree that the neighborhood functioned (3.37) while at the same time they tended to somewhat agree that they were satisfied with the neighborhood (3.07).

The responses to statements about their actual community were diverse; some agreed and some disagreed. The 'Neighborhood Community' factor averaged 2.84 while the 'Bedroom Community' factor averaged 2.67. With 2.5 as the neutral point between agree and disagree, these two factors reflected a certain degree of ambivalence with a slight leaning towards agreement. The

TAB 7.17
PRINCIPAL AXIS FACTOR ANALYSIS WITH PROMAX ROTATION
FOR PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5
FACTOR 1					
The neighborhood architecture fits well with who I am as a person (15.5)	0.81	-0.09	-0.06	0.09	0.07
I want to live in my neighborhood for years to come (15.8)	0.76	0.07	0.02	-0.05	-0.28
I am pleased with the architectural aesthetic of my neighborhood (15.6)	0.74	0.03	-0.10	0.18	0.17
I am happy with the level of social interaction within my neighborhood (15.3)	0.68	0.21	0.06	0.06	-0.13
My ideal neighborhood matches my current neighborhood (13.5)	0.52	-0.14	0.24	-0.16	0.06
I feel that my neighborhood provides me with enough privacy (15.7)	0.43	-0.04	-0.09	-0.07	0.20
FACTOR 2					
I often spontaneously encounter my neighbors in daily life and interact socially in the neighborhood open space (10.5)	0.09	0.95	-0.23	-0.01	-0.02
I actively participate in the social community of the neighborhood (10.6)	-0.11	0.78	0.20	-0.02	-0.05
My social network is beyond my neighborhood (10.4)	-0.07	-0.47	-0.02	0.18	-0.08
FACTOR 3					
My neighborhood feels as if it is part of a community (15.1)	-0.11	-0.08	0.97	0.02	-0.04
It is easy to meet neighbors in the neighborhood (11.4)	0.03	0.33	0.59	0.16	0.11
My neighborhood has its own identity (15.4)	0.29	-0.14	0.55	-0.10	-0.07

TAB 7.17 (CONT.)
PRINCIPAL AXIS FACTOR ANALYSIS WITH PROMAX ROTATION
FOR PERCEPTIONS OF NEIGHBORHOOD

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5
FACTOR 4					
I primarily experience my neighborhood open space from my private terrace (10.3)	0.04	-0.07	0.11	0.76	-0.02
I primarily experience my neighborhood open space on the move (10.2)	-0.01	-0.03	-0.04	0.71	-0.04
The neighborhood is primarily a residential place (11.3)	0.09	-0.04	0.00	0.61	0.09
FACTOR 5					
I am satisfied with the shopping opportunities in the neighborhood (11.2)	-0.10	0.10	0.18	0.05	0.71
I can be the person I want to be in my neighborhood (15.2)	0.04	-0.11	-0.17	0.02	0.63
I have access to local shops and services in the neighborhood (11.1)	0.25	0.06	0.05	-0.17	0.38
EIGENVALUES	4.84	2.37	1.74	1.46	1.41
PERCENT OF VARIANCE	26.87	13.16	9.65	8.12	7.81
CRONBACH'S ALPHA	0.81	0.76	0.76	0.73	0.60

Note: Parenthetical references identify specific questions from the survey

'Neighborhood Sociability' averaged 1.86; on average respondents tended to disagree with the statement that the neighborhood was socially interactive. The degree of accuracy implied by the one hundredth decimal place is only important in so far that it locates the average sentiment somewhere between 'somewhat' and 'strongly.'

Of the individual non-loading items, participants tended to strongly agree with the evaluation of their neighborhood as safe and secure (3.71). The empirically established question on place attachment was recoded inversely to maintain a similar directionality; with 'somewhat agree' coded as 3 and 'strongly agree' coded as 4, the average for this item was 3.24. A high number between 3 and 4 thus implies attachment to place. If a respondent had to leave their neighborhood, most respondents would miss it. In fact, 83% of respondents agreed to one degree or another that they would miss their neighborhood; they were attached to it as a place.

Participants tended to agree that their actual neighborhood was a good place to raise children (3.21). Participants somewhat agreed that their feelings about the neighborhood was based on actual experiences (3.02). Participants were divided when evaluating the statement about their daily activities taking place throughout the city (2.66) but there was a slight lean towards agreement with this statement. Similarly, they were divided when evaluating the statement about their daily activities limiting their participation in the community (2.21) but there was a slight lean towards disagreement with this statement. Participants tended to somewhat disagree with the statement that their daily activities limited their sense of belonging they felt in the neighborhood (2.05). Participants tended to disagree with the statement that their feelings about the neighborhood were based on preconceived notion of neighborhood (1.83).

In general respondents felt that their daily mobility practice did not limit participation in community or their sense of belonging. A clear majority of respondents expressed an attachment to place or sense of belonging. And while they did not exhibit a strong sense of community life, the notion of community remained, albeit less socially interactive.

TAB 7.18
FREQUENCIES FOR ACTUAL NEIGHBORHOOD SCALES AND ITEMS

VARIABLES	N	M	SD
SCALES			
Individual Functionality	93	3.37	0.48
Neighborhood Satisfaction	93	3.07	0.58
Neighborhood Community	93	2.84	0.66
Bedroom Community	92	2.67	0.74
Neighborhood Sociability	92	1.86	0.77
INDIVIDUAL NON-LOADING ITEMS			
The neighborhood is safe and secure (11.5)	92	3.71	.48
If I had to move from my neighborhood tomorrow morning, I would not miss it (15.9)	93	3.24	.95
The neighborhood is a good place to raise children (11.6)	90	3.21	.81
My feelings about the neighborhood are based on actual experiences (19.6)	92	3.02	.74
May daily activities take place throughout the city (10.1)	92	2.66	1.00
My daily activities limit my participation in the community (19.2)	92	2.21	.93
My daily activities limit the sense of belonging I feel in the neighborhood (19.5)	91	2.05	.91
My feelings about the neighborhood are based on preconceived notions of neighborhood (19.7)	92	1.83	.67

Note: Mean items coded 1= Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree; 3 = Somewhat agree; 4 = Strongly agree.
 For the 'Neighborhood Sociability' scale the original question (10.4) was recoded inversely to maintain a similar directionality as questions (10.5 and 10.6)
 Parenthetical references identify specific questions from the survey

MEANINGS ASSOCIATED WITH ACTUAL NEIGHBORHOOD

Respondents were asked to list three aspects of the neighborhood that they would miss most. Twenty-five respondents wrote 'sea' while another twenty listed 'view' as key descriptors (tab. 7.19). Several indices were created by linking responses with common words. For instance, four fifths of respondents used the word 'proximity' or 'access' in various capacities while another fourth fifths used 'sea' or 'view' in various responses. The 'basic human needs' index included such descriptors as safe and secure.

These open words responses indicate the important qualities of place attachment in regards to the neighborhood. The attachment to Jättåvågen as a place was highly connected to accessibility, in that proximity and access were listed by four fifths of respondents. The other aspect of place attachment was based on the visual qualities of the neighborhood, specifically the sea and the view.

Conversely, the open word question also asked respondents to list three aspects of the neighborhood that they would not miss. Twenty-two respondents listed 'wind' while another sixteen listed 'limited parking'. Several indices were created by linking words with common meanings or concerning a common subject. For instance, more than half of respondents listed 'parking' or 'traffic' while another two fifths of respondents listed 'construction' or 'noise' as key descriptor. And almost two fifths listed 'density' or 'privacy'.

Based upon the reported negative qualities of the neighborhood, the ideal neighborhood is revealed as an antithesis. The word associations provide a window into the ideal neighborhood in that if respondents were to leave the neighborhood, they would prefer an area with less density, less noise, and less traffic and more privacy and more parking. These descriptions typify a suburban context. The problem with the suburban ideal; however, is that, access and proximity to services diminish and thus, so would the level of satisfaction with the neighborhood as a functional entity.

TAB 7.19
FREQUENCIES AND INDICES FOR PLACE ATTACHMENT

VARIABLES	N	%
IF YOU HAD TO LEAVE THE NEIGHBORHOOD TOMORROW WHAT ASPECTS WOULD YOU MISS?		
Sea	25	27
View	20	22
Home	18	19
Proximity to local shops	13	14
Accessibility	13	14
Proximity to Sea	11	12
Open space for Hikes	11	12
Quiet	10	11
Proximity to Work	9	10
INDICES		
'Sea' and 'Open Space' Index	85	91
'Sea' and 'View' Index	77	83
'Proximity' and 'Access' Index	74	80
Basic Human Needs Index	31	33
IF YOU HAD TO LEAVE THE NEIGHBORHOOD TOMORROW WHAT ASPECTS WOULD YOU NOT MISS?		
Wind	22	24
Limited Parking Availability	16	17
Lack of Privacy	14	15
Construction Activity	11	12
Traffic	9	10
INDICES		
'Parking' and 'Traffic' Index	49	53
'Construction' and 'Noise' Index	40	43
'Density' and 'Privacy' Index	36	39
Climate Index	29	32

Note: Items with less than ten percent are not reported

When asked to describe the atmosphere of their neighborhood through an open word association, three tenths of respondents listed 'calm' or 'safe' (tab. 7.20). Several indices were created by joining similar responses in terms of actual word or subject. For instance, more than half of respondents described the atmosphere in a positive manner providing words like 'nice' and 'good' while two fifths depicted the atmosphere as calm, tranquil, or quiet.

Respondents were also asked to list alternative names for the neighborhood. Respondents listed 'Hinna Park' nine times and 'Hinna Plus' five times. When these two responses are combined, fifteen percent of respondents identified their neighborhood by a name that was directly associated with a corporation. Hinna Park is the corporation responsible for the overall development of Jättåvågen and worked in partnership with the municipal. Hinna Plus is a corporation responsible for the development of specific buildings that offer a high level of services such as laundry and grocery shopping for residents. Hinna Plus is part of an international corporation that develops residential property with a high level of service.

In general respondents perceived the actual neighborhood as a functional space with which they were pleased and as a highly architectural space. They perceived their neighborhood as a unique community but did not report a high level of sociability within that space. A community without social interaction is an impossibility according to a strict interpretation of the psychological nature of community; it inherently involves social interaction. It need not be placed-based but it need be socially based and exhibit some level of social intersubjectivity. Conversely, the neighborhood was perceived as a highly visual phenomenon that was related to self identity rather than community.

TAB 7.20
FREQUENCIES AND INDICES FOR NEIGHBORHOOD ATMOSPHERE

VARIABLES	N	%
WHAT WORDS WOULD YOU USE TO DESCRIBE THE ATMOSPHERE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE FEELINGS IT EVOKES?		
Calm	27	29
Safe	20	22
Urban	11	12
Modern	9	10
INDICES		
Positive Description Index	51	55
'Calm' Index	38	41
'Modern' and 'Urban' Index	22	24
'Safe and Secure' Index	21	23
DO YOU AND YOUR NEIGHBORS HAVE A NAME FOR YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD?		
Hinna Park	9	10
Hinna Pluss	5	5
Nesting boxes	1	1
Concrete Ghetto	1	1
Urban Ghetto	1	1
INDICES		
Corporate Brand Index	14	15

Note: Items with less than ten percent are not reported

THE ABSTRACT NEIGHBORHOOD

The second factor analysis pertains to the abstract neighborhood or ideal neighborhood. A principal axis factor analysis of 15 items pertaining to respondents' perception of the abstract neighborhood and their attitudes about an ideal neighborhood space was performed. These items loaded on two factors and accounted for 57% of the variance (tab. 7.21).

The four items loading on the first factor included perceptions of the ideal neighborhood as socially interactive, part of a community, providing refuge from societal stress, and being an excellent place to raise children. With a Cronbach alpha of 0.68 this particular factor exhibits an acceptable level of internal reliability. This factor is accordingly labeled as 'Ideal Social Community'.

Only two items loaded on the second factor. These two items pertain to the functionality of the ideal neighborhood and the evaluation of the ideal neighborhood as more urban than rural. However, cronbach's alpha for these two items was low (0.48) and so they were reported separately as individual non-loading items. None of the remaining items pertaining to abstract neighborhood from question nineteen loaded on any factor. These items were also reported separately as individual non-loading items.

TAB 7.21
PRINCIPAL AXIS FACTOR ANALYSIS WITH PROMAX ROTATION
FOR PERCEPTIONS OF IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2
FACTOR 1		
My ideal neighborhood is part of a community (13.1)	0.69	-0.10
My ideal neighborhood is socially interactive (13.2)	0.69	0.18
My ideal neighborhood provides refuge from societal stress (13.6)	0.51	0.03
My ideal neighborhood is an excellent place to for children (13.7)	0.43	-0.10
FACTOR 2		
My ideal neighborhood is more urban than rural (13.4)	-0.20	0.69
My ideal neighborhood contains a wide range of services (13.3)	0.20	0.52
EIGENVALUES	2.07	1.30
PERCENT OF VARIANCE	34.45	22.85
CRONBACH'S ALPHA	0.68	0.48

Note: Parenthetical references identify specific questions within the survey.

The average scores and standard deviations for the factors and individual non-loading items for the abstract neighborhood were tabulated (tab. 7.22). Respondents tended to agree that their ideal neighborhood was socially interactive and was part of a community that provided refuge from societal stress and a good place to raise children (3.28). For the individual non-loading items, participants tended to strongly agree that their ideal neighborhood had a wide range of services (3.58). On average participants tended to somewhat agree that their feelings about neighborhood were derived from individual experience and personal preference (3.15).

Participants were divided when evaluating the statement about their ideal neighborhood being more urban than rural (2.73) but there was a slight lean towards agreement with this statement. While the distinction between 'urban' or 'rural' is different for each person, there was a slight agreement for the 'urban' quality of an ideal neighborhood.

Participants were clearly divided when evaluating the statement about their concept for an ideal neighborhood as informed by inherited cultural values (2.47). Rather than being a denial of cultural programming, this might be due to the drastic societal shift in Norwegian culture since the discovery of oil. The neighborhood of yesteryear is not an ideal in contemporary society. Similarly, participants were divided when evaluating the statement about their experience of the neighborhood having changed their concept for an ideal neighborhood (2.34) but there was a slight lean towards disagreement. Three fifths of participants disagreed (somewhat or strongly) that their experiences had changed their concept; in regards to their ideal neighborhood, almost two thirds of respondents were unchanged by their experiences of the neighborhood.

TAB 7.22
FREQUENCIES FOR IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD SCALES AND ITEMS

VARIABLES	N	M	SD
SCALES			
Ideal social	93	3.28	0.53
INDIVIDUAL NON-LOADING ITEMS			
My ideal neighborhood contains a wide range of services (13.3)	91	3.58	0.56
My concept for an ideal neighborhood is based on individual experiences and personal preferences (19.4)	92	3.15	0.74
My ideal neighborhood is more urban than rural (13.4)	93	2.73	0.80
My concept for an ideal neighborhood is based on inherited cultural values and traditions (19.3)	92	2.47	0.88
My experiences from the neighborhood have changed my concept of an ideal neighborhood (19.5)	92	2.34	0.77

Note: Mean based on items coded 1= Strongly disagree; 2 = Somewhat disagree;
 3 = Somewhat agree; 4 = Strongly agree
 Parenthetical references identify specific questions within the survey.

In general the concept of an ideal neighborhood promoted a high level of social interaction, contained a wide range of services, and was based primarily on individual experience and preference. The concept maintained an individualism based on experiential qualities of life and rejected the structural influences of inherited cultural values.

The notion of an ideal neighborhood was based on individual experiences rather than inherited traditions. And while the notion of an ideal neighborhood was not based on tradition, the personal experiences of Jättåvågen did not change their notion of the ideal. While the personal experience informed their notion of an ideal neighborhood their cultural past was not reported as influential.

MEANINGS ASSOCIATED WITH THE ABSTRACT NEIGHBORHOOD

Respondents were asked to select five words from a provided list to describe their ideal neighborhood. The five words most frequently selected were accessibility, security, comfort, quiet, and functionality (tab. 7.23). Accordingly, the ideal neighborhood, at its most basic level, is a functional entity that is both highly accessible and yet secure; it provides comfort and is restful with a quiet nature. Interestingly, the 'socially interactive' characterization of an ideal neighborhood was not selected by one respondent. While respondents strongly agreed with the statement that their ideal neighborhood was part of a community and socially interactive, the social quality of the neighborhood is not a priority.

