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Discipline and Order:
Hostile architecture in Copenhagen



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ABSTRACT

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Hostile architecture is a tool used to control and regulate behavior, individuals, and groups in public spaces. This research explores the use, purpose, and meaning of hostile architecture in Copenhagen. To explore the phenomenon, I conducted fieldwork and semi-structured interviews. The fieldwork consisted of sensory ethnography within a phenomenological framework of data collection and analysis. The fieldwork was conducted in three locations in Copenhagen: Sundholm in the Amager borough, Hovedbanegården (the central train station), and the Tivoli amusement park. Furthermore, seven semi-structured interviews were conducted with people aged 25 to 35 living in the city. The theoretical framework focused on the concepts of order, as it was understood by Mary Douglas, discipline and governmentality attributed to Michel Foucault, and the process of moralization and moral regulation. The theories were used to enhance the understanding of hostile architecture through social, cultural, and economic contexts. The thesis is comprised of seven chapters that include two separate result chapters. The former is dedicated to the phenomenological description of the field, and the latter to the meaning-making process. The results show that hostile architecture in Copenhagen is widely used along with other spatial control methods and techniques to manipulate space without interfering too much with the designed environment. Hostile architecture is used to restore and maintain social order in public spaces through disciplinary and coercive techniques.

Keywords: Hostile architecture, Copenhagen, Sensory ethnography, Phenomenology, Order, Discipline

Popular Scientific Summary

Think about the last time you sat on a park bench. Was it comfortable? My guess is no, but it offered you a place to sit. The bench might provide an armrest where you could lie your hand. But what if you are tired and just want to take a nap? That is where hostile architecture enters.

Hostile architecture is a design feature in public spaces that targets specific behavior, individuals, or groups. It is used to regain or maintain social order by manipulating the environment. That way, nobody behaves out of the ordinary. It is used in a network of methods aiming to make public spaces appear safe. Hostile architecture sends messages to poor people in the city: you are not welcome here.

In Copenhagen, surveillance, physical security, and symbolic security are combined with buildings and designs to control people and influence their behavior to act according to society's norms. People associated hostile architecture with convenience, homelessness, and positivity. For example, a public bench with an attached table offers them a place to put down their cup of coffee or drink. Examples of hostile architecture can be associated with homelessness; it is hard to ignore when people know the purpose. That is uncomfortable because it affects their routines and how they move around the city. However, hostile architecture can also be interpreted as a positive act. One where authorities use it to encourage homeless people to seek shelter. That act interprets hostile architecture differently to arrange it in such a way that it fits their worldview.

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I want to dedicate this thesis to my grandmother,
Lilja Hulda Auðunsdóttir
I hope I made you proud

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Chapter 1: Introduction

People navigate urban spaces every day of their lives. They go to their place of work, leisure, commerce, or wander through the streets almost aimlessly. Whatever mode of transport they use, they encounter urban design and architecture that shapes and controls their movement throughout the city. These paths become personal routes and shape the experience and view of the city (Hayward, 2004). Architecture and the built structure around us become a vessel through which our physical bodies transport in society and bring individuals in contact with one another. The architecture around us creates a physical order through structures that communicate symbolically through the built environment (Delitz, 2018). It creates a divide between those who have access and the others (Chellew, 2019; Delitz, 2018). Fences and barriers are built to restrict access and create a physical and symbolic divide. With growing social inequality, risk perception has made homeowners retreat into fortified private homes, with high walls, security cameras, and alarm systems surrounding their property to defend themselves against the poor (Raymen, 2016). The increasing individualism has made social interaction in public spaces minimal. Some people defend themselves against disturbance in public space by moving fast through the city to get to their destination, headphones in their ears to isolate themselves from the people around. For some, encountering strangers in public becomes the embodiment of a nuisance, threatening figures that invade their personal space, causing them stress and anxiety. Interaction in public space often becomes passive and fleeting and boils down to performative orders in cafés or supermarkets (Raymen, 2016).

Roland Barthes (1988) claimed that the city itself becomes a language that speaks to people while they navigate and live in it. Individuals give meaning to the messages received from their environment and the experiences interacting with the city (Hayward, 2004). In line with Barthes's ideas, cultural criminology emphasizes the meaning and the meaning-making process. Jeff Ferrell (2013) claims that meaning is the basis of action, a process of everyday life where people try to understand their surrounding environment. People make sense of life by reading symbols from it. However, for many, the meaning of everyday life is constructed from interaction with the mundane, unspectacular, and banal (Ferrell, 2013). Crime prevention in spaces and the environment around us in the cityscape are designed and created in such a way that they often remain hidden from most of the population (Rosenberger, 2020). Behind the methods and techniques of crime prevention are hidden power structures that need to be explored (Ferrell, 1996).

The shift toward neoliberal policy has significantly affected urban- and public spaces (Raymen, 2016). Keith Hayward (2004) argues that public space has been increasingly secured to pave the way for a culture of consumption. The city becomes an accumulation of homogeneous, sterile, and sanitized spaces where incivilities and undesirable persons are prevented from interfering with consumption patterns. Consumption culture creates an environment of exclusion, wherein those who can partake in consumption are accepted while those who cannot are cast aside (Hayward, 2004). Undesirable groups of people and behavior are regulated and controlled for the city to appear clean and safe. Additionally, the globalized market has created a competitive environment between businesses and cities that must now compete against others for residents, consumers, tourists, and investment capital. By utilizing market solutions to public spaces, they become no more than spaces for leisure, consumption, and businesses (Németh & Schmidt, 2007; N. Smith & Walters, 2018).

The idea that public space is open to everyone is contested under current conditions of neoliberal policies. Public space conveys the message that some people are not fit to participate in society and enjoy public spaces. Spatial control is a broad and proactive technique of social control. Designing and regulating space to impede particular behavior or groups of people decreases the need to react to problems that might otherwise arise (Beckett & Herbert, 2008). Instead of improving the systematic internal structure that exists and creates the problem, groups and behavior are regulated and criminalized, and the problem is pushed away to the periphery of society (Petty, 2016). Physical objects designed or retroactively fitted to prevent specific use of space and objects are increasingly found in public spaces. Public and urban space is fortified and controlled by silent agents; designed and applied to control and affect people's behavior, activity, and movement. Scholars have explored physical designs used to assert social control, such as defensive architecture, defensive design, or hostile architecture (Chellew, 2019; Petty, 2016; N. Smith & Walters, 2018). These terms refer to methods of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED) that are used to "guide or restrict behavior in urban space as a form of crime prevention, protection of property, or order maintenance" (Chellew, 2019, p. 21). The design elements can be explicit or implicit by design. Implicit forms of designs provide a normative order through objects because they still provide a useable function. A park bench fitted with armrests to divide the seating area still functions as a bench. These benches are sometimes called 'bum-proof' benches because they remove the option for people to lie down and rest without getting physically hurt (Chellew, 2019; Davis, 2017). Explicit forms provide people with a more visual example of environmental design. For example, metal spikes fitted on grounds to prevent people from sitting or standing at a specific

place show a more explicit purpose of the design (Chellew, 2019; Petty, 2016). Although homelessness is thought to be the main target of such design features in public spaces, other deviant groups and behavior are also targeted—for example, ultraviolet lights in public bathrooms to prevent drug use, soundscape techniques to deter youths from crowding space, and skate stoppers to prevent skaters from damaging public property (Chellew, 2019).

1.1 Research Question

This study is interested in hostile architecture, its use in public and urban spaces, and the meaning people attach to it. The study took place in three different locations in Copenhagen, where I used sensory ethnography, formulated by Sarah Pink (2015) and a phenomenological framework, with eleven hours of observational fieldwork. In addition, I conducted seven semi-structured interviews with residents of Copenhagen. Using these methods, I aim to answer these questions:

- How is spatial control exerted through hostile architecture in Copenhagen?
- How does spatial control in Copenhagen differ between public-, private, and quasi-public spaces?
- How do Copenhagen residents make meaning out of hostile architecture?

The concept of hostile architecture will be further examined and defined in the second chapter dedicated to the previous literature. I will use the term hostile architecture when I reference design capable of physically injuring people who use it differently than intended. However, spatial control refers to the broader notion of design in public space that is used to control and affect behavior without physically hurting those who use it.

1.2 Key Terms: Public, Quasi-Public and Private spaces

It is relevant for this thesis to define the differences between types of spaces. Different spaces produce different interactions between people and the space they occupy. Previous research has indicated that private spaces are more restrictive than other spaces (Chellew, 2019;

Leclercq et al., 2020; N. Smith & Walters, 2018). However, the trend associated with privatization indicates that public space is following in its footsteps and increasingly becoming more regulated (Carmona, 2010; Nissen, 2008). The types of spaces highlighted here are public space, private space, and quasi-public space and their differences. For this thesis, private space will not account for the traditional private sphere, like people's homes.

Smith and Walters (2018) define public space as "...spaces accessible by all without the need to consume ... [to] justify one's presence" (N. Smith & Walters, 2018, p. 2983). The authors admit that such spaces are scarce, for public space has always been contested (N. Smith & Walters, 2018). What often seems like accessible public space is often highly regulated, surveilled, and privately owned (Allen, 2006). It is readily argued that public space is increasingly becoming less for the public due to regulatory practices that consequently exclude behavior, agency, and groups from them. The concept of privatization, in general terms, refers to the increased involvement of private institutions in creating citizen well-being and replacing broader government involvement (Mercille & Murphy, 2016). Leclercq et al. (2020) refer to the concept of privatization as a process and a product. The privatization process refers to cities leveraging public space to neutralize spending cuts in public services while the product is space. Increasingly, public space is operated in cooperation with, or entirely by, private enterprises to develop, manage and service them to create profit (Leclercq et al., 2020).

In urban studies, public space is defined as spaces where people can come together, interact with a diverse crowd, and freely demonstrate political activity (Carmona, 2010; Ruppert, 2006). As a place for interaction, it is thought to cultivate "mutual respect, political solidarity, tolerance, and civil discourse" (Ruppert, 2006, p. 271). People interact with strangers, family, friends, and others in public spaces. The dichotomy of public and private spaces is used to differentiate between affiliated spaces with state-owned and private-market-led ownership (Bondi, 1998). Space is sold and bought like any other commodity on the market (Madanipour, 2003). Thus, to define the difference between public and private space, Nissen (2008) suggests that urban space should not be defined according to ownership (Carmona, 2010; Nissen, 2008). Instead, it is proposed that it should be categorized according to accessibility and its usage to the public. Furthermore, spaces that offer common usage and are open to users without the need for special permission are defined as public spaces. Open access to public space is the basis for the space's characterization as public. In contrast, private space is highly regulated, where people's access and movement are restricted. Private and public spaces are thus defined based on access, agency, and the interest the spaces serve (Nissen, 2008).

The changing nature of urban space has blurred the difference between public and private definitions of space. Therefore, spaces that are opened and accessible to the public but are privately owned have sometimes been termed quasi-public or hybrid spaces. In legal terms, quasi-public spaces are often privately owned properties open to the public, and it can be up to the owner's discretion who can access or be removed or excluded from their property. Property owners do not have to offer a rationale for removing or excluding people since it is their property and within their rights (Button, 2003). It has been claimed that quasi-public spaces of commerce, entertainment, and leisure have replaced the public spaces of earlier times, the town squares, streets, and parks. This type of space has increasingly been the subject of private security policing (Voyce, 2006). Keith Hayward (2012) uses the term 'container space' to describe such spaces. Container spaces refer to spaces designed to keep people out. These spaces are characterized by safety and control within their boundaries while keeping out potential threats. Regulation is conducted through space, where the objective is to create a normalized homogeneous mode of behavior. Container spaces are based on the logic of pre-crime prevention, where space is designed so that it anticipates potential future risk (Hayward, 2012).

1.3 Copenhagen

The study takes place in Denmark's capital, Copenhagen. Denmark and other Scandinavian countries have a tradition of social-democratic government and a robust welfare system. The Danish welfare system is based on high taxation, high government spending, and income equality. Globalization and the establishment of the European Union have removed the territorial borders, enabling labor, commodities, and capital to flow to and from Denmark. That has created some problems for the Danish welfare state. With the decrease in state income, maintaining high welfare standards becomes challenging long-term (Nielsen & Kesting, 2003). Hedegaard (2016) claims that Denmark has slowly shifted from the Nordic- welfare model toward a system of "social-democratic neoliberalism" (Hedegaard, 2016, p. 19).

The city of Copenhagen exhibits dual character of a welfare state and a neoliberal state. Like many other cities, Copenhagen has invested considerably in infrastructure, urban development, culture-and leisure projects to attract middle-class tourists and inhabitants. The competition for people is now global; thus, producing a safe and market-friendly city is an

essential component of the modern cityscape (Roy, 2018). Copenhagen's redevelopment of urban areas and neighborhoods is used as a technique to counter further 'ghettoization' of urban spaces in the city. The redevelopment aims to shape and change the image of disadvantaged areas and offer a more attractive environment for stable middle-class families. These strategies have displaced poor inhabitants that once occupied the areas (Roy, 2018).

