



Between inclusion and legitimization

- a municipal office project within the urban regeneration of Gellerupparken and Tovesløj



0. Abstract

Urban Regeneration is a major planning endeavor in Denmark, with over 500 million Danish kroner invested annually. Issues in Gellerupparken and Tovesøj in the western part of Aarhus is tried dealt with in a large urban regeneration effort. As a cornerstone in the change-making is a municipal office project in the making by Aarhus Municipality, which seeks to involve residents in the area by providing a publically accessible ground floor. With the use of a range of theories concerning the role of citizens and democracy within urban planning, as well as sociology of technology, this thesis seeks to answer to which degree the municipal building can facilitate a meeting between residents in the area, municipal employees and visitors. Interviews with the municipality uncovered that local residents where not invited in the design of the building. Furthermore, the building is designed to have an Aarhus Identity, not a local identity, and the project can be interpreted as contributing to a gentrification of Gellerupparken and Tovesøj, which is suspected by groups of local residents. The building provides office spaces for 1000 employees and is likely to draw visitors. However it is theorized that it is built with the aim of attracting new businesses and gaining legitimization with the overall citizens in Aarhus, and not the locals, where the locals are the least taken into concern in the design of the building. This is a possible hindrance for the residents to use the building, and therefore for the meeting to take place. However, the municipal office building is designed with a degree of flexibility, and a discursive configuration is able to take place, where negative developments can be atoned for to some degree, and the building can gain local ownership and attract local residents.

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1. Introduction

Urban regeneration is a broad field of study. Because urban regeneration involves a wide range of methods aimed to solve complicated problems, the possible approaches to research within urban regeneration is manifold. For this thesis, I have found it most interesting to look at how a municipal project, in this case an office building, that has been given the role as a 'cornerstone' within the urban regeneration of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj has the potential of contributing to a wanted development of the area.

A selection of theories is chosen to look at the municipal office building *Meet Aarhus* as a case study, of whom many are normative. These theories involve a high standard of democracy within urban planning, and as these are used to understand the case, the case falls short in many ways. The intentions are however admirable, and practice is a much harder endeavor than theory. In many ways the Meet Aarhus project harbor potentials, of which many are yet to be seen as the building will be finished in late 2018.

I have had the lucky circumstance of living in proximity to the case of study, and I have also been given a workplace in a temporary office-project related to the Meet Aarhus project. These circumstances have paid well off, both in inspiration as well as making a pleasant and interesting process of writing.

2. Problem Field

In this chapter, urban regeneration as a context for the municipal office building *Meet Aarhus* is explored. The chapter will start with a broad view on the urban regeneration in Denmark and gradually narrow in on the specific case, highlighting the significance of the municipal office building Meet Aarhus within the change-making context.

2.1 Urban Regeneration in Denmark

For the last two decades, urban regeneration has been a central concern within the planning of Danish cities. The context seems to be the urban planning mistakes of the past, which has left many areas in or near larger cities in a distressed state. In the document 'from distressed neighborhood to whole city district' (Programbestyrelsen for dialog i udsatte områder 2008) distressed neighborhoods are characterized by a higher number of unemployed citizens, non-western immigrants, and children than other residential areas. The reasons that urban areas suffer social decline is manifold, but a large number of the distressed areas are urban developments from the 1960s and -70s outside larger cities, where whole city districts with a monotonous building mass were established. As a

consequence, these areas attracted a large mass of citizens with similar characteristics. Many such areas have been officially labelled ghetto-areas during the latest years, due to a large concentration of non-western immigrants. The investment into urban regeneration is significant, as the state-owned fund 'Landsbyggefonden' is investing 400 million Danish kroner annually in urban regeneration (The Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs 2007).

Procent ¹	Programbestyrelsens områder ³	Hele den almene sektor	Hele boligmassen
Andel beboere uden arbejds-markedstilknytning ²	40,8	33,5	14,4
Andel indvandrere og efterkom-mere fra ikke-vestlige lande	53,4	21,4	6,2
Andel børn under 18 år	33,1	21,8	22,2

Figure 1: Number of unemployed, immigrants, and children in distressed neighborhoods compared to other areas (Programbestyrelsen for dialog i udsatte områder 2008, p.8)

The Danish urban regeneration effort started in the northern parts of Copenhagen in 1993, as a 'kvarterløft' (urban regeneration) was introduced as a means of improving the image as well as changing the socio-cultural composition of an area through physical changes. Urban regeneration was defined in 1996 as projects that "concerns the area, and not individual residents or properties (...) based on coordination and integrated action (...) [and] maximum participation by local forces" (Ministry of Refugees, Immigration, and Integration Affairs 2007, p.9). These efforts are characterized by high emphasis on citizen involvement. However, a critique of many of the participatory processes in relation to urban regeneration is that they "favor certain modes of communication, and thereby often tend to exclude members of ethnic minorities. Moreover they are often age biased with a majority of white middle-class men" (Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs 2007, p.27). Furthermore, the heterogeneity of the citizens is often not taken into account in public participation as citizens are seen as a homogeneous group, and public participation is challenging in areas where there is a lack of active citizens, or where the active citizens represent one specific group of citizens (Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs 2007). Therefore, effective public participation is still a challenge within the urban regeneration-effort in Denmark.

A central goal, as well as a means for urban regeneration, is the improvement of the image of the area. Urban regeneration efforts can function as a branding of the local area (Ministry of Refugees, Immigration and Integration Affairs 2007). It has been a distinctive conventional thought that there exists a degree of 'territorial stigmatization', meaning that the negative image of an urban area affects the residents' daily life and perception of the area. However, a study on the distressed

neighborhood with the name ‘territorial stigmatization and local belonging in Aalborg East’ argued that the residents do not internalize the stigma of the area, and many are actually happy to live there (Christensen and Jensen 2012). Nevertheless, the study uncovered that many residents had negative experiences with prejudice towards the area from the outside. Therefore, branding and improving the image of distressed areas can be an important factor in relieving the local residents of this stigma.