TAB 7.23
FREQUENCIES FOR IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD DESCRIPTORS

VARIABLES	N	%
CHOOSE FIVE WORDS THAT BEST DESCRIBE YOUR IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD		
Accessibility	50	60
Security	44	52
Comfort	41	49
Quiet	40	48
Functionality	35	42
Private life	28	33
Leisure	28	33
Family	25	30
Daily act	20	24
Local	18	21
Everyday life	17	20
Adventurous	16	19
Content	14	17
Satisfied	14	17
Communal	10	12
Individual	9	11

Note: n = 84

Respondents were asked to select three of the most relevant words from a provided list to describe their motivations for dwelling in Jättåvågen. The three words most frequently selected by respondents to describe their motivations to live in the area included 'views to the fjord', 'access to the sea', and 'modern and contemporary standard' (tab. 7.24). They were, quite simply, attracted to the modern contemporary aesthetic of a waterfront development with views outward across the fjord. The 'modern and contemporary standard' does not necessarily reflect an architectural quality because the 'architectural aesthetic' and 'architectural variation' terms were each selected only three times by respondents. The 'modern and contemporary standard' was perhaps more aligned with the sixth ranked motivation, 'financial investment' and represents a newness rather than a style or aesthetic. Again, the evaluation of community scored low; the 'community feeling' was not selected by any respondent, nor 'access to local schools'. The traditional conceptualization of the neighborhood as a community space oriented towards family life, children, and schools was not a significant motivation for respondents; nor were the 'parks and landscapes' of the area.

The abstract neighborhood is a mental construct largely based upon the value of family, children, and social interaction. The concept maintains a sense of community in relation to the space of propinquity. But these values are not the primary motivation for selecting a place of residence. At the most basic level, the abstract neighborhood is structured as a pragmatic entity with a high level of accessibility and functionality.

The factor analyses have successfully reduced the data complexity of the thirty-five likert scales and described the interrelationships between the various questions. With this accomplished the exploration of correlations is possible. However, the multiple co-linearity of likert variables – the derived scales and the individual non-loading items – must be analyzed prior to the analyses of correlation and covariance between dependent and independent variables. As a basic criterion, independent variables with correlations greater than .70 should be excluded. Most of the variables correlated below .5 and the highest correlation was .637 (tab. 7.25).

TAB 7.24
FREQUENCIES FOR MOTIVATIONS

VARIABLES	N	%
CHOOSE THREE WORDS TO DESCRIBE YOUR MOTIVATIONS TO LIVE IN THE AREA		
Views to fjord	31	44
Access to sea	27	38
Modern and contemporary standard	25	35
Access to public transit	19	27
Local shops and services	17	24
Financial investment	15	21
Other	12	17
Urban lifestyle	11	16
Clean and orderly open space	11	16
Safety and security	9	13
Peace and quiet	8	11
Privacy	8	11
Exclusivity	6	9
Architectural aesthetic	3	4
Architectural variation	3	4
Shopping opportunities	3	4
Parks and landscape	2	3
Easy access to parking	2	3
Access to highway	1	1
Community feeling	0	0
Access to local schools	0	0

Note: n = 71

TAB 7.25
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT LIKERT VARIABLES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1. NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIABILITY (SCALE)																	
1	1	-.252	.159	.289	-.007	.163	.104	.227	-.126	.194	-.281	-.175	-.070	-.030	.112	.111	-.007
2		1	.016	.130	.005	.949	.121	.330	.031	.230	.064	.007	.098	.512	.775	.291	.293
92			92	92	91	92	89	90	92	92	90	91	91	91	91	91	91
2. BEDROOM COMMUNITY (SCALE)																	
1	-.252	1	-.189	-.204	.071	.143	-.207	-.081	-.046	-.067	.242	.123	.295	.061	.026	-.123	.053
2		1	.016	.071	.051	.501	.174	.051	.446	.661	.525	.022	.244	.005	.564	.807	.247
92			92	92	91	92	89	90	92	92	90	91	91	91	91	91	91
3. INDIVIDUAL FUNCTIONALITY (SCALE)																	
1	.159	-.189	1	.315	.318	-.213	.562	.243	.153	.266	.060	.097	.018	.062	.013	.227	-.038
2		1	.130	.071	.002	.002	.042	.000	.020	.142	.010	.575	.356	.868	.559	.905	.030
92			92	92	93	93	92	92	90	91	93	93	91	92	92	92	92
4. NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY (SCALE)																	
1	.289	-.204	.315	1	.055	-.009	.585	.075	.004	.321	-.189	-.176	-.054	-.013	.094	.292	-.056
2		1	.005	.051	.002	.604	.931	.000	.479	.967	.002	.073	.093	.610	.904	.371	.005
92			92	92	93	93	92	92	90	91	93	93	91	92	92	92	92
5. NEIGHBORHOOD IS SAFE AND SECURE (11.5)																	
1	-.007	.071	.318	.055	1	-.113	.330	.181	-.010	.327	-.031	-.009	.124	.190	.183	.049	.009
2		1	.949	.501	.002	.604	.288	.001	.088	.927	.001	.775	.933	.243	.071	.082	.643
91			91	91	92	92	91	90	90	92	92	90	91	91	91	91	91
6. DAILY ACTIVITIES TAKE PLACE THROUGHOUT THE CITY (10.1)																	
1	.163	.143	-.213	-.009	-.113	1	-.168	-.068	-.088	.001	-.097	-.056	-.065	-.176	.213	.286	.157
2		1	.121	.174	.042	.931	.288	.116	.523	.402	.990	.365	.597	.543	.095	.042	.006
92			92	92	92	91	92	89	90	92	92	90	91	91	91	91	91
7. NEIGHBORHOOD IS A GOOD PLACE FOR KIDS (11.6)																	
1	.104	-.207	.562	.585	.330	-.168	1	.250	.087	.382	.001	.020	-.073	.194	-.058	.159	-.040
2		1	.330	.051	.000	.000	.001	.116	.019	.415	.000	.996	.852	.494	.069	.588	.136
89			89	89	90	90	89	90	88	90	90	88	89	89	89	89	89
8. IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD CONTAINS A WIDE RANGE OF SERVICES (13.3)																	
1	.227	-.081	.243	.075	.181	-.068	.250	1	.335	.197	-.060	.022	.036	-.002	.028	.065	.050
2		1	.031	.446	.020	.479	.088	.523	.019	.001	.062	.574	.837	.736	.982	.794	.540
90			90	90	91	91	90	90	88	91	91	89	90	90	90	90	90
9. IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD IS MORE URBAN THAN RURAL (13.4)																	
1	-.126	-.046	.153	.004	-.010	-.088	.087	.335	1	-.137	-.008	-.024	-.108	-.038	-.040	-.027	.010
2		1	.230	.661	.142	.967	.927	.402	.415	.001	.189	.940	.818	.305	.716	.703	.799
92			92	92	93	93	92	92	90	91	93	93	91	92	92	92	92

TAB 7.25 (CONT.)

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INDEPENDENT LIKERT VARIABLES

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
10. IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD IS A SOCIALLY INTERACTIVE COMMUNITY (SCALE)																	
	.194	-.067	.266	.321	.327	.001	.382	.197	-.137	1	-.068	.108	.235	.070	.077	.139	.086
	.064	.525	.010	.002	.001	.990	.000	.062	.189		.521	.303	.024	.504	.468	.188	.413
	92	92	93	93	92	92	90	91	93	93	91	92	92	92	92	92	92
11. DAILY ACTIVITIES LIMIT THE SENSE OF BELONGING IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD (19.1)																	
	-.281	.242	.060	-.189	-.031	-.097	.001	-.060	-.008	-.068	1	.637	.133	.087	-.073	.016	.051
	.007	.022	.575	.073	.775	.365	.996	.574	.940	.521		.000	.210	.411	.491	.883	.629
	90	90	91	91	90	90	88	89	91	91	91	91	91	91	91	91	91
12. DAILY ACTIVITIES LIMIT PARTICIPATION IN THE COMMUNITY (19.2)																	
	-.175	.123	.097	-.176	-.009	-.056	.020	.022	-.024	.108	.637	1	.108	.177	-.037	-.007	.145
	.098	.244	.356	.093	.933	.597	.852	.837	.818	.303	.000		.304	.092	.729	.950	.167
	91	91	92	92	91	91	89	90	92	92	91	92	92	92	92	92	92
13. IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD IS BASED ON INHERITED CULTURAL VALUES (19.3)																	
	-.070	.295	.018	-.054	.124	-.065	-.073	.036	-.108	.235	.133	.108	1	.159	.040	-.318	.249
	.512	.005	.868	.610	.243	.543	.494	.736	.305	.024	.210	.304		.130	.702	.002	.017
	91	91	92	92	91	91	89	90	92	92	91	92	92	92	92	92	92
14. IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD IS BASED ON INDIVIDUAL EXPERIENCES (19.4)																	
	-.030	.061	.062	-.013	.190	-.176	.194	-.002	-.038	.070	.087	.177	.159	1	-.052	.114	.054
	.775	.564	.559	.904	.071	.095	.069	.982	.716	.504	.411	.092	.130		.622	.279	.611
	91	91	92	92	91	91	89	90	92	92	91	92	92	92	92	92	92
15. EXPERIENCES HAVE CHANGE MY CONCEPT OF AN IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD (19.5)																	
	.112	.026	.013	.094	.183	.213	-.058	.028	-.040	.077	-.073	-.037	.040	-.052	1	.294	.029
	.291	.807	.905	.371	.082	.042	.588	.794	.703	.468	.491	.729	.702	.622		.005	.781
	91	91	92	92	91	91	89	90	92	92	91	92	92	92	92	92	92
16. FEELINGS ABOUT THE NEIGHBORHOOD ARE BASED ON ACTUAL EXPERIENCE (19.6)																	
	.111	-.123	.227	.292	.049	.286	.159	.065	-.027	.139	.016	-.007	-.318	.114	.294	1	-.213
	.293	.247	.030	.005	.643	.006	.136	.540	.799	.188	.883	.950	.002	.279	.005		.042
	91	91	92	92	91	91	89	90	92	92	91	92	92	92	92	92	92
17. FEELINGS ABOUT THE NEIGHBORHOOD ARE PRECONCEIVED (19.7)																	
	-.007	.053	-.038	-.056	.009	.157	-.040	.050	.010	.086	.051	.145	.249	.054	.029	-.213	1
	.951	.619	.723	.593	.936	.138	.707	.643	.925	.413	.629	.167	.017	.611	.781	.042	
	91	91	92	92	91	91	89	90	92	92	91	92	92	92	92	92	92

Note: $p \leq .05$ noted in **semi-bold**; $p \leq .01$ noted in **bold**

Parentetical references identify specific questions within the survey.

CORRELATIONS AND COVARIANCE ANALYSES

The second section of the chapter pertains to the correlation and covariance analyses. Correlations between independent and dependent likert variables were calculated individually to determine while the covariance between independent social demographic variables and the two dependent variables were calculated.

CORRELATION ANALYSIS

The correlations between independent and dependent variables are determined using the Pearson method for the neighborhood satisfaction scale and the Spearman method for place attachment item (tab. 7.26).

Neighborhood satisfaction correlated most strongly with the individual non-loading item assessing to the neighborhood as a good place to raise children (.000), and the two scales assessing 'Individual Functionality' (.000) and 'Neighborhood Community' (.000). 'Neighborhood Satisfaction' negatively correlated with the 'Bedroom Community' (.016) scale; participants who mainly viewed the neighborhood as residential in quality reported less satisfaction with the neighborhood. The individual non-loading item pertaining to expansive quality of daily life also negatively correlated with neighborhood satisfaction (.047); those who agreed with the statement that their daily life was taking place throughout the city reported less satisfaction with the neighborhood (.036).

Interestingly, respondents who agreed with the statements that their ideal neighborhood had a wide range of services (.003) and tended to be more urban than rural (.000) tended to report more satisfaction with the neighborhood. The neighborhood is based upon an urban aesthetic and contains a wide range of services. If respondents held these qualities as an ideal, it is only logical that they would express satisfaction with the area.

Both dependent variables, the perception of neighborhood safety (.043) and the 'bedroom community' factor (.014) negatively correlated with place attachment. And lastly, the 'Bedroom Community' factor was the only variable to correlate with both dependent variables.

TAB 7.26
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN DEPENDENT AND INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

	NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION			PLACE ATTACHMENT		
	N	r	p	N	r	p
ACTUAL NEIGHBORHOOD						
The neighborhood is a good place to raise children (11.6)	90	.499	.000	90	-.160	.131
Individual Functionality (scale)	92	.449	.000	93	-.080	.444
Neighborhood Community (scale)	92	.416	.000	93	.027	.801
Bedroom Community (scale)	91	-.251	.016	92	-.256	.014
The neighborhood is safe and secure (11.5)	91	.163	.122	92	-.212	.043
My daily activities take place throughout the city (10.1)	91	-.209	.047	92	-.009	.935
My daily activities limit my sense of belonging in the neighborhood (19.1)	90	-.221	.036	91	-.198	.060
IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD						
My ideal neighborhood is more urban than rural (13.3)	92	.385	.000	93	.116	.270
My ideal neighborhood contains a wide range of services (13.3)	90	.306	.003	91	.119	.263

Note: Parenthetical references identify specific questions within the survey.

COVARIANCE ANALYSES

Prior to a regression analysis, a variance analysis of social demographic independent variables was performed. Several scales were recoded as proxy variables to isolate statistically valid subgroups in relation to dependent variables. These items included education, household size, children, floor, tenure, car use, income, and age.

Respondents with master or doctoral degrees were combined into one data group to reduce outliers for the education scale. Large households with four or five individuals were recoded as a single group to reduce the prevalence of outliers. The scale for presence of children was recoded as a simple binary scale to normalize and reduce outliers; responses were categorized as either with or without children. With a limited amount of respondents living on each floor, the data was recoded to account for outliers and assure normalcy. Respondents living on multiple floors were grouped together. It was unclear if some respondents counted the parking garage as the first floor or not. This was further complicated when the first residential floor was partially elevated above the adjacent street levels. Accordingly, those living on the first or second floor were combined into one subgroup. Respondents living above the second floor were combined into a third group; it was thought that these apartments were for the most part accessed through an elevator and exhibited a different experience of entry compared to the two other groups.

The data for tenure was explored for statistical subgroups to reduce outliers and normalize distribution. The tenure data was recoded as a binary scale. Responses were categorized into two groups; respondents who arrived after December 2009 and respondents who arrived before January 2010.

The percent of car use was also recoded as a proxy variable with three groups; those who drove between 0% and 20% of the time; those who drove between 40% and 60% of the time; and those who drove between 80% and 100% of the time. The annual income data were empirically recoded into three groups to normalize the data: one subgroup earned less than 400,000 NOK; another subgroup earned between 400,000 NOK and a million NOK; and the third subgroup earned more than a million NOK. And lastly, the item pertaining to age was reclassified as follows: 20 to 39; 40 to 49; and 50 and older.

Following the empirical recoding of these independent variables, the covariance between social demographic proxy variables and the two dependent variables were analyzed through two methods; one method for each type of dependent variable. Oneway ANOVA was used to report covariance between social demographic proxy variables and the neighborhood satisfaction. The covariance was then tested through a post-hoc test. Cross tabulation was used to report the statistical covariance between social demographic proxy variables and the place attachment item. The covariance was then tested through chi-squared test. Both of these methods, post-hoc test and chi-squared test, describe the statistical difference between the proxy variables. These tests were used to identify the specific items which had a statistically significant covariance to be included in the final regression analysis.

ANOVAS BETWEEN PROXY VARIABLES AND NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION

The average values for the neighborhood satisfaction and the various social demographic proxy variables with statistically significant internal differences were analyzed for covariance (tab. 7.26). Based upon the post-hoc test of proxy variables, respondents who reportedly used their car between 40% and 60% for all transit behavior reported a higher neighborhood satisfaction (3.31) that was statistically significant (.011) when compared to respondents who reportedly used their car between 80% and 100% (2.98). Respondents who reportedly used their cars between 0% to 20% were slightly more satisfied with their neighborhood (3.06) but there was no statistical significance to the referent.

Respondents between the age of 40 and 49 reported higher neighborhood satisfaction (3.47) that was statistically significant (.002) when compared to those in their 20s and 30s (2.97); however, respondents older than 50 reported a neighborhood satisfaction (3.06) but there was no statistical relationship to referent.

Respondents living in a two-person household reported a lower degree of neighborhood satisfaction (2.95) that was statistically significant (.034) when compared to respondents living alone (3.24). Households with three or more individuals reported a neighborhood satisfaction comparable to that reported by single households (3.28) but there was no statistical relationship to referent.

Respondents with annual household income at or below the average Norwegian income level reported a higher neighborhood satisfaction (3.46) that was statistically significant (.000) when compared to those earning greater than a million NOK (2.97). While the correlation was marginal at best (0.062) the data could illustrate the Scandinavian traditions of social equity and high levels of reported happiness. Respondents earning between 400,000 NOK and a million NOK reported neighborhood satisfaction (3.13) between these two extremes but the relation was not statistically significant.