It is not only through redevelopment schemes that the city of Copenhagen has regulated and displaced the poor. Examples of the regulatory processes of the poor and criminalization of homelessness in Copenhagen can be found in the 2012 report from the Housing Rights Watch (housingrightswatch.org). The report reviewed laws that punish and criminalize behavior associated with homelessness. According to the report, in Denmark, no criminal code laws explicitly target the homeless, but laws constrain their existence (Latham & Watkins, 2012). The 197th article of the Danish criminal code prohibits individuals from begging if they have received a formal warning from the police. The article states that the warning is legitimate for five years after it has been issued, and a violation of the law can be punishable by up to six months in prison. The law was later amended, and the stipulation that individuals required a prior warning to be punishable no longer applied to begging at supermarkets, on a pedestrian street, in stations, or inside public transport ((Straffeloven, 2021, §197 stk. 2) [article 197 in the Danish penal code])¹. In 2017, the police were given powers to suppress 'insecurity creating camps' in urban and public spaces, and fines for involvement in such camps were set at 1.000 DKK (Project Udenfor, n.d.)². The broad definition of insecurity-creating camps can be applied to homeless people who spend the night sleeping together outside in public places, and that has forced many to sleep alone in hiding (Project Udenfor, n.d.). The rationale for the law was that these camps created conditions for an unsanitary environment, noise, and the public unrest it entails. According to the rationale, these camps could possibly be a source of public disturbance and endanger public safety (Justits Ministeriet, 2020). The following year, a law that enabled the police to enforce zonal bans that could bar individuals from certain municipalities for up to three months on top of fines was introduced. Violation of the zonal ban could result in imprisonment (Project Udenfor, n.d.)³.

¹ Translated from Danish

² Translated from Danish

³ Translated from Danish

1.4 Outline

The thesis comprises seven chapters, including the introduction that poses the research questions, aim, and background information. The second chapter discusses spatial control and utilizes previous literature to define hostile architecture while providing an overview of relevant research. Chapter three is dedicated to methods; I opted for a mix of sensory ethnography with a phenomenological framework and semi-structured interviews. The fieldwork setting and methods used are presented and briefly described; a more detailed description will be in chapter five. Following the section on fieldwork setting, the interview methodology is presented. Semi-structured interviews within a phenomenological framework, looking for meaning-making process attributed to hostile architecture. Furthermore, the sample selection, coding, and themes are described. Lastly, I reflect on researcher bias and ethical considerations.

The fourth chapter concerns the theoretical structure of the thesis. The first section provides an overview of Mary Douglas' (1966) 'matter out of place'. Matter out of place is helpful to our understanding of homelessness as a disorder or a rejected category that has been given a marginal status. Hostile architecture can be understood as a response to such disorder, a way to regain control and impose order. The section on order ends with a brief overview of the concepts of aesthetic order and aesthetic authority.

The second section discusses Michel Foucault's theories on disciplinary society and docile bodies before introducing the concept of governmentality. Discipline's purpose is to punish better and create docile bodies that can be shaped and molded to do a specific thing a certain way. Discipline highlights those it targets through surveillance and the standardization of society. It aims to correct wrong behavior by punishing those who fall short of expectations. Governmentality aims to align the authority's objective with those of individuals. Garland (1997) suggests that "governmentality offers a powerful framework for analyzing how crime is problematized and controlled" (Garland, 1997, p. 174).

Moralization relates to the concept of governmentality, where I draw from Sean Hier's (2008, 2019) definition of moral regulation. Moral regulation encourages internal dialect between managing risk and avoiding harm by reading symbols from the environment. Moreover, space is manipulated in order to encourage self-regulation.

Chapter five and six is dedicated to the results. The fifth chapter offers a detailed description of the fieldwork locations using phenomenological analysis. The chapter is divided

into four sections. The first three focus on each of the locations observed that are described and analyzed concurrently. The last section is a summary of the chapter.

The sixth chapter addresses the process of meaning-making and how people construct meaning from hostile architecture. It comprises four sections, where the three first analyze themes that arose from the interviews and deal with the subject matters of seduction, prevention, and discipline. The last section is a summary.

The seventh and concluding chapter reviews the purpose of the thesis, what I did, and what I found. The chapter ends with a self-critique and the broader impact that space research can add to cultural criminology. Additionally, I have included excerpts from my field notes on the top of a few chapters to give examples of feelings, symbols, and lived experiences from the field in order to bring the reader closer to it. Also, following the references is an appendix including the photographs used in the interviews.

Chapter 2: Previous Literature

By the side of the road is a regular green park bench similar to others found throughout Copenhagen. I sit on the bench with a soda I had bought earlier. The bench is made from two pieces of wood bolted to a steel frame that makes out the seating area of the bench. The back is made from a piece of wood arched horizontally and connected to the iron frame. When I take a seat, two men sit on the book bench across the street, drinking beer and chatting. In the distance, I can hear music. Summer of 69 by Brian Adams is playing on a portable speaker. Since the bench is next to a street, the noise of cars driving past occasionally drowns out the music. In the occasional silence, I can hear birds singing and people chatting. It is sunny and warm; a light breeze occasionally cools me down. It feels like spring is finally coming to fruition.

(Fieldnotes, 12th April 2022)

This chapter discusses previous literature on spatial control and hostile architecture. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section deals with crime prevention through environmental design and previous research on spatial control. Additionally, it discusses problematized groups and the countermeasures taken through the design of the built environment. Research on spatial control has mostly been done within urban and geographic studies by researchers such as Thörn (2011), Smith and Walters (2018), and Chellew (2019). They highlight the methods used to clean cities of perceived disorder in public.

The latter section focuses on hostile architecture and defining the concept. Hostile architecture is defined by other overlapping spatial control methods and James Petty's (2016) definition. Following the definition of hostile architecture, relevant research by Petty (2016) and Davis (2017) is highlighted.

2.1 Spatial Control

The targets of regulatory practices in public spaces are often associated with incivilities. Incivilities comprise a broad category of behavior, such as public nuisance or crimes. When incivilities in public spaces cause fear or distress, they are often constructed as a social problem

that requires a formal response. However, not all spaces are created equal. Some behavior warrants a harsh response to perceived social problems while others do not. Tolerance for incivility is higher in spaces where the nighttime economy looms large, i.e., near bars and nightclubs. Meanwhile, the tolerance level might not be as high in spaces occupied by upper-middle-class residents and in the spaces where they consume. Further, incivilities can shape people's perception of their city. People, for example, avoid spaces they fear and thus incivilities can restrict people's movement in the cityscape (Peršak & Di Ronco, 2018).

One such response to incivilities is called Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED). Timothy Crowe (2000) defines CPTED as "proper design, and effective use of the built environment [that] can lead to a reduction in fear of crime and the incidence of crime, and to an improvement in the quality of life" (Crowe, 2000, p. 1). CPTED creates a space with physical and symbolic obstructions and boundaries. The theory proposes that criminal activity can be curbed because it provides better opportunities for surveillance while it restricts and regulates movement and behavior (Cozens, 2002). In highlighting key components of the modern implementation of CPTED, Paul Cozens (2002) argues that territoriality, natural surveillance, activity support, and access control are essential proponents. Territoriality proposes that the community fosters an attachment to space, views it as their own, and wants to protect it. Natural surveillance manipulates the built environment to reduce criminal activity through, i.e., landscaping and lighting. Activity support promotes activity in spaces that deter future criminal activity. By involving activity and community participation, it increases foot traffic and informal surveillance. Access control controls the flow of people that use and enter space (Cozens, 2002).

Anna Barker (2017) highlights three ways to look at space concerning regulation and calls them preventive exclusion, reassurance policy, and the rights to the city. Preventive exclusion concerns itself with the minimization of risk based on a system of order and security. Its function preemptively reduces crime by excluding individuals, groups, and behavior from spaces. The preventive exclusion does not seek ways to reform individuals nor engage with a general normative order; its purpose is to physically remove people from the premises. Advocates claim that it enhances spaces by being predictable, clean, and safe. Reassurance policing, as discussed by Barker, refers to symbolic methods used to enforce order and safety in public spaces. In spaces where the public perceives a threat, police offer out more foot soldiers to appear to be responding to people's concerns. By sending out signals to the public, they convey that they are in control of order and safety. Barker argues that this mentality has its pitfalls; the message can be 'misunderstood' and read as a symbol of a potential looming

threat. The rights to the city are seen as a fundamental right people have to access space and shape their environment. It is seen as a critical response to the rise of consumerism and spaces of consumption that triumph the rights of democratic space (Barker, 2017).

2.1.1 Research on Spatial Control

Research on urban spatial control conducted in European cities has highlighted their differences from the revanchism associated with their US counterparts. Scholars like Uitermark & Duyvendak (2008) claim that European policies are heading down the same path as in the US, deviating from the established welfare system into workfare and increasingly adopting more zero-tolerance policing. Thörn (2011), Petty (2016), and Bergamaschi et al. (2014) have explored how spatial control has been used in different European cities. Namely, that spatial control and policies in European cities have not directly targeted homelessness; instead, their activity in public and urban spaces makes them collateral damage.

In an article concerning spatial control in Gothenburg, Thörn (2011) refers to the technique as "soft policies of exclusion" (Thörn, 2011, p. 1004). Thörn defines revanchism as policies in urban spaces that target homelessness through regulations and measures in public spaces to effectively criminalize and exclude those groups. In contrast to revanchism, soft policies do not specifically target the homeless population. Thörn argues that soft policies in Gothenburg are done through urban redevelopment. Public space has been reimagined and redesigned to attract middle-class locals, tourists, and investment capital. Adding design to beautify public spaces can control and restrict bodily movement and the flow of people. On an aesthetic and visual level, the redevelopment creates a new order where people are disciplined "not through coercion but rather through seduction" (Thörn, 2011, p. 1004). In discourse, Gothenburg's redeveloped public space was redefined as a public living room where people could relax and be comfortable. Framing public space in a welfarist ethos, especially in the Swedish context, symbolizes the commonality among the inhabitants of Gothenburg. However, by creating a more aesthetically pleasing city landscape, a group of people has been denied access to the 'living room'. Public bathrooms have been removed, surveillance increased, and parks redesigned to prevent groups from making themselves feel too much at home. For Thörn, the softness of the policies requires cooperation between actors and a consensus of order in public and urban spaces. Soft power utilizes a flexible form of control rather than restrictive laws (Thörn, 2011).

Furthermore, Bologna's urban landscape has increasingly adopted privatization models from the US by outsourcing open public space and introducing places of consumption. Bergamaschi et al. (2014) claim that consumer culture and neoliberal policies have prompted the city to counter visible homelessness through zero-tolerance policing and spatial control techniques. For Bergamaschi et al., benches are an excellent example of the control mechanisms used to affect behavior. To fight the "illegal occupation of public space" (Bergamaschi et al., 2014, p. 10) and preserve the clean aesthetics of the city, the government has either redesigned them with 'anti-homeless' benches or removed them. By having benches fitted with armrests, closing them after a specific time, or posting signs that declare that some groups have priority seating, they can be used to control space, time, and usage. They argue that the public bench has become a symbolic representation of the struggle for the city. On one end, people want an orderly, aesthetically pleasing, and safe city, while others want to experience the city free from coercion and engage in diverse interaction with people and spaces (Bergamaschi et al., 2014).

2.2 Defining Hostile Architecture

The terms hostile architecture, dark design, defensive design, defensive architecture, and exclusory design refer to various controlling agents designed in the environment (Chellew, 2019; Rosenberger, 2020; N. Smith & Walters, 2018). For Chellew (2019), the term hostility in hostile architecture is too narrow to encompass design in public space that is used to influence and control behavior. Therefore, Chellew uses the term defensive urban design, which relates to the notion that design prevents a particular function while permitting others. Moreover, it is used to defend and protect public property or space from mischief. In their article, Smith, and Walters (2018) use the concept of defensive architecture. For them, the concept refers to designs that "actively exclude particular categories of person" (N. Smith & Walters, 2018, pp. 2983–2984). They argue that defensive architecture is used in public spaces to discipline individuals in line with consumption patterns. Public space design towards an order confined to consumption is based on the individualized interaction between individuals and the space they navigate. The defensive features thus discipline those thought to disrupt the order of consumption by preventing particular behavior. For Smith and Walters, defensive architecture is a tool to maintain social order in public spaces. Ole B. Jensen (2018) uses the

term dark design. Darkness refers to the hidden power structure behind design features that lead to exclusion. Jensen claims that the main proponent of dark design is to restrict and obstruct movement while simultaneously leading people through predetermined paths. For him, dark design is a declaration of war against the poor and the homeless. In this war, the weapons used are laws, regulations, technology, and design (Jensen, 2018). Although dark design, defensive design, and defensive architecture overlap with hostile architecture in some ways, they do not provide a complete definition of it.

Karl de Fine Licht (2020) defines hostility as a reactive behavior or attitude towards persons, conduct, or things. Hostility is aimed to harm or make negative feelings towards a person, object, or behavior apparent. Hostility can foster feelings of "resentment, contempt, anger and outrage" (de Fine Licht, 2020, p. 4). Furthermore, de Fine Licht argues that public spaces or objects in public can be defined as hostile in cases where they have hostile purposes or hostile tendencies. He illustrates hostile architecture by using an example of spikes that are used to prevent people from sleeping or standing on the spot they are located. For him, these 'anti-homeless spikes' are hostile because they prevent a specific function associated with homelessness and clarify their target. It sends a message of contempt to people seen as nuisance and disruption in public space (de Fine Licht, 2020).

James Petty (2016) also uses the term hostile architecture. Petty defines hostile architecture as "explicitly coercive, violent, and unjustly aimed at those towards the bottom of the socio-political spectrum..." (Petty, 2016, p. 73). For Petty, hostile architecture targets bodies and specific groups for its coercive function (Petty, 2016). Hostile architecture, in comparison to other reactive measures of social control, is always there and aims to eliminate undesirable behavior proactively (Petty, 2016). For others, such as Robert Rosenberger (2020), what is hostile is subjective and a matter of perspective. Because most people are not targeted by design in public spaces and often offer usable functions, people may not view them as hostile (Rosenberger, 2020). In an article published online by The Guardian, Andreou (2015) describes this phenomenon through his experience of urban design in London, faced with sudden homelessness. While looking for shelter in London's public spaces, he noted that "the city's barbed cruelty became clear" and that "urban spaces are aggressively rejecting soft human bodies" (Andreou, 2015).

