

# *Thick Photographic Descriptions*

## Another Way of Telling Danish Welfare Landscapes

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### **Welfare Landscapes**

Following the Second World War, wellbeing became a key dimension of the emerging Scandinavian, or 'universal', welfare state model adopted in Denmark, where social equality was prioritized by an enlarged public sector in which basic services were financed through taxation<sup>1</sup>. Such was the post-war vision for Copenhagen, emphasizing the 'creation of a city with as

healthy and altogether good and ideal living conditions as possible<sup>2</sup>. Housing was a cornerstone of this good life vision<sup>3</sup>, thus it is arguably no coincidence that the ideas about welfare are quite similar to those about social housing. In Danish, 'social housing' (*almene boliger*) means general housing, which can be literally translated as 'housing for all', which describes how the system was designed to provide a residence for anyone, regardless of age, ability, financial status or family composition. Essentially, the concepts of welfare and social housing construction are based on the same fundamental idea of establishing a good life for every citizen. This paper explores how 'nature' – in the form of the landscapes of these housing estates – was a central part of this vision: moving away from being regarded as a peripheral escape or protected scenic area as it was in the past, to being valued as an essential amenity and common ground for the creation of the new welfare vision for all. As such, this paper refers to the green spaces of social housing estates as 'welfare landscapes'<sup>4</sup>.

'Welfare landscapes' is a single expression that tells a big story: living arrangements conceived on the basis of contested and locally negotiated ideas about welfare that attempted to materialize ideals of wellbeing that had never been constructed before. However, the consistent reference to the areas surrounding the architectural constructions over time as 'green open spaces', or 'free' or 'open' areas (*friarealer*),<sup>5</sup> obscures meaningful differences among what I argue are nuanced and diverse, green and grey, open and enclosed spaces. Furthermore, and likely as a result, these landscapes and their existing spatial qualities – the areas, elements and changing materialities that characterize them – are rarely articulated in the stories commonly told today, and are seldom acknowledged in the contemporary Danish regenerative efforts taking place within these social housing estates. The focus and priority of regenerative efforts given to architectural and densification approaches pays little attention to embedded and unique values of the welfare landscapes, or for site-specific and contextual narratives related to nature.<sup>6</sup>

We need new ways of seeing and communicating the value of these landscaped spaces in light of their central role in the idealized vision, and practical reality, of the ‘good life’. While many people may continue to desire to live in these green housing environments, little is known of their unique design history and vision.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, this paper brings to the foreground these overlooked landscapes of Danish social housing programmes in order to show how nature was moulded by social, cultural and (landscape) architectural currents and aspirations at the time – each site a materialization of local ‘good life’ visions still present in the landscapes we walk today. Through an analysis of, and engagement with, historical documents – as well as situated photographic modes of inquiry – this investigation into welfare landscapes focuses on the less-acknowledged but vital forces that shape the green outdoor areas of the housing estates, framing details to emphasize the specificity of place and depicting a landscape for living where humans were central. This way of working can offer insights into multifarious spatial grounds, diverse interpretations of green spaces, and the construction of humane living environments designed for access to nature – but also provide civic opportunities and affordances for gathering, play, community, privacy, personal development and the like – all within these welfare landscapes.

### **Polemic Dialogues – Thick Descriptions**

The aim has been to enhance the specificity and contextuality of these green spaces – giving value to the nuances, idiosyncrasies and the local, situated character of the landscapes – and to find ways of addressing nature that can enable an understanding of landscapes as, borrowing from Anne Whiston Spirn, arenas of polemic dialogues, made up of multiple meanings, various interpretations and diverse perspectives.<sup>8</sup> By articulating the negotiated nature of welfare landscapes as a materialization of an incipient vision of ‘the good life’, the possible futures for these Danish social housing sites may be imagined in dialogue with detailed and situated landscape readings, acknowledging what I refer to as the *thickness* of the landscape.

Originating in the field of anthropology, thick description was developed by Clifford Geertz in his book *The Interpretation of Cultures*, where he outlined the need for descriptions to go beyond scientific facts and surface appearances. He argued for the insertion of details, context and history into descriptive accounts in order to reveal the vital, intricate and layered quality of cultures – or in this case, the Danish social housing sites.<sup>9</sup> However, it is not exhaustive coverage that makes a description ‘thick’ – it is not simply amassing details – rather, as a hermeneutical practice, thick description is a creative act of interpretation that becomes thick through bringing together and identifying the multiplicity of relations among aspects, elements and perspectives that manifest themselves in the subject of analysis. Thick description is thus both an act of clarifying and mediating the world – *grasping* the maze of perspectives and *rendering* them anew.<sup>10</sup> It is an act of making in the present that addresses the past and fosters new ideas for the future.

