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PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURE

to witness, engage with, show, or do in cities

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ABSTRACT

This paper addresses how 'culture' is or can be present in a city, where culture is understood in a wide sense as cultural activities and output of creative activity as well as partaking in or making use of the same. The main line of argument is that this requires consideration of how to work with configurational analysis, which has implications for a wider set of issues but made apparent in the specific focus.

While this is anchored in empirical analysis, the main point is a theoretical-methodological discussion. In short, the paper proposes a model where culture needs to be understood from four perspectives—to witness, to engage with, to show, and to do—since these are differently related to the built environment in the conditions for how they appear, what effects they might have, and in what ways they are affected by and affect urban environments.

Specifically, the empirical analyses point to how inequalities between areas can be understood. The conditions for making sculptures and how this affects and is affected by its surrounding, simply put, is different from the effects and conditions for the placing of public sculptures, as are their effects on public and private life.

By use of specific and particular examples of activities or outputs, the article will also highlight qualitative aspects that need to be considered in relation to more precisely what kind of 'culture' that is intended to be supported, and how this relates to questions of democratic development and social equality.

KEYWORDS

Public Culture, Equality, Cultural Activity, Cultural Presence, Access To Culture

1. INTRODUCTION

City and *culture* are terms that are difficult to separate, meaning that to analyse their interrelation is fraught with dangers in definitions, cut-out issues and partiality of accounts. But also that how the investigation is framed is central to what understanding comes out of it. Our aim in this paper is to give a focused account of understanding 'city', 'culture', and their interrelation

in order to develop knowledge of how such relations can be investigated: we will present four perspectives of the relation between architecture and culture that raise methodological challenges and demonstrate dependency not only on different analytical techniques, but on different stances regarding culture, architecture, public space, society, and urban life. Central questions will revolve around how, for whom, by whom, for what purpose, and to what effect, which in the concluding discussion will be tied to questions of democracy and equality. This, we argue, will further highlight important questions of how analysis is performed more widely. In conclusion, the perspectives will be drafted as a proxy model for analysis. Before moving into the perspectives, however, it is in place to briefly contextualise the work in a wider discussion on cities and culture.

2. CITIES AND CULTURE

In a wide understanding the city, whether considered as life and processes or as built environment, *is* culture, just as processes in cities are culturally conditioned and culturally (re) productive. The way we build, arrange, articulate and symbolise society spatially and materially through architecture and infrastructure is one of the foundational ways through which society reifies itself, negotiating and communicating how we relate to one another, what we value, what we give importance, and what we disown or neglect (e.g. Markus, 1993; Foucault, 1986). The cultures of cities affect social, economic, and ecological development as well as identity and political processes (e.g. Griffiths and von Lünen, 2016) in how it embeds and communicates societal knowledge and norms (Marcus and Koch, 2017). Socio-spatial configurations are cultural formations as well as formative of cultures (Palaiologou et al, 2016; Peponis, 1985)[1]. The way cities relate to what is often more explicitly recognised as culture is part of such a process and varies over time and space, which can be recognised in how Miwon Kwon (2002) identifies paradigms of public art:

> "Three distinct paradigms can be identified within the roughly 35-year history of modern public art movement in the United States. First, there is the art-in-public-places model exemplified by Alexander Calder's La Grande Vitesse in Grand Rapids, Michigan (1967) [...] The second paradigm is the art-as-public-spaces approach typified by design-oriented urban sculptures of Scott Burton, Siah Amajani, Mary Miss, Nancy Holt, and others, which function as street furniture, architectural constructions, or landscaped environments. Finally, there is the art-in-the-public-interest model, named such by critic Marlene Raven and most cogently theorized by artist Suzanne Lacy under the heading of 'new genre public art.'" (60)

While these paradigms can hardly be seen as exhaustive, Kwon points to radical changes to conditions of making as well as evaluating art with conflicted relations to political issues; 'public interest' is, for instance, not an easy concept to define as it holds a complex relation to who this 'public' is, and how its interest is understood and determined. Both Kwon and Dario Gamboni (1997) respectively provide clear examples of the political significance embedded in artworks and exhibitions intended for the general public, Gamboni through the conflicts around the *8th Swiss Sculpture Exhibitio*n in Bienne in 1980 (170-181) and Kwon through the problematic of site specific art and inhabitants' sense of being represented or excluded (56-79). Even more pointedly one could relate to Gamboni's discussions of the public art of dictatorships—also closely investigated by e.g. Groys (1992)—and their destruction. Widening the question of representation, Sharon Zukin critically discuss issues of representation and representativity in public space as highly complex questions that over time builds what she terms 'public culture' through constant negotiation. That is, analysis of 'culture' needs to acknowledge and handle the issue that any definition will be informed by norms and perceptions of what constitutes 'culture', recognising that this will also mean a limitation to, as Zukin points out, *who's cultur*e is being considered.

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1 We deliberately avoid the term 'spatial cultures', because we believe that our discussion has different aims than the discussion on spatial cultures in e.g. Peponis work on the spatial culture of factories (1985) or Palaiologou et al's (2016) discussions on how configurations contribute to a city's culture.

3. FOUR (ARCHITECTURAL) PERSPECTIVES ON CULTURE

The main thrust of this article is a prototype analytical model considering culture in cities from four perspectives: *to witness, to engage with, to show, and to do*. The intention is to demonstrate how different perspectives on 'culture' demands different analytical approaches: different sites or activities would be relevant, would hold different meanings and implications, and would influence and afford different ranges of activity and interpretation. Arguably, the perspectives also challenge some common notions in discourses concerning cities and culture (see e.g. Deutsche, 1996). The focus will be on 'traditionally' cultural activities and objects such as art, theatre, music, and literature, largely discussed through philosophy of art, and given concreteness through empirical examples. These delimitations are made to provide theoretical robustness and clarity, while we otherwise subscribe to a much wider understanding of 'culture'. The perspectives are developed specifically to relate to architecture, and we will go through them in an order that arguably begins in a more familiar end of urban research and moves towards less investigated and theorised areas.