Respondents living above the second floor reported more neighborhood satisfaction (3.19) that was statistically significant (.017) when compared to those living on the first or second floor (2.87). Similarly, those living in row house, town house or single family house reported a higher level of neighborhood satisfaction (3.18) that was statistically significant (.046) when compared to those living on the first or second floor (2.87). However, build type was not correlated with neighborhood satisfaction.

Respondents without a roof terrace reported more neighborhood satisfaction (3.13) that was statistically significant (.050) when compared to those with a roof terrace (2.80).

These statistically valid relations indicate subtle differences of neighborhood satisfaction that present some challenges for interpretation. When referencing a four phase likert scale in which 1 is strongly disagree, 2 is somewhat disagree, 3 is somewhat agree, and 4 is strongly agree the difference between 3.47 and 2.97 is obscure. These numbers are taken from the age correlation. The difference between the highest and the lowest rating of satisfaction as correlated with age is .5. Such a number is difficult to interpret. What are we to make of such a number? The implied degree of accuracy is not important. What is important, however, is the relative location of that number to the original scale. Respondents in their 40s are somewhere between 'somewhat' and 'strongly' (3.47) in agreement about their level of neighborhood satisfaction while respondents in their 20s or 30s are less than 'somewhat' (2.97) in agreement about their neighborhood satisfaction.

TAB 7.27
REGRESSION AND ANOVA BETWEEN PROXY VARIABLES AND
NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION

	REGRESSION		NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION			ANOVA		
	r	p	N	M	SD	df	F	p
Car Use (80% to 100% as referent)						2	3.41	.037
0-20%	.057	.598	16	3.06	0.52			
40-60%	.278	.011	27	3.31	0.47			
80-100%			49	2.98 ^a	0.57			
Age (20 to 39 as referent)						2	5.27	.007
20 to 39			41	2.97 ^a	0.57			
40 to 49	.346	.002	16	3.47	0.40			
50 and older	.087	.422	34	3.06	0.53			
Household Size (one person as referent)						3	2.96	.036
One person			27	3.24 ^a	0.38			
Two persons	-.256	.034	36	2.95	0.62			
Three persons	.031	.793	18	3.28	0.52			
> Four persons	-.215	.055	9	2.84	0.64			
Income (greater than 1,000,000 Norwegian kroner as referent)						2	2.86	.062
less than 400 ^b	.246	.000	8	3.46	0.31			
400 to 1,000 ^b	.140	.196	42	3.13	0.46			
greater than 1,000 ^b			40	2.97 ^a	0.65			
Floor (1st or 2nd floor apartment as referent)						2	3.27	.043
1st or 2nd			26	2.87 ^a	0.57			
3rd to 12th	.290	.017	44	3.19	0.51			
1st to 3rd	.243	.046	22	3.18	0.55			
Roof terrace (no terrace as referent)						1	3.95	.050
Yes roof terrace	-.209	.050	17	2.80	0.59			
No roof terrace			72	3.13 ^a	0.53			

Note: ^a is the referent in this correlation table.

^b Income shown in thousand of Norwegian Kroner

ANOVAS BETWEEN PLACE ATTACHMENT AND PROXY VARIABLES

In regards to the dependent variable of place attachment only one social demographic proved to be significantly related (tab. 7.28). Respondents who arrived in 2010 or 2011 reported less place attachment (1.40) than participants who had arrived prior to 2010 (3.59). Of the respondents who arrived in 2010 or 2011 two thirds of respondents agreed that they would miss the neighborhood compared to nine tenths of respondents who arrived before 2010. Respondents who arrived in 2010 or 2011 tended to report lower level of place attachment. On average respondents who reported a high degree of place attachment had lived in the area for almost three years (35 months) while respondents who reported a low degree of place attachment had lived in the area for less than two years (20 months). The attachment to place is statistically related to time in place and according to the results, 18 months seems to be the threshold at which this shift occurs.

TAB 7.28
REGRESSIONS AND ANOVA BETWEEN PLACE ATTACHMENT AND TENURE

	REGRESSION		PLACE ATTACHMENT			ANOVA		
	r	p	N	M	SD	df	F	p
Tenure (2010-2011 as referent)						1	5.26	.015
2010-2011	-.543	.015	15	1.40	0.51			
Prior to 2010			78	3.59	0.50			

Note: $X^2(1,91=7.08, p < 0.008)$

REGRESSION ANALYSES

The third section in this chapter pertains to the regression analyses of all significant correlations between independent and dependent variables. A stepwise multiple linear regression was performed for neighborhood satisfaction scale and a logistical regression was performed for the dichotomous place attachment item.

MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS

For neighborhood satisfaction the stepwise multiple linear regression analysis accounted for 52% of variance (tab. 7.29). Respondent scores for the 'Individual Functionality' scale were correlated with neighborhood satisfaction (.000). If the neighborhood was perceived by respondents as an unrestricted place with a wide range of services, then it was also perceived as a place with which respondents were satisfied. Furthermore, respondents who described their ideal neighborhood as containing a wide range of services also reported higher levels of neighborhood satisfaction (.010). The existing neighborhood services may have fulfilled their expectation of an ideal neighborhood in some way.

Respondents dwelling above the second floor were more likely to be satisfied with the neighborhood than those who lived on the first or second floor (.050). Respondents who lived in a row house, town house, or single-family detached house were also more satisfied with the neighborhood (.020). Additionally, respondents with a roof terrace were less satisfied (.005).

Respondents who drove between 40% and 60% for general mobility practice were more satisfied with the neighborhood than those who relied more upon the car (.026). Respondents who earned less than a million NOK annually were more satisfied than those who earned more than a million (.000 and .046). Respondents in their 40s were generally more satisfied with the neighborhood than those who were younger (.000).

TAB 7.29
MULTIPLE LINEAR REGRESSION ANALYSIS

	NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION			
	B	SE	BETA	P
PREDICTORS OF NEIGHBORHOOD SATISFACTION				
Individual Functionality (scale)	0.42	0.10	0.36	.000
My ideal neighborhood contains a wide range of services (13.3)	0.21	0.08	0.21	.010
Floor (single floor – 1st or 2nd floor as referent)				
Single floor – 3rd to 12th	0.21	0.10	0.19	.050
Multi-floor – 1st through 3rd	0.28	0.12	0.22	.020
Roof Terrace				
Have a roof terrace	-0.32	0.11	-0.23	.005
Car Use (80% to 100% as referent)				
0% to 20%	0.02	0.12	0.01	.867
40% to 60%	0.23	0.10	0.19	.026
Income (more than 1 million NOK as referent)				
0 to 400	0.73	0.16	0.38	.000
400 to mil	0.18	0.09	0.16	.046
Age (20 to 39 as referent)				
40 to 49	0.49	0.12	0.34	.000
50 and older	0.12	0.11	0.11	.248

Note: F (regression 11, residual 75) = 9.30, df is 11, p < .001, and sig. is .000

MULTIPLE LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Predictions of place attachment in relation to dependent variables were assessed through a multiple logistic regression analysis (tab. 7.30). The final predicative model for place attachment includes tenure and the 'Bedroom Community' scale with a statistical significance of .004. Respondents who arrived in 2010 or 2011 and evaluated the area as a residential place were less attached to the neighborhood. However, the goodness of fit for the predicative model was slightly less than the criterion of .95 and the 'Bedroom Community' scale was slightly less than marginally significant (.060). The results from the predicative regression model for place attachment as a multi-variate phenomenon are tenuous. Place attachment is most closely correlated with tenure alone.

Time seems to be an important factor influencing the degree to which residents attach to the neighborhood. Several factors contribute to this development. Firstly, as time passes people who are less pleased with the area and able to leave, emigrate from the neighborhood. Secondly, the emotional attachment to place may in fact take time to development. Similar to an interpersonal relationship, a certain amount of time is needed before a meaningful and intimate relationship can develop.

TAB 7.30
MULTIPLE LOGISTIC REGRESSION ANALYSIS

	PLACE ATTACHMENT					
	B	SE	OR (CI)	df	X ²	p
PREDICTORS OF PLACE ATTACHMENT				2	11.0	.004
Arrived in 2010 or 2011	-1.30	0.61	0.27 (0.08, 0.90)	1		.034
Bedroom community	-1.00	0.53	0.37 (0.13, 1.04)	1		.060
Goodness of fit X2 (Hosmer and Lemeshow Test)				8	3.4	.910

Note: The bedroom community factor is only marginally significant

The model for neighborhood satisfaction involves seven independent variables while the model for place attachment involves two variables at best. The seven variables from the multiple linear regression analysis of neighborhood satisfaction represent several different qualities of neighborhood space. The first two variables within the predicative model are based upon perceptions of the actual neighborhood and the abstract neighborhood. The perception of the actual neighborhood as an area with a wide range of accessible services is a significant predictor of neighborhood satisfaction. This is, of course, logical when considered in parallel with the conceptualization of the abstract neighborhood as also having a wide range of services. The other aspect of neighborhood satisfaction relating to perception involves self-authenticity. The evaluation of the area as a place in which respondents can be the person they want to be is an important factor that is also a significant predictor of satisfaction.

Other variables related to neighborhood satisfaction involve physical attributes of the residence itself. For instance, respondents living in an apartment on the first or second floor consistently report less satisfaction in comparison to respondents living above the second floor or on multiple floors within a town house, row house, or single detached house. And the presence of a roof terrace negatively correlated with satisfaction. The physical configuration and location of residential space is an important factor linked to satisfaction.

Several social demographic variables also significantly predict satisfaction. Respondents in their 40s are linked to higher levels of satisfaction but the reason for this relationship is unclear. When controlling for the presence of children, the statistical significance between these age groups remain. So the presence of children is not a key factor. And while income is related to satisfaction, it was the lower income group that was linked to satisfaction, not the higher income group; respondents in their 40s did not represent the lower income bracket. So the level of income, while related to satisfaction, was not the factor informing satisfaction for respondents in their 40s. Perhaps the relationship between age and neighborhood satisfaction reflects some general feeling of peace with one's own place in life, somewhere between the young adult and elderly.

The link between income and satisfaction may reflect two psychological aspects of satisfaction. Firstly, the increased prevalence of choice associated with higher income may in fact decrease satisfaction due to an increased level of expectation (Schwartz). Secondly, the higher level of satisfaction within the lower income bracket may reflect the Scandinavian context of social equality and quality of life (Wilkinson and Pickett).

The seventh variable linked to neighborhood satisfaction involves type and frequency of transit modality. The three subgroups of automobile usage may be described as car-less, car-free, and car-ceral (Hall). In general people with limited access to a private vehicle may feel deprived and car-less while other people heavily dependent upon a private vehicle for the majority of transit may perceive the dependency as imprisoning or car-ceral. And people with access to a private vehicle who use alternate modes of transit may feel car-free rather than car-less or car-ceral.

The single variable linked to place attachment involves the length of residency or tenure. People living in place for longer periods of time identify with said place more than others living in place for less time. The tenure variable provides a good link between the two dependent variables; with an overall positive evaluation of the neighborhood residents are more likely to remain in place and develop attachments to place over time. Neighborhood satisfaction enables place attachment. However, there is no correlation between length of residence and neighborhood satisfaction.

CONCLUSION

For the most part respondents are highly educated Norwegians working in the informational economy and earning an annual income greater than the national or municipal average. And when compared to the regional averages respondent were much more likely to own a car, much less likely to have children, and less likely to live alone. Clearly, the survey population is distinguished from other social groups within the region and nation. These individuals represent a subset of the greater population. The survey population may represent the emergence of a particular subset of the network society in Norway distinctly positioned within Norwegian society.

For these individuals their daily mobility practice exhibits a relatively limited spatial distribution largely dependent upon the automobile as the primary mode transportation. Except for the infrequent use of cabin and international travel, their spatial practice is relatively local in geographic area extending one to ten kilometers from home. This limited geographical extent is indicative of Stavanger as a relatively small town with limited expansive qualities. The regional context is not the expansive metropolitan space of a sprawling global city but rather a small spatial area with three or four employment centers within a ten to twenty kilometer area surrounded by low density garden villas.

The spatial practice within the immediate neighborhood is oriented towards practical matters like the procurement of groceries, gasoline, and post. Neighborhood spatial practice is primarily oriented towards functionality. Respondents tended to spend almost as much time on their balcony as in the public space and about half as much time socializing with neighbors. Neighborhood spatial practice is socially and temporally limited as a significant aspect of daily practice.

The thirty-five likert scaled questions pertaining to perception of neighborhood exhibit a limited variance. For two thirds of the questions more than three quarters of survey respondents indicate a clear trend away from neutrality towards one side of the agree-disagree continuum.

In general the majority of respondents evaluated the neighborhood as safe place and agreed that the neighborhood was a good place to raise children. A great majority of respondents were also satisfied with the local shops and services in the area. However, there was less commonality among respondents in regards to the residential nature and social quality of the neighborhood; some felt that the neighborhood was primarily a residential place and devoid of social intersubjectivity while others felt that the neighborhood was based upon some level of social interaction.

In general respondents did not perceive the neighborhood as a highly interactive phenomenon. While the majority of respondents did not report high levels of social interact with neighbors or participate in the community, many respondents were satisfied with this low sociability; most respondents maintained a social network that was not based on the neighborhood.

Contrastingly the ideal neighborhood for most respondents was a socially interactive community that provided refuge from the stress of everyday life and provided a wonderful place for children. For the majority of respondents the ideal neighborhood was a functional entity that contained a variety of services to meet the basic pragmatic needs of daily life. And while high levels of service may be associated with an urban context, there was less commonality among respondents in regards to the urban or rural quality of their ideal neighborhood. Regardless of the difference between urban and rural as qualifiers of the ideal neighborhood, three quarters of respondents agreed that Jättåvågen matched their ideal.

In general respondents were comfortable in the neighborhood; they were able to be the person they want to be. They felt that the neighborhood architecture fit well with who they were. They were pleased with the architectural aesthetic of the neighborhood and felt that the neighborhood provided them with enough privacy. About three quarters of respondents planned to stay in the area for years to come. The majority of respondents identified with the place and were attached to it as a meaningful phenomenon.

The factor analysis of the questions dealing directly with the actual neighborhood produced five scales while the factor analysis of the questions dealing directly with the ideal neighborhood produced only one scale. The analysis of these scales and the independent non-loading items produced a wealth of information about neighborhood space. In general the neighborhood was identified as a highly visual phenomenon based upon the prevalence of the sea and the modern and contemporary architecture. The neighborhood identity also exhibited a strong sense of individuality.

While the ideal neighborhood was identified as socially interactive, it was not a critical criterion. The functional aspects of access and proximity were deemed more important features of the ideal neighborhood. The actual neighborhood was perceived as a functional space with a high level of service and access. With both the actual and abstract neighborhood described as functional, respondents agreed that the actual neighborhood matched their ideal. Respondents exhibited high levels of neighborhood satisfaction and a great majority reported that they were in fact attached to place.

The predicative regression model for neighborhood satisfaction and place attachment established eight independent variables as key factors. The perception of the neighborhood as functional entity significantly predict neighborhood satisfaction. Other variables predicting neighborhood satisfaction involved the vertical separation between residential space in relation to the street and public space. Moderate use of automobile predicts neighborhood satisfaction, as does lower income and middle age. And the length of residency significantly predicts place attachment.

As people increasingly move from place to place and exhibit a greater mobility practice throughout life, neighborhood place may perhaps diminish. In this regard Castells' timeless time and the space of flows may diminish the space of place. However, in this particular case study, neighborhood remains as a place

to which people identify. While almost three quarters of respondents perceive the neighborhood as having a sense of community, two thirds do not actively participate in the community. The neighborhood community is then an illusion; it is more abstract than actual. It is in this sense that the space of flows may have subverted the space of place. All the same, the neighborhood place remains as a meaningful phenomenon; it remains as a highly visual individuated space. How does this particular lived space relate to the conceived space and perceived space of Jättåvågen discussed previously? The following chapter presents a discussion in which the three moments in the production of neighborhood space are intertwined into a certain simultaneity.

VIII

THE PRODUCTION OF JÅTTÅVÅGEN

Jåttåvågen is produced through multiple social factors operating on the neighborhood simultaneously. This chapter unites the analytical results reported in the three previous chapters into a comprehensive narrative and discusses the significance of Jåttåvågen in relation to the particulars of Stavanger as well as the generalities of urban design. The first section develops a discussion about the production of neighborhood space by weaving into and out of the perceived-conceived-lived triad. The second section discusses the significance and implications of the research findings in relation to Jåttåvågen in particular and urban design in general.

THE TRIALECTICS OF JÅTTÅVÅGEN

The trialectics of neighborhood space as analyzed in Jåttåvågen are unified in the following section. The discussion begins with the dominant space of societal structure and the representation of space. While the planning of Jåttåvågen preceded the physical development of the area and the development of the lived neighborhood, the ideation and abstraction of Jåttåvågen remains and operates simultaneously with the other moments in the production of neighborhood space. The discussion addresses the spatial practices associated with the development industry and the individual residents and relates these two practices to the conceived space of planning and the lived notion of an everyday neighborhood. The discussion concludes with the social qualities of the lived neighborhood and the relation with the abstract neighborhood and the practiced neighborhood. In each section the production of neighborhood space is referenced in triplicate.