In recent years, a few researchers in the fields of landscape/architecture have adopted ‘thick’ to describe theories and methodologies designed to challenge the linearity, singularity or stability of time and/or space. Jeremy Till argues for the impossibility of placing time into categories, therefore making it ‘thick’, lived and providing space for the unfolding of action.<sup>11</sup> In the same anthology, Iain Borden too implements ‘thick’ to explore the space of negotiation that architectural boundaries present, thereby addressing the many sociopolitical entities that are involved in the determination of the edge.<sup>12</sup> The usage of ‘thick’ also extends methodologically to artist and landscape architect Catherine Dee’s ‘thick drawing’ as a poetic critical approach for embodied landscape studies in order to reveal the complexity of ‘what is really going on’.<sup>13</sup> Urban landscape historian Tharisa Way implements thickness in traditional architectural drafting methods to create ‘thick sections’ in order to visualize the complex layers of history beyond what is seen on the surface of abandoned industrial landscape sites.<sup>14</sup> In line with these researchers, by rendering ‘thick’ photographic

descriptions of the Danish housing estates Bellahøj and Farum Midtpunkt, built respectively in the 1950s and in the 1970s, I intend to engage with the polemic nature of the landscapes and their layered and unique design history, engaging in a close looking of the material particularities that speak to the welfare visions of these housing landscapes.

In order to understand the polemic nature of the Danish welfare landscapes I have first of all attempted to take a generous view of varied perspectives, histories, details, spaces and ideals to see what they can offer. I did so by consulting archival material and historical sources pertaining to the sites' construction. Secondly, I have engaged in spatial analysis through photography and visual modes of inquiry to consider the physical materiality and spatial qualities of the landscapes.<sup>15</sup> Thirdly, I have placed these two ways of knowing and working together by creating photographic essays, allowing immaterial and material, past and present, histories and on-the-ground discoveries to come together to create descriptions of the welfare landscapes that are *thicker* than any history of forms or figure-ground spatial analysis could depict. I consider this to be a process of *grasping* and *rendering* akin to the practice of creating thick descriptions. A *grasping* of the historical context, intentions, currents and my own on-the-ground perspectives, followed by the *rendering* of these insights into objects of mediation that provoke a rethinking of welfare landscapes. Together these methods of essentially collecting and creating offer the possibility to broaden understandings of often oversimplified green spaces by enabling diverse perspectives, insights and intentions to articulate the vital role of welfare landscapes and their spatial composition in the making of 'the good life'.

For me, creating thick descriptions amounts to 'another way of telling' welfare landscapes – a phrase adopted from photographer and author John Berger, who uses photography as a visual means to reveal and create new connections with the world around us. Adopting a standpoint from landscape studies, this approach presents an alternative perspective on Danish

social housing estates combining spatial and historical analysis through a combined photo-textual inquiry. By ‘thickening’ modes of telling – or describing – with photography, there is an opportunity to sensitize and ground in the visual and physical landscape that which is hard to grasp: the societal and designerly intentions and aspirations as well as how they played out through the site’s conceptualization and construction; revealing how welfare visions materialized as welfare landscapes. I propose this approach as an alternative to other studies of post-war housing estates that focus on architectural forms, prioritize morphological analysis, or remain in the abstract realm of the conceptual structures of welfare.<sup>16</sup> By rendering thicker descriptions, providing diverse perspectives and combining visual and textual ways of telling, this contribution proposes to emphasize the importance of looking and to contribute to new ways of seeing and understanding the multifarious nature of the Bellahøj and Farum Midtpunkt landscapes as human-centred environments for wellbeing.