2.2 Urban Regeneration in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj

As urban regeneration has been an active part of urban planning in Denmark the last 20 years, this thesis concerns a newer urban regeneration scheme, revolving a district in western Aarhus. Urban regeneration in the western Aarhus started in the early 2000’s. From 2000 to 2008, three distressed areas in the west of Aarhus were covered by the Urban Program, where 40 million Danish kroner were invested to improve these areas socially. The areas covered were Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, Hasle, and Herredsvang, geographically situated in proximity to each other and with a combined population of 23.331 residents in 2005 (Erhvervs- og byggestyrelsen 2005). These three areas are illustrated in figure 2.

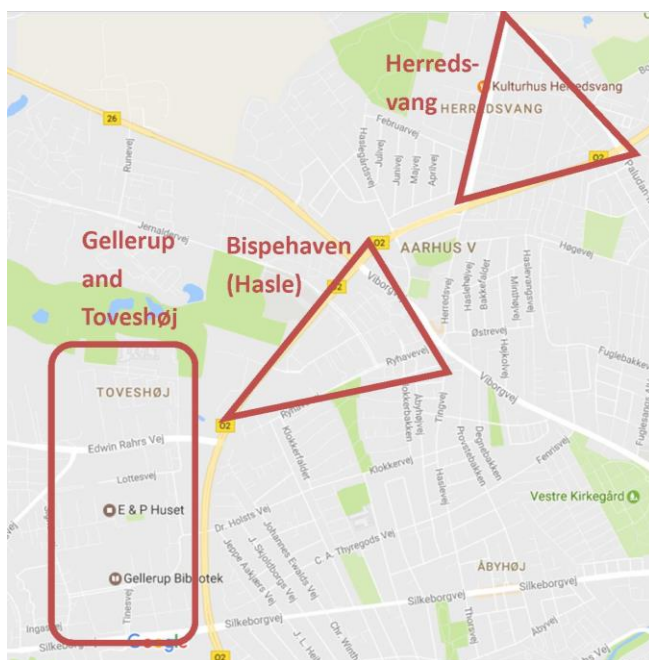


Figure 2: The three areas covered by the Urban Programme.
Google Maps, edited through Microsoft Publisher.

The Urban-program consisted solely of social measures, with job-creation and raising competences as a first priority. These measures were followed by strengthening social and organizational resources, integration through culture and pastime activities, and, lastly, technical assistance. The program also had a significant emphasis on entrepreneurship as a means of job-creation and activation of local citizens to use their abilities and resources (Mastrup Development 2003). The efforts of the

Urban-program produced generally positive results, as the percentage of

employed refugees and immigrants increased from 29% to 31,2 % in the period between 2000-2004, and more than 20 new businesses were started as a result of the program (Erhvervs- og byggestyrelsen 2005). In a review of the change-making efforts in the area in 2014, The Urban

Programme was credited for creating greater engagement within the area and strengthening the local associations in Gellerup (Aarhus Municipality 2014). However, with an emphasis on social aspects, the Urban Program did not introduce physical changes in the areas it covered.

Changing the area through physical reconfiguration were later proposed by the Brabrand Housing Association (BHA), the public housing association responsible for all housing in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, as the association applied the municipality to make a masterplan. In 2007, a masterplan setting broad directions for physical changes in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj was approved politically, written by Aarhus Municipality in partnership with the BHA. The masterplan was also approved by a majority vote by the local residents by a public meeting, with approximately 400 votes from the local area (Hansen 2017). To implement the measures, 2 billion Danish Kroner were funded from a state-owned fund called '*Landsbyggefond*' (Aarhus Municipality 2014).

2.3 The state of the area

The masterplan approved in 2007 covers two departments owned by the BHA, the Gellerupparken-department and the Toveshøj-department, covering approximately 75 hectares land combined, with a collected population of 6.396 residents (Aarhus Municipality 2007; Aarhus Municipality 2014). The two departments are situated in continuation with each other, with Edwin Rahrs Vej separating Gellerupparken from Toveshøj in the north (see figure 3). Among the many residents in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, there are citizens from 84 different nationalities, where the 3 most numerous are citizens from Libanon, Somalia, and Denmark, arranged by number of residents (Gellerup.nu 2017).

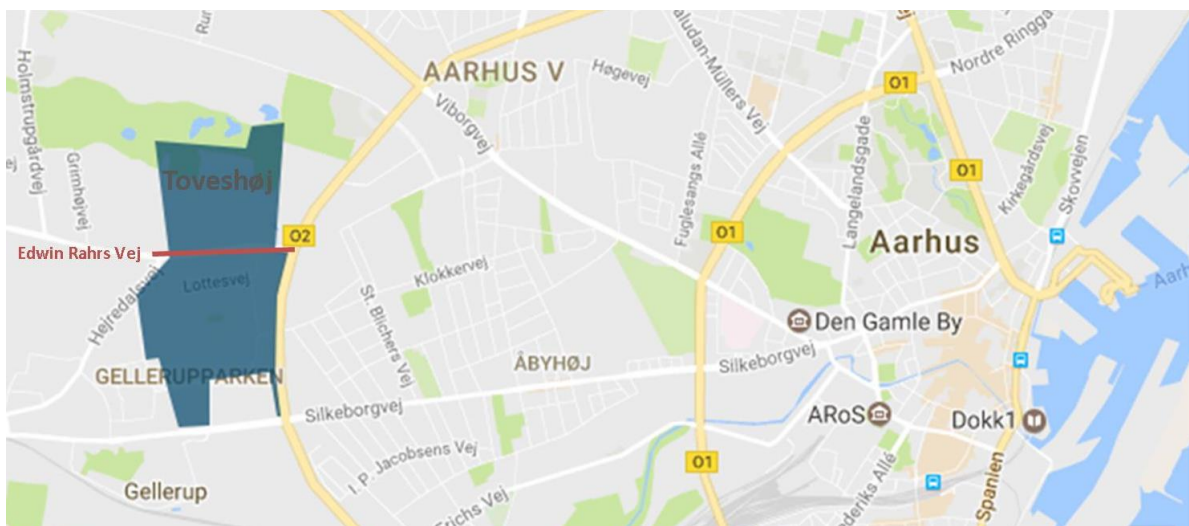


Figure 3: The combined Gellerupparken and Toveshøj area, situated west of the Aarhus city centre (BusinessAarhus 2013). Edited through Microsoft Publisher.