3.1. TO WITNESS

In *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (2008), Walter Benjamin distinguishes between two types of experience of art, the immersed experience of a gallery visit, and the distracted experience of the everyday:

"Distraction and immersion constitute opposites, enabling us to say this: the person who stands in contemplation before a work of art immerses himself in it; he enters that work— as legend tells us happened to a Chinese painter on once catching sight of is finished painting. The distracted mass, however, absorbs the work of art into itself. Buildings, most obviously." (33).

In a sense, Benjamin compares what could be called *non-reflective* experience to a *deliberately aesthetic engagement*. The perspective here labelled 'to witness' studies culture from the former perspective, a position that arguably is a familiar one in space syntax (Hillier and Hanson, 1984) research. In more recent aesthetic theory, 'to witness' can be linked to *aesthetics of the everyday* (e.g. Mandoki, 2007) with roots in pragmatist aesthetics of Dewey (1934). However, everyday aesthetics is not necessarily as Dewey concerned with the experience of beauty in everyday environment but a wider set of experiences[2]. In this article, we here consider 'witnessing' inclusively as distracted experience from the point of view of humans as cultural beings.
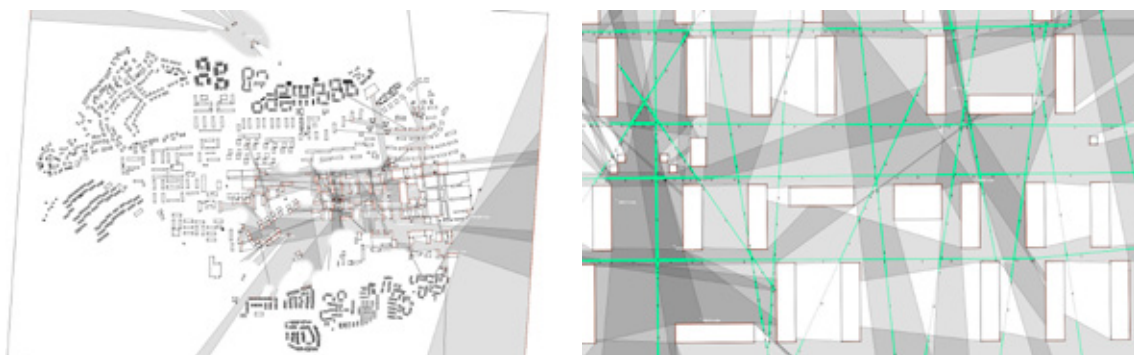

Figure 1: Isovists (see Tandy, 1967) from public artworks in Skärhomen and Vårberg, south of Stockholm (left), and how the isovist cover axial lines in a selection of the area (right). In the larger map, we have blurred the edges that we have created to represent topography or nature since the exact boundaries are not possible to present. In the zoom in, the thickness of the turquoise lines indicate number of isovists covering the segment. The figures are made with a low resolution of detail to illustrate the principle. Figures made in Spot with Paths, by Pablo Miranda Carranza (Miranda et al, 2013), touched up in photoshop.

2 Kupfer (1983) points to the importance to understand for instance violence in modern society as holding an aesthetic dimension, and Shusterman (1992) brings in additional sensory experiences (in particular the bodily experiences of soma-aesthetics).

A concrete example is the public sculpture which we see every day but seldom stop to reflect upon or look closely at, which we engage with mainly as a place to sit or let children play, or which we use as a landmark. 'To witness' thus concerns what is present in everyday life; what is seen on the way to work or school, when heading to the grocery store, when taking a stroll, from one's window, et cetera. This suggests a twofold question of on the one hand the *relative presence* of cultural objects, institutions and activities 'as such', and the different *ways in which they are present* on the other. Here, we show an analysis of *public artworks in public space* using Isovists (Figure 1). These isovists show both the density of visible artworks in public space, from where specific artworks can be seen, and, considered per artwork, provide information of the narratives, situatedness, and possible approaches to the different artworks. In extension, one could consider the way they form extended continuous or interrupted narratives as Stavroulaki and Peponis do regarding sculptures in Castelvecchio (2003), or how artworks are confined to particular spaces or if they reappear in different views throughout the city, as Psarra discusses the staging in Soane's museum (2009). Finally, the figure demonstrates how walks along a small set of chosen streets have different presences of public art: it is not only about the artworks, but also about the way they make art present in everyday life which is not only about where they are specifically located, but how this location extends in spatial configuration.

Before continuing to the next perspective, it is worth returning to Benjamin's statement, specifically that the distracted mass *absorbs the work into itself*. He continues to discuss architecture as the historically prevalent—even archetypical—example of this mode of aesthetic experience which is grounded in *habit* and *casual observation*. Ballantyne (2011) expands on this notion of habit as central to the link between the built environment and society:

> "If everything is going well, we do not focus on the building but rather on what we are trying to do in it. [...] In this regard, the appropriate conceptual model for the building is not the artwork, but the tool, and the aesthetic appreciation of the building cannot be separated from what it does." (43)

But he continues clearly with that "[t]his in no way undermines a 'contemplative' appreciation of buildings [...] but if we want to understand how buildings come to be more closely implicated in people's lives and identities, then we need to understand something of the bond that is established through habitual use." (43-44) *Everyday* is thus not an essential but a relational property, and any particular environment or artwork can alter in whether it is experienced in a distracted or engaged manner.

