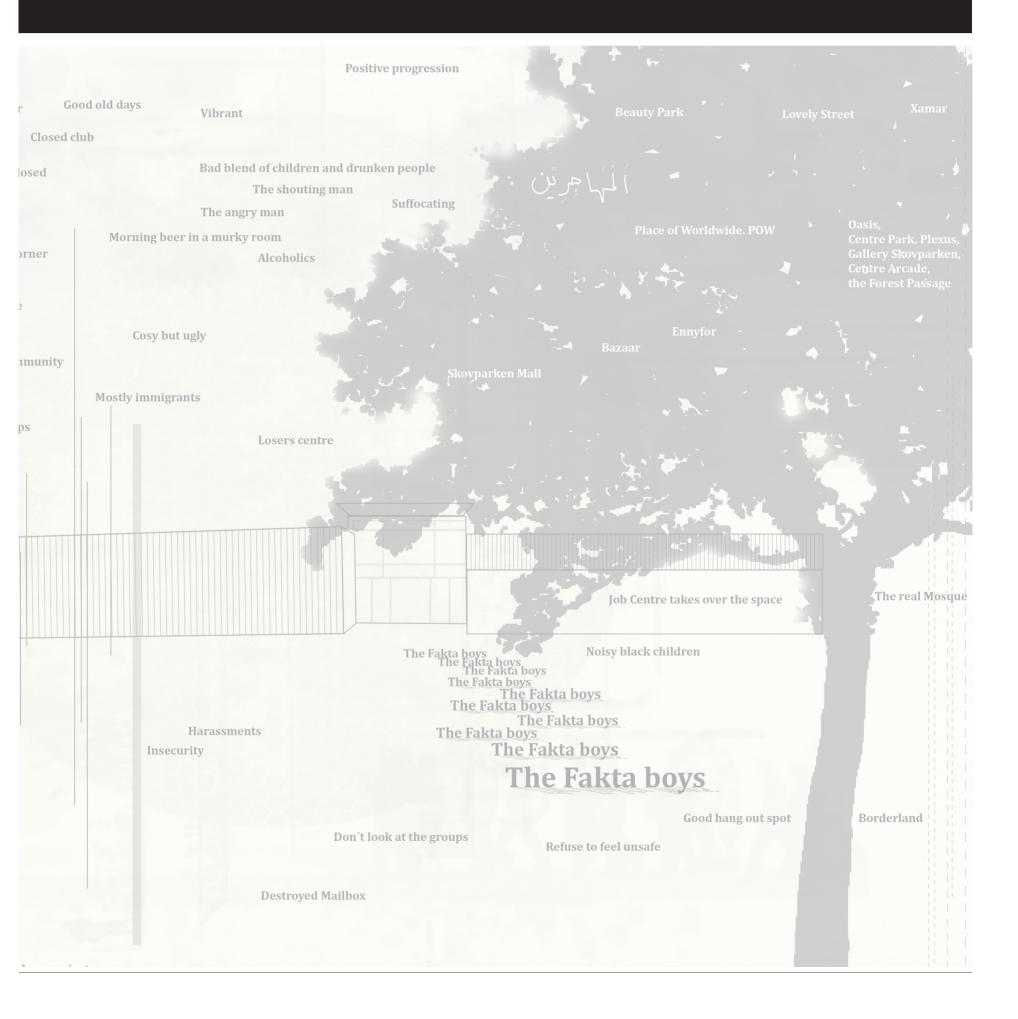
JydskeVestkysten

KOLDING.

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Sitewriting Project Bartlett UCL



A Place Called...

All places have stories

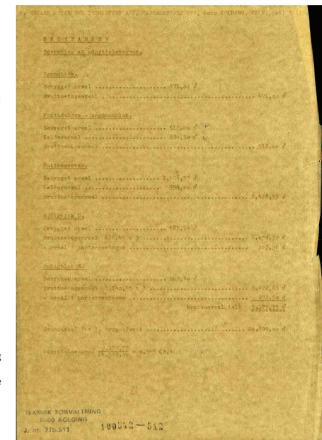
Stories about a place can, on the one hand, be fleeting and easy to change, but they can also leave traces which will stick in our memory.

- Even a minor story might push to the big one. This story is not a story about a place, but the story about the story about a place.
- -Even though it is not a story about a place, it does take the point of departure in one specific place or, to be more precise, in the many stories about this specific place. The place is on the border of a midsized Danish provincial town, Kolding. Among the residents, many stories are told about this specific neighbourhood in town called Skovparken, and the shopping centre area in particular is the topic of many stories both within the neighbourhood and in the rest of the city. In 2009 the British novelist, Sarah Butler,¹ collected 55 staff stories in her project, `Central Line Stories,' stories attached to the names of the staff on this London Tube line. The Central Line stories demonstrate the rich individuality of the people who work there. There is often a story behind people's names, a story which plays a part in what has shaped them and given them the identity through which they impact the world around them.
- Sarah says that 'Everyone has a story to tell.' I would like to supplement that statement by saying that 'Everywhere has a story to tell,' and just like stories about humans beings, stories about places also reveal something about their identity. According to Bob Jessop,²professor of sociology at Lancaster University, all narratives consist of three elements:
- A selective appropriation of past events and forces
- A temporal sequence (Aristotle's beginning, middle, and end)
- A 'relational emplotment' of the past events and forces and their connection to an overall structure, which becomes a more general story that provides casual, or even moral, lessons to be learned.
- In the 1970s Denmark experienced a building boom, not seen before or after. Some 430,000 residential structures were built, which meant that the housing stock increased by more than 20%, and the urban area in Denmark doubled in the years between 1960 and 1975. During those 15 years the same