I propose that hostile architecture is defined as: *Coercive design meant to prevent unwanted behavior, which can potentially injure those it targets.*

2.3 Research on Hostile Architecture

One of the most salient research projects concerning hostile architecture can be found in Mike Davis' (2017) critical account of the militarization of Los Angeles' urban environment (Davis, 2017). Militarization is a concept that refers to the shift within political, economic, and cultural processes that involves the normalization of thought, action, and policy (Graham, 2011). Militarization exerts coercive methods to discipline bodies and places. Stephen Graham (2011) argues that the line between military techniques and urban control is blurring. Techniques used by the military have been commercially modified and penetrated the public sphere. Individuals in cities are constantly under surveillance, and technological advances have made it possible for surveillance systems to span over networks that can be used over time and space. These techniques have become such a mundane part of everyday life that they fall into the background of the city environment (Graham, 2011).

For Davis (2017), Los Angeles declared a securocratic war on the poor by strategically displacing them to the city's margins. Securocratic wars refer to indefinite, vague, and boundaryless wars fought in the name of public safety (Graham, 2011). Securocratic wars create conditions of constant threat in the city that spawns a culture of vigilance, preparedness, and paranoia, where every individual is a potential threat and a potential spy. Pre-crime and pre-criminals are obstructed, apprehended, and controlled through incarceration, criminalization, and spatial control. Those not able or willing to align with neoliberal moral order are demonized and displaced by those willing (Graham, 2011).

Davis (2017) claims that through the concentration of homeless people in Skid Row, Los Angeles' city officials created one of the most dangerous places in America. As a countermeasure, the city responded with increased police presence and added designs to the neighboring areas and parks that prevent the homeless from using them at night. Public benches were retrofitted with armrests, making them 'bum-proof', sprinklers going off randomly at night and public bathrooms closed over the nighttime (Davis, 2017).

James Petty (2016) examined a controversy surrounding metal spikes placed outside an entrance of a London apartment building in 2014 and the reaction that followed in the mainstream - and social media. Petty recounts policy shift towards neoliberalism, criminalization of the homeless (associated behavior), and the aesthetic standard of modern cities that have led to increased securitization of urban and public space in the UK (Petty, 2016). As it is understood by Marc Schuilenburg (2015), securitization applies to the various

methods used by actors to secure the future preemptively. Schuilenburg claims that "[s]ecurity is an ordering concept. We order our lives in the hope of ensuring a safe existence" (Schuilenburg, 2015, p. 9). Multiple parties other than the state have the power to conduct security and work as an extension of the system. Since the state has only a limited number of activities available, it spreads the security responsibility to multiple actors who can handle it differently. Schuilenburg argues that the involved actors have their agency, different habits, interests, and motivations for security (Schuilenburg, 2015).

Public space is made by those who use it and how they use it (Petty, 2016). Increasingly, public space has been used for the interests of consumption, where the meaning and use of space revolves around consumption. Homeless people in public spaces distort the meaning of public space, and behavior associated with homelessness is in opposition to the way public space is intended to be used. Public urinating, rough sleeping, and bringing personal belongings are behaviors associated with the private sphere and home ownership. To push against changing spatial meaning, regulation, design, and other methods are used to maintain the 'right' order and meaning in public space. Representation of homelessness in public spaces can evoke feelings of insecurity, crime, and poverty that go against the image and security cultivated by city actors (Petty, 2016). The crux of Petty's analysis is the reaction to the spikes. Then-mayor of London, Boris Johnson described the spikes as 'ugly' and in opposition to London's aesthetics. Petty argues that Johnson's response to the controversy follows modern cities' focus on aesthetics. To attract investment and tourists, the image of a clean city is more important in public discourse than the rights and welfare of those at the bottom of society. The visual of homelessness in public spaces disrupts the meaning of the spaces they occupy. The spikes neither resolve homelessness nor formally punish it, instead removes them from public space to prevent different spatial meaning from being created. Because the spikes were placed at the symbolic boundary between the private and the public, the spikes offered a symbolic and physical boundary between the housed and homeless. Nevertheless, neither the spikes nor the homeless fit into the aesthetic order created in modern cities. The spikes interfere with the normative order of public space; their explicit nature of violence forces people to think as much about their purpose and homelessness in the landscape (Petty, 2016).

The intensification of neoliberal policies in public space has restricted people's right to occupy space. Hostile architecture is often used in tandem with techniques of CPTED and other policies in public spaces, such as zonal bans or the criminalization of specific behavior (Beckett & Herbert, 2008; Bergamaschi et al., 2014; Petty, 2016). The production and implementation

of defensive and hostile space can come from different actors, such as the state, local municipalities, the private sector, or property owners (Chellew, 2019).

Chapter 3: Methodology

A man approaches: he announces himself by whistling softly, highlighting his hand, as he asks for change. People wave him away or pay him no mind. He comes up to me. I see him coming from the corner of my eye. I am sure I have a coin to give and want to see this unfold. He approached me and whistled softly through his toothless mouth; his front teeth were missing. He starts signaling that he is asking for change. He has a 2-krone coin in his hand. He signals to me that he is hungry by pointing his finger to his mouth and then his stomach, whistling like he is unable to speak or is unable to speak Danish, and that is a basis for his whistling method. Besides lacking front teeth, he does not look stereotypically 'shabby', wearing khaki pants and a jacket and relatively 'clean' looking. I gave him a 20-kroner coin, and he softly said: 'thank you', while his hands showed appreciation by putting them together. He puts the 20dkk in his pocket and keeps walking with the 2-kroner coin in his hand.

(Fieldnotes, 26th April 2022)

This chapter addresses the two main methods used in this research: sensory ethnography and semi-structured interviews. The former method is inspired by de Certeau's (1984) 'experiential dimension', where the city is viewed from the street level, which enables the researcher to feel, experience, and sense the city in an unquantifiable manner (1984, cited in Hayward, 2004, p. 97). The fieldwork consisted of sensory observation following a phenomenological framework at three sites in Copenhagen, that span around eleven hours. They were chosen with characteristics of private-, public- and quasi-public spaces in mind. The field locations are briefly described before discussing interview methods and sampling.

I conducted semi-structured interviews within a phenomenological framework. The sample was convenient and purposeful, with seven Copenhageners between 25 and 35 interviewed. The participants were presented with images to spark ideas about design in public. The chapter ends with a discussion on researcher bias, limitations, and ethical considerations.

3.1 Fieldwork

To examine hostile architecture in different spaces, I have used sensory ethnography as my primary method. Sensory ethnography is built upon the tradition of ethnography and applies the senses as a tool in knowledge creation. Sarah Pink (2015) claims that theories of space and place are intimately linked with the social and physical manifestations of the senses (Pink, 2015). Sensory ethnography thus provides an excellent framework for fieldwork conducted in public space since the meaning of space is constructed through the senses. People experience space through their senses, and while much of what they process comes through visual representation, meaning can also be shaped through touch, smell, and sound. Senses can alter how we feel about public space, and hostile architecture and spatial control methods utilize techniques that target the senses specifically—for example, benches designed to be uncomfortable, too small, cold, or hard. Through the senses, individuals construct a relationship with designs, impacting how people interact with them if they do so (Pink, 2015).

In the book *Doing sensory ethnography*, Sarah Pink provides a framework for the methodology of sensory ethnography that offers the researcher considerable freedom to develop a method based on their own criteria (Pink, 2015). I opted for an observational role. The objective of the fieldwork was to observe space and the interaction between people and space. Observing people in mundane situations seems pointless at times, but once patterns and anomalies emerge, we get a stew going. Associated with sensory ethnography is the phenomenological framework of ethnography. Phenomenological ethnography concerns lived experiences and the ability of the researcher to put themselves in someone else's shoes. The researcher thus attempts to embody their research subject's feelings, senses, and experiences. The benefit of such an approach is that the researcher accesses the research field through the body of its subjects as close to the lived experience (Tutenges, 2022).

I wrote field notes on my cellular telephone during my stay in the field. I included my feelings and emotions in the field notes with autoethnography in mind, which has been defined as an approach to "describe and systematically analyze personal experience in order to understand cultural experience" (Ellis et al., 2011, p. 273). Autoethnography accounts for subjectivity, emotions, and the researcher's influence while conducting research. Some scholars have argued that the inclusion of the researcher's feelings in fieldnotes can be beneficial because they can assist in reflecting the emotions of other people in the field, which can lead to new data and for the researcher to explore their own bias and subjectivity (Emerson et al.,

2022). I wrote from the field with reference to Clifford Geertz's (1973) 'thick descriptions'. Thick descriptions consist of an ethnographic writing style that differs from the picturesque observation of any given moment. To describe something thickly requires the researcher to describe and interpret the meaning behind social action in context (Geertz, 1973). I positioned myself as an active research tool in data collection by utilizing sensory ethnography with influences from phenomenology, autoethnography and thick description (Emerson et al., 2022; Geertz, 1973; Pink, 2015; Tutenges, 2022).

The field notes were written on-site during the fieldwork period and transcribed at the first chance in front of the computer. The field notes were coded to focus on the themes of spatial control techniques, people's interaction with space, and sensory perception provided by the environment. The theme of spatial control techniques involved hostile architecture and other design features that influence behavior in spaces. These can include CCTV cameras, the absence of bathrooms, seating options, etc. Interaction with space regards observation of how people interact with space and hostile architecture in particular. That includes social interaction between people and how people interact with different types of design and environments. The sensory theme includes environmental stimuli, such as sound, touch, smell, etc. It also involves the emotions and feelings sensed by the researcher in each setting.

3.2 Fieldwork Setting

The fieldwork was conducted in Sundholm, Hovedbanegården, and Tivoli Gardens, all located in Copenhagen (see Figure 1). Each setting for the fieldwork was chosen with three components in mind. First, the presence of hostile architecture was a prerequisite. Secondly, each location had to have the characteristics of public-, quasi-public- and private spaces. Third, the location had to be suitable for observation. Each setting provided an example of hostile architecture and other spatial control mechanisms on site. Hostile architecture at Sundholm and in the Hovedbanegården station is demonstrated through the use of public benches that have been retrofitted with physical dividers that prevent people from lying down. The hostile architecture design at the Tivoli grounds can be found in spikes that are a part of the walls and fences surrounding the premises. The fieldwork varied in length between spaces; accumulative time spent in the field was around 11 hours. Pink (2015) argues that the limited time often afforded to researchers and subjects in the field does not equate to a short-cut version of

ethnography because it still involves human contact in the context of their activity (Pink, 2015). The subchapters provide an overview description of the fieldwork locations, while in the result chapter, they are described in more detail and thickly.

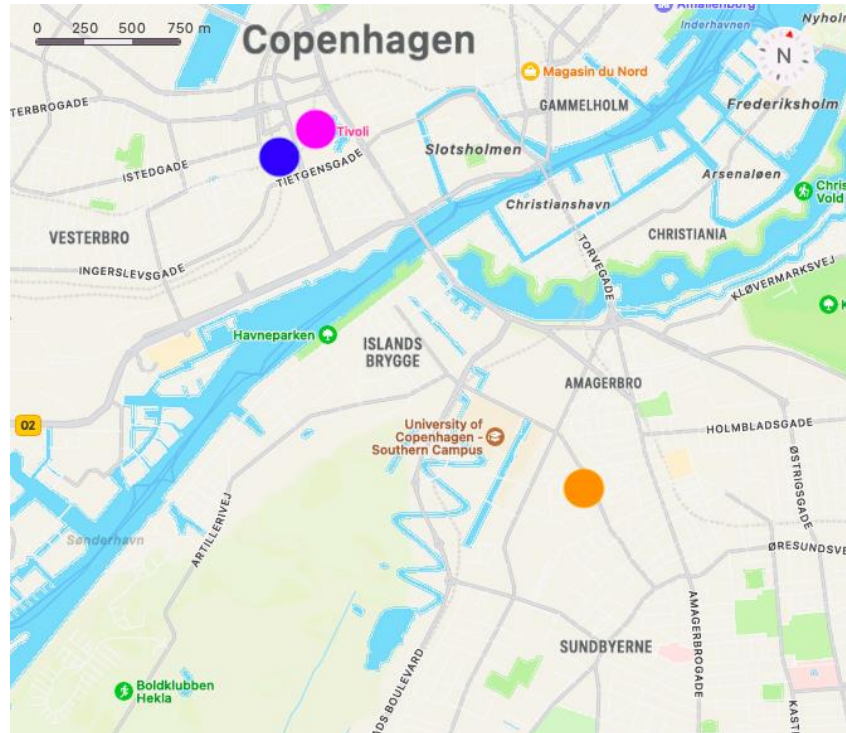


Figure 1: Fieldwork locations are represented by dots on the map, Sundholm is orange, Hovedbanegården is blue, and Tivoli pink (Apple, n.d).

3.2.1 Public space

Following Nissen's (2008) definition, public space is accessible to all and offers usage to the general public. Similarly, Smith and Walters (2018) define public space as accessible without the requirement to consume. A bench on Sundholmsvej matches that description. For this thesis, I have dubbed the bench in front of Sundholm the 'book-bench'. The book-bench is situated by the sidewalk of Sundholmsvej in the Amager borough in Copenhagen. The bench is up against the wall of a guardhouse with a tunnel for people to enter and exit the Sundholm district. The book bench is a green park bench with handrails on each side. A metallic sculpture resembling a stack of books is placed on two-thirds of the seating area. The stack, firmly attached to the bench, eliminates the ability for individuals to lay down on them without getting

physically injured. It can be interpreted as an art sculpture meant to spruce up the environment, but it presents an example of implicit hostile architecture (Chellew, 2019).

The primary focus of the observation was to observe the space where the book-bench is located and people's interaction with it, both its users and people passing by. The observations were made from a bench across the street from the book-bench that provided a direct overview over the bench and the tunnel to the Sundholm district. One session was done on the book-bench to get a feel and tangible experience. The observation was carried out on different days spread over two weeks, at different times of the day that ranged from noon to early afternoon. To respect the privacy of the vulnerable groups who occupy the site and the neighboring area, the fieldwork was conducted in short spurts or 15-30 minutes at a time—the total amount of time spent in the public setting accumulated to 1 hour and 55 minutes.