'To witness' thereby becomes an important question in the negotiation of public culture (Zukin, 1995), including the relation between witnessing—or perhaps better, witnessing or *not* witnessing—and showing as will be discussed below. We can also link this to research into segregation both through effects of co-presence (Legeby, 2010, 2013) and through what kind of environments and expressions one encounters throughout daily life: whether we encounter diversity, otherness and challenges to norms and ideals, as well as whether we encounter diversity or similarity in everyday (aesthetic) experience. Drawing on Ballantyne and Benjamin above, 'to witness' can be linked to transmission of cultural norms through architectural configuration as discussed by for instance Hanson (1998) and Markus (1993).

Cities in this perspective become material mediators of awareness of multiple kinds. One is the awareness and perception of 'culture' in the sense of art, literature, theatre, and so on. Another is the awareness and perception of the potentials and possibilities of engaging with either— be it as experiencing or making subject. In both interpretations, this relates to potentials and possibilities locally *and* in society at large. That is, if we remain in a narrow discussion of art as example of culture: is art an integrated part of society and urban life, or is it for selective audiences, for specific, intentional museum visits, or even not present at all? Furthermore, to the extent it is present, *how* is it present, with which variation and under which conditions?

3.2. TO ENGAGE WITH

The second perspective we suggest is the other side of Benjamin's argument, which he describes as the experiencing of art that "[...] calls for the immersion of the viewer." (33) This is a thoroughly investigated subject, not only in how it relates to the notion of art and what art is, but also how it shapes and conditions aesthetic experience. For instance, critique concerns how the discourse focuses on aesthetic experience understood as the deliberate engagement of a (single) subject with specific pieces of art (e.g. Bourdieu and Darbel, 1991; Bennet, 1995)[3]. Here, we do not confine 'to engage with' to certain settings; rather, active engagement as what defines 'to engage with', which is therefore not limited to specific artefacts, places, or people.

This said, there are arguably places, events, and activities that are linked to an 'aesthetic' attitude out of norms and habits as well as because of how many of these places require either entry fees or an active choice of seeking them out (for the purpose of experiencing), but also because there are qualities and experiences that are only available through conscious engagement. The typical example of 'to engage with' would be the museum visit, the concert, the gallery exploration, and similar.

Active engagement, however, does not remove the experience from situational and contextual dependency. Both the immediate spatial and social setting and the narratives and memories leading up to it participate in defining the experience as well as interpretation of the artwork, and museums and galleries take part in the formation of specific attitudes and ways of understanding and experiencing art (Kaye, 2000; Buskirk, 2002; Tzortzi, 2015; Zamani and Peponis, 2010). An analysis that considers 'to engage with' therefore needs to incorporate qualitative interpretation just as much as the analysis of 'to witness', even if part of the packaging of the experience more commonly comes in the form of institutionalised settings. Thus, while there are arguments to make for investing in public institutions in locations with good accessibility, limiting the notion to such settings also limits the range of possible aesthetic experiences which they can provide. A more nuanced understanding of culture must incorporate allowance for discoveries, particularities, and the quiet contemplation in mostly 'empty' spaces, including the range of narratives leading to the experience, and the range of narratives possible *in* the experience. Tzortzi and Hillier (2016) here provides a clear case in discussing the staging of exhibitions of performative arts in museums, and how performativity can be partially re-enacted *qua* specific types of configurations.

Pragmatically, whith care taken to not limit this perspective, institutions can provide concrete examples because of the institutionalisation of aesthetic engagement. For instance, in analysing how a city distributes density, accessibility, or exposure of institutions (compare Figure 2).