### **Photographic Modes of Landscape Inquiry**

Bringing thick description into landscape studies provides an opportunity to facilitate a re-evaluation of the medium in which thick descriptions and cultural and historical investigations are undertaken. On the one hand, psychologist and author Joseph Ponterotto asserts that thick description is an undefined and ambiguous method, which he argues can make it generalized within many of the fields in which it is implemented.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, however, I propose that this very openness of thick description, which resists a formalizing language, enables it to be a means of both exploration and visual-descriptive ingenuity. This is specifically advantageous in the field of landscape architecture, where many of the qualities and characteristics of the natural environment often elude adequate representation in words, yet remain the most characteristic aspects of landscapes. James Corner describes how some of the most distinguishing features of landscapes – their spatial, material and temporal qualities – often fall to the wayside of textual descriptions, yet remain essential to landscape understandings.<sup>18</sup>

Accordingly, my approach to integrating photography into thick descriptions addresses other common critiques of the method and its over-emphasis on the symbolic.<sup>19</sup> Welfare landscapes are more than symbolic spaces into which meanings can be read – they are the real, material, spatial, dynamic and temporal spaces, as I attempt to show through photographic modes of inquiry. Material culture researchers Þóra Pétursdóttir and Bjørnar Olsen have described photography as ‘an engagement with or a way of approaching things, as well as a way to mediate these engagements – a way, moreover, that is able to express aspects of engagement, and of things and spaces themselves, that text cannot accomplish alone’.<sup>20</sup> My explorations draw inspiration from their use of photography as an alternative way to grasp and produce knowledge,<sup>21</sup> specifically in relation to lived experience, which endures and remains continuously accessible in the photograph, forever open to new encounters.<sup>22</sup> Through the lens I engage in a spatial analysis of these sites today, using the camera as a means of empirical and critical analysis to see, think about, reflect upon and question what is really going on. In line with T.J. Clark’s call for more attentive practices of looking,<sup>23</sup> photography reminds us to pause and look in the fast-paced visual age of today, allowing value to be placed on the elusiveness of the landscapes and their resistance to being tied down only to definitions, categorizations or singularity. Through photographs composed into an unfolding visual narrative accompanied by archival quotes, I address and articulate essences, elements and stories – discerning patterns and relations, investigating the current situation as it unfolds in the lived space of the welfare landscapes and revealing what lays behind the surface of green and beautiful scenes.

The photographic postproduction process is an in-depth engagement with the gathered material and a central part in formulating thick photographic descriptions. More than ‘the touch of a finger’ as Susan Sontag has rather dismissively referred to photography,<sup>24</sup> among other things it involves analysing, selecting, printing, pairing and sequencing, all of which facilitate the remaking and revisioning of landscapes. For this study, postproduction

consisted of printing, cutting and laying out hundreds of images across multiple table surfaces, enabling the multifarious nature of the landscapes to come into sight, eventually leading to the creation of pairs, made into sequences and linked to quotations taken from the archives. Alongside the visual narrative these quotes emphasize the multiplicity of small elements, the dynamics of nature and the varied intentions that yield these welfare landscapes. The quotations are derived from professional journals, planning documents, historical records, housing association booklets, residents' magazines and the like, in which the intentions, idealizations and impressions of the landscapes as they were first conceptualized and constructed are found. The voices cited include architects, landscape architects, historians, engineers, planners and residents – those involved in the conception of the site, the design of its elements and the intentions for the area – and others that looked on from outside at the time. Thereby, within each page of the photo essays, there is a cross-dialogue: between photographs and text, between material encounters and immaterial intentions, between present and past, and between my own insights *in* the site and historical insights *on* the site. The *thickness* that the photo essays depict is thus but part of the result – it is the knowledge they provide of the inherent spatial qualities of these landscapes and the links they create between the materialization of the landscape and the good life that I argue allows them to serve as a resource when rethinking Bellahøj and Farum Midtpunkt in the future.

### **Another Way of Telling: Excerpts**

The Bellahøj housing estate was built between 1951 and 1956, designed by young architects Morgens Irming and Tage Nielsen, who were winners of the 1944 architecture competition. 28 tower-blocks with a two-tower structure containing more than 1,300 apartment units were connected by an open, 'pastoral' landscape designed by Carl Theodor Sørensen, who incorporated the history of the existing site – including the historical farm house and ancient burial mounds – into his design, balancing a functional modern housing environment on the shoulders of the past.





Fig. 1. The Bellahøj housing estate.

Farum Midtpunkt was constructed 30 years after Bellahøj, between 1970 and 1974. The 24 stacked but low-laying blocks designed by Fællestegnes-tuen architects arranged living units in a stepped structure elevated off the ground, allowing parking to be situated below and green to be placed in between and to reach up onto the upper floors. Through the work of landscape architects Ole Nørgård and Søren Harboe, Farum Midtpunkt became a city by the open landscape, connecting an urban feel with forests and fields.