One of the main problems posed in the masterplan is that both Gellerupparken and Toveshøj are highly mono-functional and have a high degree of resource-weak citizens (Aarhus Municipality 2007; Brabrand Boligforening 2017). The masterplan is also aimed at keeping resource-strong citizens within the area, as many residents move when getting a job (Brabrand Boligforening 2017). This is partly because residents then become interested in private housing, and therefore, the masterplan includes measures for providing private housings within the area.

The area is mono-functional in the sense that it almost entirely consists of public housings operated by the BHA. The area was established between 1968 and 1972 and despite several changes in apartments and the public areas, the buildings still resemble the original architectural style from that period. The area is still separated from the rest of the city as a consequence from urban planning ideals from the period it was built (Aarhus municipality 2007). There are, however, other functions in the area, for example City Vest, a shopping mall covering the western Aarhus district, and Bazaar Vest, a Middle East inspired urban market.



Picture 1 and 2: The BHA's public housing blocks, respectively 4-story and 8-story.

Whereas the City Vest is a generic decentralized retail center, Bazaar Vest has an entirely different structure and expression. Comprised of small rooms used for cafés, restaurants, clothing stores, and bakeries, the bazaar resembles the markets in southern Europe or the Middle East. In the northern area of the bazaar there is a large hall where several different vegetable wholesalers share localities, filled with vegetables and fruits used in the different food-cultures represented in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj. Many residents, especially of non-western origin, spend time in the Bazaar for socializing. The Bazaar is situated by Edvin Rahrs Vej in between Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, thus making it central in the overall area.



Picture 3, 4, and 5: Retail. From left to right; City Vest, Bazaar Vest, and interior of Bazaar Vest.

The area also has sports facilities for football, swimming, and climbing, child care institutions in both Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, as well as a public school in the northern part of Toveshøj. A green area is situated in the center of the Gellerupparken, with a green corridor stretching north through Toveshøj, connecting to a public park north of the area. Gellerupparken and Toveshøj are disconnected to the rest of the city by two central roads to the east and to the south, and the area is slightly hidden from the outside, due to a green 'wall' to the east. Before the urban regeneration there were no roads through the area, and the area was only accessible by car from the outside to the individual parking lots belonging to the different apartment blocks.

Gellerupparken and Toveshøj also experience social challenges. In a municipal document evaluating the action in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj from 2014, it is stated that the Gellerupparken- and Toveshøj-area was the mixed residential area with the lowest mean income in Denmark in 2014. Moreover, the number of citizens outside the labor market had risen from 49,4% to 54,8% from 2012 to 2014, reversing the results from the Urban Programme from 2000 to 2008 (Aarhus Municipality 2014). The aforementioned document claimed that there was a high number of citizens charged for criminal activities but any numbers or percentages were not given. Furthermore, the number of citizens who are financially self-provided had fallen from 30% in 2012 to 21% in 2014 (Aarhus Municipality 2014).

As a potential measure for future change, the evaluation report identified the need for closer networks and more cultural transactions with the rest of Aarhus and Denmark (Aarhus Municipality 2014). A focus group with local residents that was set up in relation with the evaluation of the physical changes in 2014 uncovered that there was a strong network between residents living within Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, but that there was lack of a network between this area and the rest of Aarhus. This is also supported by a research paper on social capital within Gellerupparken and Toveshøj by Espvall and Laursen (2014). The paper also unravels a substantial amount of social capital within Gellerup. Espvall and Laursen (2014) define social capital as networks and resources,

and split into *bonding social capital*, which is the network and resources within families and shared cultures, and *bridging social capital*, which is the network and resources shared with other groups with a different social or ethnic background and culture. According to Espvall and Laursen (2014) there was a strong bonding and bridging capital within Gellerupparken and Toveshøj but there was a lack of bonding and bridging social capital from residents within Gellerupparken and Toveshøj to the outside.

The municipal evaluation report from 2014 also pointed towards positive change in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj (Aarhus Municipality 2014) One example is growth in number of social support initiatives, like homework-help, pastime jobs, family centers etc. Also, the local police, together with teenage clubs and local volunteers, is increasing the perceived safety in the area. This positive change is in the report partly owed to the Urban Programme amongst others, as the Urban Programme contributed to a growth of local associations and a growth in activities and a heightened engagement in the local area.

The area has experienced a significant amount of media-attention, with a changing emphasis from the problems of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj to the process of change-making. As earlier media coverage were nearly always negative (El-Batran and Frederiksen 2017), newer coverage tells the story of a changing Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, where positive changes are happening. Even though the stories are optimistic, there is still a potential stigmatization, as it portrays Gellerupparken and Toveshøj as a problem that now is undergoing improvement. The same tendency is seen in the case study of territorial stigmatization in Aalborg East by Christensen and Jensen (2012), where the authors argue that positive stories about change-making brings a degree of stigmatization, as the area is presented as a problem that is now getting a solution (Christensen and Jensen 2012).

2.4 The objectives of the masterplan and the disposition plan

The masterplan for Gellerupparken and Toveshøj from 2007 is called 'From residential area to city district' and has, as the name suggests, an objective to make the area an integrated part of Aarhus City, as well as a center for the surrounding areas in the western part of Aarhus. Introducing new citizens by providing different types of housing is aimed to make the area more socially heterogeneous, hindering the negative development towards what masterplan defines as a 'parallel society' to the rest of the city. Furthermore, the masterplan wants to attract citizens from the surrounding areas through introducing new inviting and attractive functions in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj (Aarhus Municipality 2007). The proposed initiatives include, amongst others, establishing new attractive functions in strategic places throughout Gellerupparken and Toveshøj. These are

defined as 'anchors', and are defined to involve functions that revolve around sports, retail, culture or business, and should be 'visionary' in its design, in order to attract users from other areas as well as locally (Aarhus Municipality 2007).

In order to introduce more movement within the area and to make Gellerupparken and Toveshøj more accessible to surrounding areas, the masterplan describes an intention to establish a road system throughout the area. A future central road, connecting the Bazaar along Edvin Rahrs vej to the City Vest and Silkeborgvej, is meant to function as a central 'boulevard' in the area, where cultural attractions and retail can be placed, and work as a 'city center' for the western part of Aarhus. The plan also mentions a possibility to free the bottom floors of the apartment-blocks along the central boulevard for businesses and offices, as well as reconfiguring these blocks, either by changing facades or establishing extensions of different sorts (Aarhus municipality 2007).