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3   The 'immersed experience' is central to a (western) discourse of aesthetics that can be traced back to for instance Hegel (1975) and Kant (1974) and works by Bourdieu and Darbel (1991), Bennet (1995), Buskirk (2003), and Kaye, 2000, and in space syntax research amongst others Psarra (2009), Tzortzi (2011), and Tzortzi and Hillier (2016), examine and critique the extent to which aesthetic experience depends on knowledge in how to experience art on one hand, and how architectural staging conditions the experience.
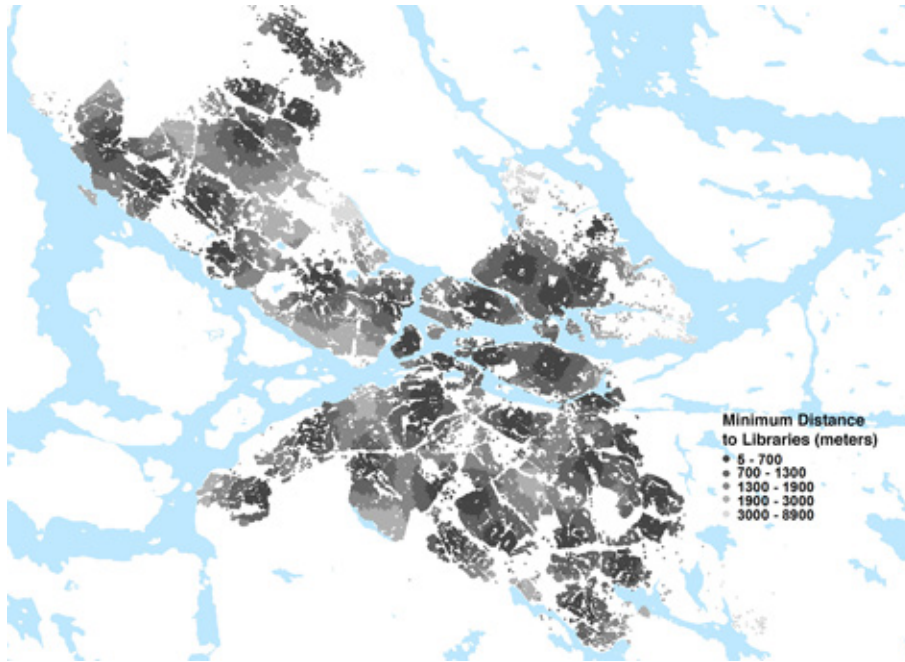
Figure 2 - The minimum distance to libraries in the Stockholm Municipality as measured in number of meters along axial lines (above), and the population the libraries are expected to serve according to the municipality (below). In the diagram, blue represents the municipal plan, and red and green accessible population within 1 and 2 kilometres respectively. Analysis in PST (Ståhle, Marcus and Karlström, 2005). Figure originally in Legeby, et al. (2016b).
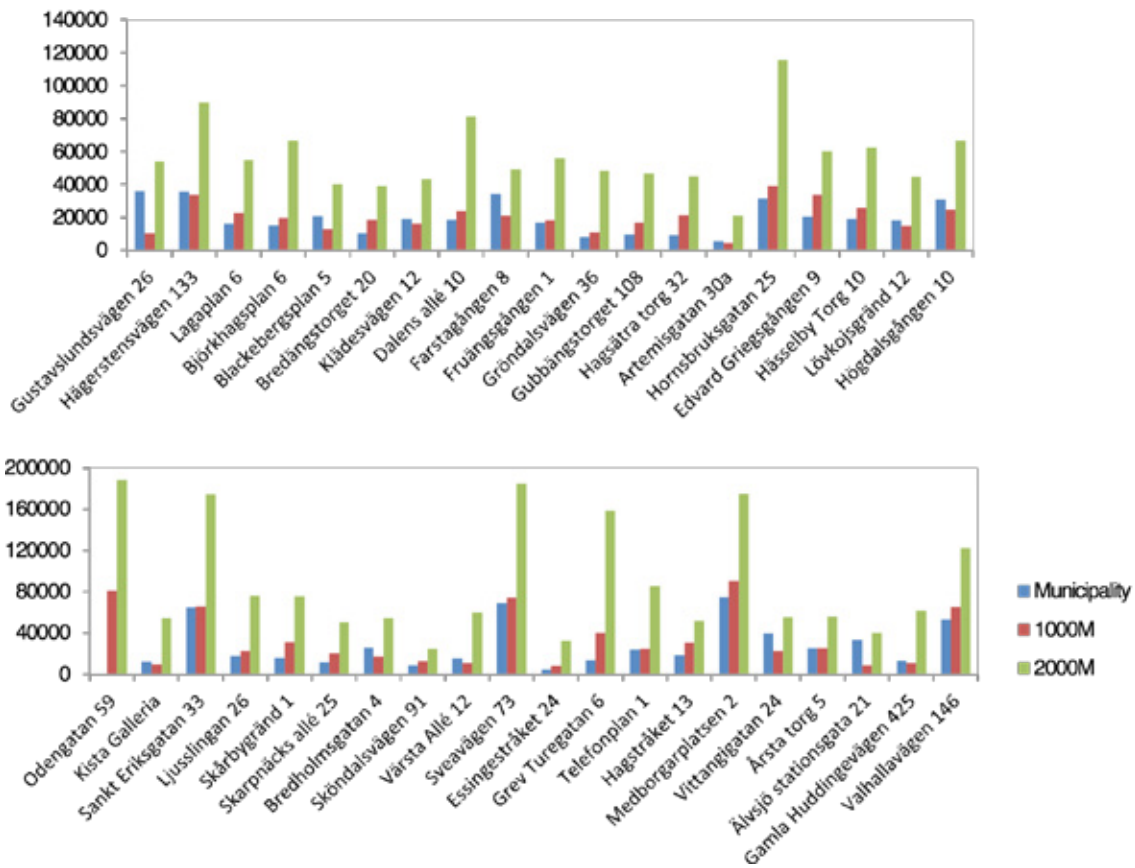
As the figure shows, there is first an inequality in how these institutions are distributed geographically, and *second*, that this inequality is even further enhanced through configuration of accessibility. This is the result of combinations of *localisations* of the institutions and *morphology* of the access network rather increasing than, as could be the case, evening out the difference in conditions. Adding the layer of distribution through space (Koch, 2017) to the analysis, one can see how the effects and reach of singular institutions or clusters thereof not only depend on the institution as such, but the configuration of its context.

3.3. TO SHOW

Rather than being concerned with the audience's active or passive experience of and engagement with (to witness, to engage with) culture, 'to show' focuses on the author's possibility to express, demonstrate, exhibit, display, or otherwise communicate their work to an audience. That is, it focuses on the play's actors rather than the play's audience in the shared experience of the theatre (e.g. Weston, 2012; Read, 2014; Feuerstein and Read, 2013), or the artist's possibility to communicate their work to an audience, rather than the audience's reception *thereof*. It thereby incorporates relational aspect of that which someone might wish to show, the possibility to show it under the conditions it is wished to be shown, and the links between author, audience and environment for in considering what that which is shown would turn out to 'be' (e.g. Pelettier, 2013). To show is thereby differentiated from the next perspective—to do—in its communicative aspect. They are not *opposites* in the direct sense of being different activities per se, but in that 'to show' is intrinsically dependent on an audience, whereas 'to do' is *independent* of audience (not audience rather than no audience).