THE ILLUSION OF JÅTTÅVÅGEN

The representation of Jåttåvågen as a development opportunity and as public space is not entirely realized in actuality. While the commercial orientation within the plan was successfully realized, the creation of public space was not. The plan succeeded as an economic space geared towards the accumulation of

private capital investment and the promotion of new industries but failed as a public space. The constructed Jättåvågen is, in many ways, as a corporate space for commercial development and is not a publicly engaging space.

The public space delineated within the master plan was conceived of as a resistive structure that would embody a certain public quality regardless of market circumstances; the landscape network would adapt to the changing nature of the development without compromising the public quality of area. The landscape held a certain public ethos which was not to be entrusted to the market. In this regard, the master plan reflects the concept of landscape urbanism; a concept that promotes the landscape as an adaptive structural matrix juxtaposed to the fixity of architecture and the static quality of urban structure (Waldheim). The landscape represented a means to ensure public space while simultaneously enabling a certain amount of flexibility in regards to the market orientation of the plan and the recruitment of private capital investment. However, the notion that landscape may resist the influence of private development is reductive in reasoning in that it denies the significance of adjacent architecture and its influence on the social quality of public space.

While open space was delineated as public land and separated from private development the relationship between public landscape and private architecture can not be so clearly separated. The private development opportunities adjacent to public space contribute towards the social quality of the open space. A commercial shopping center imparts a different social quality unto adjacent open space when compared to a residential complex. The emphasis placed upon the landscape denies the important relationship between architecture and public space and denies land use as key determinant of the social qualities of public space. Public space requires more than ownership. Vibrant public space is typically coordinated with and structured by adjacent architecture and appropriated by people living the everyday.

The public ethos of the plan is unrealized as an everyday product. While Jättåvågen was structured as a public space oriented towards the grand social spectacle and the humility of everyday life, the public qualities remain less prevalent as an everyday observable social phenomenon. The grand social spectacle has been realized infrequently during football matches or rock concerts but the everyday is less realized as a socially vibrant space.

Much of the socially active everyday spaces represented in the master plan have not been realized in actuality as a physical or social phenomenon. For instance, the central plaza remains unrealized as a pedestrian space and continues to serve as a parking lot. And while the harbor promenade, the canal promenade, and the pier promenade exist as constructed public space, these areas appear as austere concrete spaces devoid of any pedestrian amenity.

While envisioned as a highly connective space, the resultant architecture from the first phase of development fragmented the landscape network. Several key view corridors mentioned within the plan were unrealized in the final built product. The visual connection between the district center and the eastern harbor was obstructed by the first residential building constructed in Jättåvågen. The visual connection between the train station and the central open spaces was obscured by the commercial buildings associated with the stadium complex. The public space in Jättåvågen is not part of a visually connected landscape network, nor is part of a socially interactive space.

The master plan ensured the physical delineation of public space but it neglected the socially performative qualities typically associated with public space. The plan was oriented towards the market more than the social quality of public space. In this regard the conceived space of Jättåvågen is more aligned with the space of flows as an economic entity rather than the space of flows as an actual spatial practice enacted by those living in the area. That said, the market and the space of flows did not solely produce Jättåvågen. The development relied significantly on public expenditure, in that, several major aspects of the first phase of development were publicly financed. The state railway authority contributed towards development of the train station, the regional road authority participated in the traffic reconfiguration of adjacent streets, and the local municipality contributed towards the development of the Jättå School and the stadium. And yet, these spaces in particular do not exude a public quality. These spaces are uncoordinated and disassociated with public space. The representation of Jättåvågen as a socially vibrant public space remains an illusion, unrealized physically and socially. It is not perceived or lived as public space.

THE RHETORICAL LANDSCAPE

The landscape not only represented a means to structure the district and delineate different development opportunities, it also represented a rhetorical technique. The landscape represented within the master plan is perhaps an imaginary landscape manipulated to increase political approval. The plan not only represented the landscape as a dynamic structural system capable of

balancing the private market and public ethos of Jåttåvågen, it also promoted the landscape as a democratic space. The landscape was an expressive medium to which social ideals could be associated but not regulated. Jåttåvågen was represented as a public space for the grand social spectacle and the less eventful everyday life. It was represented as a space for active recreation and quiet reflection. It was represented as a space for ecological restoration and cultural expression. It was represented as a space of sustainability and alternative transportation. Jåttåvågen was represented as an illusionary space in which the ideals of an open market and a socially engaging public space were promoted but not authentically or effectively engaged through planning regulations.

Ultimately Jåttåvågen was planned for and built upon the speculative markets of real estate. It exists as a new contemporary development with an urban aesthetic devoid of ecology or social intersubjectivity. It exists as an isolated and secluded district within Stavanger; it is an exclusive space occupied by a specific segment of society, disassociated from the norm.

THE ACTUALITY OF JÅTTÅVÅGEN

Jåttåvågen is produced as a neighborhood space through the practices conducted by the development industry speculating on urban space and by the individuals dwelling within this constructed space. The collective actions of all the individuals involved in the development process represent the practices structuring the physical structures of the actual neighborhood. This particular practice represents the dominant societal processes of the conceived neighborhood discussed in previous chapters. Conversely, the individual practices of those dwelling within the physically produced space create their own experiences distinguished from the conceived representations of Jåttåvågen. These two practices are discussed below in two sections: one section focuses on the 'structuring structures' of architecture while the other emphasizes the 'daily mobility practices' of those dwelling within the area.

THE STRUCTURING STRUCTURES

The initial phase of development contains arguably some of the most important public spaces for the district: the main entry promenade oriented towards the leaning tower, the district central plaza, the canal promenade, and the waterfront park at Gandsfjord. And yet, as a constructed space the public quality described within the master plan is not realized. Access is one factor informing this under performing quality of public space. The locational strategies within the land use plan is another factor informing this asocial quality.

The physical development of Jättåvågen quite literally structures neighborhood place as a physical entity. The resultant architectural form structures access and determines the spatial relations between each structural element and open space. While the infrastructural transportation components of the first phase of development were intended to improve access and generate public space, they rather ironically diminished the public quality of the area. The train station consists of two austere platforms with no programmatic relationship or direct access to adjacent architecture. The area does not connect with the streets or other adjacent public spaces; it exists as a void, disconnected from adjacent urban space. The area does not exhibit the social or architectural qualities of a vibrant public space associated with public transportation. And while greater use of public transit may increase the social activity in the area, the separation between the station and all adjacencies limits the social performance of the space.

The failure of the train station is in part informed by the traffic improvements to the adjacent streets. While the realignment of local streets improved vehicular access for the district, these efforts also reduced the connectivity between the local streets and Jättåvågen. The reconfiguration of the streets prioritized through-traffic towards the highway rather than local traffic between the adjacent neighborhoods. These improvements created a large undefined space between the district and the adjacent areas, isolated the train station from the street, and reduced the overall accessibility of public transit. Vehicular movement was prioritized over the establishment of a welcoming pedestrian realm and a socially engaging urban atmosphere.

And while the district is accessible by private automobile, the interior space is quite difficult to navigate. Many residents indicated that guests often struggle with limited parking opportunities and then subsequently struggle to find their apartments. Most of the entries for apartment buildings are inconspicuous and difficult to locate. One interviewee regularly picked up visitors and shuttled them back and forth; "If people are coming to visit, I drive to get them, so I know that they will get here" (Interview 7). This behavior is not representative of all residents but it does indicate that the area remains inaccessible to many living outside the area.

The accessibility of individual dwelling units informs the lived neighborhood. Apartments located on the first or second floor exhibit a higher connectivity with the open space when compared to the apartments located above the second

floor. And yet, these apartments with direct access to the open space report less satisfaction with the neighborhood. This finding contrasts with the initial hypothesis which assumed that direct access to public space would increase levels of satisfaction and place attachment; these findings indicate the opposite. The reasons for this lower level of satisfaction are indeterminate.

Respondents living on the first and second floors of row houses, town houses, and single-family detached houses exhibit higher levels of satisfaction in comparison to respondents living on the first and second floors of apartment buildings. And the lower density housing types exhibit higher levels of accessibility while the apartment buildings exhibit lower levels of accessibility. However, building type was not correlated with neighborhood satisfaction or place attachment; only the lower floors of the apartment buildings correlated with lower levels of neighborhood satisfaction. Respondents living above the second floor were more satisfied with the neighborhood. The architectural configuration of the apartment buildings in relationship to the street level may influence the degree to which residents identify with the neighborhood open space.

With limited accessibility at multiple scales the public qualities of the district remain unrealized for both visitors and residents. The public space seems to have been constructed as a visual landscape to be consumed from the private balcony or office but not directly accessed or experienced in the comings and goings of daily life. The shopping center internalizes pedestrian traffic along the promenade and privatizes the social activity. The residential architecture ignores the street and diminishes the connectivity between private residence and public space. When asked about the sense of neighborhood, one interviewee said, "Jättåvågen has not become a part of Gausel or Hinna, it has become its own little ghetto" (interview 4). Jättåvågen remains disconnected from adjacent areas. In practice the district remains inaccessible at multiple scales.

And yet, in this isolated district where almost all functional needs are met and residents are able to locate all basic needs within a small distance from home, there is not a strong sense of community or social interaction. With a strongly defined spatial boundary, the area has not emerged as a strongly defined social space. Perhaps the limited social character of the area is more indicative of daily life and less related to the architectural structure or inaccessibility of the district.

Besides access, the locational strategies within the first phase of development also structured the lived neighborhood; the conceived neighborhood informed the spatial practice of development and the physical development structured

the lived neighborhood. By locating the majority of the residential area more than five hundred meters from the district center, the development isolated residential life from urban life. This location strategy disassociated the residential area from the center. When respondents drew boundaries about their immediate neighborhood, they tended to exclude the district center. The residential area exists as a bedroom community on the periphery of the district.

By locating commercial offices at the street level along the canal promenade the possibility of a socially engaging public space activated by frequent use diminished. Besides the daily commute associated with a typical weekday, the promenade is relatively abandoned and devoid of social activity. Furthermore, the stadium does not promote an active everyday quality that relates to central plaza or promenade. And the high school is relatively inanimate during after-school hours and weekends. The majority of the public space within the district center is actually devoid of any pedestrian presence for the majority of the day. The locational strategies within the plan and the physical development contribute towards this diminished sense of place.

Access and location are key factors determining the social qualities of public space. But the everyday quality of public space is not solely determined by structural configurations alone. Daily life and the actions of those living in place also inform the lived neighborhood.

DAILY MOBILITY PRACTICE

While the structuring structures of architecture and urban development establish all possible movement patterns and inform experience, residents occupy and dwell within these spaces and formulate understandings of place that are based upon their own daily mobility practice, their own comings and goings. In Jättåvågen the lived neighborhood exists as a functional entity primarily oriented towards the procurement of basic needs rather than social interaction. Residents practice an everyday life within the neighborhood that is based on individual functionality and little social interaction with neighbors. Interestingly, residents were not displeased with this low level of social intersubjectivity. On the contrary, they are quite satisfied with it. They are able to live their lives as they feel fit, coming and going as they please. This coming and going, however, is quite different from the intended transit behavior planned for the area.

Residents rely upon the automobile for the great majority of their daily mobility practice, driving here and there as needed. The spatial distribution of their mobility practice is relatively localized, extending no more than ten kilometers

from home on average. Their mobility practice within the neighborhood is characterized as pedestrian and infrequent. Most residents primarily experience neighborhood open space from their private terrace and do not enact some neighborly social act in public space with social others. In general survey respondents felt that their daily mobility practice was not a key determinant limiting any sense of community or inhibiting any participation in the local community. And they were not dissatisfied with the reportedly low social interaction. They were able to practice their daily mobility patterns and live a life as they felt fit.

The degree to which this asocial character is the result of their daily life or the spatial configuration of the actual development is a challenging question. Clearly the development of the lived neighborhood is based upon the everyday behavior of residents but it is also informed by the spatial qualities of the urban fabric.

THE EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE OF JÄTTÅVÅGEN

The investigation of Jättåvågen as a lived space is not oriented towards the general public or towards those who work in the area. The inquiry is limited to those living in the area and as such the research explores the more private aspects of the area compared to the grand public qualities represented within the plan. In general neighborhoods are exclusive areas distinguished from other areas. There is an inside and an outside and they are ever dependent upon one another. The inquiry into neighborhood space is not necessarily an inquiry into public space; it is an investigation of residential space and the social meanings therein.

Much of the thinking behind the concept of neighborhood deals directly with social interaction near to home. Many scholars maintain a belief that social intersubjectivity is a critical ingredient for individual levels of satisfaction and general societal health. For instance, Moser found that:

Residents' relationship with the urban environment depends not only on their urban identification and the characteristics of that environment but also on the way the urban environment facilitates the residents' engagement in interpersonal relationships. Satisfaction and feeling at home in the immediate neighborhood ... depend on the residents' opportunity to engage in both social and intimate relationships. (134)

For Moser, social interaction is an important quality of neighborhood satisfaction and place attachment. However, the high level of neighborhood satisfaction and place attachment measured within Jättåvågen did not reflect a high level of social interaction. Even though respondents reported limited neighborhood sociability they also reported that Jättåvågen was indeed part of community. For them, the residential space held a certain sense of community. This presents an interesting question about the nature of community in general.

McMillan and Chavis established four fundamental qualities for a 'sense of community' to emerge. These qualities include: membership and belonging; influence and control; fulfillment of needs; and shared emotional connection. Firstly, in Jättåvågen, there is a clear sense of membership and belonging. An overwhelming majority expressed a clear attachment to place and identified themselves as members of a community. Secondly, there is a demonstrated sense of influence and control over the environment. Their concerted political actions created new bus routes, changed traffic circulation plans within the area, and altered existing road configurations. Thirdly, there is a high level of satisfaction with the neighborhood. The neighborhood fulfilled the pragmatic everyday needs. Fourthly, there is not shared emotional connection between many in Jättåvågen. The fourth criterion for the sense of community, the shared emotional connection, was not demonstrated. Many respondents agreed that the neighborhood feels as if it is part of a community but with reportedly low levels of social interaction or shared emotional connection the relative strength of that community is questionable.

The sense of community was represented in conflicting ways. On the one hand, respondents felt that the neighborhood was part of a community. And, on the other hand, very few respondents reported significant levels of social interaction. Most respondents were satisfied with the limited level of social interaction in the neighborhood. Furthermore, most respondents felt that there were no reported barriers limiting the creation of new social ties. They were satisfied with the low level of social interaction. When asked about the social quality of the neighborhood one interviewee stated, "I think it (the social quality of the neighborhood) is satisfying, I am not living here to develop a new network, I live here because it suits me for practical reasons." (Interview 6). Residents fulfill their social needs through their social networks beyond the neighborhood. The appropriation of neighborhood space is then based upon the individual rather than social engagement. With a limited level of social intersubjectivity, is it possible for a shared emotional connection to exist within such a dynamic? Is it possible for community persist in such a context?

While the communal quality of the lived neighborhood in Jättåvågen is dubious, the more individual qualities of the lived neighborhood are more certain. The lived neighborhood manifests as a highly visual phenomenon associated with the sea and the architectural style of the development. This particular social space reflects the conceived notion within the plan for the area. The ideation of Jättåvågen as a contemporary development along the shores of Gandsfjord has been appropriated by many dwelling within the area. The production of Jättåvågen as a meaningful phenomenon reflects the physical qualities of the built form rather than social interaction.

The urban architectonic aesthetic of Jättåvågen is not the low density garden villa which permeates through much of the neighborhood planning rhetoric. As an aesthetic, Jättåvågen is not a regional development. It is not inherited from this particular place but rather imported from afar. It is contemporary and distinct from traditional aesthetics associated with neighborhood life in Norwegian culture. Jättåvågen is produced as an image through media and promoted as an urban lifestyle and exemplifies the emergence of a new identity largely created by the space of flows. In this sense, the ideation of Jättåvågen has been produced as a product and consumed by those dwelling in place.

Within the trialectics of neighborhood space, Jättåvågen exists as a conceived space oriented towards the accumulation of capital investment. It is a space largely conceived of and produced by the dominant forces operating on urban space. Municipal planning and development corporations produced a domestic space to be consumed by a post-industrial class. Those dwelling within this constructed space while relatively satisfied with the neighborhood exhibit a limited sense of community or social intersubjectivity. The sense of community remains as a meaningful phenomenon, albeit defined less through social interaction or shared experience. As daily life expands beyond the neighborhood, the space of nearness remains a meaningful phenomenon oriented towards the individual rather than community. The lived neighborhood remains as a meaningful phenomenon based largely upon superficial qualities of the environment, self identity, and the private life of domesticity.