3.2.2 Quasi-Public Space

Quasi-Public space is defined as a hybrid of public- and private space. It is accessible to anyone, but it is more regulated than public space and more accessible than private space. It is thus a bridge between public and private space and is often characterized as a place of commerce, such as shopping malls (Button, 2003; Nissen, 2008; Voyce, 2006). The fieldwork was conducted at the central train station, Hovedbanegården in Copenhagen. Hovedbanegården provides this hybrid form of space, a physically confined space, accessible and made for public transport. It is open to the public and is a place where people can eat and drink, resembling a shopping mall. Its physical structure and place of consumption provide an excellent 'laboratory' condition for observing quasi-public space. The benches available to people strolling through the station are fitted with armrests to create a separation between people. As with the book-bench, the armrests form an implicit type of hostile architecture (Chellew, 2019). The bench is a flat piece of wood attached to the walls on each side of the building. Two armrests made from steel painted dark grey separate the seating area of the bench into three, suitable for one or two people per 'slot'.

The station is bristling with life during peak hours, with people walking fast to and from platforms. Inside the station is a police station and additional private security guards can be spotted patrolling the station. The observation in Hovedbanegården was done over various lengths, varying from 45 minutes to 90 minutes, during different days and at different times. The observation was done from multiple vantage points at the entrance hall, depending on the

availability of seating in the station at the time of the fieldwork. Most time was spent at the entrance hall on public benches, while some time was afforded to sit at the train platforms under the station. The accumulated time spent at the Hovedbanegården station was around six hours.

3.2.3 Private Space

In opposition to the definition of public space is private space. In private spaces, access is controlled and thus limited to only some (Nissen, 2008). Furthermore, it is privately owned, highly regulated, and exclusionary (Carmona, 2010; Nissen, 2008). One must purchase an entry ticket to gain access to the Tivoli Gardens. The entrance is guarded by gates and security guards working for the Tivoli. Amusement parks are primarily places of consumption built to keep people in. High walls surround the Tivoli Garden. Walking around the walls from the outside, one can observe metal spikes fitted on top of the concrete walls that have the potential to harm anyone who tries to climb over the top. On top of the wall are mounted security cameras facing outside the garden (Figure 2).



Figure 2: The wall surrounding Tivoli, security camera and steel bars attached (photo taken by the author).

The fieldwork in the Tivoli was conducted in a single day. A continuous three-hour session on a warm Wednesday in April 2022 from noon till 15:00. The observation fieldwork was done from a few different areas inside the garden and through walkabouts inside and outside the Tivoli Garden. The Tivoli offers plenty of seating inside the garden, and I had to situate myself in areas where people gather and stroll by. Hostile architecture is most prominent on the wall surrounding it, creating boundaries between the garden and the outside. Inside the garden, I mostly observed spatial control mechanisms, sensory experience, and the interaction between people and space.

3.3 Interviews

In order to understand how people create meaning out of spatial control and hostile architecture, I conducted interviews in addition to my ethnographic fieldwork. The interviews were conducted after the observation had been completed. Interviews are a vital method in qualitative research to understand how people create meaning, their beliefs, and opinions (Roulston & Halpin, 2022). The interviews were conducted with a phenomenological framework. Phenomenology concerns the lived experiences of its respondents and subjects (Tutenges, 2022). From the experiences of bodies and minds to putting words on paper, the phenomenological approach is equipped with exploring the meaning people make out of their environment and how people understand hostile architecture and create meaning from it. Phenomenological research requires interviewing participants familiar with or have experienced the phenomenon (Meyer & Mayrhofer, 2022). Finding participants for interviews that can give answers relating to hostile architecture is thus of great importance. Spatial control and hostile architecture are a phenomenon found all over the city landscape. All people inhabiting cities have experienced at least its implicit form of design through the normative order it presents (Chellew, 2019), the uncomfortable bus bench, the lean bar at metro stations, the lack of public bathroom amenities, etc. However, as Robert Rosenberger (2020) noted, hostility is subjective to individuals. As most people are not the intended targets of hostile architecture, people often do not recognize the hostility involved in designs (Rosenberger, 2020).

3.3.1 Participants

Since the research applies to a relatively broad phenomenon, the criteria for participation were set at familiarity with the environment in Copenhagen (having lived there longer than five years). The sample was purposeful, with the criteria: housed Copenhageners, familiar with the city, and willing to participate. A mix of convenience and purposeful sampling was used to recruit participants for my research. A convenience sample is often applied to gain access to respondents willing to partake in interviews (Meyer & Mayrhofer, 2022). I started the sampling process by contacting people in my network and later asked the respondents to recommend potential interviewees willing to participate. The sample consisted of seven individuals living in Copenhagen. Two male and five female participants were interviewed. The interviewees have been given pseudonyms to ensure anonymity. They were all Danish and between the ages of 25 and 35. The respondents were current students studying at a graduate level and had a previous undergraduate degree. All were Copenhagen residents, familiar with the city after having lived there for at least five years. Prior to the interview, the respondents gave their informed verbal consent. Interviews have traditionally been conducted face-to-face, but with technological advances, the use of video interviews has been embraced by scholars as an alternative that is not bound by spatial restrictions (Roulston & Halpin, 2022). Two interviews were conducted remotely on a video call by request; the others were conducted at various cafés in Copenhagen. The interviews lasted between 25 to 50 minutes. The shortest interview was conducted over a video call.

The interviews were semi-structured and varied in topics. During the interviews, my respondents were asked questions about public space and their ideas related to such spaces, how they feel in public spaces, and what they like and dislike about the public spaces in Copenhagen. Around the midpoint of the interview, my respondents were shown a series of images of designs found in Copenhagen (see Appendix) that I either got from the internet or took photos of myself. It is generally challenging to describe hostile architecture in words or through dialect; thus, I used images of hostile architecture in Copenhagen that my respondents could be familiar with or unfamiliar with. Using photos as a visual medium can create collective knowledge between the researcher and interviewee. Additionally, it allows the researcher to compare their interpretation to their respondents. Photos allow people to interpret the meaning attached to an object (Pink, 2015). A total of ten images were stored on a tablet computer and shown to the participants in person. They could handle the tablet and manipulate the image by zooming in on unclear features. During the video call interviews, I showed my

respondents the same images in the same chronological order through the magic of screen sharing. Unlike those I met in person, the interviewees on video calls could not manipulate the images, only observe them. The last section of the interview guide was related to safety and feelings of security in public spaces and around groups of people that cause some discomfort, such as homeless, drug users, and visibly drunk people. The interview guide was devised as a means to understand my respondent's meaning making process, feelings and experiences through the navigation of their city.

3.3.2 Data analysis

Before the interview, the participants were informed about ethical guidelines and gave their verbal informed consent. After being given consent from the participants, the interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim via a third-party application (otter.ai). The interviews were conducted in English, which is neither mine nor those interviewed native language. However, the application proved relatively accurate, but to ensure the quality of the transcripts, the recordings were relistened to guarantee the accuracy of the transcript and correct what had been misinterpreted by the application.

The interviews were read entirely, trying to find similarities and differences in the interview transcripts. They were then coded manually 'in vivo', using verbatim words or phrases as codes (Saldaña, 2014). The in vivo codes were then recoded and categorized into themes. From the recording emerged two main themes: seduction and purpose. The theme of seduction deals with statements that describe alternative functions and aesthetics of designs shown to the participants. It describes how the designs look and fit into the interviewee's environment. For example, how a bench in a busy station with an armrest enables strangers to sit next to each other more easily. The theme of purpose explores statements made about the possible purpose of designs, namely prevention and discipline, whether to prevent people from using them wrong or to encourage them to seek assistance through shelters.

3.4 Researcher bias and limitation

As a researcher and a tool for data collection, I must note some of the biases ascribed to me. As an outsider in Danish society and not familiar with the ins and outs of Copenhagen, I was familiar with the fieldwork locations prior to the selection. At the locations, I often felt out of place due to my lack of Danish skills. Spending time on a bench in Hovedbanegården for an hour became tedious, and I felt I had to justify my stay there. Perhaps I was influenced by Smith and Walter's (2018) definition of public space and its 'requirement to consume' statement. Nevertheless, to pacify my feelings, I bought a coffee or water from one of the establishments on site.

The sensory experiences were mainly based on my senses. However, as a tall male, I could be more or less comfortable sitting where others might experience other sensations in the same situation. Observation bias is always a potential in ethnographic research that the researcher's subjectivity clouds their judgment and distorts their data (Gold, 1997). To counter the possible problem of observation bias, I have described the scene through autoethnographic and phenomenological account, where I, as a researcher, put myself in the shoes of others, trying to feel and experience what others do.

As a male interviewer, I felt my respondents were more comfortable if they were male; their answers were generally more detailed, and the interview more flowing. Also, I found that interviews in person were generally more relaxed and felt more natural. Over video calls, my interviews became more strained; the interaction between researcher and interviewee sometimes felt more like a question-and-answer session than an interview. There are some possible reasons for that, the impersonal context of the setting, delay in the application, and audio quality. In comparison, in-person interviews are in a more personal setting, as well as it requires interviewees to arrange their time differently and expand the timeframe for an interview.

There are some limitations to the interview method. Researchers must be aware that interviewees are people, and they tend to forget, lie, or say what the researcher wants to hear (Roulston & Halpin, 2022). The interview was structured to ask general questions about public space and how people construct the meaning of public space. Although the images and the questions provided valuable data, I sometimes felt that the respondents told me what they thought I wanted to hear. On two occasions, I was asked what I thought a specific design was for or whether they answered the question right. However, the interview is also limited by the

quality of the researcher and the questions asked, which can be due to misunderstanding, leading questions, or confusing questions (Roulston & Halpin, 2022). I may have done so when I asked people how they would define and describe public space. It created confusion as I explained that I was looking for their interpretation and meaning rather than an academic definition.

3.5 Ethics discussion

The fieldwork focused on space and interaction between people, space, and design. Sensory ethnography and phenomenological ethnography allowed me to write a thick description of the field, where I could interpret movement and interaction between these components in the context of their daily lives.

It is essential to reflect on the fieldwork to ensure that ethical guidelines and standards were met in relation to my fieldwork. In my fieldwork locations, I conducted observations without disclosing my position as a researcher. As my fieldwork was primarily focused on space, I do not consider it 'covert'. Covert research refers to research that is undisclosed to its subjects and participants. Covert research is often considered ethically unreasonable and illegitimate (Spicker, 2011). Paul Spicker (2011) argues that different rules apply to the public arena than in private spheres. In public, people are aware that their action and behavior is observable by others situated in the same space. The byproduct of observing space is to observe the interaction between people and the space they navigate (Spicker, 2011). I mostly refrain from describing the characteristics of individuals observed in these spaces to comply with ethical guidelines. In other places, like Sundholm, where there is a school, kindergarten, and homeless people, I opted for shorter fieldwork stints. In research concerning vulnerable groups, it is important not to exacerbate further their vulnerability and harm (Aldridge, 2014). I have not described the individuals observed in the area to respect their privacy.

The interviewees I met in person were offered a cup of coffee to participate; some accepted while others did not and bought their own. Paying participants is often used to incentivize people to take part in the research. Sometimes it can cause an imbalance in the power relation between interviewer and interviewee, where the interviewee feels in debt (Head, 2009). I don't believe that was the case, because the coffee cup was a symbolic offer of gratefulness for participation, not as an inducement.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

The first thing I notice is the Tivoli guards. They look like police officers; they wear a uniform, a copper cap on their heads, radios on their hips wired to their ears. As I sit there, I see a person washing one of the benches, scrubbing it down with water, soap, and a broom. On my other side, I spot a man walking towards the edge of Tivoli Park, in a jacket marked the Tivoli carrying a transparent plastic bag in each hand filled with rags. Cleaning duty must be over because I see one person coming after another wearing Tivoli gear, carrying bags filled with rags. I feel like I am in Willy Wonka's factory and have uncovered the park's mystery. I just saw the people who ensure that the Tivoli Garden is clean and well maintained. One by one, they made their way down a pathway, and once they were out of sight, I did not see them again for the remainder of the day.

(Fieldnotes, 20th April 2022)

Hostile architecture cannot be viewed in isolation to be understood. Robert Rosenberger (2020) claims it must be viewed within a broader social, cultural, and political context. The theoretical framework is divided into two main sections and then related subsections. The first section concerns Mary Douglas' (1966) 'matter out of place'; ideas about order and anomalies that provide a framework for further data analysis. Our system of classification is observable through the existence of disorder that challenges the system of order. I present Douglas' ways to deal with anomalies and ambiguities. The subsection is dedicated to aesthetics and order.

The second section is dedicated to two concepts attributed to Michel Foucault, discipline and governmentality. Discipline objectifies and highlights those it targets, and it focuses on the process of rehabilitation of defects to create a homogenous, normalized public. Discipline is further instilled and trained by creating docile bodies that do a specific function a certain way. The section on governmentality addresses Foucault's concept and subsequent literature that has built upon it. The process of governmentality aims to align the authority's objective with individual objectives. Individuals are thought to be subjects, making their own decisions, while they are encouraged to be responsible and actively participate in crime prevention. Its subsection discusses the process of moral regulation and moralization. Moral regulation as the internal process associated with neoliberal morality of managing risk and avoiding harm.