To show thus clearly—and obviously—relates to witnessing and engaging with, but it is important to consider the differences: the possibility to witness or engage with outdoor theatre, for instance, is not symmetrically related to the possibility for any individual to *perform* outdoor theatre. Similarly, the degree and diversity with which one can witness art in public space is fundamentally *unrelated* to the extent to which any individual can show (exhibit, perform, demonstrate, etc.) in public space. In some regimes, performing or exhibiting is limited to a few select individuals, and in others it is a possibility for if not all then at least many. Different urban settings also have different allowances. The affordances and allowances of showing thereby becomes one of the most deeply political questions of the perspectives and another of the central negotiations in public culture (Zukin, 1995)—*who* is allowed to show, where, and under what conditions? Arguably, this is a reason why it is a highly contested issue in many cases (see e.g. Gamboni, 1997; Foucault, 1986; Gabrielsson, 2012)—conflicts concern as much or more *who should have the right or priority to show* as the art itself or what it symbolises. As argued by Zukin (1995), showing, and a distributed and equal right to, becomes a fundament in a democratic public space.

To illustrate the affordances and possibilities of 'showing', we analyse the accessible number of outdoor stages, scenes, culture houses and galleries in the municipality in Figure 3. While they offer quite different types of opportunities, they together can be seen to represent a diversity of options. The difference in the city is remarkable, shifting between zero and 178. Large parts of the municipality have very little opportunities while the central city has good coverage throughout.
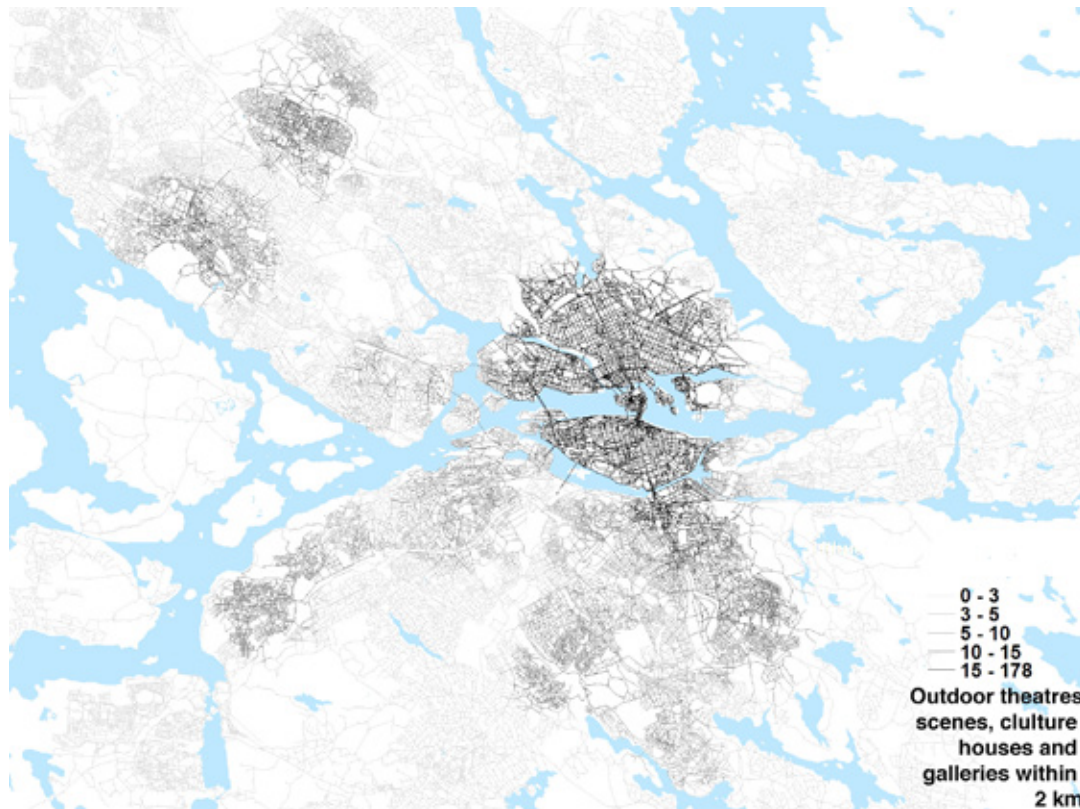
Figure 3 - Accessible number of outdoor theatres, scenes, culture houses and galleries within 2 km, measured per axial line, and in walking distance along axial lines. Analysis in PST (Ståhle, Marcus and Karlström, 2005). Figure originally in Legeby, et al. (2016b).

3.4. TO DO

For the final aspect specifically, revolving the discussion around art helps clarify the point. As Boris Groys points out clearly in Going Public (2010), the concept of *aesthesis* in classical Greek thinking formed only one aspect of the philosophy of art concerning experience, interpretation and evaluation. The wider philosophy of art also included *poesis* and *techne*. In a simplified translation, this comes down to the difference between how art is experienced and valued, how art is created and imagined, and how art is produced through skills and techniques. Arguably, most discussion on public art as well as cities and culture are from the point of view of *aesthetsis*. This also concerns discourses exemplified by Richard Florida (2005), that rather looks at economic and cultural benefits generated *for others by art* than either art or artists in themselves or the conditions for a wider population to engage in 'doing'. Whether leaning on Groys or Adorno (1997), these are aesthetic approaches in the sense that *aesthesis* concerns the perspective of 'consumption', subjecting art and artistic work to a consumer market and its value to consumer value as compared to for instance values of individuals or collectives engaging in artistic practice as such.