- number of residencies were built as throughout the entire Danish history prior to that
- Newspaper article, in the local newspaper, JydskeVestkysten, Kolding from 2016 states, "The shopping centre at Skovparken was built in the 1970s. A private investor bought it, and it has not been renovated since it was built."
- A faded document, dated May 10, 1972, written on an old typewriter by the designer architect, F. Eduard Petersen, describes the areas of both the shopping centre building and the two neighbouring day-care institutions
- The shopping centre and the surrounding housing area are a part of this building boom and a product of a modernistic planning strategy, striving to create new residential areas with lots of light and air, good sanitation and large green areas as a contrast to the dense life in the city centre. The new houses were meant for middle-class families who went to work in the morning and came back in the afternoon. Market forces like low interest and cheap housing loans made it possible for more middle-class families to buy a single-family house, which meant that the neighbourhood was settled different as intended. All this is another and very long story, but it means that all over Denmark we see examples of the same situation, shopping centres build as part of a social housing area, which has not been renovated since it was built and now stands as physical manifestations of social problems in the neighbourhood.
- In the same newspaper article from August 2016, Deputy Assistant Police Commissioner. Verner Pedersen, reports that the police sometimes respond to violence in the centre, and that last year there was an assault with intent to kill. He claims that this situation is very normal around buildings that are 'home alone', they attract vandals.
- The history of the place, what Jessop calls 'past events and forces,' is about a place which no one has taken care of since it was built, and now it is 'home alone'. We may consider this to be the big story, which creates the foundation for all the little stories. What if the big story had been completely different?
- That said the shopping centre was still built in 1970s,

- mostly because one could hardly have been built at any other time, especially if one wished to be a minor shopping center in connection with a housing area. What if it had been a place where people loved to come, among other things because the light was so pleasant it made the walls seem warm and there was something about the atmosphere in the space that attracted them There were comings and goings and a constant din of life because of the many different activities taking place there. When the shops closed in the evening, it was possible to meet around other things. You could see people passing by outside, and they could wave in. When electric bulbs that illuminated the space at evening time, burned out, they were quickly replaced.
- A couple of times over the years the centre needed to be renovated. Some of the materials were too worn out. and they needed to make space for a mosque. The American sociologist, Richard Sennet, criticises shopping malls for being too monofunctional and frictionless, and therefore not good for social city life, but this was not the situation here. Here it was possible to pray, shop, get a haircut and play bingo, and when something broke, people hurried to fix it. It was a place people really cared about, and it was almost never home alone.
- Imagine if that was the big story... And then wonder what all the little stories would have sounded like.
- The little stories are the ones going on all the time. The little stories in the big story are what create the place identity and also the atmosphere. The atmosphere is a difficult thing to describe and grasp; it is so intangible, and still, we often talk about a place's atmosphere. The German philosopher and author, Gernot Böhme, describes atmosphere as the 'coexistence of subject and object'. It is the fusion of all the static and dynamic elements at play entangled with someone experiencing it. When we tell stories about a place the atmos phere is often one thing we try to pass on.
- In the article 'Planning for a Material World,' Robert A. Beauregard and Laura Lieto⁵ describe how places consist of an assemblage of material and immaterial things that have

- a constant and mutual impact on each other. The conviction is theoretically rooted in the Actor-Network Theory (ANT) developed by the French sociologist Bruno Latour. ANT is focusing on what things do more than what they are. Actors can be; people, legislations, roads, buildings and plants and the network is how they influence each other. Because an actor can be anything that can change a network, nonhuman things become a pivotal part of Actor-Network Theory. If for example one of the blocks of flats needs to be demolished due to a severe attack of dry rot, this affects the relationship between the residents, the housing association, and the insurance company. It also affects the relationship between the buildings and the context. The whole montage is being reconfigured.
- The shopping center building is an actor; the lightning is an actor: the entrance, the concrete wall and the written graffiti; the square in front of the centre are all physical actors influencing the everyday life. The owner of the shopping centre is an actor, the municipality, the housing association, the shop owners, the young guys hanging out in front of the centre, newspaper articles about the place and stories we tell each other. They are all actors of both material and immaterial things, influencing the identity of the place, the experiences one gets from the place and the stories arising about the place. This is the montage which creates meaning and content in relation to a place and generates the place atmosphere, what we try to capture and pass on when we are telling about a place, and also what we would think about if we would name the place.
- In earlier studies residents of Skovparken have explained how they use the city and how they experience and relate toward different places in the city. Through interviews it became clear that the residents far more often relate to places, in both good ways and bad, based on experiences and memories rather than aesthetic preferences. Experiences and memories are decisive for the atmosphere we recall and pass on to others when we are talking about a
- The history (the big story) and the experiences which turn into stories about the place (the little stories) are becoming the