4.1 Order

4.1.1 Dirt and Matter out of Place

In Mary Douglas' (1966) seminal work, *Purity and Danger*, she explores social and cultural systems through the concept of dirt. Dirt is a matter of rejected category because it does not fit into our preconceived notion of classification, demonstrated in the conceptualization of "dirt as a matter out of place" (Douglas, 1966, p. 36). Coming from a structuralist perspective and as a disciple of the Durkheimian strand of sociology, Douglas builds upon his concept and theory of the profane (P. Smith & Riley, 2008). For her, the concept of dirt implies the presence of order, "[i]f uncleanliness is matter out of place, we must approach it through order" (Douglas, 1966, p. 41). The existence of dirt implies a system that characterizes something as dirt. The cleaning of dirt is a process that seeks to organize and order our existence and environment into known categories. Douglas argues that the process of re-establishing order is a positive act, that people organize their surrounding environment to adjust and to fit it into their idea of order. Two forms of ideas are working simultaneously, the instrumental and the expressive. At the instrumental level, people try to affect and change each other's behavior, forcing each other to be good citizens. On an expressive level, dirt is used to reflect social order symbolically. For Douglas, the notion of dirt in contemporary European culture refers primarily to the hygienic and aesthetic order of things. The idea that dirt is matter out of place depends on the object and its context. As Douglas describes, shoes are not dirty in themselves, but in the wrong context, they upset the order of things (Douglas, 1966).

Douglas (1966) argues that society has outer boundaries and internal structure. The boundaries help identify those who are within it and those who are not. Dirt crossing the symbolic boundaries of order creates pollution, "[f]or I believe that ideas about separating, purifying, demarcating and punishing transgression have as their main function to impose a system on an inherently untidy experience" (Douglas, 1966, p. 4). Disorder exposes the pattern of order, and order creates restrictions. Disorder can thus be powerful or threatening. People on the margins, without a place in society or without a definable status, are both vulnerable and dangerous. These people cannot do anything about their status, but others protect themselves against potential dangers. Douglas uses an example of people in mental institutions to illustrate that point. People who have not been admitted to mental institutions are categorized as

eccentric to fit into the classification of order. In contrast, those who have once been inside such institutions are classified as abnormal and given marginal status (Douglas, 1966).

Order creates a system of classification that can be acceptable, ambiguous, or discordant. Acceptable matter fits into the system of societal classification, ambiguous matter is treated as if it fits into the system, and discordant matter is most often rejected. For Douglas (1966), an anomaly refers to a component that does not fit in a system of order. An anomaly can be physically controlled; by removing it, so it does not affect the order. The order of things is sustained in contrast to the anomaly by ignoring it. Anomalies can be considered dangerous, amplifying the difference between order and disorder, and thus forcing other people to align with the system. Ambiguity refers to matter that can be interpreted differently. Ambiguity can be dealt with by interpreting events differently to fit into the system of order. She argues that there are two ways of dealing with anomalies, negatively or positively. By negatively dealing with anomalies, people can ignore them or denounce them. Dealing with it positively entails that people face the anomaly and fit it into the system of order (Douglas, 1966).

4.1.2 The Concept of Aesthetics and Order

The study of aesthetics is often associated with philosophical debates about art and beauty. Such debates often boil down to the subjectivity of taste. 'Aesthetic order' in an urban setting relates to the idea that it is a form of power used to deem what fits and does not fit into the order of urban space, whether it is people or objects (Millie, 2017). In an attempt to conceptualize urban aesthetic order, Millie (2017) draws from everyday life and the predictability and certainty found in aesthetic order. The city serves as a vehicle for benefiting economic advancement by removing spontaneity and creating an order based on constant movement and consumption. Rules and laws function to create a normative order of everyday life, where everything is in the right place. In a neoliberal city, the interests of commerce dictate the outlook and order of the city. Ferrell (1996) refers to the meaning attached to aesthetic order's economic and political interests as "the aesthetics of authority" (Ferrell, 1996, p. 198). For Ferrell, authoritative aesthetics is a technique of control and power used to shape perceptions of aesthetic beauty. The aesthetic standard of the city is created by political, cultural, economic, and civil authorities in a system of regulation and control. Ferrell argues that even though clean, well-groomed environments somewhat represent 'common sense' in an aesthetic understanding, the underlying motivation is people's affection for authority. The

control and power in public space have been rendered to property owners, who define the aesthetic order (Ferrell, 1996).

4.2 Discipline and Governmentality

4.2.1 Discipline and the Production of Docile Bodies

The French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault is one of the most influential scholars of postmodern thought. In his book *Discipline and Punish* (1977), he utilizes an 'archaeological' method exploring the development of punishment, from public punishment conducted during the 18th century to the disciplinary methods used in modern society. The examination demonstrates the state's ability and power "not to punish less, but to punish better" (Foucault, 1977, p. 82). Foucault refers to this power as 'disciplinary power'. Disciplinary society highlights individual deviation from the norm through comparative means, surveillance, and deficit. As Foucault formulates it, "[i]n a system of discipline, the child is more individualized than the adult, the patient more than the healthy man, the madman and the delinquent more than the non-delinquent and the normal" (Foucault, 1977, p. 193). Through discipline, human bodies are controlled and corrected. According to him, disciplinary methods have permeated institutions, where they create "docile bodies" (Foucault, 1977, p. 132), bodies that do what is wanted and how it is wanted. For Foucault, discipline is trained and instilled, creating individuals that are both objects and instruments of its exercise. He argues that three components are used to create docile bodies, hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment, and examination (Foucault, 1977).

For Foucault (1977), hierarchical observation refers to control by observation. Institutional buildings, such as schools and hospitals, have been gradually designed to provide a better overview of their subjects. Foucault takes an example of the *École* military school, designed to enable superiors to observe students' activities. Student's rooms were placed along a corridor, fitted with windows facing the corridor and living space for officers assigned in intervals. In the dining facility, the tables for superiors were raised, allowing them to observe the other tables. Further, bathroom stalls were designed so superiors could see the feet and top of the head of those using the stalls, while the sidewalls were sufficiently high to conceal the person in the next stall. For Foucault, the design features of the *École* may have been subtle.

However, they provide an overarching example of how surveillance penetrated every aspect of the students being at the school. He argues that surveillance's integrating, extensive, and expansive aspect makes it powerful (Foucault, 1977).

Normalizing judgment in Foucault's (1977) writing addresses the differences between individuals and their actions with the measurable, quantified norm to correct them and their behavior. Punishment is considered a way to correct behavior rather than physical punishment. Foucault takes examples from an orphanage, where minor infringements were punished through physical and humiliating ordeals to correct behavior. Punishing minor infringements highlights those who fall short of rules and expectations. Punishment for failure becomes an exercise to correct oneself through trial and error. According to Foucault, all behavior falls between a spectrum of good and evil that can be quantified to determine a fixed score and compared to a standard. In a disciplinary system, the carrot and the stick are used to correct behavior. Those on the upper echelon of the scale are rewarded for their progress, and those lower are punished for their defect. For Foucault, normalization is the second pillar of disciplinary power after surveillance. Normalization pushes for homogeneity while highlighting individuals who cannot meet the standard set, and those individuals need to be fixed to fit the norm's profile (Foucault, 1977).

According to Foucault (1977), examination combines hierarchical observation and normalizing judgments. Power in the traditional sense was demonstrated through visible techniques. In a disciplinary society, power is exercised in the shadows and highlights those subjected to its power. Highlighting particular subjects ensures that they are objectified within the disciplinary society. Foucault references documentation of data and datasets that proved to be the first indicator of the process of "formalization" (Foucault, 1977, p. 190) of the individual within the discipline system. The documentation of individuals enabled them to be describable and quantifiable objects. Likewise, it provides an overview of the population to compare, describe and measure. For Foucault, "the examination is at the center of the procedures that constitute the individual as effect and object of power, as effect and object of knowledge" (Foucault, 1977, p. 192).

4.2.2 Governmentality

In an attempt to account for subjectivity and to explain the shifts of the post disciplinary society period, Michel Foucault introduced the concept of governmentality (Garland, 1997).

Governmentality is conceptualized as the techniques used in broader society to control whole populations, produce social order, and ensure society's welfare and improvement (Li, 2007). Governmentality focuses on the 'how' of governance and its techniques (Merry, 2001). Governmental power is subjectifying, "it constructs individuals who are capable of choice and action, shapes them as active subjects, and seeks to align their choices with the objectives of governing authorities" (Garland, 1997, p. 175). To reach its objective, the governing body cannot coerce individuals into conformity; instead, on a mass scale, it aligns the state's objectives and the objectives of the individuals. The governmental power system depends on individuals perceiving themselves as active choice-making participants (Merry, 2001). Its achievement is determined by the degree to which authorities objectives and the wants and ambitions of individuals (Garland, 1997). It promotes pursuing "...interests and desires in ways that are socially approved and legally sanctioned" (Garland, 1997, p. 180). Governmental power is not confined to state power only. Instead of state institutions as primary actors, other institutions and organizations regulate behavior and groups to the point that individuals regulate themselves (Garland, 1997).

Establishing the concept of 'spatial governmentality', Sally Merry (2001) claims that mechanisms that promote security and decrease harm have become more prominent throughout the late twentieth century. The population is classified into different groups based on potential risk. According to Merry, this form of risk-based mechanism is a characteristic of the neoliberal form of governing (Merry, 2001). The neoliberal social policy revolves around the individual being responsible (Garland, 1997). In what Beckett and Herbert (2008) call 'post-disciplinary' techniques of control, the focus is put on regulating space rather than individual offenders (see also Merry, 2001). Merry claims that "space itself creates expectations of behavior and consumption" (Merry, 2001, p. 20). These regulations attempt to make people active partners in a "consensual, participatory governance of selves" (Merry, 2001, p. 21). Because crime is routinely committed in social life, the strategies and techniques of criminal control must be viewed as non-intrusive and fit into everyday activities. Garland argues that space can be governed but not controlled because the techniques require that the population becomes "active partners in the business of security and crime control" (Garland, 1997, p. 187). Urban space is thus secured while it maintains its characteristics. The techniques are proactive; they eliminate the specific undesirable behavior rather than punish them reactively (Garland, 1997). Instead of containing individuals, spatial governmentality looks to exclude them (Merry, 2001).

As a form of crime control, Garland (1997) builds on Foucault's triangle of the exercise of power "of sovereignty-discipline-government" (Garland, 1997, p. 188). Garland proposes a

triangle of crime control that comprises the legal subject, the criminal delinquent, and the criminogenic situation. The legal subject is related to the laws; the subject must comply with the laws or be punished. The criminal delinquent is disciplined, changed, or corrected to align with social order. The criminogenic situation, established by crime statistics, victim surveys, and crime patterns, is influenced to fit broader social interests and encourage self-regulation. The triangle describes how crime control is exercised in society but cannot be boiled down to one catch-all formula but instead as a mix of techniques. Techniques, such as responsabilization, actively include civilian actors in crime control and are based on the premise that the objective of those who govern and those who act are aligned, and that crime prevention is in their best interest. Individuals must take responsibility for their actions, and those who cannot are disciplined and rehabilitated (Garland, 1997). Responsibilization involves an internal process where actors are encouraged to make different choices that benefit them (Garland, 1997; Merry, 2001). In comparison, techniques that aim to discipline individuals into becoming responsible for the actions that benefit themselves and authority are referred to as "the biopolitics of the population" (Merry, 2001, p. 19). Scholars that apply spatial governmentality to their research argue that the new techniques and mechanisms of control are maintained and strengthened through their relation to neoliberal society (Beckett & Herbert, 2008). For Wendy Larner (2000), the "[n]eoliberal strategies of rule, found in diverse realms including workplaces, educational institutions and health, and welfare agencies, encourage people to see themselves as individualized and active subjects responsible for enhancing their well-being" (Larner, 2000, p. 13).

4.2.3 Moral Regulation

Sean Hier's (2008) theory of moralization relates to responsabilization, which includes a process of moral regulations. Hier argues that moral regulation functions on the assumption that there are right and wrong ways of thinking and acting that conform to different norms in different facets of society (Hier, 2008). As understood by Hier et al. (2011), moral regulation is a form of moralization that concerns the internal dialect between managing risk and avoiding harm. Moralization is a routine process that compels individuals to read meanings from symbols, people, emotions, and interactions to apply to others or themselves (Hier et al., 2011). Moral regulations are informal ways in which actors are encouraged by state and non-state actors to act within the dominant culture (Hier, 2019). Chas Critcher (2009) argues that moral

regulation involves the correction of conduct and identity of individuals to adjust them to societal norms. This is frequently done through new and additional regulations that fit into the political and economic modes of order. Critcher identifies three categories that make up the moral regulation framework. A social order that perceives a threat to the order, social control that externally attempts to correct behavior to align it with moral regulation, and self-regulation, the extent to which power can exert itself to discipline behavior and identity from within (Critcher, 2009). Individuals are urged to employ techniques of internalization that reflect the norms and individualized ways of behaving (Hier, 2019).

Based on the rights of individuals, the moralization process fits into the normative order of neoliberalism that provides prescriptive standards that people compare against and correct themselves accordingly. For Hier (2008), the most common feature of neoliberal moral regulation is the right and wrong ways of thinking and acting regarding risk, harm, and personal responsibility. Moving away from a universal social welfare safety net has encouraged people to self-govern and take individual responsibility (Hier, 2008). Responsibility is individualized by making the individual responsible for proactively managing risk and avoiding harm. Under neoliberalism, everyday activity includes navigating the environment, avoiding harm. Fear related to crime and criminal activity is left up to individuals who negotiate, avoiding harm. People thus make 'rational choices' throughout the day, how to act and behave in certain circumstances to avoid harm. Navigating risk becomes a routine and continual process within a neoliberal society (Hier, 2008). Failing to take responsibility for one's duties is attributed to a bad character (Hier, 2019).