Within the trialectics of neighborhood space Jättåvågen simultaneously exists as illusion, as actuality, and as everyday experience. Within each moment, space is produced and exhibits a different spatial manifestation or quality. The findings from this investigation into the production of neighborhood space present several implications for Jättåvågen in particular and urban design in general. These implications are discussed in the following pages.

SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPLICATIONS

The significance and implications of the research findings are discussed in two sections. The first section focuses on the significance of Jättåvågen as representative of the space of flows and the social fragmentation of Norwegian society. Several urban design configurations and public policy initiatives are presented as possible mitigation measures, as alternative means to bridge physical and cultural disparities produced by the network society. The second section discusses the implications of the research findings in relation to urban design and neighborhood planning in general and presents several research questions in response to the implications.

SIGNIFICANCE OF JÄTTÅVÅGEN

The investigation and subsequent findings about the lived qualities of Jättåvågen are significant in several ways. The findings suggest that the reciprocal nature described by Lefebvre and infused into his theory on the production of space is not evident in Jättåvågen. In fact, the limited sense of community or appropriation of neighborhood space suggests that the space of flows has indeed subverted place.

For Lefebvre the reciprocity within the production of space is an emancipatory process realized only when the lived space informs individual action. When the mundane quality of the everyday is broken people appropriate the dominant societal space through concerted action and alter the conceived space of societal structuralism. The lived qualities become a new spatial paradigm through which people offer new representations of space and transform society through direct action. According to Gardiner, Lefebvre refused to believe in the ideology promoted by the powerful and dominant:

For him, no matter how advanced the 'crisis of representation', or how difficult it is to gain a reflexive awareness of alienation or understand society as a multifaceted totality, neocapitalism continues to generate internal contradictions and crises that erupt in periodic manifestations of social revolt which evinces a desire for a better world, a better way of life. At the heart of this belief is an image of the human subject as an active, creative force that always seeks to transform the conditions of its very existence, to turn one's life into a 'work of art'. In such a project, the transformation of everyday life from a habitualized and degraded 'dead time'

into a space/time ripe with human potential and oriented towards self-realization, occupies a central place in Lefebvre's theoretical universe. (100-101)

Lefebvre believed in the power of agency to challenge the dominant and hegemonic forces operating on urban space. According to the research there is little evidence of a lived neighborhood operating on and significantly altering neighborhood space. In Jättåvågen the notion of appropriation seems less relevant than expropriation. The space of flows expropriated Jättåvågen as a product to be purchased and consumed. How far Jättåvågen represents a 'crisis of representation' is another matter. In Jättåvågen there exist a discordance between private and public life and this conflict may indeed represent a crisis.

The transformative qualities of the lived space as evidenced in Jättåvågen are quite private in that most of the actions taken by the community have privatized rather than publicized the area; the action has not been emancipatory. The residents politically mobilized to improve public transit in the area but they also discouraged the use of Laberget as the main access for the small boat harbor and daycare center. While the reconfiguration of Laberget relies upon the rationality of reduced traffic noise and congestion in the residential area, the suggested reconfiguration of traffic further segregates the area according to private and public and further reduces the public nature of the harbor promenade.

As a community Jättåvågen may be described as a group of property owners institutionally organized to protect their privacy and their investments. And while privatization was not the social transformation for which Lefebvre hoped, the ability of the Jättåvågen community to take action and alter the spatial quality of Jättåvågen reflects the cyclical nature of his theory on space.

The private and exclusive quality of Jättåvågen parallel Castells' depiction of the network society and its implications for social equity and democracy. This particular discussion picks up on the 'crisis of representation' mentioned above. In reference to the disparity between the space of flows and the space of place Castells describes a segregated society in which the network society produces a social class separate from other classes:

The dominant tendency is toward a horizon of networked, ahistorical space of flows, aiming at imposing its logic over scattered, segmented places, increasingly unrelated to each other, less and less able to share cultural codes. (1996, 428)

For Castells the space of flows promotes ahistorical meanings abstracted from place, culture, and time. It is a structural process that reduces the social intersubjectivity of place.

Jåttåvågen in this manner parallels Castells' statement. The neighborhood exists as a product produced by and for the network society; it exists as a socially exclusive and isolated place distinguished from other Norwegian demographies. In this sense, the lived qualities of Jåttåvågen represents the social disparities produced by the network society and the space of flows. In many ways Jåttåvågen represents the emergence of the network society in Norway.

With the dramatic rise in wealth and education over the past forty years, many jobs associated with lower pay and lower levels of education became less desirable. In the past few decades an international labor force has increasingly occupied these jobs. And for the first time in Norwegian history a significant segment of the population is not ethnically Norwegian. In this context Jåttåvågen exists as an informally segregated space, distinguished from other demographies and other socio-economic classes in the region. It is physically and socially distinct.

Without regular public use of the area, Jåttåvågen remains private and exclusive. If the general public does not occupy the space and appropriate it in some meaningful manner, local residents will increasingly territorialize the area as their own and further separate the area. In response to such developments and the dominant processes associated with the space of flows, Castells calls for more regulation by local municipal.

Unless cultural and physical bridges are deliberately built between these two forms of space, we may be heading toward life in parallel universes whose times cannot meet because they are warped into different dimensions of a social hyperspace. (1996, 428)

Castells wishes to create an awareness of such disparities and bridge the socio-cultural differences associated with the space of flows. While Castells does not specify particular ways through which these 'bridges' may develop, the notion necessitates political empowerment of the local and as such is similar to Lefebvre's belief in agency and political engagement at the municipal level.

Without improved everyday access to the area, Jåttåvågen may remain as a private space distinguished from the ethnic and socio-economic norms of Norwegian society in general and Stavanger in particular. Given this situation, what kinds of physical and cultural bridges may be constructed to alleviate physical and cultural isolation of Jåttåvågen? The following section explores these possibilities.

PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL BRIDGES

Certain spatial configurations and social programs may bridge the cultural gaps within Jåttåvågen and the greater surrounding area. Alterations to the existing urban structure and future development plans may bridge the physical and cultural divides evidenced in the area and reduce the emergent disparities in Norwegian society by increasing social intersubjectivity in public space. These recommendations are not intended to create some lost sense of community in the neighborhood but merely activate the public space and make the experience of public space a bit more humane and democratic in nature.

Additional retail opportunities represents one strategy for bridging the cultural isolation of Jåttåvågen. The development of more services within the area may increase the pedestrian quality of the district and bring more people to the area; however, the success of such a scheme is dependent upon people spending money and not necessarily promoting the notion of a free and inclusive public space. Nonetheless, additional services such as a state-run liquor store may increase the retail activity in the area. Cafes, restaurants, and bars may be incorporated into the ground floors along the canal and pier promenades; however, these types of land use prescriptions are challenging in that the requisite economic viability of such ventures is dubious due to limited access of the district and the waterfront in particular. The restaurants along the main promenade have changed frequently as a direct result of economic under performance. As Jåttåvågen continues to be developed more and more services will most assuredly appear in the district. These services should be located in such a way as to build upon and establish a synergy between existing services in the area.

Another private venture such as a kayak rental shop near the planned small boat harbor may further activate public space as well. At the very least a rental outlet represents a more accessible commercial use than the current tenant, Hydrolift – a high-end boat store for the insanely wealthy. One resident expressed feelings about store when saying “we all hope they never get any business and go bust. They just ride their race bikes where people are not supposed to drive” (Interview 3). The store owners usually park their fancy Italian racing motorcycles

in front of the store on the pedestrian promenade. A kayak rental shop or other more accessible use of the waterfront may bring an entirely different population into the area.

And while many small boat harbors in the region maintain waiting lists, the small boat harbors associated with each private residence in Jättåvågen maintain many vacancies. The unused boat slips represent a means to increase the public access for the area. However, based upon previous actions taken by the residential community in Jättåvågen, such strategies will most likely be resisted.

Public programs represents another strategy for bridging the cultural divide in Jättåvågen. If the representations of Jättåvågen as a public space are to be realized additional programmatic elements such as a culture house would help achieve that goal. The addition of a new community garden or swimming hall for the greater public would increase the public quality in the area. The community gardens organized and administered by the local municipal is an example of a local government program that may increase public use of the area. During the summer months these communities gardens bring many people together in public space. All of the existing expanses of lawn in Jättåvågen could easily be converted into vibrant community garden space. The public swimming facilities in Stavanger represent another public program that may increase social vitality in the area. The outdoor swimming pool in Stavanger brings thousands of people together on a regular basis. This pool may be lost when the local highway is expanded. Jättåvågen represents a possible location for a new large public swimming facility. Thousands of people may visit Jättåvågen for a swim along Gandsfjord. A dog park may increase the social interaction within the area and enliven the public space as well. Other public amenities such as restrooms and wash basins for those who fish along the piers may also help increase activity in the area. The inclusion of public barbecue grills or even picnic tables and waste bins may increase the use of open space as well. As it exists today, few people from outside Jättåvågen ever visit the area as a destination.

For Jättåvågen to become a successful public space for the region, it must become a destination to be regularly accessed. There is no central park in Jättåvågen; the central plaza has not been constructed as of yet. There is a great opportunity to create a central neighborhood green space for all people to occupy. If designed as an expansive natural park the central plaza may function as a real social space compared to the grand cultural programs affiliated with the stadium complex. Why not layer the cultural programs atop public space rather

than commercial space? The cultural programs for the district represent a great opportunity to further structure public space. By locating the cultural programs in public space, everyday experiences may be layered atop and vice versa. With such a configuration the space may serve as a public park to be appropriated by everyday life enacted between these large sporadic cultural programs.

The spatial configuration of parking represents one of the physical bridges to increase the social vitality within the Jättåvågen community. While not necessarily bridging the cultural disparities between Jättåvågen and other areas in the region, an increased presence of residents in public space may increase the social vitality of the area and subsequently bring other people to the area. The configuration of parking in the first phase of development negatively impacts the pedestrian quality and social function of public space. Large surface parking lots create a drab scape unbefitting pedestrian space and the fortified parking abutments diminish the public quality of the street. If surface parking is to be constructed, it should be located behind buildings rather than in front and along key public spaces. Surface parking in the front of buildings and along the street creates a landscape similar to an American strip mall.

The parking garages partially submerged beneath the street level create concrete fortifications that limit the accessibility of the apartment building in relation to the street. While alterations to existing parking structures present structural challenges, if not impossibilities, the configuration of parking for the remaining unconstructed portion of Jättåvågen may be improved.

A car sharing program represents another way to bridge the cultural isolation within Jättåvågen. With a correlation established between moderate use of the automobile and a higher level of satisfaction there is an opportunity to introduce a car-sharing program and reduce car dependency, decrease the demand for parking, decrease total area for parking, decrease the cost of parking infrastructure, increase ridership of public transit, and increase overall satisfaction with the neighborhood. However, public transportation must be addressed concurrently and comprehensively for a car-sharing program to succeed. Alternative transportation goals can not be accomplished within a district without a greater contextual integration.

Land use represents another means to mitigate the asocial quality of the public space in Jättåvågen and additional user groups to the area. With a lower level of neighborhood satisfaction associated with the first two floors of apartment

buildings, the lower portions of these fortified buildings may be more appropriately zoned as commercial with retail on the first floor and offices on the second floor. A mixture of commercial and residential land use within each building may increase the social quality of public space within each area. There is also a great potential with such a configuration in that the parking demands for commercial and residential land use are polar opposites; when residents leave in the morning they vacate parking spaces for arriving employees. The separation of land use and the duplicity of parking infrastructure in the first phase of development is inefficient and costly. While the central plaza remains unrealized as a pedestrian space and functions as a surface parking lot, most of the adjacent parking infrastructure remains vacant during most of the day. While the mixture of land use within a building may prove more challenging for the developers and their financial models, the reduction of parking infrastructure represents a significant savings in cost and area. And lastly, much of the parking infrastructure in Jättåvågen was informed by the minimum parking ratio specified within the master plan. If the municipal establishes a maximum parking ratio instead and reduces the number and extent of parking spaces required per dwelling unit or office, there is a significant cost savings to be realized.

These physical and cultural bridges described above are based upon the research findings and presented here as possible means to mitigate the limited use of public space in Jättåvågen and the social disparities between Jättåvågen and the surrounding areas. The social disparities evidenced in Jättåvågen are however representative of socio-economic developments that reach well beyond the immediate space of the neighborhood. These social differences are emblematic of larger societal developments in Norway and the western world. The following section deals with this matter and discusses the implications of the research findings and Jättåvågen.

IMPLICATIONS OF JÄTTÅVÅGEN

The research findings present several implications for urban design and the governance of urban development. These implications are discussed in three sections. The first section addresses the implications for governance and the degree to which local municipals engage in urban development and social justice. The second section discusses the implications for public space and the privatization thereof. And the third section discusses the implications of an expanding daily mobility practice and the diminished social intersubjectivity of neighborhood space in relation to urban design and neighborhood planning.

IMPLICATIONS FOR LOCAL GOVERNANCE

The findings from this particular inquiry into the social structures of neighborhood space implicate the City of Stavanger and the local municipal planning department. In many ways the transformation of Jåttåvågen parallels the societal shift towards a neoliberal paradigm in which government expenditure and participation in comprehensive planning is limited. For the most part, the redevelopment of Jåttåvågen was leveraged on the speculative real estate market and sold to those who could afford top market price. The limited degree of government regulation in this specific project presents several implications for the future of the region.

In the 70s Jåttåvågen was transformed into an industrial innovation center for the benefit of many Norwegians and in the 90s Jåttåvågen was transformed into a post-industrial innovation center for the benefit of many fewer Norwegians. These two transformations of Jåttåvågen mark a drastic change in the degree to which government participates in economic development. Jåttåvågen remains physically isolated and socially fragmented from other parts of society. It exists as a privileged space for the network society. The space exemplifies the rise of neoliberalism in Norway.

The economic growth over the past four decades has created real tangible social distinctions in society that are delineated according to multiple factors, ethnicity being one of them. The relationship between gentrification and segregation in an increasingly heterogeneous society represents one of the challenges for municipal planning in Norway. The real estate market is inflated to such an extent that many people struggle to gain access to the market. The social distinction that characterizes Jåttåvågen indicates the fragmentation of urban space, the 'splintering urbanism' as described by Graham (2002). And while an open market orientation defines much of the economic development strategies for Stavanger, Norway, and the western world in general, the social disparities represented in Jåttåvågen are not resolved through limited government involvement. There is a great need for an empowered and engaged style of governance that stimulates economic development while developing a socially inclusive urban society based upon multiplicities of identities.

With a robust local economy the municipal has an opportunity to engage the private market and procure advantages for other groups in the region. In my opinion, in an increasingly heterogenous culture, segregation and gentrification are the challenges for the local municipality, not economic performance. The

physical and cultural infrastructure within the region will continue to attract industry: the economy will continue to grow synergistically. Social disparities and the production of a socially just space are the challenge.

For the city planner in Stavanger, economic success is the curse of the fortunate. The market in Stavanger is an extreme case of petroleum riches. Even with a powerful labor party the average Norwegian salary is not so average or livable in Stavanger. School teachers, bus operators, and nurses struggle to enter the real estate market. Limited access to home ownership is a problem when the Norwegian welfare system is explicitly modeled on home ownership. The local municipal has an obligation to respond to these circumstances and create more affordable housing opportunities. Many cities integrate affordable housing provisions into each individual development. Urban development areas similar to Jättåvågen represent opportunities for the City to proactively regulate and participate in the housing market and provide opportunities for average citizen while stimulating economic growth in the network society.

An active form of local governance may also aid in the development of an effective and efficient public transportation system. While Jättåvågen was conceived of as an urban district well served by public transportation, it remains a high automotive space. If the local municipality sincerely intended to create Jättåvågen as a transportation oriented development, they failed miserably when they stipulated a minimum parking ratio rather than a maximum. One resident called Kolumbus, the private company contracted by the municipal to manage the public transit system. The interviewee said, "Right after we moved here I called Kolumbus to ask about public transportation, and they told me that I had chosen to live in the wrong place" (Interview 6). Jättåvågen exists as a vehicular space, dislocated from alternative transportation infrastructure. Alternative modes of transportation must be planned comprehensively and the automobile must be regulated in such a way as to discourage its use.

Local governance has an obligation to engage more progressively in the development of socially integrated neighborhoods and public transportation systems. Neoliberalism and the open market will not produce these qualities by themselves.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC SPACE

The public space within Jättåvågen was represented as a socially engaging urban atmosphere largely based on the notion of a commercial services and the commodification of culture. Many prescriptions for public space rely upon commercial services and a mixture of land uses to stimulate an urban street atmosphere. Within this mixed use perspective, public space often performs as a consumptive space largely dependent upon commercial use. But as Francis makes clear, quite often the mixed use development schemes often fail to deliver the 'mixed life' quality that lies at the center of this ideal (2011). As a development scheme, mixed use is a difficult way to achieve social intersubjectivity disassociated with capital. As this particular research indicates, residential life does not produce a social vitality in nearness. Accordingly, the commercial space within a mixed use development creates a consumptive space that is ever dependent upon personal capital rather than some notion of a local community or publicness.