### **Picturing Green and The Good Life**

The thick descriptions of Bellahøj and Farum Midtpunkt yield new understandings of the various and embedded meanings and idealizations for the good life, but also reveal how ideals for living in the landscape and establishing a wellbeing society shifted and changed over time. Despite sharing the foundational desire to establish a place to house thousands in better and greener living environments, these two landscapes also manifested meaningful differences in their conceptualization, design, construction and sought-after spatial qualities by pursuing wellbeing in distinct and differing ways.

Different ideals altered these welfare landscapes quite distinctly: from an open park-like setting with undulating hills and winding paths at Bellahøj, to street-like circulation through different, enclosed and nuanced spaces for various uses and users at Farum Midtpunkt. From dispersed towers in the sky that provided more air, sunlight and access to the changing weather to staggered blocks close and low to the ground, integrating green right up to the topmost floors; from preserving the existing history and terrain of the landscape to designing a landscape filled with new life, intended to grow and grow. Both Bellahøj and Farum Midtpunkt were 'green cities', and both attempted to construct innovative living environments that would provide the best opportunities for their residents' wellbeing, yet both pursued these objectives through different landscape materializations and in response to changing societal desires.



Fig.2-4. Farum Midtpunkt housing estate.



Fig. 5-7. Farum Midtpunkt housing estate.



Fig. 8. Photo-Essay Farum Midtpunkt housing estate.

The Bellahøj photo essay brings the reader into a landscape that was seen as a place where past and present, separate spaces, elements and diverse people met and overlapped. The site as a whole, pastoral and park-like, surrounds one with the promise of everyday healthy living, its emphasis on the provision of sunlight and open spaces, which resulted in a shared, transparent and immersive common ground. Bellahøj, much more than the construction of new homes, was a vision for living where a high-quality residential environment could provide a strong foundation for the wellbeing that was idealized after the precarious societal conditions of the 1950s. The landscape in the form of an undulating green field is open and orienting, providing freedom, equality and transparency, and cultivating a shared sense of responsibility and opportunity for human development. The undulating green scene became a negotiated ground for modern functions and human-centred visions, accommodating parking spaces, roads and new ideas for childcare and community. A balancing of aesthetics and use, the landscape guides one along winding paths, but also offers shelter, niches for gathering and opportunities for play throughout the site.

Alternatively, through shifting views and diverse green scenes, Farum Midtpunkt's photo essay depicts a landscape seen as a resource for manipulation, as a remedy for monotonous forms, and as a new way to combine rural and urban ideals. The 'close-open' ideal depicted in the grid-like housing blocks encompassed by a fractured and differentiated green creates varied spatial opportunities, ostensibly providing space enough to be by yourself and to be among the many. The ideals of growth and cultivation extended to plants and people, encouraging both lushness and community respectively to develop and come into their own. The landscape itself was thus seen as a green happening of sorts that develops over time. Democracy, unable to grow out of thin air, is accommodated in these varied landscape spaces across a shared horizontal plane designed to encourage connections, without losing sight of the possibility for privacy and intimacy within apartment terrace gardens. The landscape provides community

opportunity and accommodates diverse individual initiatives. It links the architectural forms and the surrounding environment as well as delimits spaces for diverse uses; connecting and dividing the site, reflecting desires for difference and alterity in the 1970s vision of the good life.

Together the photographs, associated in sequence and paired with texts, create a layered ground showing the landscapes not only as open fields but also as balconies, amphitheatres, pedestrian streets, etcetera. By addressing this inclusive view of landscape, the camera can bring greater sensitivity and specificity, attentiveness and alertness, to landscape analysis. By introducing photography into these thick descriptions, these present day 'renderings' prove their more than documentary role: transforming objects of encounter into constructed narratives.<sup>25</sup> These tellings are given back to readers through perspectives that attend to how welfare ideals have unfolded in these landscapes – an informed view through which future welfare landscapes can be imagined, providing more specific understandings and encouraging more connected design strategies.