Figure 4: Local 'anchors' (Aarhus Municipality 2007 p.6)

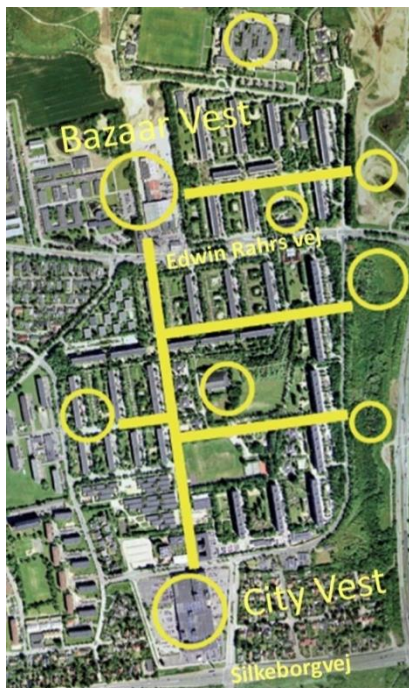


Figure 5: new roads (Aarhus Municipality 2007, p.9). Edited through Microsoft Publisher.

The new roads are furthermore supposed to have the effect of dividing the area into smaller segments. In order to change the area from being large and monotonous to being more diverse in expression, the masterplan wishes to separate Gellerupparken and Toveshøj into different smaller quarters with different expressions and thereby different identities. The different quarters can include different forms of housing, for example single unit and semi-attached private housings as well as youth housings and elder-housings.

The 2007 masterplan expresses a general wish to change the current mixture of residents, to introduce more residents that are employed, as well as students. Currently, many departments within the BHA, including Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, has 'flexible renting', which means students are prioritized in renting apartments and citizens outside the job market are prohibited from getting apartments in the area (Hansen 2017). Initially, the

masterplan did not include any plans to renovate the existing apartments. However, due to engagement among the residents the plans changed, and extra funding from Landsbyggefonden were granted to renovate the existing apartments (Kayed 2017).

As the masterplan was intended to make changes in the apartment blocks, groups of residents have to move temporarily or permanently. In that relation, BHA is applying a 'safety guarantee', where residents that are to be displaced due to renovation or demolishing are guaranteed housing within the department (Aarhus Municipality 2007; Hansen 2017). The flexible renting is although hindering a proportion of residents to move to other departments within the BHA (Hansen 2017).

The masterplan from 2007 is by purpose not detailed, but is meant to be concretized later in the process, through citizen involvement processes as well as local plans (Aarhus Municipality 2007). The 2007 masterplan also mentioned the need for developing a disposition plan to define the physical changes in the area, as the masterplan itself was unspecific concerning physical changes.

The current disposition plan is from 2011 and is a result from what is called a *parallel assignment*, which is a collaborative way of conducting architecture competitions. The parallel assignment is a process spanning over 4 workshops, where different teams of consultants made proposals for future changes in the area together with local citizens (Hansen 2017). The parallel assignment was held from august to November 2008, and the organization Cowi won the assignment, and is therefore the main consultant in relation to the disposition-plan. Central in Cowi's suggestion, is that the physical masterplan cannot solve the problems with unemployment and youth criminality, but rather contribute to make a 'meeting between the cultures' of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, and the rest of Aarhus (Cowi et al. 2008). Based on the collected suggestions during the parallel-assignment, the main principles in the masterplan from 2007 were concretized in the disposition plan from 2011 with the name 'Gellerupparken + Toveshøj – a new multifunctional city district in Aarhus' (Aarhus Municipality 2011).



Picture 6: Disposition-plan (Aarhus Municipality 2011)



Figure 6: Green corridor connecting green areas north and south (Aarhus Municipality 2012, p.20)

A few of the efforts described in the disposition plan is presented here. The disposition plans to encourage movement within the area through establishing two main 'corridors' through the area. Firstly, the city street, introduced in the 2007 masterplan, is to encourage movement through introducing new buildings, for example a 'citizen-house', and pastime activities through a football field and an improvement of the existing swimming-hall. Retail functions are also thought to be established, in order for the city street to become a center for the surrounding area. The disposition plan mentions the establishment of a 'green corridor' through the area, based on

the existing green area. This will also be improved, and expanded to the south, so that it further introduces walking citizens to move through the area (Aarhus Municipality 2011). The renovation and expansion of the green area has been the subject of a citizen workshop (Hansen 2017).

The BHA is also selling parts of its land to private businesses and municipal offices as well as private housing. The disposition plan mentions introducing around 1.000 workplaces, of which 500 are municipal offices in a new municipal office building. Furthermore, the plan introduces a new 'youth city' on an area that was originally youth housings. The youth housings are being sold to make two-story semi-attached housings, and the original functionality as youth housing will be compressed into