While some scholars debate the authenticity of public space as a historical fiction, there are differences between commercially oriented public space and the public space associated with parks and other such open spaces. The sociability of public space relies upon a non-consumptive quality that is more than land use. The democratic qualities of public space are perhaps irreducible as a land use strategy and more dependent upon programs and supportive public policies.

IMPLICATIONS FOR NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING

Based upon this research, a successful neighborhood is primarily a functional entity containing the necessary services needed in daily life. As the time-space compression enables the proliferation of communities disassociated with the space of nearness, the likelihood of neighborhood community diminishes as an important feature of the neighborhood. Residents are able to structure their own social network and foster a healthy social life independent of the neighborhood. As designers we need not structure the neighborhood as a socially interactive space for residents. But clearly we need not abandon the notion of public space in nearness. Clearly, open space is an important feature of a livable city and the neighborhood.

Jättåvågen raises several interesting questions for urban design and neighborhood planning that may be explored in subsequent research. As everyday life expands beyond the neighborhood how might we as environmental designers and

municipal planners engage the global forces of urban development and configure the physicality of new urban districts? If the neighborhood is not a socially engaging place for local residents, what features or values should designers instill into neighborhood structures? Subsequent research into the nature of contemporary neighborhood space within a Norwegian context represents an opportunity to further refine the understanding of contemporary neighborhood space. There are several urban redevelopment projects within Norway that may illustrate the specific manifestations of the global development within a singular national culture and perhaps verify or refute some of the initial findings contained within this research. There are also numerous urban redevelopment projects throughout Scandinavia, Europe, and North America that may further illustrate the structures of neighborhood space in a trans-cultural context. A comparative case study between multiple redevelopment projects in a national or international scale may further contextualize contemporary neighborhood space as a global phenomenon. Such a study may illustrate particular global dynamics operating on urban space and the possible emergence of a global urban culture associated with the network society. Such a study may document the emergence of a homogeneous culture irregardless of place of culture. It may illustrate the social equivalent to the placelessness described by Relph in the 70s.

Subsequent research into the sense of neighborhood within Jättavågen may further develop an understanding of neighborhood in relation to the length of tenure. The researching findings linking the length of residency to attachment to place presents an interesting temporal aspect of neighborhood identity. As many western cities develop new contemporary residential areas, the attachment to these developments and the development of meaningful attachments to place may depend more upon time than architectural quality.

CONCLUSION

Jättåvågen exemplifies contemporary urban development operating in the space of flows. It was planned as a market space oriented towards the recruitment of private capital. It was developed as a commercial area oriented towards a new economy. It was lived as a highly individuated, functional, and visual phenomenon disassociated with social intersubjectivity in nearness. Within each moment in the production of space, the social qualities of neoliberalism and the network society reign supreme over local place and the creative processes of everyday life. The simultaneity of Jättåvågen as planned, practiced, and lived exemplifies the structural domination of the space of flows.

The recruitment of private capital is an essential function of urban development but it need not negate comprehensive planning and government regulation altogether. In my opinion, any redevelopment scheme that promotes the open market as penultimate and declares government regulation as an impingement on market function is a fiction. The market does not exist without government participation. In Jättåvågen public expenditure funded several key components within the first phase of development that brought the under valued lands into the market. Without government involvement and the expenditure of public funds, the speculation on Jättåvågen would not have been possible. And when public funds are used for the explicit recruitment of private capital, the public benefit from that recruitment must also be explicit and immediate.

Urban design functions as an important intermediary in the development process; as a profession it is situated between the global and local. Through an active engagement and participation in urban development, urban designers may help structure neighborhoods as not only functional spaces for the procurement of daily needs but also socially vibrant spaces for the greater urban community. We need not instill community space into the neighborhood, but rather integrate the neighborhood into the greater urban realm and structure the space of nearness as a dynamic space for the general public. Through the regulation of architecture, accessibility, and transportation urban design may help ensure the successful creation of a neighborhood space that need not exclude other selves.

IX

CONCLUSION

While the time-space compression and daily mobility practice reduce the social quality of the neighborhood, the space near to home remains as an important psychological construct. Even though community as practiced expands beyond the neighborhood and appropriates the greater urban realm as a social space, the notion of home and nearness remain significant.

When we think of home, it encompasses much more than the house or apartment in which we eat and sleep. Home embraces also the neighborhood, and if that fails to nurture and protect us, to express something positive about who we are, it matters little how beautiful or spacious our house is. Like any living being, humans need not only a nest or dwelling, but a whole ecological setting in which they can feel 'at home.' (Cooper Marcus 214)

According to Cooper Marcus we need "not only a nest or dwelling but a whole ecological setting" (214). It is a psychological import to feel 'at home' in some way and in some place. We need a habitat. In the past the notion of neighborhood represented that habitat. With an expansive daily mobility practice the habitat value of the neighborhood remains partially intact. The neighborhood is no longer the place of employment or sociability but it remains the primary place of residence.

As daily life expands beyond the space of nearness, neighborhood space resides somewhere between the polarized concepts of refuge and prospect; it provides refuge from a tumultuous and stressful urban lifestyle but it also provides prospect for a vibrant and dynamic urban lifestyle. As cities remake themselves as more livable and infuse a sense of refuge into the prospect of urban space, perhaps it is time for the neighborhood to finally embrace the city and infuse a greater sense of prospect into the refuge of nearness.

If the social quality of the neighborhood has diminished, we might bring new life into the neighborhood that is not dependent upon the residents themselves. We need not promote some notion of place-based community and attempt to

restore some lost sense of domestic social life. But we need not abandon social life as a design value in the neighborhood or refrain from creating public space in nearness. We need only conceptualize those public spaces as operating within a mobile practice that need not differentiate between home and away. It need not maintain such dualism. People may in fact feel 'at home' while in motion.

The home represents a symbol to which we associate much meaning. It serves as a semi-public space in which we increasingly encounter public media and functions as a semi-private space in which we host social events for our extended communities. The home embodies much symbolic meaning in contemporary society and in many ways supersedes, if not diminishes, the social import of neighborhood space. But as Cooper Marcus writes, the home may not be enough.

The garden may beckon us also, or the wilderness, the ocean, the landscape, wildlife. We must heed that call too, for deep within it, the soul is asking for attention. Home-base and journey, home and away, inside and outside – we all need to experience and embrace this dialectic of life's polarities to be fully ourselves, to be deeply integrated in the rich complexity of who we are meant to be. (281)

Here Cooper Marcus establishes the dualism of home and away as a fundamental experience for self-realization. In so doing, she unites self-realization with the experience of public space. The implication here is that self-realization occurs in public space in the absence of home. Self-realization lies outside of the self in the risky and uncertain world beyond the comfort of home.

The neighborhood as the condition of dwelling in nearness with others remains as true today as it ever has. People continue to dwell in close proximity to one another, if not more than ever before. It remains an everyday universal condition from which each day begins and ends.

We are each and every one of us always / never leaving home. To leave it is to grow through adventure, risk taking, danger, excitement; to return is to find stability and strength at the still center of our being. Leaving home – and returning – is something we do every day and throughout our lives. (281)

Leaving and returning are, in fact, more and more prevalent in contemporary western society. As the adventure of daily life expands across urban space, the

neighborhood continues to exist as a familiar space to which we return. It exists somewhere between home and city: between the familiar and the strange, the sacred and the profane.

And while the neighborhood is not as socially interactive as perhaps it once was, the neighborhood still represents a way of being in the world. It remains a significant way through which individuals identify themselves. And it remains as the first encounter of public space. It is the beginning and end of every day. Neighborhood open space provides meaningful opportunities for engagement with public space, the self, and other selves.

As daily mobility practice appropriates the city as an everyday space perhaps the neighborhood ought to reciprocally appropriate the city; perhaps the neighborhood need not be so bounded and fortified. Perhaps the neighborhood need not maintain the distinction of an inside and an outside. If residents are happy living in a neighborhood with limited social interaction and maintaining social networks throughout the greater urban space, perhaps the neighborhood need not be so preciously guarded.

In my opinion, we need to structure the neighborhood as an urban space that reaches beyond the space of nearness. We need to integrate the neighborhood into urban space, avoid an inward orientation, and celebrate access and connectivity as the new attributes of the contemporary neighborhood. It is through an increased accessibility framework that the neighborhood may remain as a meaningful space.

As Castells asserted forty years ago, urbanity is not defined by the dense spatial configurations alone, nor is urban space solely based upon the cultures dwelling within and emanating from such spatial configurations (1977). Urban space is not exclusively defined as a spatial or cultural phenomenon. Other external forces separate from the spatial or cultural aspects operate on urban space. Castells polemic hypothesis – the domination of place by the space of flows and the network society – is intended to illustrate these external capitalistic structures implicitly operating on urban space through the informational economy. Urban space is structured by the societal processes of capitalism and the space of flows.

In a post-modern society significantly characterized as consumptive, "a profusion of signs replaces agency, and provides a substitute for participation, for a realization of desires within everyday life" (Gardiner 92). The act of consumption transforms a sign as physical thing into a meaning phenomenon removed from

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actuality. In Jättåvågen the neighborhood operates as a sign; it is produced, consumed, and transformed into personal identity. However, this progression from production to consumption to identification is not the emancipatory and reciprocal space described by Lefebvre. It is a subversive process steeped in abstraction.

Every object and product acquires a dual existence, perceptible and make-believe; all that can be consumed becomes a symbol of consumption and the consumer is fed on symbols, symbols of dexterity and wealth, of happiness and of love; sign and significance replace reality, there is vast substitution, a massive transfer, that is nothing but an illusion. (Lefebvre 1984, 108)

Jättåvågen is produced as a perceived space through urban development and consumed as a symbol by those living in place. The neighborhood remains as a place but it is a place that is experienced less as a spatial practice enacted in actuality. It is experienced as more as a mental construct of ideation and identity.

As local place is structured by the real and imagined actions of everyday life, the space of nearness diminishes. With the actions of everyday operating in a space separate from the perceived neighborhood, the lived neighborhood is structured upon ideation rather than action. The lived neighborhood is not appropriated or created through spatial practice, but fabricated through urban development and consumed as a product. The lived neighborhood is not enacted as a spatial practice in a perceived space but rather abstracted in a conceived space. It is an illusion.

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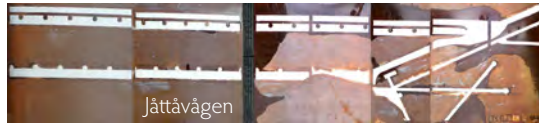
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APPENDICES

- I SURVEY COVER LETTER
- II SURVEY (NORWEGIAN)
- III SURVEY (ENGLISH)



juni 2011

Hva gjør ditt nabolag til et spesielt sted?

Introduksjons- og samtykkebrev

Kjære beboer,

Mitt navn er Lucas Griffith. Jeg er doktorgradsstipendiat i Urban Design og Byutvikling ved Universitetet i Stavanger. I forbindelse med mitt forskningprosjekt angående nåtidens beboelsesutvikling i Jåttåvågen vil jeg invitere deg til å svare på noen spørsmål angående ditt nabolag. Den vedlagte spørreundersøkelsen fokuserer på ulike aspekter ved ditt dagligliv og nabolag. Det tar ca. 30 minutter å besvare spørreskjemaet. Innsendere av fullførte spørreskjema er med i trekningen av en iPad2.

Deltagelse i spørreundersøkelsen er frivillig, og datamaterialet behandles konfidensielt. Navn og kontaktopplysninger knyttes ikke til din desvarelse, og eventuelle indirekte personidentifiserende opplysninger vil fjernes, omskrives eller grovkategoriseres innen prosjektslutt den 30.09.2011. Ingen av de personlige data som innhentes vil bli knyttet til din personlige identitet. Alle innsamlede data vil bli behandlet i henhold til personvernbestemmelsene til de nasjonale Forskningsetiske Komiteer og Norsk Samfunnsvitenskapelig Datatjeneste.

Dersom du vil delta, vennligst signer samtykkeerklæringen under og behold dette brevet selv. Vennligst fyll ut hele spørreskjemaet det ved lagte og returner det i den vedlagte, frankerte konvolutten. Som en påskjønnelse for deltakelse vil en av deltakerne vinne en iPad2. For å delta i loddtrekningen eller fremtidige oppfølgingsintervjuer vennligst fyll ut det vedlagte skjemaet og returner det i den separate frankerte konvolutten. Fristen for innsendelse er 30. juni 2011.

Dersom du har spørsmål angående forskningen eller undersøkelsen kan du kontakte meg eller min doktorgradsveileder; Ib Omland.

(An English version of this letter and survey are available upon request.)

Med vennlig hilsen,

Lucas Griffith
Stipendiat i Urban Design og Byutvikling
e-post: lucas.griffith@uis.no
tlf: 51 83 20 59

Ib Omland
Professor og doktorgradsveileder



din signatur



Lucas Griffith
Stipendiat byutvikling og urban design
Universitetet i Stavanger
Det teknisk-naturvitenskapelige fakultet
Institutt for industriell økonomi, risikostyring og planlegging
4036 Stavanger

juni 2011

iPad2

Loddtrekningen og oppfølgingsintervjuer

For å delta i loddtrekningen eller fremtidige oppfølgingsintervjuer vennligst fyll ut spørsmålene under og returner det i den separate frankerte konvolutt. Fristen for innsendelse er 30. juni 2011.

- Ja, jeg har fylt ut og sendt inn spørreskjemaet.
- Ja, jeg er villig til å delta i fremtidige intervjuer.
- Ja, jeg ønsker å delta trekningen av en iPad2.

Dersom du har merket av i en eller begge av boksene over vennligst, oppgi følgende informasjon.

navn

e-post

eller

tlf.



APPENDIX II

Takk for at du er villig til å delta i forskningsprosjektet. Gjennom denne undersøkelsen vil du bli bedt om å svare på spørsmål samt rangere uttalelser om nabolaget ditt. Husk at du MÅ fullføre hele spørreundersøkelsen for å være med i trekningen av en iPad2.

Noen spørsmål om din **DAGLIGE MOBILITET** ...

01. Dersom du tar hensyn til alle stedene du besøker for dine daglige gjøremål - kontoret ditt, dagligvarebutikken, kaféer, bibliotek, teateret, etc. - hvilke fremkomstmiddel bruker du mest. (marker kategoriene som er relevante og angi en prosentandel for hver kategori som er markert)

	0%	20%	40%	60%	80%	100%
bil	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tog	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
buss	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sykkel	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
til fots	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
annet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

02. Hvor mange kilometer kjører du i gjennomsnitt i løpet av et år? (marker en)

mindre enn 9.999 10.000 – 14.999 15.000 – 19.999 mer enn 20.000

03. Hvor mange ganger reiser du med fly gjennomsnittlig i løpet av et år?

04. Dersom det er relevant for deg, indiker avstanden fra hjemmet ditt til hver av stedene i listen under (marker en boks for hver destinasjon - se stedsnavn på bunnen av siden for referanser angående avstander)

	mindre enn 1 km	1 km – 10 km	10 km – 100 km	100 km – 500 km	mer enn 500 km
arbeidsplass	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
treningssenter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kafé	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
bar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
restaurant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
hytte	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
dagligvarebutikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
skole	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
barnehage	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
venner	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
solsenter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tannlege	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
doktor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
renseri	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
butikk - annet enn dagligvarebutikk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
bank	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
foreldres hjem	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
frisør	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
bakeri	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
apotek	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
annet	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
vennlighet angi	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Hinna
Stavanger Sandnes Sola
Haugesund Sirdalen Egersund
Bergen Kristiansand Oslo

01

05. Dersom relevant - hvilke butikker i Stadionparken benytter du? (marker de relevante alternativene)

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Eureka | <input type="checkbox"/> Meny | <input type="checkbox"/> In Line Frisør |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sunkost | <input type="checkbox"/> Rema 1000 | <input type="checkbox"/> Linus Leker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nille | <input type="checkbox"/> Jærbakeren | <input type="checkbox"/> Mester Grønn |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arena Treningssenter | <input type="checkbox"/> Pasta Pasta | <input type="checkbox"/> MX Sport |
| <input type="checkbox"/> B Young | <input type="checkbox"/> Phad Thai | <input type="checkbox"/> Notabene |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vikingbutikken | <input type="checkbox"/> Brillehuset | <input type="checkbox"/> Vitusapotek |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vesla og Broremann | <input type="checkbox"/> Dyrego | <input type="checkbox"/> annet |

Noen spørsmål angående din tidsbruk i **UTENDØRSOMRÅDENE i NABOLAGET ...**

06. Hvordan bruker du utendørsområdene i nabolaget ditt? (marker de relevante alternativene)

- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> gå tur | <input type="checkbox"/> røyking | <input type="checkbox"/> sosialt samkvem med naboer |
| <input type="checkbox"/> trener | <input type="checkbox"/> soling | <input type="checkbox"/> gå tur med hund |
| <input type="checkbox"/> hagearbeid | <input type="checkbox"/> lek med barn | <input type="checkbox"/> sosialt samkvem venners |
| <input type="checkbox"/> grilling | <input type="checkbox"/> fiskeing | <input type="checkbox"/> vaske bilen |
| <input type="checkbox"/> gå tur med barn | <input type="checkbox"/> handling | <input type="checkbox"/> annet |

07. I gjennomsnitt hvor mye tid bruker du til sammen i ditt nabolags utendørsområder i løpet av en typisk sommeruke? (marker en kategori)

- mindre enn 30 min. 31 – 60 min. 1 – 2 t. 2 – 5 t. mer enn 5 t.