- Results –

There is a darker atmosphere over the station during the evenings. The daylight provides light during the day through windows placed on the roof. In the dusk, I notice the lamps on the roof and the chandeliers hanging off the sides. Most stores and cafés in the middle of the station have closed for the night, all but a convenience store and a fast-food restaurant. The police station and the DSB office have closed for the night as well... I sit at the corner next to the police station and the ATM at the far end of the station. A man passes my bench, goes to the trashcan next to me, and starts rummaging through it. I smell a strong cigarette stench from him, and I see that he is holding a lit cigarette... The bench I sit on is located underneath a window made from stained glass; one of them has been cracked out of the frame. The wind blows in on my back and neck. Now I am cold, and my back hurts from the cobblestoned wall. It is a busy evening for those that are assigned cleaning duties. Men in orange jumpsuits walk throughout the station. One is picking up garbage from the ground with a big stick and trash bag. Another guy walks from trashcan to trashcan, hauling his bin on wheels and ensuring the trash does not overflow.

(Fieldnotes, 12th April 2022)

Chapter 5: Describing the scene: Sundholm, Hovedbanegården, and Tivoli

In this chapter, I will describe the locations and scenes I have studied to bring the reader closer to the field and give meaning, feelings, and impressions of the locations studied. According to phenomenological research and Michael Jackson's (1996) understanding, phenomenology is principally concerned with "direct understanding and in-depth description" (Jackson, 1996, p. 2). For Jackson, phenomenology is "an attempt to describe human consciousness in its lived immediacy, before it is subjected to theoretical elaboration" (Jackson, 1996, p. 2). An in-depth description lets the reader immerse themselves into the text and brings them as close to the "lived reality" (Jackson, 1996). A brief historical context is provided from each location to provide an overview of its cultural, historical, economic, and political meaning in relation to the city of Copenhagen. It is essential in the case of the Sundholm district, as will be further elaborated in the section because the area has a long history of stigma that is still tangible today. When relevant, excerpts from interviews are introduced to enhance further meaning in the observed spaces.

5.1 Sundholm

The unremarkable bench on Sundholmvej looks like many others found throughout Copenhagen (Figure 3). Often described as the 'Copenhagen bench', this green-painted bench with its black steel frame does not look hostile nor threatening; instead, it looks interesting and is worth a second look to understand. From afar, it looks like a stack of books left on a public bench. Moving closer, it becomes clear that it is a metallic sculpture mounted on the bench. On its own, it looks like an art installation, a fun way to spruce up the design of the bench, and the books are at such a height that people can lay their arms comfortably on them.

Nevertheless, the stack is attached to the bench, dividing the seating area and restricting its use for sitting (Chellew, 2019). The possibility of laying down on the bench has been proactively removed. According to my definition of hostile architecture, it is a design that is capable of physically injuring its targets. With its sculpture in the middle, the book-bench represents an implicit design. It can injure those who use it differently from its intended functionality, to sit (Chellew, 2019).



Figure 3: Book-bench at Sundholm in Copenhagen ([Book-bench in Sundholm], 2020).

The Sundholm district was built in the 18th century and functioned as an institution for the homeless, mentally ill, and other disadvantaged groups. Surrounding Sundholm were fences and trenches that segregated it from its neighboring areas. In turn, it enabled the state to use Sundholm as a labor camp, where poverty-stricken individuals of the city were sent to work to keep the streets safe (Roy, 2018). Today, the Sundholm district has been integrated into the neighborhood, and gone are the trenches and the labor camps of the past. Now it is home to institutions providing social services for the disadvantaged and marginalized, a primary school, business offices, and other municipal services. At its heart is a service that provides shelter for the homeless. The surrounding area is a refuge for the homeless, who use it to meet others and hang around. In 2008, the area was recognized as a disadvantaged area by Copenhagen municipality and was marked as a prime candidate for urban renewal. The goal of the urban renewal was to create a safer, cleaner, and greener environment for the general public and residents. The redevelopment process included consultation with overwhelmingly negative residents, describing the Sundholm area as 'dangerous' and 'unsafe'. However, the residents expressed that they wanted to integrate Sundholm into the neighborhood and "...tear down the mental wall around Sundholm..." (Roy, 2018, p. 296). The redevelopment provided Sundholm and neighboring green spaces with new furniture, open areas, and playgrounds. Prominently was the creation of the community garden that was employed to increase interaction between the communities in the area. Pathways were constructed through Sundholm via the community garden to allow homed and homeless to interact (Roy, 2018).

The book-bench is located outside the district, creatively preventing anyone from lying down. The space where the bench is situated is relatively open. It is up against a wall on the

sidewalk, facing Sundholmsvej; anybody traveling by it can use it. It is located under a tree and is in the shade for an extended period of the day. I noticed that it was primarily used as a place for people to sit for a short time, smoking cigarettes and drinking beer. On the left side of the bench is an elementary school with an open playground that is a part of the school ground. During my fieldwork period, children were often playing outside, screaming, and running around the playground as children often do. To the right side of the bench is a kindergarten. The play area is fenced off to keep the children inside the designated play space. The fence surrounding it is made of wood painted red to keep with the red theme of the building it is attached to. Parts of the fence have been cut out and fitted with plexiglass windows for the children to look out.

Behind the bench is an old-timey gatehouse with a tunnel for people to access the district (Figure 4). I observed (presumed) homeless people who were allowed to have refuge in the garden hidden from the street. Sitting outside it, I could hear people talking loudly, and often music was played from a portable speaker in the garden. People came to and from the tunnel, some to take a shortcut through the district, while others went there for the company. Those looking for the company often arrived with bottles of alcohol in their hand. Inside the garden, a row of benches is situated where buildings obstruct the view from the school playground. Walking through the district, you see the people sitting on the benches inside the garden; they appear to be at varying stages of intoxication. It can be intimidating walking through there, observing tens of people sitting, drinking, and looking at you. However, people kept to themselves or to the company they kept. Mostly the 'nuisance' stemming from the garden was in the form of sound, either loud voices or music being played. However, at one point, I observed an argument between a man and a woman. Even though I could not understand what was being said, I could sense that there was some disagreement, for the people constantly raised their voices until they went full-on screaming at each other. I could sense that something was brewing as the woman was walking away through the tunnel but kept stopping to say something to the man behind her. Then it came to the tipping point; the woman apparently said something offensive because the man started running towards her. The woman reacted by sprinting across the road, not minding the cars driving as the man followed. Arrived at the other side of the road, the man managed to grab her from behind and tear her down to the pavement ground. As I sat there and observed this interaction no one intervened, while those driving honked their horns. I sat there watching, briefly contemplating my next steps; fortunately, the scene was short-lived. The man walked back to the garden, while the woman leveled herself bewildered and proceeded to walk back after him.

Disorder and the perception of disorder affect the interaction between individuals and the city. Public drunkenness, open drug use, particular clothing, and noises can deter people from spaces they might otherwise feel safe in (Peršak & Di Ronco, 2018). People are responsible for managing risk by removing themselves from situations where they could come in harm's way (Hier, 2008). In one interview, Bridget acknowledged her responsibility when she described a situation where she felt uncomfortable, "if they are shouting, then it is a bit uncomfortable. But only if you're standing close to them [...] then you could just move away". She can navigate the city safely by taking responsibility and avoiding harm (Hier, 2008), "I feel safe everywhere. I'm never uncomfortable. I mean, if I'm about to walk down small, really dark alley [or] street and there is a really loud drunk males down there, then I might not go down that street". Incivilities such as public intoxication and drug use are indicators of disorder in society. These disorders make people unpredictable and thus a point of risk. As Angela tells me, "when people are drunk, they tend to do stuff they wouldn't do when they were sober". Sentiments like these were discussed concerning fear. It is up to individuals to take responsibility for the protection against harm, while drunk people fail to take responsibility for their actions and thus exhibit bad character (Hier, 2019).



Figure 4: *The tunnel leading to Sundholm District and the book-bench to the right (Google, n.d.).*

In one stint, I wanted to sit on the book-bench myself. Immediately I was overwhelmed by the smell of urine and cigarettes, which was occasionally amplified by the wind. While I sat on the

book-bench, I felt it had some stigmatized status in the area. Overly aware of my being, I felt I got longer looks than usual while sitting on the other side of the road. Around the bench were cigarette butts and small scraps of paper scattered around on the ground. Small bottles of alcohol shooters made up the rest of the trash in the immediate environment to the bench. Public benches in Copenhagen are often accompanied by a trashcan right next to the bench, making it easier to throw away any garbage that would otherwise accumulate on the ground. They serve to create a more aesthetically pleasing, trash-free environment. Greta notes this sentiment in an interview when describing the city she lives in, "I think Copenhagen is a clean city [...] I think it's just, [you] cannot [...] [be] comfortable being in a place with trash and that kind of stuff". Aesthetically, Copenhagen is a clean city, but trash disrupts the aesthetic order (Millie, 2017). The authorities have thus placed trashcans strategically throughout the city to discipline individuals through a routine to be responsible for throwing their trash in the bins to maintain the aesthetical order cultivated by the authorities. Like Estelle states in the interview, "[t]hen they don't leave it by the sidewalk. But actually throw it in there, because it's easy". The objective of authority and individuals are thus aligned (Garland, 1997; Merry, 2001). The trash is literal dirt in the system of order; people in orange jumpsuits are designated to remove it and empty the bins, thus maintaining the aesthetic order in the city system (Douglas, 1966; Millie, 2017).

Later, I observed the book-bench from across the road when an individual sitting there suddenly disappeared. Some moments later, I watched as he reappeared from behind the wall; he had gone aside to urinate in semi-private. Thus, the source of the smell of urine and cigarettes was found.

Hostile architecture is used in tandem with other spatial control methods. Aspects of CPTED can be found around the Sundholm district. Although it is an open space, people must access it through the gatehouse tunnel to enter it from the street. It creates physical and symbolic boundaries from the street and is a haven for the people who frequent the garden (Cozens, 2002). The redevelopment scheme in Sundholm revolved about creating a community and increased foot traffic around the area. Creating an environment that fosters attachment to the area serves theoretically two things. First, it increases the natural surveillance of the area. Second, it should increase citizen involvement in interfering with people not behaving 'properly' and keeping up the area's appearance (Barker, 2017). However, the book-bench also holds a symbolic power, what and where specific activity is allowed.

5.2 Hovedbanegården

Hovedbanegården, or the Copenhagen Central station, was opened in 1911 and was primarily built from bricks and granite (*København Hovedbanegård*, n.d.). Today, the station is the largest train station in Denmark and provides transportation abroad, and for longer and shorter traveling. DSB (the Danish State Railways) estimates that over 100.000 people use the station daily and that it is the second business station in Denmark (dsb.dk, n.d.). The station is centrally located, a short walk to Strøget, the shopping street, and City Hall, with the Tivoli across the street. Inside the meeting hall is the Central station shopping center, offering travelers a variety of 30 different shops, restaurants, and services (Hovedbanens shoppingcenter, n.d.).

I have been to the Hovedbanegården often during my time in Copenhagen but never observed the environment there. Usually, it is a quick walk-through to get to where I am going and an occasional stop in a convenience store to grab a drink. Walking into the main hall, it feels like an old, historic building—a large entrance hall with a high ceiling. The walls are made from cobblestones, and at the entrances are big concrete arches that create visual grandness. On columns around the station are portraits of people (men) carved out of the stone, giving it a feeling of historical importance for the area. In the middle of the building are two large chandeliers hanging from the ceiling, further enhancing the grand and historical narrative of the building. Structural iron bars arch under the roof, and small iron spikes have been fitted to prevent birds from nesting on the bars. On the side walls of the station are huge flags, a mix of Danish and Ukrainian, symbolizing the Danish support for the Ukrainian people due to the Russian invasion.

The Hovedbanegården station is a physical structure that confines individuals inside four walls. Access to the station was open; however, I felt I had to justify my stay on the public benches inside the station. Through the middle of the station are clusters of restaurants that direct people to either side of them, where people walk briskly to and from platforms. Seating options are limited; the seats against the side walls were frequently occupied during my fieldwork. On one side of the station are 6 benches designed with two armrests, offering at least three-person sitting areas. There are two similar benches on the other side, with three-person seating areas. At peak hours inside the station, the benches are in full use. The competition for seats is tangible; at one time, I observed an individual that had been keeping an eye on the seat next to me for some time. As soon as it became vacant, they walked briskly towards the seat, sat there for five minutes, and then went their way.

The central station has recently come under fire in Danish media for its use of hostile and defensive architecture. In an article published on *Magasinet KBH* (magasinetkbh.dk), in 2021, the interviewee, a formerly homeless man, notes that the benches in the station are either disappearing or retrofitted with armrests to prevent homeless people from sleeping on them. The station had also closed the open bathroom amenities and replaced them with a bathroom facility that requires payment. It costs 5dkk to use the bathroom but does not accept cash and only takes cards. The interviewee claims that it is another technique used by the station's operators to make homeless people feel unwelcomed in the station. A spokesperson from DSB argued in the article that these measures used in the Central station worked; they provide safety for their customers because that is where their interest lies (Højlund et al., 2021).

I sat on the public benches inside the station. They were hard, not fitted with an attached back, so I leaned up against the cold cobblestoned outer wall of the station. Often, I found myself getting numb after sitting there for a prolonged period. Once, the person beside me stood up and started stretching to loosen up before sitting down again. The bench is not built for an extended stay; it is uncomfortable. The seating area and the cold stones stinging one's back encouraged a short stay. The train platforms are located underneath the entrance hall of the station. When I went down the escalator, the bench closest to it was fully occupied. Walking further down the platform, I found three unoccupied benches and few people around. The benches were designed back-to-back, made from a few pieces of wood, bolted to a pipe that kept them up in the air. Since both the benches were bolted to the pipe, the whole bench trembled every time somebody took a seat or moved. Between the benches was a large advertisement board that functioned as a back. Due to my height, the board went into my back, forcing me to stoop forward, not making for a comfortable stay.