A faded document, dated May 10, 1972

place montage, identity and atmosphere, continually adding layers to the history through the constant creation of new experiences that turn into stories

A New Map

Maps are a well-known way of telling stories about places. Most maps that we know of are telling the story of static elements and how they are located and sized in relation to each other. They are simplifications converting all elements into different signs. The sign of a road, with all its contained complexity, are two lines ||. A new map could tell the story about experiences and stories from a place. Like the map we know so well, this map would also need simplification through signs signs that capture a story. Signs are on one hand simplifications, but they are also a translation of meaning and content like || very well captures the meaning and content of a road. It would be difficult to use signs for stories without using symbols. To catch meaning and content in a story. one needs to create pictures. Shapes that are not symbols or silhouettes of something

already familiar struggle to generate pictures inside our heads, where they can depict the meaning and content of the sign. Words on the other hand create pictures. This one or more words, which capture the essence of the story. The writer, George Orwell, wrote about the rules of naming saying that first one must look at the meaning and the content of the thing one is naming.

- The name, of the experience that turns into a story, will be the sign of every story on A New Map, naming the narrative because experiences and stories are leaving tracks and are cocreators of a place similar to a lamp post, a road or a building.







51 stories from a place

It sometimes happens that my wife and the woman from number 14 walk over there to shop, but she is also part immigrant. I never go there.

Mostly immigrants

In the old days, I sometimes went to have a beer at Faxe Pub. I guess it is five or six years ago since the last time I was there. You hear so many things, suddenly it has closed, and other times, there have been riots. I don't want to be a part of these things anymore. It has a bad reputation as a place with a lot of commotion. It is not a place I wish to visit, I also imagine sitting there having a good time and then it has turned dark and then you never know, if you might get knocked down on your way home. It is not a safe insecurity

In the old days, there were many shops, a bank, a bakery a local grocery store. It was truly a place that people enjoyed using - eight or ten years ago. Good old days

Sometimes people use the place, and sometimes they stay far away. I think that the clientele both inside and outside, the people standing by the entrances, have a massive influence; if they were not there, I think more people would dare

The Fakta boys

Well I mean, you get more or less harassed every time you go up there, and that is both by the alcoholics and the Somalis. Harassments

over at Faxe Pub. We are also playing a tournament against others. We also had "Fun Darts" I had to play Pin elsewhere.

I like to visit Faxe Pub and play darts there, and I also go to the shops, but it should be renovated. It ruins the neighbourhood.

Cosy but ugly

Well... We had a flea market once up there. It was like walking into a marketplace. The Pizza guy was there, and he sold pizza and hot dogs outside, and the greengrocery was there. It attracted a lot of people. Eighty per cent of the shopkeepers have a different ethnic background. Yes, it is only Faxe Pub and the rooms rented by the municipality.

Market day

There is an invisible border, and it runs here by the centre. On one side the black people live and on the other side the white people live. There are a few Somali families on this side, I know them very well, and I talk to them, and also with the rest of the residents of Skovparken: I am a respected man, I would

Borderland

I think the centre is a hit sad. but that said. I must say that the greengrocery is extremely nice and the people in the kiosk are also very friendly, and now we also have t a butcher there, and he is also very nice.

The nicest shopkeepers

I don't like the centre, physically it is ugly, and when you enter you can see that it is a 'looser-centre'. It is not maintained, no one has taken care of it. It is one of those places, where people are just hanging around. The alcoholics and the boys with nothing to do, all the troublemakers are hanging out there. It is not the best picture outwardly.

Losers centre

In 2009, I created a youth club in the centre, so instead of the boys hanging out in the centre, they came into the club to play computer and stuff like that. We had it for two years, but it was built on volunteerism, and we had to close it again.

Closed Club

It could be renovated, both inside and outside. It has always been given me negative emotions. It has always given me headaches; for a period I couldn't stand going there. I felt that I was suffocating, because I felt all alone with all the problems in the neighbourhood. **Suffocating**

There are two mosques in Kolding. One by Fakta and one downtown - which is mostly a Koranic school. It is open on the weeken .- one service for Afghans and one for other Muslims. The one up here is the real mosque; it is located in the

The real Mosque

One thing I don't like is when you enter there are so many unemployed people. I don't like that they are standing there smoking and I don't like that they are drinking. I think it gives a bad impression of the people who are living in the neighbourhood, and when you come from the outside and see it, then you think that everybody who lives here are like them. And that is not true. I don't like the pub where they drink beer. Wrong image

I don't like the smoking, but I do like the Job Centre, because it motivates young people to get started, and I have noticed that several of the young people are now working in Fakta or other places. It is positive that we have the Job Centre. Then people can see that they can get help. Just come in and tell us about your skills, then we will help you... But they need help. Positive progression

I am happy about the greengrocery, and I am happy about the butcher and the Pizzaria because then I can buy a pizza sometimes if I don't want to cook. I am also very happy about the newsagent's because I can buy phone cards, which enable me to make international calls.