However, as discussed by Groys, the three aspects are not strictly concerned with *producers* and *consumers*. Production of art always involves all three aspects of aesthetic experience and judgement, explorative and generative poesis, and the crafts and skills of techne. The reason to bring the discussion in is the general lack in discourses on urbanity on the spaces, processes and conditions of *poesis* and *techne*. Arguably, when these are discussed it tends to be in how they can generate *aesthesis*—that is 'creative activity' considered through how it produces experiences or goods for consumption, including the experience or consumption of secondary outputs embedded in notions of the artists contributing to local culture via their presence (e.g. Deutsche, 1996; compare Florida, 2005; Sacco, 2013; Glaeser, 2011).

We are not denying that 'doing' is central also for *aesthesis* in the longer term, the need of skill and creativity to 'produce' what is culturally 'consumed' (i.e. to develop and foster *poesis* and *techne*), but it needs to be recognised that such arguments risks posing *onto* creative processes that their end purpose is to generate aesthetic experience, which leaves out a vast range of acts that are simply creative explorations and may even be possible only under the conditions that it is *not* to be made subservient to the experience (and judgement) of others whether 'amateur' or 'professional'. Such a view subscribes all human activity under a paradigm of productivity measured through consumable value. Or, more pointedly, it can in line with Rosalyn Deutsche's argument (1996; also Kwon, 2002) be claimed that in a democratic and free society, allowance and opportunity for creativity without the expected link to consumption must have its place, since practicing creativity can have values on individual and collective levels regardless of whether it produces anything tangible for society to experience or consume[4].

An analysis that eschews the notion that poesis and techne is for the purpose of concurrent or forthcoming collective or individual aesthesis can set up another range of analyses, and make other interpretations of the result. What is at stake is the difference between what 'creative practice' and the actors engaging in it contribute to the life of others and liveliness of an area on one hand, and what the conditions for engaging in the practice for whichever sake it is engaged in allow, enable, restrict or prevent on the other. Or, if we analyse the density or presence of artist ateliers in an area as in figure 4, do we do it to understand what the area affords in terms of supporting *poesis* and honing of *techne*, or do we do it do it to see how the activity and people who engage in it contribute to urban life and to the experiences of others?

We should stress here, that we are not looking for 'right' or 'wrong' in posing these questions. Rather, we stress how either is a limited understanding of architecture, culture, cities and societies, but that knowledge of how to analyse conditions of *poesis* and—even more so— *techne* is comparatively underdeveloped.

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4 Deutsche also critiques large part of the then-concurrent art discourse for too often confusing democracy and the rights and position of specific, avant-garde artists (Deutsche, 1996, 257-268). It is in line with this discussion, which can be further enriched by its relation to Kwon's, Gamboni's, Groy's, and Zukin's works, that we argue for a difference between the possibility for 'anyone' to engage in 'poesis'—or, to 'show' or 'do'—and the amount of such activities for consumers or the existence or affordance for professionals respectively.
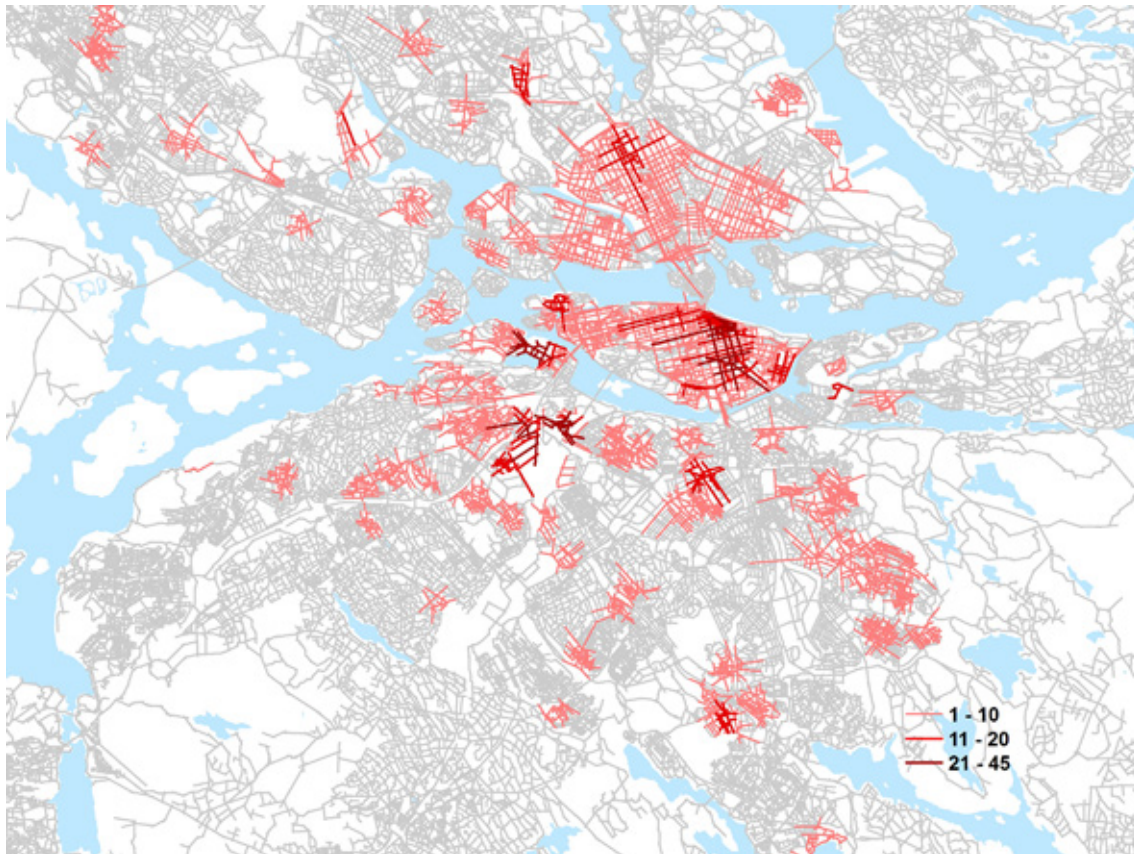
Figure 4 - Accessible number of Ateliers within 300 meters, measured from axial lines and along axial lines. The ateliers in the dataset are the ateliers with economic support from the municipality. Analysis in PST (Ståhle, Marcus and Karlström, 2005). Figure originally in Legeby et al. (2016b).