08. I gjennomsnitt hvor mye tid tilbringer du til sammen med naboene dine i løpet av en typisk sommeruke? (marker en kategori)

- mindre enn 30 min. 31 – 60 min. 1 – 2 t. 2 – 5 t. mer enn 5 t.

09. I gjennomsnitt hvor mye tid tilbringer du til sammen på verandaen eller terrassen din i løpet av en typisk sommeruke? (marker en kategori)

- mindre enn 30 min. 31 – 60 min. 1 – 2 t. 2 – 5 t. mer enn 5 t.

Noen spørsmål om **DAGLIGLIVET** ditt ...

10. Indiker i hvor stor grad du er enig eller uenig med hver av påstandene.

(sett en sirkel rundt det korresponderende tallet)

	sterkt uenig	delvis uenig	delvis enig	helt enig
Mine daglige gjøremål utspiller seg i hele byen (Stavanger eller Sandnes).	1	2	3	4
Jeg opplever primært utendørsområdene i nabolaget mitt når jeg er på vei til et annet sted.	1	2	3	4
Jeg opplever primært utendørsområdene i nabolaget mitt fra terrassen, verandaen, eller balkongen.	1	2	3	4
Mitt sosiale nettverk befinner seg utenfor nabolaget mitt.	1	2	3	4
Jeg er ofte spontant sammen med naboene mine i sosialt samkvem som en del av dagliglivet i nabolaget mitt.	1	2	3	4
Jeg deltar aktivt i det sosiale samkvemet i nabolaget mitt.	1	2	3	4

02

Noen spørsmål om ditt **NABOLAG** ...

11. Indiker i hvor stor grad du er enig eller uenig med hver av påstandene.
(sett en sirkel rundt det korresponderende tallet)

	sterkt uenig	delvis uenig	delvis enig	helt enig
Jeg har tilgang til mine daglige servicetjenester i mitt nabolag.	1	2	3	4
Jeg er fornøyd med tjenestetilbudet og handlemulighetene i mitt nabolag.	1	2	3	4
Mitt nabolag er primært et sted å bo.	1	2	3	4
I mitt nabolag er det lett å komme i kontakt med naboene.	1	2	3	4
Mitt nabolag er sikkert og trygt.	1	2	3	4
Mitt nabolag er et godt sted å oppdra barn.	1	2	3	4

12. Velg tre kategorier som motiverte deg til å bosette deg i dette nabolaget? (marker tre)

<input type="checkbox"/> finansiell investering	<input type="checkbox"/> privatliv	<input type="checkbox"/> tilgang til motorveien
<input type="checkbox"/> arkitektonisk estetikk	<input type="checkbox"/> urban livsstil	<input type="checkbox"/> handlemuligheter
<input type="checkbox"/> tilgang til sjøen	<input type="checkbox"/> eksklusivitet	<input type="checkbox"/> følelse av å være et lokalsamfunn
<input type="checkbox"/> utsikt over fjorden	<input type="checkbox"/> tilgang til skoler	<input type="checkbox"/> trygghet og sikkerhet
<input type="checkbox"/> tilgang til kollektivtransport	<input type="checkbox"/> ryddig og ordentlig område	<input type="checkbox"/> tjenester og tilbud i nærområdet
<input type="checkbox"/> arkitektonisk variasjon	<input type="checkbox"/> parker og landskap	<input type="checkbox"/> moderne og nyetablert
<input type="checkbox"/> stillhet og ro	<input type="checkbox"/> enkel tilgang til parkering	<input type="checkbox"/> annet

Noen spørsmål om din forestilling om det **IDEELLE NABOLAG** ...

13. Indiker i hvor stor grad du er enig eller uenig med hver av påstandene.
(sett en sirkel rundt det korresponderende tallet)

	sterkt uenig	delvis uenig	delvis enig	helt enig
Mitt ideelle nabolag følels som om det er en del av et lokalsamfunn.	1	2	3	4
Mitt ideelle nabolag er sosialt inkluderende.	1	2	3	4
Mitt ideelle nabolag inneholder et bredt utvalg av servicetilbud.	1	2	3	4
Mitt ideelle nabolag er mer mer urbant enn landlig.	1	2	3	4
Mitt ideelle nabolag tilsvarer mitt nåværende nabolag.	1	2	3	4
Mitt ideelle nabolag gir ro fra samfunnets stress.	1	2	3	4
Mitt ideelle nabolag er et utmerket sted å oppdra barn.	1	2	3	4

14. Velg fem ord som beskriver ditt ideelle nabolag best. (marker bare fem)

<input type="checkbox"/> komfort	<input type="checkbox"/> husstander	<input type="checkbox"/> privatliv
<input type="checkbox"/> stillhet	<input type="checkbox"/> opplevelser	<input type="checkbox"/> tilfredshet
<input type="checkbox"/> fritid	<input type="checkbox"/> dagligliv	<input type="checkbox"/> funksjonalitet
<input type="checkbox"/> lokalsamfunn	<input type="checkbox"/> behag	<input type="checkbox"/> familie
<input type="checkbox"/> individualitet	<input type="checkbox"/> tradisjon	<input type="checkbox"/> sikkerhet
<input type="checkbox"/> identitet	<input type="checkbox"/> tilgjengelighet	<input type="checkbox"/> lokalitet
<input type="checkbox"/> autentisitet	<input type="checkbox"/> sosial likhet	<input type="checkbox"/> dagligvarer

Noen flere spørsmål angående **NABOLAGET** ditt ...

15. Indiker i hvor stor grad du er enig eller uenig med hver av påstandene.
(sett en sirkel rundt det korresponderende tallet)

	sterkt uenig	delvis uenig	delvis enig	helt enig
Mitt nabolag følels som om det er en del av et lokalsamfunn.	1	2	3	4
Jeg kan være den personen jeg har lyst til å være i nabolaget mitt.	1	2	3	4
Jeg føler at jeg får oppfylt mitt behov for sosial samvær i nabolaget mitt.	1	2	3	4
Nabolaget mitt har en egen identitet.	1	2	3	4
Nabolagets arkitektur passer godt med hvem jeg er som person.	1	2	3	4
Jeg liker den arkitektoniske estetikken til nabolaget mitt.	1	2	3	4
Jeg føler at nabolaget mitt gir meg nok privatliv.	1	2	3	4
Jeg ønsker å bo i nabolaget mitt i mange år fremover.	1	2	3	4
Dersom jeg måtte flytte fra nabolaget mitt i morgen, ville jeg ikke savne det.	1	2	3	4

16. Dersom du måtte flytte fra nabolaget ditt i morgen, hvilke forhold ved det ville du savne og hvilke ville du ikke savne? (velg tre forhold for hver kategori)

savne

i. ii. iii.

ikke savne

i. ii. iii.

17. Hvilke ord ville du brukt for å beskrive atmosfæren i nabolaget ditt og følelsene det framkaller?

i. ii. iii.

18. Har du og naboene dine et navn som dere bruker om nabolaget deres?

Noen spørsmål om **NABOLAGETS UTENDØRSOMRÅDE** ...

19. Indiker i hvor stor grad du er enig eller uenig med hver av påstandene.
(sett en sirkel rundt det korresponderende tallet)

	sterkt uenig	delvis uenig	delvis enig	helt enig
Mine daglige gjøremål begrenser tilhørigheten jeg føler til nabolaget.	1	2	3	4
Mine daglige gjøremål begrenser min deltakelse i lokalsamfunnet.	1	2	3	4
Min forestilling om det ideelle nabolaget er basert på nedarvede kulturelle verdier og tradisjoner.	1	2	3	4
Min forestilling om det ideelle nabolaget er basert på individuelle opplevelser og personlige preferanser.	1	2	3	4
Mine opplevelser fra mitt nabolag har endret mine tanker angående mitt ideelle nabolag.	1	2	3	4
Mine holdninger angående nabolaget mitt er basert på faktiske opplevelser.	1	2	3	4
Mine følelser angående nabolaget mitt er basert på forutinntatte holdninger.	1	2	3	4

04



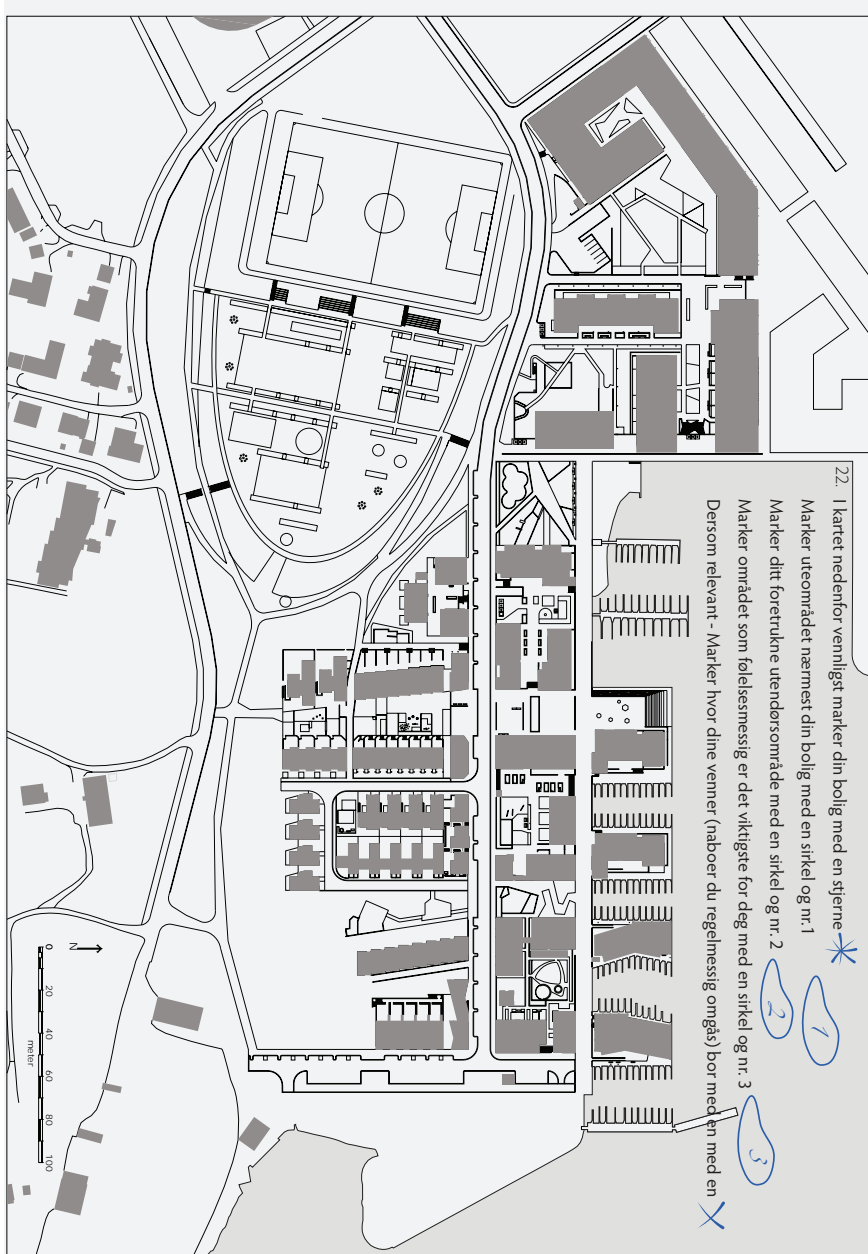
20. I kartet ovenfor; vennligst marker din bolig med en stjerne *

Marker veien du vanligvis bruker når du forlater boligen din med en linje

Marker hva du definerer (opplever) som ditt nabolag med en sirkel

21. Dersom relevant - hvilke butikker/tjenester i området bruker du? (marker de relevante alternativene)

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tannlegene Hetland | <input type="checkbox"/> Jätten skole | <input type="checkbox"/> Bilvask |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hinna Helsesenter | <input type="checkbox"/> Jättå videregående skole | <input type="checkbox"/> Statoil |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hinna Tannlegene | <input type="checkbox"/> Vågedalen barnehage | <input type="checkbox"/> KR Foto |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Posten | <input type="checkbox"/> Delfinen barnehage | <input type="checkbox"/> Flavia Frisør |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Spagetti | <input type="checkbox"/> Boganes barnehage | <input type="checkbox"/> Coop prix |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Shanghai Restaurant | <input type="checkbox"/> Næsheim Auto Senter | <input type="checkbox"/> Sadionparken |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hinna Bistro | <input type="checkbox"/> Kampsport Instituttet | <input type="checkbox"/> Amclal Frisør |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dolly Dimple's | <input type="checkbox"/> Rema 1000 | <input type="checkbox"/> annet |



06

Noen spørsmål angående din **BOLIG** ...

23. Er denne boligen din primærbolig?
 ja nei
24. Eier du boligen?
 ja nei
Hvis "ja", hvilket type eierskap (selveier, borettslag etc)?
25. Har boligen noen av de følgende fasiliteter? (Dersom "ja", marker av de relevante alternativene)
 privat terrasse separat lagringsplass privat hage privat takterrasse
26. I hvilken etasje / hvilke etasjer bor du?
27. Dersom du har en bil - Har du egen parkeringsplass ved boligen?
 ja nei
Dersom "ja", indiker hvilken type parkeringplass.
 innendørs garasje under tak åpen parkeringplass

Noen spørsmål angående din **HUSSTAND** ...

28. Dersom relevant, hvor mange biler innehar husstanden din?
29. Hvor mange personer bor i boligen sammen med deg?
 + 0 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5
30. Dersom relevant - Hvor mange personer i din husstand er barn under 18 år?
31. Hva er den årlige husholdningsinntekten?
 mindre enn 200.000 NOK 400.000 – 499.999 NOK 700.000 – 799.999 NOK
 200.000 – 299.999 NOK 500.000 – 599.999 NOK 800.000 – 999.999 NOK
 300.000 – 399.999 NOK 600.000 – 699.000 NOK mer enn 1.000.000 NOK

Noen spørsmål angående din **PERSONLIGE BAKGRUNN** ...

32. Når flyttet du hit? (mm.åå)
33. Hvor mange boliger har du bodd i lengre enn en måned i løpet av ditt liv?
 2 bo-
liger 3 – 5
boliger 6 – 10
boliger 11 eller flere
boliger

Noen spørsmål angående DEG ...

34. Hva er ditt kjønn?

- mann kvinne

35. Hva er din alder?

36. Er du pensjonert?

- ja nei

37. Hva er din høyeste fullførte utdanning?

- grunnskole/ yrkesskole bachelor/magistergrad mastergrad/hovedfag doktorgrad

38. Hvilken sektor arbeid du i / hvilken kategori faller yrket ditt inn under? (marker de relevante alternativene)

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> utdanning | <input type="checkbox"/> finansielle tjenester | <input type="checkbox"/> administrative yrker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> frivillig arbeid | <input type="checkbox"/> kreative yrker | <input type="checkbox"/> pensjonert |
| <input type="checkbox"/> helsevesenet | <input type="checkbox"/> ledelse | <input type="checkbox"/> offentlig forvaltning |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ingeniør | <input type="checkbox"/> petroleumsindustrien | <input type="checkbox"/> reklamebransjen og markedsføring |
| <input type="checkbox"/> advokat | <input type="checkbox"/> byggeindustrien | <input type="checkbox"/> forskning og utvikling |
| <input type="checkbox"/> frivillig organisasjon | <input type="checkbox"/> varehandel | <input type="checkbox"/> informasjon og kommunikasjonsteknologi |
| <input type="checkbox"/> hjemmeverende | <input type="checkbox"/> transportsektoren | <input type="checkbox"/> annet |

39. Hvor ble du født?

- | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Stavanger | <input type="checkbox"/> Europa | <input type="checkbox"/> Australia |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rogaland | <input type="checkbox"/> Afrika | <input type="checkbox"/> Asia |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Norge | <input type="checkbox"/> Sør Amerika | <input type="checkbox"/> Midtøsten |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Skandinavia | <input type="checkbox"/> Nord Amerika | <input type="checkbox"/> annet |

40. Om mulig, hvordan ville du strukturert den fremtidige utviklingen av Jättåvågen?

41. Ytterligere opplysninger du ønsker å fortelle meg / meddele angående nabolaget ditt?

Tusen takk for hjelpen!