### **Imag(in)ing Green Futures**

The photo essays present an investigation of the past and how it looked towards the future from the viewpoint of the present, through descriptions of the richness of these landscapes as they are experienced today. I argue that these insights into Bellahøj's and Farum Midtpunkt's landscapes are not now, nor were they ever, peripheral to the disciplinary discourse about Danish social housing sites: they have simply gone largely unnoticed, and have not been effectively communicated through current, commonly told stories of these estates. In other words, the landscape presence is evident in the reading of the archival material, in the landscape journal articles, the resident-produced magazines and housing association newspapers. The landscape itself additionally has an undeniable presence when one is on site: it forms the spaces for circulation, surrounds the bases and fills the 'betweens' of the buildings – cascading vertically from the terraces at

Farum Midtpunkt, and horizontally gripping the Bellahøj site as a whole. The introduction of landscapes into current discussions of welfare housing sites helps to reveal the inherent qualities and multivalent values of nature as vitally contributing to a wellbeing future envisioned in post-war Denmark, enlarging the limited dialogue surrounding the 'green open spaces'.

In conclusion, the inclusive and transdisciplinary quality of thick photo-textual descriptions affords an opportunity to rethink, represent and retell these welfare landscapes, beyond existing frameworks structured by conventional architectural drawings, urban maps, surveys and quantitative data. The photo essays embrace inclusive perspectives, working across the landscape scale, and speak to the varied qualities of these sites today, and the immaterial ideas and ideals behind their conceptualization and materialization. Bringing this anthropological approach to an investigation of landscapes directs focus to the cultural, social and professional meanings that shaped the landscapes of Bellahøj and Farum Midtpunkt, giving voice to values that, until now, have largely lived on silently. The intention is not to abandon what is familiar, but rather to look further 'into' instead of 'at' our everyday green environments: embarking on a journey into the thickness of these welfare landscapes. While the selected archival materials and photographic modes of inquiry presented here reveal new insights and connections to welfare landscapes and their imaginary, I believe there to be future promise for this project in the integration of additional voices and sources, such as those of the residents and one's own experience moving through the landscape, further articulating the layered and only ever 'thickening' quality of the landscape over time.

As such, this work is intended to serve as a source of information, expanding the dialogue surrounding the welfare landscapes, and is not by any means a conclusion or a final depiction of such. Geertz described the intention of creating thick descriptions as simply to reduce the opacity of



the given: to clarify and mediate the world.<sup>26</sup> My hope is that this landscape view can provide a point of reference for further analysis, informing current exchanges and future decisions about Danish social housing projects so as to acknowledge, feature and cultivate these varied qualities of welfare landscapes.

- 1 The model is based on the idea that everyone has a right to welfare and the possibility of the good life, described in Gøsta Esping-Andersen's seminal text. Gøsta Esping-Andersen, *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).
- 2 Sven Aakjær, Mogens Lebech and Otto Norn, 'Yderkvarterernes Bebyggelse', in: *København før og nu* (Copenhagen: Hassings Forlag, 1950), 165-166; B5.
- 3 Ellen Braae, 'Welfare Landscapes and Communities', in: Katrine Lotz et al. (eds.), *Forming Welfare* (Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag, 2017), 47.
- 4 This assertion is a shared perspective and point of departure for the development and research of the entire Welfare Landscapes research project that I am a part of, undertaken by: Ellen Braae, Asbjørn Jessen, Lærke Keil, Svava Riesto, Henriette Steiner and Anne Tietjen, entitled 'Reconfiguring Welfare Landscapes' (Welland) at the University of Copenhagen (2017-2019), <https://ign.ku.dk/english/welland/>.
- 5 For examples using this terminology see: Sverre Eske Kristensen, 'Konkurrencen om Bebyggelse paa Bellahøj', *Arkitekten* (1945), 16; Lars Cramer-Petersen, Svend Limkilde and Ole Thomassen, *Grøndalskvarteret: Fra Grøndalsvænge til Bellahøj: Byplanlægning og bebyggelse af et københavnsk forstadsområde 1915-50* (Copenhagen: Brønshøj Museum, 1992), 20; E.V. Jensen and H. Lundgren, 'Byggegrundsundersøgelserne for punkthusene på Bellahøj', in: *Bellahøjhusbyggeri: Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut Studie Nr. 15* (Copenhagen:

- Teknisk Forlag, 1954), 9; Skov- og Naturstyrelsen Miljø- og Energiministeriet, *Bydelsatlas Brønshøj-Husum* (Copenhagen: Københavns Kommune, 1995); Gro Lemberg, 'Dialektik i det fysiske miljø - belyst ved Farum Midtpunkt / Af Kai Lemberg og Gro Lemberg', *Nordisk Psykologi* 28 (1976), 130-139; Tyge Arnfred, 'Farum Midtpunkt', *Fællestegnesteuen et Arkitektværksted* (Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag, 1998), 32; Erik Mortensen, *Farum Midtpunkt* (Copenhagen: Farums Arkiver & Museer, 1995).
- 6 Poul Bæk Pedersen, *Arkitektur og plan i den danske velfærdsby 1950-1990 container og urbant raster* (Århus: Arkitektskolens Forlag, 2005); Poul Sverrild, *Velfærdssamfundets bygninger: Bygningskulturens Dag* (Copenhagen: Kulturarvsstyrelsen, 2008).
  - 7 This situation is not unique to Danish social housing sites, but resonates with other and international and historical living environments, including Frederik law Olmsted's and Calvert Vaux's Riverside 'suburban village' project (1869), which was designed to provide a rural atmosphere to ease the stresses of urban life. The nuances of the site's intentions and its significant history are largely unknown, yet its preservation depends on understanding and promoting its unique design. See Sarah Faiks et al., *Revisiting Riverside: A Frederik Law Olmsted Community* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2001).
  - 8 Anne Whiston Spirn, *The Language of Landscape* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), 244, emphasis added.
  - 9 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1973).
  - 10 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 98; Hans-Georg Gadamer, *The Relevance of the Beautiful and Other Essays* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 49.
  - 11 Jeremy Till, 'Thick Time', in: Iain Borden and Jane Rendell (eds.), *Intersections* (London: Routledge, 2000), 156-183.
  - 12 Ian Borden, 'Thick Edge: Architectural Boundaries in the Postmodern Metropolis', in: Iain Borden and Jane Rendell (eds.), *Intersections* (London: Routledge, 2000), 221-246.
  - 13 Catherine Dee, 'Poetic-Critical Drawing in Landscape Architecture', *Topos: Landscape Architecture and Criticism* 49 (2004), 58-65.
  - 14 Thaïsa Way, 'Landscapes of Industrial Excess: A Thick Sections Approach to Gas Works Park', *Journal of Landscape Architecture* 8/1 (2013), 28-39.
  - 15 This paper's approach to spatial analysis is different than a typically architectural spatial analysis that studies the composition and organization of spatial shapes,

- structures and typologies usually approached through an investigation of plan drawings. This can be seen in methods of typo-morphology or spatial syntax analysis. See, respectively: A.V. Moudon, 'Getting to Know the Built Landscape: Typomorphology', in: K.A. Franck and L.H. Schneckloth (eds.), *Ordering Space: Types in Architecture and Design* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1994), 289-311; and B. Hillier and J. Hanson, *The Social Logic of Space* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
- 16 I do not propose to challenge these studies but provide an alternative perspective into the welfare landscapes. Pedersen, *Arkitektur og plan i den danske velfærdsby*, op. cit. (note 6); Asbjørn Jessen and Anne Tietjen, 'Reconfiguring Welfare Landscapes: A Spatial Typology', in: *24th ISUF International Conference- City and Territory in the Globalization Age* (Valencia, 2017); Niels Albertsen and Bülent Diken, 'Welfare and the City', *Nordisk Arkitekturforskning 2* (2004), 7-22.
- 17 Joseph G. Ponterotto, 'Brief Note on the Origins, Evolution and Meaning of the Qualitative Research Concept Thick Description', *The Qualitative Report* 11/3 (2006), 541.
- 18 Qualities such as the density of spaces, the relation of forms, the dynamic and seasonal growth, the diverse scales. James Corner, 'Drawing and Making in the Landscape Medium', in: Alison Hirsch (ed.), *The Landscape Imagination* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2014), 165.
- 19 Sherry B. Ortner, 'Theory in Anthropology Since the Sixties', *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26/1 (1984), 126-166.
- 20 Þóra Pétursdóttir and Bjørnar Olsen, 'Imaging Modern Decay: The Aesthetics of Ruin Photography', *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology* 1/1 (2014), 16.
- 21 Ibid., 17.
- 22 Ibid., 20.
- 23 T.J. Clark, *The Sight of Death: An Experiment in Art Writing* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006).
- 24 Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977), 69.
- 25 This understanding of photography's role is in line with Frederik Bohrer's approach to archeological photography, seeing it as providing a 'physiognomic' vision capable of gathering together disparate remains in one place and transporting viewers to distant sites through constructed subjective narratives. See: Frederik Bohrer, *Photography and Archaeology* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011).
- 26 Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977), 98; Hans-Georg Gadamer, *The Relevance of the Beautiful and Other Essays* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 49.