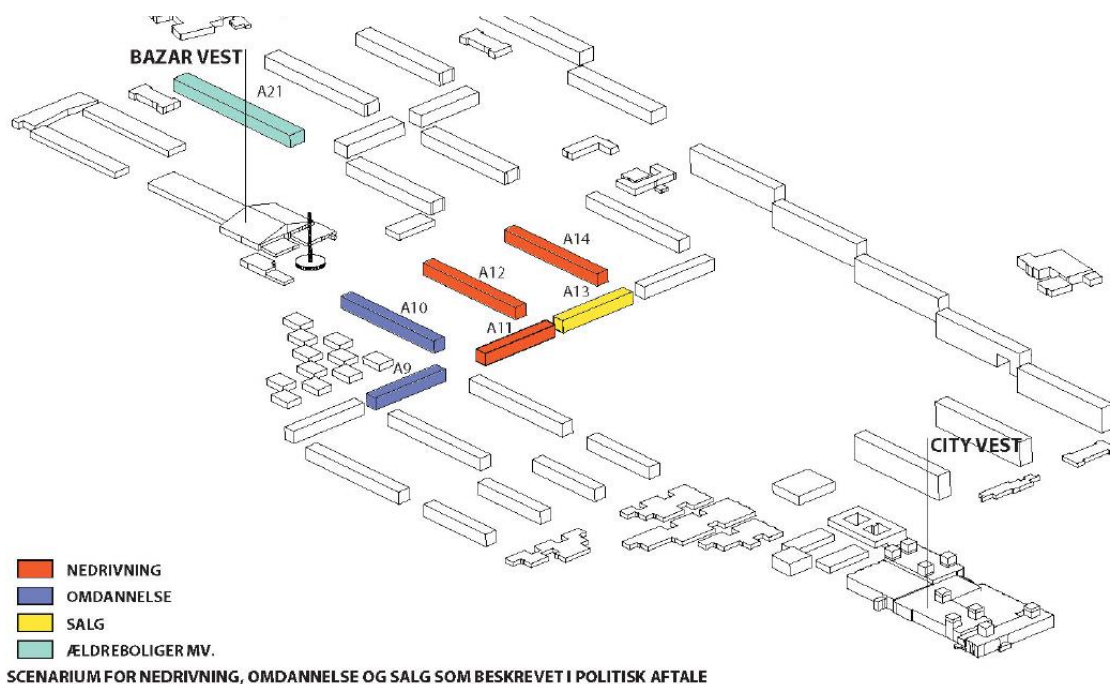


Figure 7: Demolition, sale, and changed use of blocks (Aarhus Municipality 2012, p.23).

a smaller area – more densely populated through a higher number of floors (Aarhus Municipality 2011; Sejersen 2017).

Where the 2007 masterplan considers the possibility to demolish blocks, the 2012 plan is based on a political decision to demolish 3 blocks, illustrated on figure X. The decision to demolish blocks in order to make place for a municipal office building as well as the central road was made from political level, and also voted for locally in the department of the BHA (Hansen 2017). The first plan to offer 500 municipal jobs was later changed to approximately 1.000 municipal workplaces, as well as numerous more private jobs. This decision required the demolition of more blocks, outside of the influence of the residents. The blocks illustrated as A 10 and A 9 on figure X was later decided to be demolished as well. The figure also illustrates that a block is to be sold to private apartments, but this decision was voted down among the local residents, as the citizens realized that the apartments would be more expensive than first thought (Hansen 2017; Kayed 2017).

The disposition plan from 2012 also takes into consideration a future light rail through the area. This light rail, which will be part of a larger network of light rails in Aarhus, is not fully decided. An environmental assessment of the light trail through Gellerupparken is in the making (Aarhus Municipality 2016a).

2.5 Current changes in the area.



Picture 7: Karen Blixens Boulevard, Gazellefarmen and Meet Aarhus under construction.

A number of the measures described in the 2007 masterplan and the disposition plan is already established or in the process of establishment. Parts of the road system is open for use, including the main road which has been called *Karen Blixens Boulevard*, and the municipal offices are in process of being established with the foundation and the main structure of the building already visible in the area. Altogether 5 apartment blocks have been demolished and one is in the process

of renovation.

As earlier mentioned, the urban regeneration efforts in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj is a partnership between Aarhus Municipality and the BHA. Until recently, the municipality was visible in the area through a local office, called the Gellerup Secretariate (Sejersen 2017). The BHA is now the most visible actor, first and foremost as an initiator of the masterplan, but also as owner of the public

housing that Gellerupparken and Toveshøj in near entirety consists of. For the moment, the housing association is visible in the area through the E&P house, a temporary building consistent of red containers situated in the middle of the Gellerup Aare along the new main road. The E&P house both harbors an exhibition of the plans and the status of the masterplan, but also offices where employees from the BHA are present.



Picture 8: The E&P house.

With the E&P house as an example, there is an emphasis on temporary urban development in the urban regeneration of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, as a way of making a softer transition to a changed area, as new structures can be seen before the main buildings are established, but also as a means of encouraging entrepreneurship.

The BHA and the municipality is cooperating on a project called 'Instant city', providing containers with offices for local associations and the aforementioned E&P house. The latest project within instant city is called the "Gazellefarm", which is a temporary building providing workshops, offices and storage-space for entrepreneurs. It is currently in the process of being built along the 'Karen Blixens Boulevard' and is 2 floors in height with wood as the main element. It is planned to stand in the area for 2 years, until a 'resident-house' is built on the same area, where the wooden walls as well as the foundation will have to be rebuilt (Fumz 2017).



Picture 9 and 10: Temporary developments. The Gazelle-farm to the left and containers with offices and a scene to the right.

2.6 The municipal office building

As earlier mentioned, the Meet Aarhus project is already under construction, and is meant to be completed by the end of 2018. The municipal office building is meant to have a central part in the change-making in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, as it was described as an icon for the change-making in the area in the masterplan from 2007 (Aarhus Municipality 2007). The building is designed to have a publically accessible ground floor, in order to 'invite the neighborhood into using it', and is contributing to the plan of encouraging entrepreneurships by providing spaces reserved for that end (Sejersen 2017).



Picture 11 and 12: The Meet Aarhus project. Visualization (OpsGellerup n.d. a) and under construction.

As the BHA is the most visible actor, the municipal office building will be the main presence of Aarhus municipality in the area. The office building can be seen as having a strong symbolic importance as well as a practical one, being an example and evidence of the intentions of Aarhus Municipality in the change-making. The local plan for the area sold to the municipality by the BHA describes the building as a 'lighthouse' for the area, and a kick-start of the process of integrating Gellerup into the rest of Aarhus (Aarhus Municipality 2016b). Also the name 'Meet Aarhus' makes clear that the building is meant to integrate Gellerupparken and Toveshøj into the rest of Aarhus. The question is: does the municipal building also facilitate meetings between the new users of the building and the existing residents?

2.7 Summary

Urban regeneration is a major urban planning endeavor in Denmark, with more than 400 million kr. Annually invested through the state owned fund Statsbyggefonden. With the aim of improving areas socially, the investments are used to improve urban spaces, renovate buildings, and urban development. Integration and making the socio-economical composition of the area more similar to other areas of the city seem to be a common concern for these areas. Regeneration is done on a large scale in the Gellerupparken and Toveshøj from the initial Master plan for 2007, which leads the way for a change of the area to prevent a negative development of a 'parallel society' west of

Aarhus. The disposition plan from 2011 specifies physical interventions, of which many are in the process of being implemented today. As a lighthouse for the area, and as a physical reminder of Aarhus Municipality's presence in the area, the new municipal office building Meet Aarhus is on the way, planned to be in use by the end of 2018. But how does this building contribute to changing the image of the area and its residents, and how does it contribute to create further social coherence between citizens within Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, and the outside? This is paraphrased in the research question; *to what degree can the Meet Aarhus project secure inclusion of different citizens residing or working in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj in Aarhus West?* To answer this, the process and the design of the building needs to be further investigated.