4. A NOTE ON CULTURE, NARRATIVES AND STAGING

Before concluding, we wish to again point to how cultural experiences and activities considered from all the perspectives above are situationally and contextually dependent. Some depend on seclusion, remoteness, calm, or being deliberately sought out while others on accessibility, presence, repetition, chance encounter, or spontaneous audiences (see e.g. Liebst, 2013). This holds true for works and activities in all four perspectives, even if, arguably, there are *tendencies* in the perspectives towards certain types of contexts. The situation also defines the activity or experience itself: think of the difference between an intimate small concert room, an arena concert, and a performance in a central square or a mall (compare: Pelettier, 2013). The relational, social, and narrative aspects involved can completely redefine the experience, and constitutes affordances for what artists and audience can do.

Characters such as seclusion can here be provided *either* by distance or boundaries, although the kind of seclusion would differ, and the narratives leading to the activity would become different—which affects the experience and interpretation. Similarly, large audiences can come from centrality or exposure, but also via other means such as large concerts, festivals, and arenas often rather draw audiences to themselves by means of attraction of the activity or institution 'despite' being relatively remotely located. This can be discussed as in Figure 5, showing a schematised interpretation of situations where certain activities or experiences are more *likely* to occur.
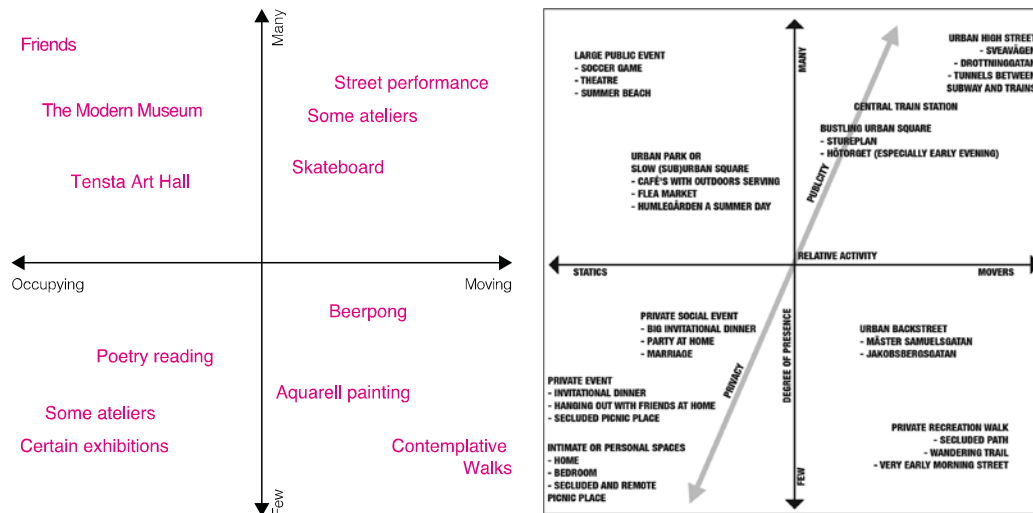
Figure 5 - A figure illustrating some of the activities and places discussed with the municipality, and how they may relate to socio-spatial situation in terms of both presence of others, and the character of this presence (a remaining group, or for passers by). The figure relates to principles developed in Koch (2007), on the right.

Tzortzi and Hillier (2016) demonstrate how quite local configurational operations can enable experiential characters that are unlikely to occur in other configurations, in how specific spatial strategies stage exhibition qualities that comes closer to performative than others. In a similar manner, Psarra (2009) discuss the different narrative experiences of Acropolis and Parthenon as staged by configurational narratives, where the stories are encountered as an overviewed whole or through sequencing (Hanson, 1998) of partial views. She further explores how Sir John Soane's museum operates with repeated exposure of certain artworks to construct a complex narrative of differentiated relations and interpretations as one moves through the exhibition.

The point here is to stress that also in the quantitative analysis above, it is important to include qualitative considerations: a work of art does not become inherently better because it is seen by more people or more often—or fewer more seldom. Furthermore, the way it is staged is an intrinsic part of the experience as such. While this may sound obvious, it has large impacts on analytic frameworks, challenging many habitual interpretations of for instance density, integration, and co-presence. The quality from individual, collective, societal, aesthetical, or any other points of view may as much lie in rarity of and exclusivity in encounter, such as when walking along a secluded path as in the repeated, daily presence in everyday experience. The kind of expression and experience may be dependent on configurations of narratives, which therefore must be central to discourses on relations between architecture, cities, and culture. Similarly, 'doing' or 'showing' is contextually dependent: certain forms of 'doing' depends on seclusion or even isolation whereas others depend on audiences in various ways, and 'showing' holds a complex relation to what it is that is being shown and under which conditions it works to be shown. Arguably, a productive coexistence and development of subcultures depend on a varied and distributed set of affordances (Williams, 2011), and whether they become isolated or integrated in the sense of *sometimes* meeting in public is in large part affected by architectural configurations of space.