Inside Hovedbanegården station is a poster that reads, 'pickpockets love distraction'. The purpose of the poster is to make people aware of the presence of pickpockets (Figure 5). However, it also makes individuals responsible for proactively managing risk in the station and reducing the harm that could befall them (Beckett & Herbert, 2008; Hier, 2019). By internalizing the potential danger that strangers located somewhere in the station pose, everybody becomes a potential threat (Schuilenburg, 2015). At one point, an individual accidentally bumped into me while I sat on a bench. I did not see who, but my first reaction was to check my pockets and the contents of my bag to see if my 'valuables' were all there; they were. The poster's presence makes people active partners in security and crime control (Garland, 1997). Involving and making other actors than the active state partners in crime control is characteristic of the securitization in society (Graham, 2011; Schuilenburg, 2015). In

line with Garland's (1997) responsabilization, the poster influences individuals to remain vigilant inside the station; their objective, aligned with the state, is to avoid harm. By aligning the objectives, it actively recruits individuals to partake in crime control and encourages them to be responsible for their well-being (Larner, 2000; Li, 2007).

On platforms 2-3 in the Hovedbanegården are three tube screens hanging from the ceiling above, showing live CCTV feed from the platform. At other places on and around the platform are signs with pictures of security cameras to make people aware of their presence. The purpose of making people aware of the cameras is to ensure that people internalize the messages sent from the environment and self-regulate, so they behave correctly (Garland, 1997).



Figure 5: Poster situated inside Hovedbanegården (photo taken by the author).

At the far end inside the Hovedbanegården station is a small police station. In one of my stints in Hovedbanegården, I observed two police officers appearing in front of me. They wore bulletproof vests, batons, handcuffs, pistols, and radios. One of the officers was holding a machine gun or a semi-automatic rifle. They were walking and talking casually, going inside the police station. The idea that local police officers need to be fitted like military personnel on

the battlefield is connected to the idea that a constant threat looms over the city; it creates a state of securocratic war (Graham, 2011). In addition to the police station and police officers, the entrance hall is patrolled by private security guards and employees of the train company responsible for the station. The private security guards were labeled with the company logo on the back of their jackets. Schuilenburg (2015) claims that securitization involves cooperation between different actors. By having a police station inside the station, the presence of private security guards and employees from the station, and additional civilian participation, the Hovedbanegården station ought to feel completely secure. However, as Schuilenburg argues, these actors have their motivations, interests, and agency regarding security (Schuilenburg, 2015).

The Hovedbanegården is an example of container space. It is designed to keep 'undesirables' and their behavior out. By having benches fitted with armrests, they can control users' activity within their confines. Undesirable people are further dissuaded from loitering in the station for a longer time by requiring payment for the use of the bathroom amenities (Davis, 2017; Hayward, 2012). The station has both symbolic and physical security placed in and around it. The most overarching symbols are the CCTV cameras that hang up on the wall. Nevertheless, private security guards patrol and walk through the station. Finally, is the presence of the police office (station) that occupies one corner of the station. Although the police and private security offer physical security, the idea that there is a police office is thought to be a deterrent in itself. Much like Barker's (2017) concept of reassurance policing, symbolic methods are used to assure the public that they are safe (Barker, 2017). I asked my respondents if the widespread presence of security cameras enhanced their feelings of security. Although most respondents were not overly aware of cameras in public, two respondents thought about whether their placement signified an area of crime "if there is a camera, then maybe there's more crimes happening there than somewhere else where there's no cameras". The sentiment is echoed in William Whyte's claim that securitization can lead to more fear of crime (Cited in Hayward, 2004; see also Barker, 2017).

5.3 Tivoli

Tivoli Gardens in Copenhagen was founded in 1843 and is believed to have been a source of inspiration for the renowned Danish writer H.C. Andersen. Further, it is said that it served as a

source for Walt Disney's Disney World. The Tivoli is located next to Copenhagen Central Station and short walk downtown to the central shopping area. The Tivoli offers a wide selection of rides, games, and places to eat and drink (Visit Copenhagen, n.d.). Tivoli is a limited company that is on the Copenhagen stock exchange. In 2019 it made 209,1 million Danish kroner in profit before tax, the largest profit margin the park has made in its history. Tivoli offers access on its website to its annual reports. The latest is from 2019, stating that over 4,5 million people visited the park (Tivoli, n.d.a).

There are several entrance points to the Tivoli, where people can enter or leave the park. Surrounding the Tivoli gardens are walls and fences that prevent unwanted guests from entering without paying an entrance fee. The flow of people at the Tivoli is controlled right from the entrance point. Upon arrival at the Tivoli, people are met with what looks like a military checkpoint. There, they must pay an entrance fee into the park at the checkpoint and then go through a gate occupied by an on-duty security guard. The gate, a steel arm that allows entrance one at a time, cannot stop anyone physically on its own; instead, it stops people symbolically. Guards dressed in black Tivoli suits are positioned outside the gate and patrol the inside area to ensure that the park's rules are followed by those who visit. They wear hats that resemble police caps, marked by the Tivoli, and radio on their hip wired up to their ears, giving off the aura of authority. On its website, Tivoli lists some rules that apply to its visitors. Some rules apply to behavior and appearance; for example, people are not allowed to be visibly intoxicated, they must wear clothes at all times, littering and other vandalism in the garden is forbidden, and the distribution of brochures and other political propaganda inside the park is not permitted. The Tivoli also reserves the right to refuse entrance or expel individuals or groups that behave or wear clothes that look like it could mean trouble (Tivoli, n.d.b).

The Tivoli could be described as a leisure space for consumption. The pathways and sidewalks provided by the park lead people throughout the Tivoli. Booths and stalls offer activities or food throughout the garden, and the cobbled pathways guide people towards it. From the entrance into the park, everything has a price. People's movement is controlled through pathways and strategically placed flowerbeds, fountains, and bushes, which prevent people from walking astray from the designated routes. Benches are placed at close intervals, offering places for people to sit and consume.

Surrounding the Tivoli is a wall fitted with iron bars with a slight arch at the top. The wall creates a physical barrier that excludes those who cannot afford to pay the entrance fee. Unlike a prison, this wall is built to keep people out of the space it surrounds. By fitting iron bars on top of it, it has the potential to physically injure those who try to climb to gain free

entrance to the park. In between the iron bars on the wall are spearheads that fill up the gaps left behind by the bars. Although they are not as sharp as the prototype, they both convey the message and have the ability to injure. Security cameras are strategically placed along the wall that faces the outside, as they are used to watch people loitering outside the garden. At the emergency exit, there are two motorized gates (Figure 6). On top of the gates are small, sharp spikes that can pierce through the skin. Another one is a few meters behind that gate, fitted with the same small sharp spikes on top. The gates can only be opened one at a time, serving as separate checkpoints.

The Tivoli is regulated as a preventative exclusory space (Barker, 2017). It is a fortified space that excludes the poor (those who cannot afford admission) and has rules that ensure that those who do not act correspondingly are removed from the premises. Its military like protocols, makes people think about an active war zone. However, once inside the park is presented as clean, well maintained, and ordered by the staff. The Tivoli employs its own security guards that are dressed in Tivoli-marked outfits that resemble police uniforms, creating an aura of authority around them. Guests are encouraged to consume through its predetermined routes and variety of restaurants, rides, and shops.



Figure 6: Motorized fence, outside Tivoli, fitted with spikes on top (photo taken by the author).

5.4 Chapter summary

The fifth chapter was divided into three sections that discuss and describes each location in considerable detail in line with phenomenological data analysis. The first section is dedicated to Sundholm. The area's historical context provides background information on stigmatization that is still tangible today. The area felt stigmatized, and although attempts have been made to integrate the homeless population into the neighborhood, control mechanisms are still in place. The behavior in the garden behind the bench was not regulated as much as on the sidewalk where the bench was located. It faces the street and is visible to the public. On the bench, activity is controlled through hostile architecture where the government can ensure that the performance in observable public space is correct. Public nuisance affects the feelings of safety and order. While nuisance from the area was minimal throughout my fieldwork, I observed an incident related to the people inside the garden. Such behavior is tolerated in the garden, but on the street, where people can see it, can affect people's sense of security.

The Hovedbanegården provides a complex mixture of control mechanisms, from surveillance, symbolic and physical security, promotion of internalization, and coercive hostile architecture. The flow of people is controlled through the built environment and exemplifies a container space. Its designed environment ensures that those undesirables cannot be comfortable inside the station, preventing them from feeling welcomed. Finally, the section dedicated to Tivoli describes exclusory space. The focus of the designed space is to lead people through the designated park routes that lead to restaurants and shops where people are encouraged to consume. From outside the wall and spiked fence, the park is built like a prison to keep poor people out. It uses methods related to militarization, high walls, and checkpoints that create physical and symbolic barriers. The explicit message sent to poor people is that this is not a space for them to enjoy.

Chapter 6: Purpose of Design

This section highlights meaning-making in relation to hostile architecture in Copenhagen. I discovered three main approaches to meaning-making by examining the interview data. They are seduction, prevention, and discipline. Each section uses interview data to explain how these ideas can be related to the theories and previous research. The first section discusses how hostile architecture is used to seduce individuals through its alternative function it provides. The second section discusses the possible purpose of hostile architecture as understood by my interviewees through the term prevention. It highlights the preventive aspect of hostile architecture and its necessity in the urban landscape. The third section, called discipline, approaches hostile architecture as a tool for the authorities to encourage homeless people to seek shelter instead of sleeping outside in public.

6.1 Seduction

Some of the designs shown to my participants offered an alternative function, making them more attractive. The image of a small table attached to a bench (Figure 7) was viewed positively, as it provided an alternative function to place cups or food. Casper described the bench as having something that "looks like a small kind of coffee table, for example, [put] either coffee or laptop or something [...] which is quite nice [...] if you have something [in] your hand... and then you can kind of put it there right next to you rather than either holding it or putting it down on the ground". As Merry (2001) argues, space creates expectations of behavior; by aligning the function with consumer expectations, the bench is seen as non-intrusive and forms in a routinized consumption activity. The bench is in front of a restaurant, so to people, it makes sense that there would be a bench with a table to sit down with their purchase. The location and practical functionality of the bench are in harmony (Merry, 2001). It does not coerce; instead, it aligns the objective of the governing authorities with those of individuals through the promise of consumption. In line with Thörn's (2011) research in Gothenburg, it is not just through the coercive nature of design that people are disciplined; the possibilities can seduce them. Therefore, people can be seduced by the possibility of having a table divider attached to a bench to put their drinks down. Private organizations seduce the

right people to occupy their space by offering this alternative function (N. Smith & Walters, 2018).



Figure 7: Bench outside Tivoli Food Hall fitted with a small table dividing the seating area (photo taken by the author).

For some of my respondents, dividers and armrests seduced them through the potential of the personal space they created around them. The dividers enhance their experience of public space since it enables them to sit physically next to strangers without interacting with them directly. Angela describes how she interacts with benches in public spaces: "if there's already a person sitting on a bench, you don't want to sit on it, even though there's room for more people, but with this divider, [it] feels more okay to sit next to a stranger". Securitized order sees strangers in contemporary society as a potential threat. Thus, personal space is a way for people to fortify themselves against possible threats (Graham, 2011; Hayward, 2004; Németh & Schmidt, 2007). Attempting to discipline civilians into the correct way of using public furniture and behaving can be found in armrests on benches. They are non-intrusive and conform to the routine of everyday life. From the vantage point of governmentality, they create a personal space that enables individuals to sit next to strangers. The seduction of having an armrest aligns the government's interest with the self-interest of individuals. They physically discipline people into creating a personal space. People fortify themselves with personal space as the way to avoid harm in contemporary society; armrests instill that idea into people through training (Foucault, 1977; Garland, 1997; Hier, 2008). Functionality is a way for authority to align their objectives with individuals' wants (Garland, 1997).

In addition to functionality, art can seduce individuals into viewing hostile architecture in a positive light. Creating something artistic and functional provides both aesthetic- and practical functionality. The book-bench, for example, was described as a 'fun design' and 'elegant'. Although the book sculpture on the bench does not serve a specific function for my interviewees as the table or an armrest, people were able to construct functionality from the image shown to them. Frank thought it might encourage people to read more while using the bench. While Greta thought, "it's a way to make a table [...] I think it's a fun idea". Combining aesthetically pleasing design and functionality is an excellent way to seduce people into accepting the hostility of designs.

6.2 Prevention

"I pity homeless people, but I don't see it as a major problem in Copenhagen, or at least is not something that I'm exposed to, like on a daily basis". Copenhagen is presented as having a predictable urban environment by Frank (Millie, 2017). The lack of visible homelessness implies that they have somewhere to stay or that the state has intervened somehow. Hostile architecture regains the spatial meaning for individuals in line with broader social order. "[I]f you're walking around a public space, and it's filled with let's say sleeping people homeless, or otherwise it's maybe not as appealing". In this statement, Casper constructs homeless people as a disruption in the production of social order (Petty, 2016). They are problematized and perceived as a threat to it, making the government respond by externally criminalizing their activity and utilizing a design that changes their behavior, aligning them to the broader order and meaning of public space (Critchler, 2009; Garland, 1997). Activity associated with homelessness, such as begging in public, is illegal in Denmark ((Straffeloven, 2021, §197) [article 197 in the Danish penal code]), making it less visible in the public realm than it otherwise would be. All interviewees talked about how homelessness in Copenhagen was visibly lower compared to other cities they had visited. For example, Angela said, "one of the things I prefer to Copenhagen compared to other big cities in Europe [...] is that there is not a lot of homeless in the scenery". Homelessness in public challenges the order and meaning cultivated by the authorities. Regulation and methods of hostile architecture are an attempt to restore order in public space that conforms to our classification of things. Hostile architecture serves as a factor in maintaining moral, aesthetic, and neoliberal order in urban space. Hostile

architecture attempts to restore order through the designed environment. However, it differs from other spatial control mechanisms, for it coerces individuals into compliance. Just as trash on the ground upsets the aesthetic order of things, wrong people upset the order of the urban experience. Confronted with a disorder, people attempt to avoid or remove it while navigating the risks of everyday experiences in the city (Douglas, 1966; Hier, 2019).