3. Problem Formulation

As mentioned in the last chapter, the research question for this master thesis is;

To what degree can the Meet Aarhus project secure inclusion of different citizens residing or working in the Gellerupparken and Toveshøj in Aarhus West?

- *How is the Municipal office building Meet Aarhus heterogeneously designed, and how does it influence the overall change-making in the area?*
- *What discourses are visible in the municipal change-making agency?*
- *What are the possibilities and barriers for involving residents in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj?*

3.1 Justification and contribution of the research question

The municipal office building Meet Aarhus is interesting, because it is meant to be a lighthouse for the area and is given a central role within the urban regeneration of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj.

As the main visual reminder of the municipal presence, the impact that this building has on the area is significant in the degree that it encourages or discourages trust. Inclusion of different citizens, both existing residents as well as new users of the area, is important as the main objectives for the Masterplan is changing the negative image of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj area regionally as well as nationally, and creating further social coherence with other areas. The intention of this thesis is to see to which degree the building can facilitate a meeting between the citizens, and inviting citizens from the rest of Aarhus and Denmark into use of the area.

Concerning the case of a municipal office project within the context of an urban regeneration, the research questions is meant to contribute to further policy making aimed to secure inclusion of different citizens. With the case being a project within urban regeneration effort, with similar projects around the country, the research questions is also meant to contribute to the similar cases country wide, and give directions for securing inclusion through municipal office building projects, and how these can be used most efficiently for securing inclusion.

3.2 Structure of the thesis

As the overall context of change-making in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, and the role of the municipal building was described in the problem field chapter, the following chapters will all contribute to answering the research. The thesis is structured as follows. Firstly, the theory chapter (3.) introduces the theoretical framework in which the problem will be viewed through, and thereafter the methodology chapter (4.) describes the approach to answering the research questions and the methodological choices herein. The process and design chapter (5.) introduces some supplementary descriptions of the case as well as the context of *Meet Aarhus*, which will aid the analysis chapter (6.) where the empirical data will be reviewed and understood through the theoretical concepts chosen for the thesis. Thereafter the results from the analysis will be synthesized in a shared discussion in chapter (7.) that leads to the final conclusion in chapter (8.) The last chapter, further research (9.), brings up questions and themes that would be beneficial to explore, but did not find its way in the thesis.

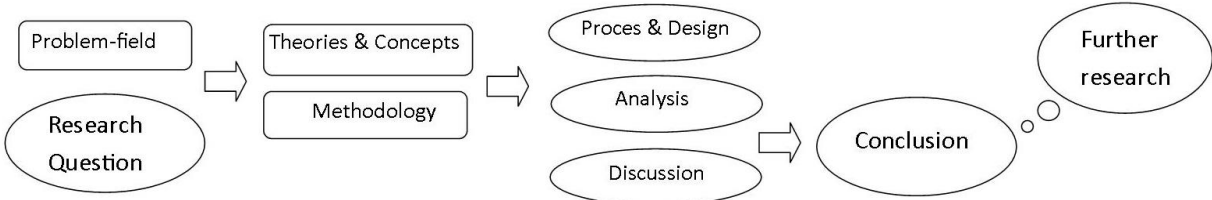


Figure 8: Diagram of the structure of the thesis.

4. Theories and Concepts

The theoretic framework for this thesis is roughly divided into two parts: Firstly, theories and concepts concerning the involvement of the citizens and the role of the municipality and the planners, and secondly, there are concepts to understand the materiality of the office building. These two dimensions to the theoretical framework will be applied separately to highlight certain dimensions of the chosen case, but will also be synthesized and discussed in a later discussion in the thesis. This is further described in chapter 5.1.1.

4.1 Critical Theory

To highlight the structure and process behind the chosen case, the tradition of critical theory is drawn upon.

This thesis can roughly be understood as operating within the paradigm of critical theory. This involves a view of the researcher not as a value-neutral observer, but rather with an agenda to criticize existing power-structures, and thereby improve society with research (Andersen 2011). Therefore, the many of the theories and concepts presented under critical theory can be seen as normative.

Central to critical theory is the understanding of power (Andersen 2011). The German sociologist Jürgen Habermas introduces three kinds of powers in society; the administrative power of the state, the social power of the powerful and influential elites in society, and the communicative power that is given through public debate and involvement of everyday citizens (Ingam 2010). The nature of power is linked to different forms of rationality, based on the actors place in the society as well as the area wherein the individual acts (MacKendric 2004).

4.1.1 System-world and lifeworld

The difference in rationality is linked to two different societal contexts; the *system* and the *lifeworld*. The lifeworld refers to the personal and subjective understanding the reality of everyday events, whereas the system refers to an objective reality defined by hidden mechanism and laws (Andersen 2011). In these two contexts, there is a difference in how actions are coordinated. Whereas actions within the system are goal oriented, actions within the lifeworld are understanding-oriented, due to the different forms of rationality, according to Habermas' theory on communicative action (Elling 2016). Whereas understanding-oriented actions seek to act based on mutual understanding or a shared world-view, goal-oriented actions are oriented towards different goals, determined by the subsystem the action is within. The system-world has two subsystems; the market and the state-system, with their respective goals. The goal of the state-(sub)-system is highest possible legitimacy,

and for the market the goal is profit. Because of their orientation towards a goal, their rationality can be called cognitive-instrumental or strategical (Elling 2016; Andersen 2011).

Furthermore, Habermas introduces three types of expertise, called *expert cultures*. These are science, moral, and art respectively, and each of the expert cultures value actions differently depending on their respective forms of rationality. Whereas the expert culture of science values *truth*, based on cognitive-instrumental rationality, the culture of the moral values *rightness*, based on moral-practical rationality, and the expert culture of art values beauty, based on aesthetic-expressive rationality (Elling 2016). The expert cultures can only keep their original form of rationality by being used in the lifeworld, whereas in the system they will be instrumentalized towards the goal of profit or legitimacy.