08

Thank you for participating in the research. In the following pages you will be asked to answer questions about your neighborhood. Remember, you MUST complete the entire survey to be eligible to win the free iPad2.

Some questions about your **DAILY MOBILITY** ...

01. If you take into account all the places you visit in your daily life - your office, grocery store, café, etc. - which mean(s) of transport do you use? (mark a percentage box for each relevant means of transport - total percentage for all means of transport not to exceed 100%)

	0%	20%	40%	60%	80%	100%
auto	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
train	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
bus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
cycle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
walk	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

02. On average how many kilometers do you drive in per year? (mark only one box)

less than 9.999 10.000 – 14.999 15.000 – 19.999 more than 20.000

03. On average how many times to you fly per year? (count a roundtrip flight as one)

04. If relevant, indicate the distance from home to each of the services listed below. (mark one box for each service: see the names at the bottom of the page for references regarding distance)

	less than 1 km	1 km – 10 km	10 km – 100 km	100 km – 500 km	more than 500 km
work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
gym	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
café	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
bar	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
restaurant	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
cabin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
grocery store	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
school	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
daycare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tanning center	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
dentist	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
doctor	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
dry cleaners	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
other shops besides grocery	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
bank	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
hair salon	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
bakery	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
pharmacy	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
please describe

Hinna
Stavanger Sandnes Sola
Haugesund Sirdalen Egersund
Bergen Kristiansand Oslo

05. If relevant - which stores in the local shopping center do you use? (mark all relevant boxes)
- | | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Eureka | <input type="checkbox"/> Meny | <input type="checkbox"/> In Line Frisør |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sunkost | <input type="checkbox"/> Rema 1000 | <input type="checkbox"/> Linus Leker |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Nille | <input type="checkbox"/> Jærbakeren | <input type="checkbox"/> Mester Grønn |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Arena Treningscenter | <input type="checkbox"/> Pasta Pasta | <input type="checkbox"/> MX Sport |
| <input type="checkbox"/> B Young | <input type="checkbox"/> Phad Thai | <input type="checkbox"/> Notabene |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vikingbutikken | <input type="checkbox"/> Brillehuset | <input type="checkbox"/> Vitusapotek |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vesla og Broremann | <input type="checkbox"/> Dyrego | <input type="checkbox"/> other |

Some questions about your time spent in **NEIGHBORHOOD OPEN SPACE ...**

06. How do you use your neighborhood open space? (mark all relevant boxes)
- | | | |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> walking | <input type="checkbox"/> smoking | <input type="checkbox"/> socializing with neighbors |
| <input type="checkbox"/> training | <input type="checkbox"/> sun bathing | <input type="checkbox"/> walking the dog |
| <input type="checkbox"/> gardening | <input type="checkbox"/> play grounds | <input type="checkbox"/> socializing with friends |
| <input type="checkbox"/> grilling | <input type="checkbox"/> fishing | <input type="checkbox"/> washing the car |
| <input type="checkbox"/> walking with children | <input type="checkbox"/> shopping | <input type="checkbox"/> other |

07. On average how much time do you spend in total in your neighborhood open space during a typical summer week? (mark only one box)
- less than 30 min. 31 – 60 min. 1 – 2 hrs. 2 – 5 hrs. more than 5 hrs.

08. On average how much time do you spend in total with your neighbors during a typical summer week? (mark only one box)
- less than 30 min. 31 – 60 min. 1 – 2 hrs. 2 – 5 hrs. more than 5 hrs.

09. On average how much time do you spend in total on the terrace or patio during a typical summer week? (mark only one box)
- less than 30 min. 31 – 60 min. 1 – 2 hrs. 2 – 5 hrs. more than 5 hrs.

Some questions about your **DAILY LIFE ...**

10. Indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. (please circle the corresponding number for each statement)
- | | strongly disagree | somewhat disagree | somewhat agree | strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| My daily activities take place throughout the city (Stavanger or Sandnes). | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I primarily experience my neighborhood open space on the move. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I primarily experience my neighborhood open space from my private terrace. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| My social network is beyond my neighborhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I often spontaneously encounter my neighbors in daily life and interact socially in the neighborhood open space. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I actively participate in the social community of the neighborhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

02

Some questions about your **ACTUAL NEIGHBORHOOD ...**

11. Indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.
(please circle the corresponding number for each statement)

	strongly disagree	somewhat disagree	somewhat agree	strongly agree
I have access to local shops and services in the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4
I am satisfied with the services and shopping opportunities in the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4
The neighborhood is primarily a residential place.	1	2	3	4
It is easy to meet neighbors in the neighborhood.	1	2	3	4
The neighborhood is safe and secure.	1	2	3	4
The neighborhood is a good place to raise children.	1	2	3	4

12. Choose three categories that motivated you to settle in this neighborhood? (mark only three boxes)

<input type="checkbox"/> financial investment	<input type="checkbox"/> private life	<input type="checkbox"/> access to the motorway
<input type="checkbox"/> architectural aesthetic	<input type="checkbox"/> urban lifestyle	<input type="checkbox"/> shopping opportunities
<input type="checkbox"/> access to the sea	<input type="checkbox"/> exclusivity	<input type="checkbox"/> community feeling
<input type="checkbox"/> views to the sea	<input type="checkbox"/> access to schools	<input type="checkbox"/> safety and security
<input type="checkbox"/> access to public transportation	<input type="checkbox"/> clean and orderly open space	<input type="checkbox"/> local shops and services
<input type="checkbox"/> architectural variation	<input type="checkbox"/> parks and landscape	<input type="checkbox"/> modern and contemporary standard
<input type="checkbox"/> peace and quiet	<input type="checkbox"/> easy access to parking	<input type="checkbox"/> other

A few questions about your concept of an **IDEAL NEIGHBORHOOD ...**

13. Indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.
(please circle the corresponding number for each statement)

	strongly disagree	somewhat disagree	somewhat agree	strongly agree
My ideal neighborhood is part of a community.	1	2	3	4
My ideal neighborhood is socially interactive.	1	2	3	4
My ideal neighborhood contains a wide range of services.	1	2	3	4
My ideal neighborhood is more urban than rural.	1	2	3	4
My ideal neighborhood matches my current neighborhood.	1	2	3	4
My ideal neighborhood provides refuge from societal stress	1	2	3	4
My ideal neighborhood is an excellent place to for children.	1	2	3	4

14. Choose five words that best describe your ideal neighborhood. (mark only five boxes)

<input type="checkbox"/> comfort	<input type="checkbox"/> household	<input type="checkbox"/> private life
<input type="checkbox"/> quiet	<input type="checkbox"/> adventurous	<input type="checkbox"/> satisfied
<input type="checkbox"/> leisure	<input type="checkbox"/> everyday life	<input type="checkbox"/> functionality
<input type="checkbox"/> communal	<input type="checkbox"/> content	<input type="checkbox"/> family
<input type="checkbox"/> individual	<input type="checkbox"/> traditional	<input type="checkbox"/> security
<input type="checkbox"/> identity	<input type="checkbox"/> accessibility	<input type="checkbox"/> local
<input type="checkbox"/> authentic	<input type="checkbox"/> socially interactive	<input type="checkbox"/> daily act

Some more questions about your **NEIGHBORHOOD ...**

15. Indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.
(please circle the corresponding number for each statement)
- | | strongly disagree | somewhat disagree | somewhat agree | strongly agree |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| My neighborhood feels as if it is part of a community. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I can be the person I want to be in my neighborhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I am happy with the level of social interaction within my neighborhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| My neighborhood has its own identity. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| The neighborhood architecture fits well with who I am as a person. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I am pleased with the architectural aesthetic of my neighborhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I feel that my neighborhood provides me with enough privacy. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| I want to live in my neighborhood for years to come. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| If I had to move from my neighborhood tomorrow morning, I would not miss it. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
16. If you had to move from your neighborhood tomorrow what aspects would you miss and what would you not miss? (list three factors for each category)
- miss
- i. _____ ii. _____ iii. _____
- not miss
- i. _____ ii. _____ iii. _____
17. What words would you use to describe the atmosphere in your neighborhood and the feelings it evokes?
- i. _____ ii. _____ iii. _____
18. Do you and your neighbors have a name for your neighborhood? _____

Some questions about your **NEIGHBORHOOD SPACE ...**

19. Indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.
(please circle the corresponding number for each statement)
- | | strongly disagree | somewhat disagree | somewhat agree | strongly agree |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|----------------|----------------|
| My daily activities limit the sense of belonging I feel in the neighborhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| My daily activities limit my participation in the community. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| My concept for an ideal neighborhood is based on inherited cultural values and traditions. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| My concept for an ideal neighborhood is based on individual experiences and personal preferences. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| My experiences from the neighborhood have changed my concept of an ideal neighborhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| My feelings about the neighborhood are based on actual experiences. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| My feelings about the neighborhood are based on preconceived notions of neighborhood. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |

04



20. In the map above, please mark your home with an asterisk *

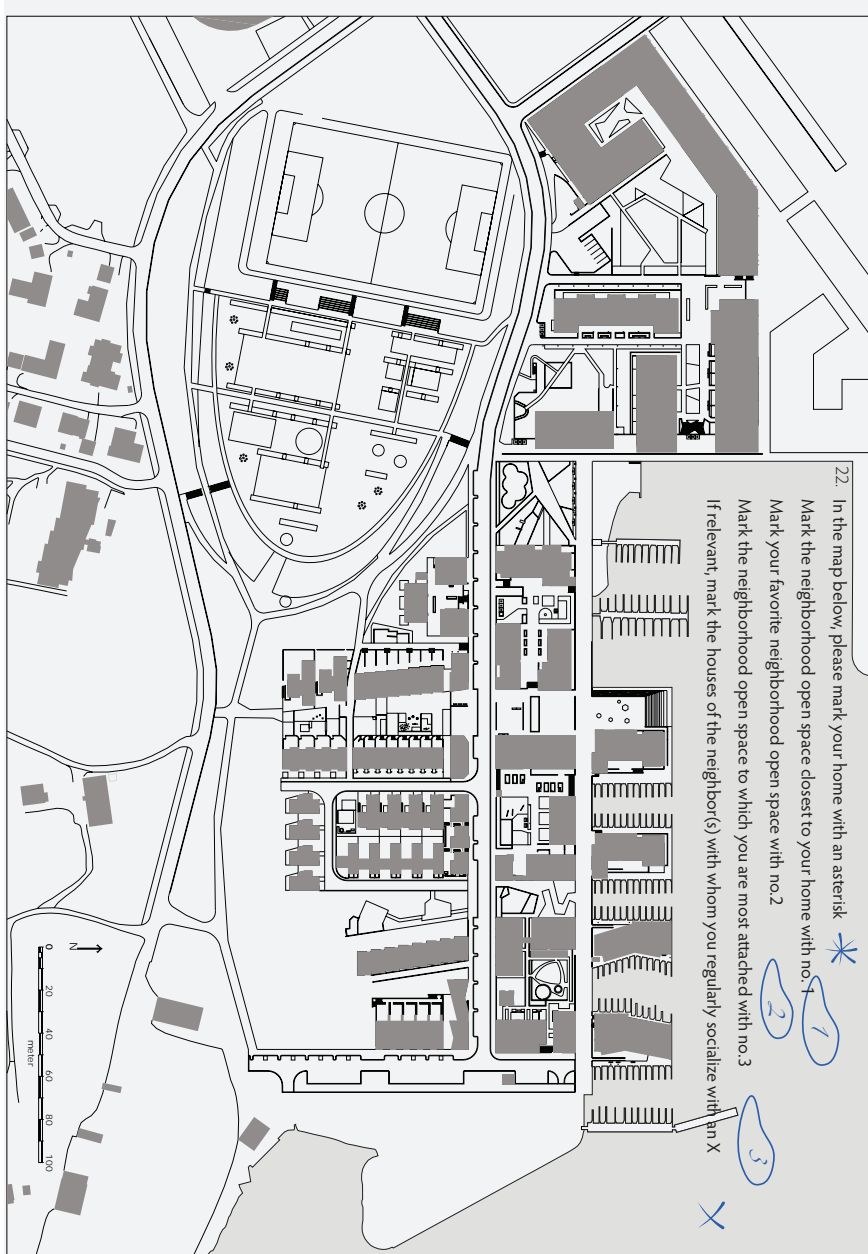
Indicate your primary route to and from your house by drawing a line

Define your neighborhood area by drawing a circle around it



21. If relevant - which shops do you use? (mark all relevant boxes)

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tannlegene Hetland | <input type="checkbox"/> Jätten skole | <input type="checkbox"/> Bilvask |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hinna Helsesenter | <input type="checkbox"/> Jättå videregående skole | <input type="checkbox"/> Statoil |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hinna Tannlegene | <input type="checkbox"/> Vågedalen barnehage | <input type="checkbox"/> KR Foto |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Posten | <input type="checkbox"/> Delfinen barnehage | <input type="checkbox"/> Flavia Frisør |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Spagetti | <input type="checkbox"/> Boganes barnehage | <input type="checkbox"/> Coop prix |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Shanghai Restaurant | <input type="checkbox"/> Næsheim Auto Senter | <input type="checkbox"/> Sadionparken |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hinna Bistro | <input type="checkbox"/> Kampsport Instituttet | <input type="checkbox"/> Amclal Frisør |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Dolly Dimple's | <input type="checkbox"/> Rema 1000 | <input type="checkbox"/> other |



06

Some questions about your **HOUSE** ...

23. Is this your primary residence?
 yes no

24. Do you own the house?
 yes no
 If 'yes', what type of ownership (independent, collective, etc.)

25. Does the property have any of the following facilities? (If 'yes', please mark relevant boxes)
 private terrace separate storage private garden private roof terrace

26. ON which floor(s) do you live?

27. If you have a car - do you have a dedicated parking space?
 yes no
 If 'yes', indicate which type of parking space.
 indoor garage covered outdoor space outdoor space

Some questions about your **HOUSEHOLD** ...

28. If relevant, how many cars are associated with your household?

29. If relevant, how many people live with you?
 + 0 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5

30. If relevant, how many people in your household are under the age of 18?

31. What is the annual household income?
 less than 200.000 NOK 400.000 – 499.999 NOK 700.000 – 799.999 NOK
 200.000 – 299.999 NOK 500.000 – 599.999 NOK 800.000 – 999.999 NOK
 300.000 – 399.999 NOK 600.000 – 699.000 NOK more than 1.000.000 NOK

Some questions about your **PERSONAL BACKGROUND** ...

32. When did you move into the neighborhood? (mm.yy)

33. In how many houses have you had for more than one month?
 2 houses 3 – 5 houses 6 – 10 houses 11 or more houses

Some more questions about **YOU** ...

34. What is your gender?
 male female

35. What is your age?

36. Are you retired?
 yes no

37. What is your highest completed level of education? (mark only one box)
 highschool bachelor master doctorate

38. In which sector do you work /in which category does your occupation fit? (mark all relevant boxes)

<input type="checkbox"/> education	<input type="checkbox"/> financial services	<input type="checkbox"/> administrative
<input type="checkbox"/> volunteerism	<input type="checkbox"/> creative industry	<input type="checkbox"/> retired
<input type="checkbox"/> health care industry	<input type="checkbox"/> management	<input type="checkbox"/> public administration
<input type="checkbox"/> engineering	<input type="checkbox"/> petroleum industry	<input type="checkbox"/> advertising and marketing
<input type="checkbox"/> legal work	<input type="checkbox"/> construction industry	<input type="checkbox"/> research and development
<input type="checkbox"/> non-profit organization	<input type="checkbox"/> merchandising	<input type="checkbox"/> information and communication technology
<input type="checkbox"/> homemaker	<input type="checkbox"/> transportation	<input type="checkbox"/> other

39. Which category best describes your place of birth? (mark only one box)

<input type="checkbox"/> Stavanger	<input type="checkbox"/> Europe	<input type="checkbox"/> Australia
<input type="checkbox"/> Rogaland	<input type="checkbox"/> Africa	<input type="checkbox"/> Asia
<input type="checkbox"/> Norway	<input type="checkbox"/> South Amerika	<input type="checkbox"/> Middle east
<input type="checkbox"/> Scandinavia	<input type="checkbox"/> North Amerika	<input type="checkbox"/> other

40. If possible, how would you improve the future development of Jättavågen?

41. Is there any additional information you would like to share?

Thanks for you help!