The benches observed in Sundholm and at Hovedbanegården are designed differently but ultimately have the same goal, to prevent a specific function. Foucault (1977) described discipline as instilled and trained. Hostile architecture attempts to discipline the population into acceptable behavior and conduct in public spaces (N. Smith & Walters, 2018). Much like 'a burnt child that dreads the fire', benches create docile bodies and instill the 'right' way to use them by having a physical barrier that has the potential to injure those who use benches 'wrong'. Nevertheless, discipline can be both in the form of a carrot and a stick. While 'normal' people are seduced by functionality, others are punished for not having a home (Foucault, 1977; Thörn, 2011).

Design is used as a prevention mechanism to make those it targets uncomfortable, "it's the cheapest and easiest way to do, it's just like a plank board with two armrests etched into the wall [...] And, maybe to deter people from relaxing too much there because it doesn't look like it's the most comfortable". According to Casper, making the benches in Hovedbanegården uncomfortable prevents other people from facing the sight of disorder, "if you have a bunch of homeless people to sleeping all around that is quite indicative of societal issues [...] [it] seems more scuffed and, and more apparent that let's say the state of the society". What Casper sees as the purpose of prevention is related to the city's image and aesthetics. It maintains the established image of the Danish welfare state (Petty, 2016; Roy, 2018; Thörn, 2011).

My interviewees were shown more explicit examples of hostile architecture. An image of slanting bars placed over a heat vent found in downtown Copenhagen (Figure 8) was perceived more negatively than other designs shown since it offered no practical function. My interviewees referred to it as 'unwelcoming' and 'dangerous'. Diane, as well as other interviewees, thought that the purpose of the bars was "to avoid people sleeping [there], maybe because they can benefit from the warmth". Casper noted that the bars are explicit and "not even disguised as an art piece", making them appear more hostile and targeted toward a specific group of people, namely the homeless. When asked why they reacted strongly to this design, Angela, for example, noted, "this only has one purpose [...] for me, it's easier to sit on a bench with a divider, and this just looks ugly". As Petty (2016) noted in his research, the explicit nature of the design and the lack of alternative function makes people think about the issues

facing homeless people. The appearance of the design looks violent to Casper "we're gonna [...] almost punish them, make it as hard as possible for them to, to live in the inner city" hostile architecture sends a clear message to people that they are not welcomed (Petty, 2016).



Figure 8: *Slanting bars over a heating vent (Scheibye, 2017).*

Estelle thought the design was "...not the most pretty thing, but it's useful". These sentiments echo London's mayor Johnson's response that hostile architecture is rejected on an aesthetic level as an ugly design and not as a coercive control mechanism (Petty, 2016). Its usefulness is related to the visible disorder homelessness creates for people that walk by. Frank described the necessity of the bars:

I think like if a homeless man, person was lying there, it's very like visible for people that come by [...] it's very confronting with reality of some people, and you don't really want to be confronted with that like how some people have miserable lives. And if you feel uncomfortable, you don't maybe feel like I want to go in there and buy a lot of food when someone is homeless outside.

Just as shoes on the dining room table are out of place, people sleeping in public space is the wrong context for such activity. People should sleep inside, in a bed, in private. By laying outside, the order and meaning of public space are challenged. Regulation and methods of hostile architecture attempt to restore order in public space that conforms to our classification of things (Douglas, 1966; Petty, 2016). Hostile architecture is thus used to regain/maintain order associated with consumption. Visible homelessness is bad for businesses because it

deters potential customers from shopping. Customers do not want to be uncomfortable because it breaks the routine of everyday life in the culture of consumption. Sleeping on a heating vent outside a store contradicts the order of public space as it has been constructed by businesses and other governing authorities (Petty, 2016).

6.3 Discipline

A recurring statement popped up during the interviews concerning two specific designs, the book-bench at Sundholm and the benches inside Hovedbanegården. Many interviewees argued that hostile architecture was a way to encourage homeless people to go to the designated homeless shelters in the neighboring area. This phenomenon can be described as a functional tool for governments and municipalities to discipline its users (especially the homeless) into finding a shelter they provide. For example, when Bridget was made aware of the location of the book-bench and specifically that there was a homeless shelter nearby, she speculated whether "the books [were] there so that the homeless people don't sleep on the bench [...] because they don't like the people sleeping on the bench or because they want the people to go to the shelter". Likewise, Angela thought that "by making it difficult for them to be in some of the public spaces, they [...] are forced to find umm shelters [...] where they can hopefully get a bit more help". Its coercive function is not considered a punishment in itself; rather, it is thought of as a necessary means to correct behavior. It is also beneficial to the intended targets themselves. Disciplining people is to correct them to fit into the classification of social order (Foucault, 1977). Homeless people ought to be disciplined to take responsibility that benefits themselves and the authority (Graham, 2011; Merry, 2001). The process of moralization is also demonstrated through design features of hostile architecture. It forces homeless people to manage risk and avoid harm by taking responsibility for their actions. By staying outside in cold and harsh conditions when shelters are available to them, they fail to avoid harm and show a bad character (Hier, 2019). The homeless are presented as subjects, capable of making their own decisions, but hostile architecture makes them objects by disciplining them into 'correct' behavior. Casper provides an example of this subjectification and objectification:

I think it's kind of good. Or let's say effective way of deterring people from sleeping there. Especially if there's, let's say, given that there is space at a homeless shelter like

that they're not, it's not the street or nothing, it's like the if they have the option to go somewhere else [...] [shelter] which is very close to here, which is like a two-minute walk or something so they could sleep there and kind of get some food I would probably say that would be more ideal for both them and for everyone else.

Mary Douglas (1996) argues that ambiguous matter can be interpreted differently to fit into the system of order. In this case, hostile architecture is perceived as a positive act that imposes order. So, by constructing hostile architecture as beneficial for all actors involved, people can fit it into their social order of public space (Douglas, 1966).

6.4 Chapter summary

The meaning of hostile architecture in my interview sample was mainly constructed through three approaches: seduction, prevention, and discipline. Firstly, if people find functional or aesthetically pleasing designs defined as hostile, they can fit them into their classification scheme of order. A table, an armrest, and an art sculpture fitted on public benches offer practical functionality and aesthetically pleasing design. Thus, they are seduced by their possibilities instead of viewing these design features as hostile and coercive. Seduction through design features allows those governing to align their objectives with that of individuals. The table offers people an enhanced consumer experience, and the armrests give people personal space. The art sculpture produces personal space and a table and looks aesthetically pleasing. Secondly, my interviewees addressed the possible purpose of the designs with a frame of prevention. Hostile architecture is used to prevent homeless people from using public furniture wrong. My interviewees note that homelessness is not very visible in Copenhagen's landscape. Their system of order is based on the lack of homeless visibility. Thus, hostile architecture prevents people from experiencing visible and makes it a necessary to maintain the social order. Designs were rejected on an aesthetic rather than a moral level, described as ugly as it provided no alternative function to fit into their systematic order. Discipline in the context of my interview sample referred to the notion that hostile architecture is used to encourage homeless people to seek designated shelters. Instead of a coercive design aimed at punishing the homeless, it is constructed as a tool to steer them toward shelters. It is made ambiguous to fit into the order.

Chapter 7: Discussion

The aim of the research was to explore the use of hostile architecture in Copenhagen's landscape. Additionally, I wanted to explore how people living in the city make meaning out of the phenomenon. To research hostile architecture and its use in Copenhagen, I conducted sensory ethnography, strongly influenced by phenomenological ethnography and methods, and conducted interviews with housed individuals living in Copenhagen.

Examples of hostile architecture can be found throughout the city in their implicit and more explicit forms. I have explored how hostile architecture is used in three locations, Sundholm, Hovedbanegården, and Tivoli. Every space I observed during my fieldwork exhibited some mode of hostile architecture. The book-bench is disguised as an art piece and exhibits a coercive mechanism. It restricts the function of the bench so that it can only be used to sit on. Those who try to lie on the bench wind up getting physically injured. Education institutions are on each side of the Sundholm district, a kindergarten and a primary school. It looks like an attempt to integrate the homeless into the community from the outside. Through my fieldwork, I observed that the message sent with the bench is ambiguous. Behind it is a garden that is a meeting place for homeless people. So, while they are allowed to have a refuge in the garden, they must change their behavior to be presentable to the public that drives or walks by. Disorder and perceived disorder can affect how people navigate space, their sense of safety, and housing prices, and having people sleeping on the street is unsuitable for business. The institutions and neighboring houses are cast as an informal surveillance system.

The Hovedbanegården, as a quasi-public space, uses hostile architecture in tandem with other regulation and controlling mechanisms. The armrests on the benches physically prevent people from lying on the bench. Having fewer benches than people wanting to use them ensures they are more in demand and create less opportunity for people to linger around. That, combined with the uncomfortableness of the benches, keeps people moving throughout the station without staying too long. Other methods, such as requiring payment for the use of the bathroom inside the station, further discourage people from staying inside the station for too long. It is a heavily surveilled space, with many actors responsible for safety and surveillance, the police, private security guards, CCTV cameras, and civilians. It draws a resemblance to Foucault's (1977) disciplinary society. Securitized space is surveilled through different networks that attempts to objectify individuals to correct their behavior using benches. Its 'wrong' use is highlighted as a defect that can be adjusted and fixed (Foucault, 1977).

Tivoli is the most militarized space observed, created to keep people out. It looks like a prison you pay to enter—heavily barricaded and surveilled, fitted with bars and spikes that would physically injure people trying to climb over. The physical and symbolic barrier prevents unwanted guests from accessing the Tivoli grounds. Like accessing a military base, guests are met with checkpoints where they must produce identification (in this case, money). Once inside the facility, it feels like a neoliberal utopia where people are required to consume and behave according to the park rules. The yellow brick road leads you from the hot dog stand to the café, to the rollercoaster, to the pizzeria to the ice cream stand, to the bar, where at every point, you must consume more and more but not get visibly intoxicated, because then you are thrown out. Every inch of the park feels like it has been designed to maintain aesthetic order, the grass cut evenly to a specific height, the bushes trimmed in symmetrical shapes, and the water fountain filled with chlorine mixed water, so it maintains its color.

Hostile architecture is located throughout Copenhagen. Although the methods differ in the type of space, examples were found at each location. Based on my sample locations, hostile architecture is a factor in broader spatial control methods used in Copenhagen. Manipulation of the built and designed environment to maintain and regain control over the meaning and order of public space. The interviews provided essential data to understand how housed Copenhageners construct meaning out of public space, hostile architecture, and incivilities. The most prominent ideas that emerged were related to the alternative functions people were offered through the designs that they could fit into their order of daily life. Even though the people interviewed recognized that these designs were to prevent people from sleeping in public, if they could not construct an alternative function from the designs to fit into their system of order, it was classified as ugly. The ambiguousness of hostile architecture forces people to treat events differently to fit them into their system of order. Thus, people construct hostile architecture as a tool for authorities to encourage homeless people to seek shelter. By looking at hostile architecture as a mechanism to regain or maintain order it is a positive act.

The research project might have been too ambitious on my part. Although it provides valuable insight into the use of hostile architecture in three locations in Copenhagen, I cannot generalize how the use of hostile architecture is exerted in the whole of Copenhagen. The sample locations chosen could have been different. As I have stated, other and more explicit examples of hostile architecture are found in the city, e.g., bars over a heating vent. More time could be afforded to explore the scale of the use of hostile architecture in Copenhagen in the future. I hope this research project can contribute to the underdeveloped research field of public and urban spaces within Cultural Criminology. People shape spaces, and spaces shape people.

The increased securitization and exclusion in the public arena facilitates distrust among the public. Regulation and restriction in public space that has effectively criminalized a group of people for simply being a nuisance or a blemish in a highly cultivated image of the safe city points to the power structure that overarches contemporary society. The banality and mundane aspect of hostile architecture that permeates the cityscape can be easily overlooked by 'regular' citizens even though it is all around. Furthermore, exploring how restricted spaces are perceived and how people construct meaning from hostile architecture can advance understanding and methods of more benevolent crime control.

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Appendix



Image 1 that was shown to the participants (photo taken by the author).



Image 2 that was shown to the participants (photo taken by author).



Image 3 that was shown to the participants (Justesen, 2021a).

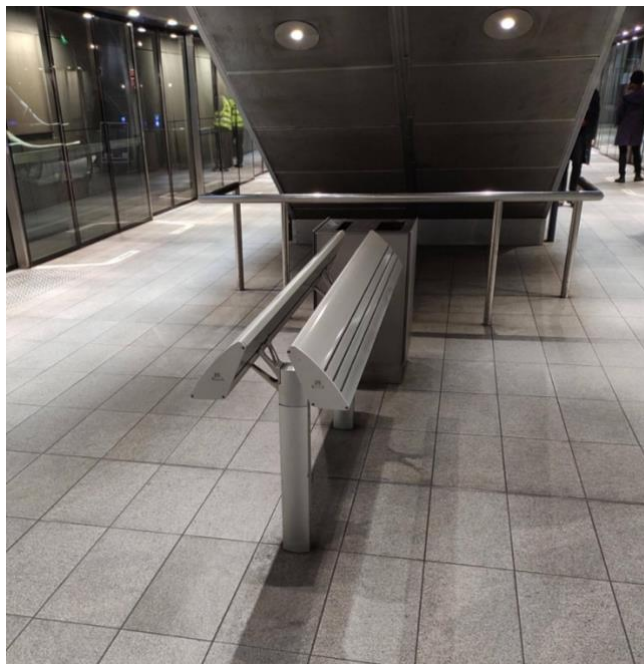


Image 4 that was shown to the participants (photo taken by author).



Image 5 that was shown to the participants (Justesen, 2021b).



Image 6 that was shown to the participants ([Book-bench in Sundholm], 2020).



Image 7 that was shown to the participants (Scheibye, 2017).



Image 8 that was shown to the participants (Hitsa, n.d.).

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