The lifeworld, in contrast to the system-world, comprises contexts that are not instrumentalized, i.e. social life and culture. As actions within the lifeworld are *understanding oriented* or *communicative* and not goal oriented, these actions do not have pre-determined purposes, but are rather driven by individuals themselves or by commonly accepted norms (Elling 2016). Actions in the lifeworld are valued by what Habermas calls a *communicative rationality* in which cognitive-instrumental, moral-practical and esthetical-expressive rationalities, as found in the different expert cultures, are used interchangeably (Elling 2016). This can be exemplified in the context of urban regeneration. As actors within the lifeworld, residents can assess the change-making actions as actors within the lifeworld, based on a moral-practical as well as an esthetical-expressive rationality, looking at whether or not the change-making will better the lives of the citizens, and whether the proposed changes makes the area more beautiful. The municipality as an actor within the state-system will also work with this concern, but only to the degree that it helps them reach their goal of maximum legitimacy, and the developers of new buildings within the urban regeneration, as actors within the market-system, will follow this concern only to the degree that it gives them profit. As actors within different contexts, actions are coordinated differently.

4.1.2 Citizens' Communicative power in urban planning

As seen through the previous example, urban planning can be understood through the different contexts in which actors operate. The article *Communicative planning as counter-power* (Elling 2016) seeks to understand communicative planning theory in relation to Habermas' concept of communicative rationality.

The article presents a way to extend the understanding of power within the participatory planning paradigm, where the influence of experts and powerful interests is found necessary to be challenged

by the interest of everyday citizens, who has a communicative power. The communicative power of citizens is a much more complex power than the expert-power within a rationalistic planning paradigm, and the investor-power within an incremental paradigm. Because the communicative power is complex, the focus on power is nearly disappearing in participatory planning theory (Elling 2016). Therefore, Elling applies the concepts rationality and action-coordinating contexts from Habermas in order to extend the understanding the communicative power of citizens in urban planning.

Power within urban planning is understood through the interaction between 4 groups of actors in relation to the built environment: the administration, citizens, investors and construction clients, and lastly the experts (Elling 2016). Drawing on concepts from Habermas' theory on communicative action, these actors can be understood as acting within different action-coordinating contexts, applying different forms of rationality.

The first group, the administration, is defined as the decision-makers and their officials. They are acting within the system-world and are communicating through the medium of power. Their actions are oriented towards the goal of gaining maximum legitimacy in their actions, based on cognitive-instrumental rationality (Elling 2016). The second group is the citizens, for whom the planning is done (Elling 2016). They have different motives for involvement and use expert cultures to debate through a communicative rationality. Acting within the context of the lifeworld, their actions are understanding-oriented. The third group is the investors or construction clients, who are acting within the subsystem of the market, and are communicating through the medium of money. Their actions are strategical, oriented towards profit as the goal, and working within cognitive-instrumental rationality, like the administration (Elling 2016). The fourth group is the experts, with knowledge and experience within a field, acting as a consultant for either one of the three other groups (Elling 2016).

As the citizens are the only actors that are not bound to a specific goal-oriented rationality, they are the only actor that can argue through an aesthetic or ethical rationality in the planning process, without instrumentalizing these rationalities towards a goal. Experts bring in ethical or aesthetical arguments as well, but only as citizens, because if they are employed or involved through the administration or the investors, their knowledge is instrumentalized (Elling 2016). This also means that ethical or aesthetical arguments only can come into play in a participatory planning process.

Within participatory planning the role of the planner is to act together with these four actors. Because the planner needs to work together with all these actors, the planning is neither in the

context of the lifeworld nor in the context of the system-world. However, planning can be seen as a separate context in itself (Elling 2016). In the context of the Meet Aarhus project within the change-making agenda, Aarhus Municipality has a double role: both as a construction client for the office building, and as an administrator for the overall change-making agency. At the same time, Aarhus Municipality is the main planning authority within the masterplan.

In theory, planning decisions have been done within a participatory planning paradigm in Denmark over the last 40 years (Elling 2016). However, most planning authorities have an ambiguous relationship with citizen involvement (Elling 2016). First and foremost, the planners are dependent on the citizens as a legitimization factor, but on the other hand, the citizens are also seen as an uncertainty in the planning process. This often results in a citizen involvement that is half-hearted, and here Elling argues that the planners are making a grave mistake, because involvement of citizens can activate a communicative power in planning, balancing the pressure from short-sighted economical interest, as the marked is an increasing factor of power (Elling 2016). Because of their communicative rationality, local citizens are the only actors that can bring long-sighted and holistic perspectives into the planning (Elling 2017). As municipalities are strongly dependent on investors' contribution in the local planning, and as states are pressured by international competition, authorities are in a dilemma between meeting investors' needs or legitimizing their decisions in the broad public (Elling 2016). However, Elling argues that planners can lay pressure on the power of the investors through creating a broad support in the public. This requires a need for change of practice, where citizen involvement is seen as an opportunity to bring holistic perspectives and long-sighted interests into the planning process, instead of an obligatory uncertainty in the planning process (Elling 2016).

4.1.3 The rationality of the planner

The article *the democratic transformation of nature conservation and urban planning* (Clausen and Hansen 2004) relates the influence of the rational planning paradigm in contemporary planning with issues in citizen involvement, and argues that there is a need for Urban planners to develop a new kind of rationality in order to secure a democratic transformation within urban planning.

Clausen & Hansen introduces a framework to understand the urban planner. Where Elling, in his 2016 article sees the need for planners to work within the participative planning paradigm in order for citizens to gain communicative power, Clausen and Hansen see planners as navigating within several archetypes of planning, namely rational, incremental, advocative, transactive, and radical planning (Clausen and Hansen 2004). Whereas the first three archetypes hold little value to the involvement of the public, the latter two archetypes are emphasizing a "higher degree of

decentralization and adaptability to social and cultural contexts” (Clausen and Hansen 2004, p.3). Even though urban planning is transitioning from a rational planning paradigm towards a higher emphasis on participatory planning, Clausen & Hansen argue that planners in general are influenced by rational planning as the neo-libertarian values of rationality is still a premise for urban planning. Where Elling understands the planner as able to navigate through different rationalities in different contexts of action, Clausen and Hansen see the general planner as stuck with an expert rationality, in which citizens are seen as either being unable to contribute, or not having the right to responsibility within urban Planning (Clausen and Hansen 2004).