Happy about the shops

There used to be a hairdresser, but the women living here did not want to have their hair done there. They could not take off their head scarves because the window was facing the entrance of Faxe Pub.

The closed hairdresser

I never use the centre, I don't like coming there; there is too much noise. I'm not a racist, but I don't know what the black children might do. They are dominating the neighborhood. I find it unsafe, so I don't like it. The shops don't interest me, there used to be an interesting greengrocery, who sold different things that I liked to taste. But he moved and then I also moved.

Noisy black children

No, I have never experienced anything myself, but you must be careful not to look at people. They prefer to stand in groups, and that makes me insecure. It is not because I am scared or anything, but when you are handicapped, you never know what they might do. So I don't go there.

Don't look at the groups

The problem is that it is so damn uncomfortable. And the Faxe Pub is just not nice, when you pass it, even during the morning, people are standing outside in line for the first beer. The rooms are so murky; I can't see how it could ever work Morning beer in a murky

The square in front of the centre is always a problem, and the mailbox is often destroyed. **Destroyed Mailbox**

I don't feel unsafe because I have chosen not to. I don't want to live in a place where I don't feel safe, but I don't like when the police are here, and the gangs go crazy.

Refuse to feel unsafe

Yes, we use it a lot. I am up here every day. I buy potatoes for my mom. There is a newsagent. You can get everything you need here. We buy candy. My parents do the big shopping, but the Arabic bread I buy because I can iust walk up here to buy it. Everyday joyful use

It's a good place; there is everything you need. The bad thing about it is The Fakta boys. There used to be a Fakta shop, and that was good because you could buy things there.
The Fakta boys

The Fakta boys are big boys hanging out in front of the cen-

tre drinking Caprisonne. They

are around 19 years old. The Fakta boys

We like to come in the centre, but sometimes it can also be frightening. There is a pub in there. Passing it can be scary. One day a man was standing outside the pub and he got so angry that he kicked a litter bin. I had an errand at the newsagent's, but I did not dare to pass that man, so I took the other entrance.

The angry man

It is a bit annoying, sometimes when I have to do some shopping for my mom, the alcoholics are standing outside, they scare me, and I feel like taking a detour; that is annoying. Alcoholics

I play darts there every Monday, last Saturday, but I wasn't there. Darts and community

There was also an episode where a man entered the newsagent's because he wanted bread, and when he could not get it, he started shouting and pushing things; I found that

The shouting man

I like the shops, and I like the butcher because then you don't have to drive all the way to Vejle to get Halal meat. Close proximity

I think it is a nice place, where we have everything we need-a green grocery, a butcher, a pizzeria. You don't have to walk far; everything is just up there. Just around the corner

If you are an old lady and there is a big group of boys there. then it might be frightening, but it depends on the eyes that see. The Fakta boys

I have never felt unsafe. We had a club up there once, a drop-in centre for the young boys- the young boys who are now just hanging out there. They are The Fakta boys. When they gather in a group, they might seem a little intimidating, if you are not from here

The Fakta boys

The drop-in centre was where the Job Centre is now: they took over our old rooms. We closed in 2014. I was chairman, but I wanted to move on. I had done a lot of volunteer work. We tried for a year to find someone to take over, but no one came forward, so we had to close down. Drop-in centre closed

The good thing about living in Skovparken is that you grow up fast, you know. I mean, you try different things, like driving a car. You watch the older guys by the centre, and then you see how to act when you grow up. The Fakta boys

The only bad thing about living in Skovparken might be the centre, where they have the job interviews. They have taken up so much space. We have a pizzeria, a greengrocery, a newsagent's and a pub. And then there is the Job Centre, and they have taken up so much space. We also had a baker, but he had problems with mice, so he had to close,... and a butcher. There was a hairdresser who also closed... I think her salon is now used for job interviews

Job Centre takes over the space

If you are bored, you just go up there. I don't know why. But a lot of people are standing there: maybe it is because of the newsagent's There is nowhere else to be when the club is closed. Then you just stand there together with the older boys. Good hang out spot

You just stand there because it is warm, you can follow the people working inside, and you get to hang out with the older boys... It is because it is vibrant

Vibrant

I like shopping in the centre, also because I have really good relationships with the shopkeepers. I always make jokes with the owner of the newsagent's, and we talk about how everything is going.

The friendly newsagent

I see the centre as a gathering place for the neighborhood, very much actually. Especially for the young boys, they like to hang out at the centre. They are watching it like guards. We call them the Fakta boys because there used to be a Fakta supermarket here. It's not there anymore, but the name just sticks. They like hanging out in front of the centre, and we just say... There is one of the Fakta boys

Fakta boys

It is not that I don't like Faxe Pub. It doesn't bother me. But when we were younger, we were troublemakers, and then we made faces at the people sitting in there, and they got angry and shouted at us. It is just a place that I don't go to at all. It is always the same, both morning and evening-drunk people walking out and falling over and there are so many children here... I just think it's a bad blend.