5. ON THE INTEGRATED CHARACTER OF CULTURE

As should be clear from the above, the perspectives do not purport to form neatly separated categories into which people, institutions, functions, artworks, activities, or sites distribute themselves. Rather, most forms of culture find their existence in most perspectives, and the perspectives are interdependent. However, most forms also emphasise different perspectives: art museums respond primarily to the idea of *engaging with art* whereas an artwork in a central square tend to rather be witnessed. While ateliers can be understood as places focused on *to do*,

they often double up as exhibition spaces. In many cased *doing* is tightly linked with showing, witnessing, and engaging with: the possibility to show, which in extension depends on people who may witness or engage with, is of great importance for someone trying to make their living on cultural activities—but *doing* and *showing* are only sometimes co-located in time and space. Conversely, *witnessing* and *engaging with culture* is only weakly dependent on local opportunities for *showing* and *doing*. The culture industry, arguably, rather builds on *disconnecting* the two in similar ways as consumer society in general tends to separate production and consumption (Baudrillard, 1998; Lefebvre, 1991). We wish to acknowledge and address this as an analytical challenge: it is important to recognise the integrated character of culture, but most cultural activities, places, and objects stress one or some of the perspectives. In a more substantial analysis, therefore, libraries might show up in several categories (to witness, to engage with, to do), whereas cellar rehearsal spaces would potentially be limited to 'to do', while potentially absolutely necessary for the existence of a rich culture of local youth bands (e.g. Williams, 2011; Koch, 2016).

6. CONCLUSION

The perspectives allow and require a broad notion of the question of architecture or urban design, in that it becomes difficult to discuss several of the perspectives—even if perhaps most obviously 'to witness' and 'to do'—with a limitation to public space. Rather, understanding the conditions and activities of 'culture' in the focused sense as discussed here by necessity transgresses dichotomies between private and public, while their character as integral aspects of culture simultaneously demonstrates the necessity for such a transgressive analysis. It also extends notions of communication and interaction in time and space, as the relation between 'to do', 'to show', and 'to witness' are interlinked but not bound to actors being co-present per se. With the added understanding of cultural activity as situated practices, the discussion can become more nuanced and qualitatively informed and explored not in a single combined spatial analysis, but in a set of qualitative and quantitative analyses interrelated, for instance as exemplified in figure 6.

Seen from a perspective of democratic society and social equality, this poses challenges for how to plan and provide opportunities and possibilities: providing cultural institutions does not necessarily answer to all the perspectives. At the same time, some activities depend on conditions that are not the focus on much discourse on urban planning and design: remoteness, seclusion, quiet contemplation, et cetera. However, from such a point of view, the built environment not only affords, but restricts and limits. It is our contention that there is need for a more conscious and deliberate engagement in working with a broader and more nuanced view of culture, taking into account different conditions of different aspects of 'cultural activity'. This article constitutes a step in this direction.
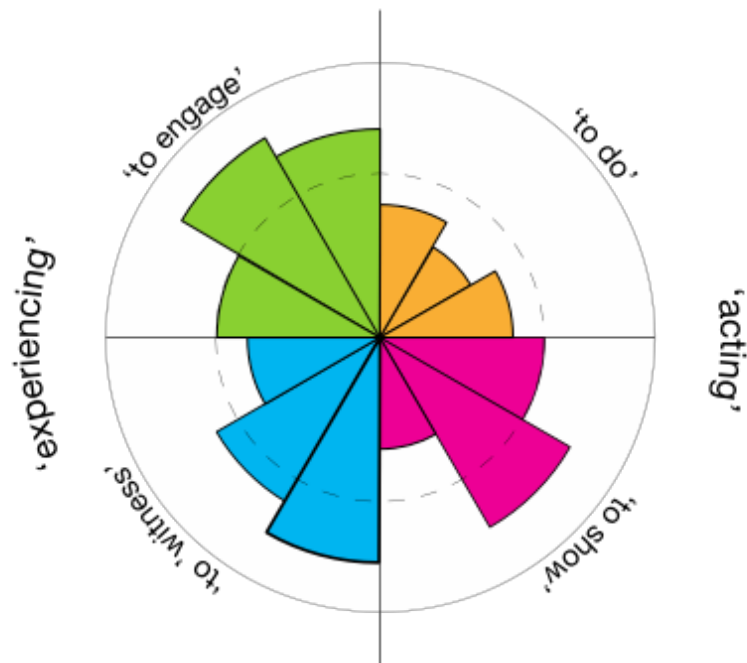
Figure 6 - Looking at each perspective from a set of different perspectives, environments could be evaluated in a rich and nuanced way. Potentially, a 'minimum' or 'target' level could be included in the evaluation as here represented in a dashed circle. The diagram is conceptual and while some aspects may be quantified, there is also a range that cannot be quantified or may work better as a qualitative estimation. Figure variant of figure in Legeby, et al. (2016a).

It is furthermore our argument that while we have limited our discussion in this article around rather traditional forms of culture, the reasoning behind the perspectives hold true for a much broader understanding, and points to issues with analytic methods in general that focus on issues analogous to aesthesis, and furthermore analogous to particular forms of aesthesis—lively streets as a proxy for community, and effect on reflective experience as an understanding of architectural quality. For example, 'to do' could be political activity or hobbies—the former necessary for local formation of opinions and discussions—where 'to witness' for another part for an ongoing public democratic discourse in building awareness and potentially understanding of diversity through everyday encounters (e.g. Legeby, 2010). The interplay between the perspectives, arguably, become as important as any perspective in itself. As an architectural problem, all perspectives are integral, and cannot be restricted to 'public space', whereas specific administrative agencies may need to operate in the public realm primarily (or entirely).

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