Bad blend of children and drunken people

Once I had an argument with some of the young boys because they were disturbing us while we were playing Krolf up at the greenery. The day after I was passing them in front of the Centre, and then they were blocking my way, and they yelled at me, which I found very unsettling

Fakta boys

I once experienced leaving the centre after picking up a pizza and discovering some of the young boys leaning against my car. I had to ask them to move and lean against their own car. I found that uncomfortable.

Don't lean against my car

It is not because they are doing anything, it is more the atmosphere that they are creating. They move when you are right in front of them.

The Fakta boys

The plans about demolishing the Centreare on hold. The politicians will listen to the residents and initiate a design process focusing on the residents' visions for the place. Co-creation

I once experienced to come home late one evening, when walking pass the centre two foreign young boys came towards me, and when they were just in front of me, they said a very friendly hello, like they

were telling me that they would do me no harm. I found that very thoughtful.

A thoughtful hello

When I first moved here there was a day-centre in the centre for older adults, where they could meet and play bingo. There used to be bingo room The butcher is really good and friendly, and he is the only halal butcher in the City. Muslim immigrants from the whole city are doing their shopping at the butcher's and the greengrocer's. The best Halal butcher

The place has caused problems for many years. Too many tenancies are vacant, and the politicians want to demolish the building and build something

Unknown future

In the beginning, when we had just bought our house, we went over here a lot, because it was so close. There was a Fakta supermarket and other shops, I don't remember which, but they closed one by one, and others opened. But we used the place because of Fakta, the baker, and the small bazar. But I do remember that is was not a nice place to go. There was a man from Somalia, with a lot of black hair; he was probably chewing khat, and it was uncomfortable because he was approaching and shouting at us, my children didn't like it. Now we don't go there at all anymore; I don't even know what shops are left. It was the shouting guy by the viaduct, who created the feeling of insecurity in me: he reminded me of the evil ghost from the movie 'Ghost' with Patrick Swayze... And then there are the boys hanging out in front of the centre.

The evil ghost

I remember talking to the people who owned Fakta, and they told me that so many shopping trolleys were stolen all the time and also goods were stolen, because people gathered right by the entrance. I can also remember how I felt insecure about them gathering in front of the entrance. They were big boys, and it does create a feeling of insecurity when you don't understand what they are

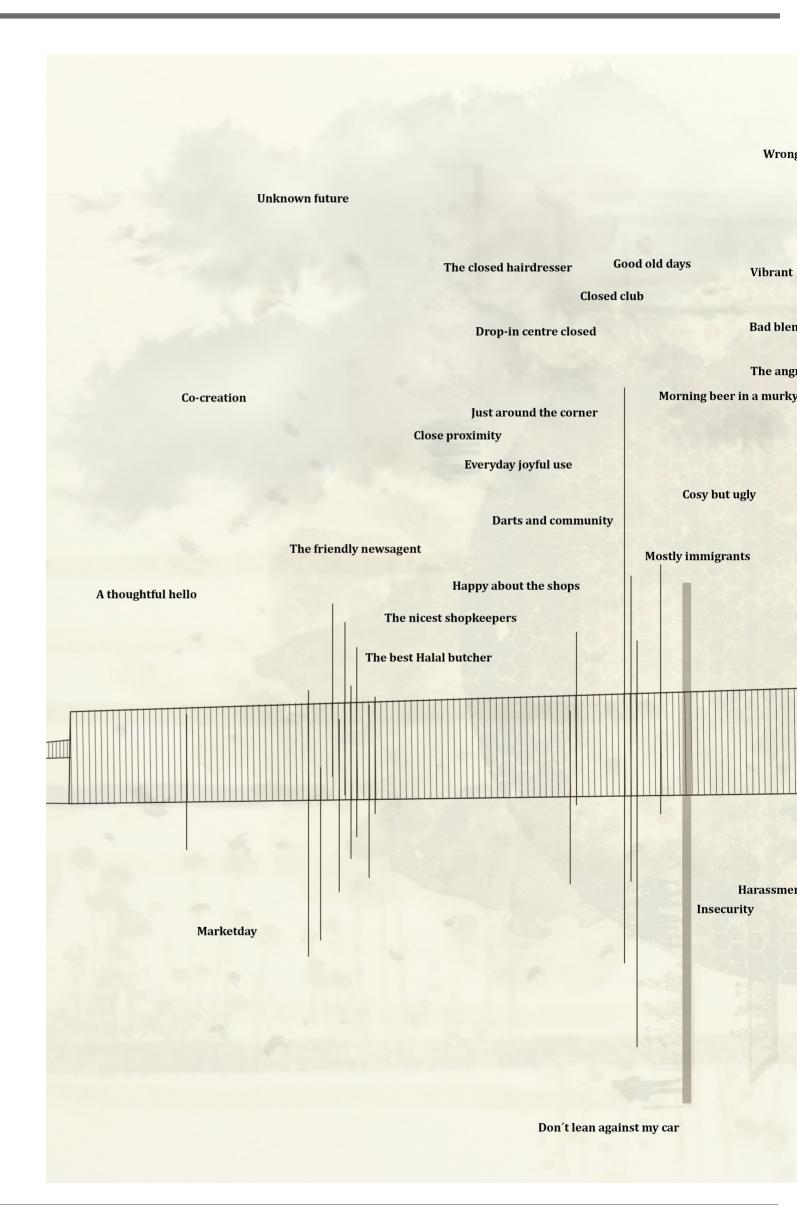
saying. **The Fakta boys**

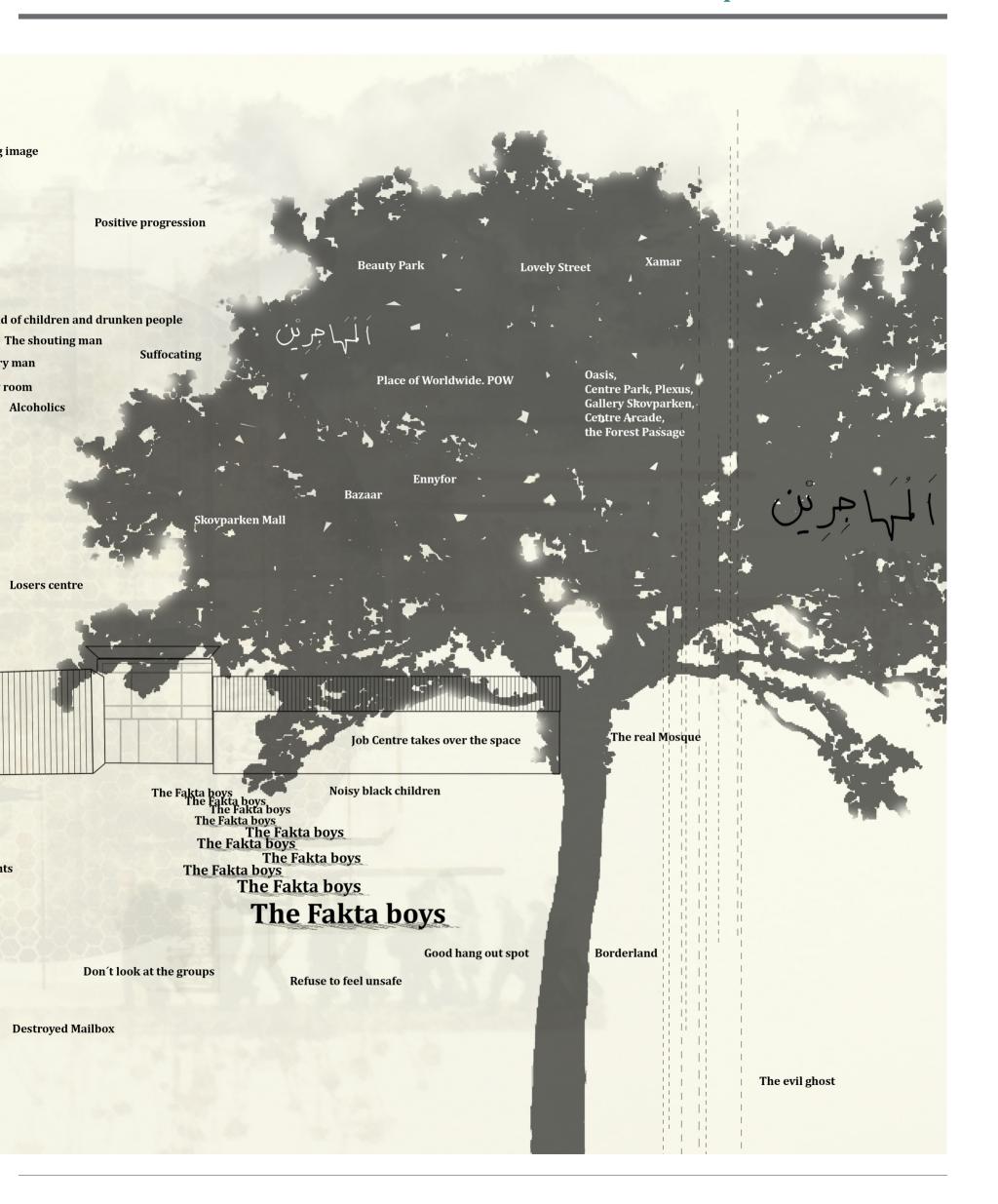
A New Map

A New Map is an assemblage of stories from; 12 songlines interviews, and a joint workshop with the respondents, newspaper articles about the place, an interview with a resident of the adjacent neighbourhood and the workshop; 'A place called...', where residents should come up with future names for the place.

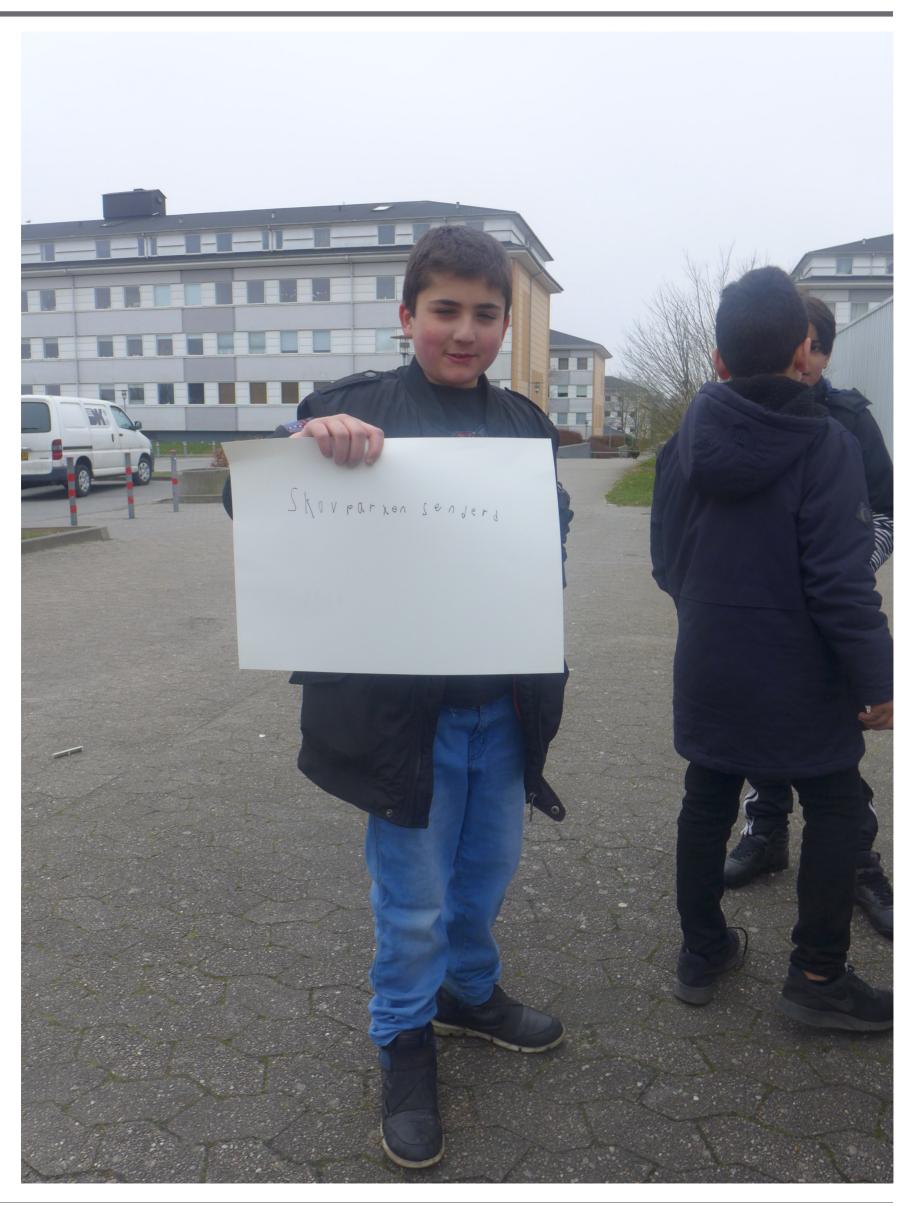
- A New Map is telling the sto-

- A New Map is telling the story about experiences, opinions, and emotions about the place. It is trying to capture the 'experienced place' and pass on the atmosphere.

















The true naming of things

Names have great influence on how we experience and talk about places. The American artist Graham Coreil- Allen from Baltimore categorises and classifies what he calls 'New public places'. He is studying all the places that we do not notice, invisible places, which we walk through in our daily life. It can be empty places, left overs after buildings have come up, selfcreated paths through an area or empty, abandoned places, left alone and unused. The places have no identity, and it is almost impossible to talk about them because they have no name and no content. Graham argues for the importance of noticing $% \left\{ \left(1\right) \right\} =\left\{ \left(1\right)$ these places, and by naming them with describing, poetic or amusing names, we can start a new direction for how we can imagine them in the future. It is a name against nothing, and a name beats nothing. Some of the places are not even a place. He calls it a nothing, "You can have a nothing, and by given it a name, you turn it into something." Like in the book The Never Ending Story by Michael Ende the main character, a boy named Bastian must give the princess of the Imaginary world a new name or the Imaginary world will be devoured by Nothingness

'You just have to give me a new name, Bastian.'

By doing so one single child saves the whole Imaginary world. When we give 'nothing' a name, we turn it into something. We may move it from what it is. towards a new beginning, a new beginning where the name will point towards the future. Right now the Centre area at Skovparken stands as a nameless place, where the name mostly used, about the place, Fakta, is referring to the past. The name refers to a time when the place was more lively, but it is also a reference to a story about a shop which closed down, because of too many

- As Ursula Le Guin said 8"for magic consists in this, the true naming of a thing." In her novel, The Rule of Names it is forbidden to use people's real name. both on Sattins Island and on every island in the world. There are two rules: You never ask anyone his name, and you never tell your own. The name is the thing, and the true name is the true thing. To say the name is to control the thing. At the end of the novel Blackbeard uses his secret weapon, by using the wizard Mister Underhill's true name, Yevaud, and by doing so, he locks him into his true form.

- The locking of something into its true form might be the act of using this one or a few words, which is the result of an attempt to capture and maintain all the material and immaterial things- the identity of the place combined with wishes for the future. When we are naming we lean one ear towards history and the other toward the future, while we are looking at the content. Naming might even be compared with Aristotele's structure of a story - a beginning, a middle, and an end. The beginning is the history of a place–the past events and forces, the middle is what I think Georg Orwell refers to when he talks about meaning and content, and the end is what we wish for in the future, the direction we want to point towards

- Naming and counting are the two most basic behaviours in our brains. Naming is the act of association, recognition, contextualization and synthesis where counting is the act of separation, abstraction, arrangement and analysis. Each act contains the seed of the other.
- We name and count children, pets, products, species, asteroids, ships, novels, wars, foods, pieces of legislation, subcultures, and hurricanes.
- In India, Gandhi attempted to rename the untouchables Harijans- God's people. They resented being patronized and chose for themselves the name Dalit- the Oppressed.



A place called... The tipping point

It was one of the first days of spring, at least everywhere else in Denmark except Kolding. Here it was cold, and the fog would not lose its grip. On the spot where The Faktaboys normally gather the place was now decorated with two tables surrounded by chairs, paper lamps, magazines, picture frames with words about naming and a big sign saying; A place called....

 With one ear leaned toward the past and the other toward the future, picturing the day and focusing on the direction, I was imagining a day filled with people writing and cutting out letters from magazines, creating new names for the places and hanging up the names everywhere around the area. The day turned out differently, as future scenarios often tend to do, but even on the foggy and cold spring day, some people came up with names, which could potentially lock the place up in its true form.

Lovely Street - because I think is is a lovely street

Place of Worldwide. POW - because it is a place where people come from everywhere.

Oasis, Centre Park, Plexus, Gallery Skovparken, Centre

Arcade, the Forest Passage- Plexus - because it is right in the centre of the neighbourhood.

(Muhasharin) immigrants – it means several immigrants because many different people from many different countries are living here. That's place identity.

Bazaar – I think it could be nice with a big bazaar here, and we already have some shops.

Skovparken Mall– because that is what it is.

Ennyfor – It stands for a new story ('en ny fortælling' in Danish) and a place for anyone Xamar – That is just a name in Somali, I think that fits.

Beauty Park- just look around, I think it is beautiful here, there is so much greenery

Xamar – That is just a name in Somali, I think that fits.



Most of the names seem to somehow contain parts from the narrative of naming, and they are all pointing at an identity of place. The relational emplotment of this story is an investigation of all the little stories. It is also pointing to the role which the big story plays, how it impacts

changes tes an acceptance of the story of a jing story plays, how it impacts

change the general story about a place.

- Malcolm Gladwell ⁹ writes in the book The Tipping Point that small things can create big

the little stories and how the

little stories are entangled in

identity of place. I wonder how

many new little stories or if one

new big story may be needed to

the big story becoming the

changes but what is it that creates an actual trend in society, or starts an epidemic? Why does something become a scourge or a jingle or a TV show that everybody remembers? What is that little difference that makes the big difference? What is needed to change the story about a place? When are things starting to move? What actors must be changed, and when will the seesaw start to move and the balance point change so that most of the stories being told will contain a positive atmosphere?

Footnotes

¹Sarah Butler: https://art.tfl.gov.uk/media/central-line-stories/

²Bob Jessop, https://bobjessop.org/2013/12/02/the-entrepreneurial-city-re-imaging-localities-re-designing-economic-governance-or-re-structuring-capital/

³Richard Sennet: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1p40xc6pMeo

⁴Gernot Böhme: Böhme, G., Borch, C., 2014. Architectural atmospheres: on the experience and politics of architecture. Birkhäuser Basel

 5 Robert A. Beauregard og Laura Lieto : Lieto, L., Beauregard, R.A. (Eds.), 2016. Planning for a material world, Routledge research in planning and urban design. Routledge, London.

 $^6\mathrm{Bruno}$ Latour: Blok, A., Elgaard Jensen, T., 2013. Bruno Latour: hybride tanker i en hybrid verden. Nota, Kbh

⁷Graham Coreil- Allen: http://grahamprojects.com/projects/ npst/ + http://99percentinvisible.org/episode/episode-60-names-vs-the-nothing/,

⁸Ursula Le Guin: http://www.hasd.org/faculty/ThomasKraus/ruleofnames.pdf

⁹Malcolm Gladwell: Gladwell, M., 2014. The tipping point : how little things can make a big difference, Paperback edition. ed. Abacus, London.