One of the barriers for democratization within urban planning, is the distance between expert knowledge and local knowledge, as technocratic expert knowledge is generally abstract and local knowledge is contextual. Due to this distance, local knowledge is usually seen as of lesser importance. Clausen & Hansen argue that planners generally have a technocratic approach to planning, and that there are two main reasons for this. Firstly, the planning responsibilities has historically been maintained by professionals with technical educations, i.e. Engineers and architects, and secondly, the technocratic approach has a definitive and scientific rationality (Clausen & Hansen 2004). Clausen & Hansen stress the importance of decreasing the distance between the planners’ expert knowledge and the citizens’ local knowledge, and for the urban planner to further invite the citizens’ local knowledge into planning processes in order to secure a democratic transformation within urban planning. There are moreover traces of an increasing awareness of the separation of urban planning from citizens’ social and cultural knowledge, as well as a growing understanding of urban planning as a democratic project (Clausen and Hansen 2004).

Concerning democracy, Clausen & Hansen see it as being split into two dimensions, a horizontal dimension and a vertical dimension. The horizontal dimension refers to citizens being represented through voting, horizontal dimension refers to actual dialogue and empowerment (Clausen and Hansen 2004). A higher emphasis on the horizontal dimension of democracy is the “condition for the democratic development of each individual and thereby the condition for the creation of a common democratic identity” (Clausen and Hansen 2004, p.14-15). Developing a planning procedure that is horizontal in the same degree as – or more than – it is vertical, is crucial to a democratic development of society (Clausen and Hansen 2004).

The aforementioned growing understanding of planning as a democratic project, which there were also traces of when the article was written in 2004, can also be understood as a higher tendency to understanding democracy in a horizontal dimension. This practice can be seen through the

involvement citizens in the earlier stages of a planning process, more direct involvement, and higher ownership of projects, through co-creation or inviting into a more utopian process where citizens can explore different wishes of the future development of society. The potential of the utopian dimension in democracy and sustainability will be further explored in the coming section.

4.1.4 Democracy and sustainability

The introduction of the anthology “A new agenda for sustainability” by Elling et al. (2010) presents a development of sustainability, from an early definition as a public and national endeavor, towards an emphasis on corporate social responsibility. However, a third way of understanding sustainability is to a greater extent emphasizing social responsibility, where sustainability has the potential of becoming democratically driven, as visions concerning the future ways of organizing society can be debated in society.

This requires a democratic development of society, or as earlier mentioned, a larger emphasis on the horizontal dimension of democracy, as “[p]articipation for sustainability requires a public voice capable of articulating complex and often contradictory interests pertaining to matters affecting their communities and their immediate vicinity” (Elling et al. 2010, p.10). Furthermore, a democratic development is in need of a utopian understanding of sustainability, rather than a dystopian, or so it is argued in the article ‘*Democracy and sustainability: A lesson learned from modern nature conservation 2010*’ (Clausen et al. 2010), included in Elling et al. (2010).

Clausen and colleagues describe a possible utopian dimension in sustainability in contrast to a critical and strategic dimension. Just like Clausen and Hansen (2004), they describe how urban planners have a large difficulty integrating sustainability and public participation in urban planning, despite both public participation and sustainable development being unescapable concepts when talking about urban planning.

The explanation for this lies in the way sustainability has become strategic, meaning that sustainability is attempted implemented in social, cultural, and political systems. As the understanding of sustainability is heavily based on natural science, there is a mismatch in trying to implement this into politics, because science is oriented back in time, whereas politics are oriented forwards (Clausen et al. 2010) As the dominating natural sciences are not able to implement the complexities of the social world, they are not able to take different visions of a better future into consideration, and action for sustainability is then reduced to the avoidance of crisis, thus becoming a dystopic term. And it is argued in this thesis that social sustainability is often strategic as well, and

something that is strategically attempted implemented in social and political processes, in order to avoid crisis.

The article argues that a strategic oriented sustainable development is neither possible nor wanted, as the avoidance of crisis emphasizes the use of academic and scientific skill, thus reducing public participation to conflict management and governance (Clausen et al. 2010). It is only in the democratic sphere that it is possible to work with common visions and a common utopia for nature and society (Clausen et al. 2010). Utopia is defined as “a potential common veneration of nature that, given the right circumstances, goes beyond mutual infighting and has the potential of horizons of change” (Clausen et al. 2010, p.232). Utopia is therefore a state of common understanding and respect for nature, in regards to preservation and responsible stewardship of natural resources. In the context of the thesis, a utopia for society, defined as a future and common understanding and respect, should be aimed for, when it comes to responsible development of society. In the change-making agency in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, how can these areas reach a state of social cohesion with mutual understanding between the residents living there and the change-making agents?

The problem, in reference to Habermas, is the rationality of the system-world colonizing the lifeworld, in which action in the lifeworld becomes instrumentalized to a goal-oriented rationality. Only through a deliberate democratic dialogue in society will there be coherence between the rationalities of systems, comprised of economic systems, public institutions, and agencies, and the perspective of everyday-citizens (Clausen et al. 2010). In that sense, sustainability also needs to be critical, with a purpose to change the way planning and public participation is done today, to promote a horizontal dimension of democracy and to create a deliberate democratic dialogue that will create a “legitimate linkage between the rationalities of systems – economic systems, public institutions and agencies etc. and the values of citizens in their everyday lives” (Clausen et al. 2010, p.233). The conclusion is therefore that a utopian oriented sustainability is possible only through the invitation of the un-instrumentalized perspective of everyday citizens (Clausen et al. 2010).

4.2 Sociology of technology

As the theoretic framework so far has an emphasis on role of actors and definitions of democracy, there is a need to understand the building that is to be analyzed. This part of the theoretic framework concerns the sociology of technology, in other words, how to understand the social aspects of a building.

In the *Handbook of science and technology-studies* by Restivo (2011a), the science and technology studies, and furthermore the sociology of technology, is seen as based on a wide and diverse ecology of scientific traditions. One can also broadly see references to critical theory.

To introduce the sociology of technology, looking at the works of Bruno Latour is a sensible choice, as he stands out as one of the main contributors to social theory and the development of Actor-Network theory, along with Michel Callon and John Law, in which some of the concepts to be introduced were developed (Restivo 2011b). One of his earlier works, *the pasterurization of France*, see the success of Louis Pasteur as dependent on a wide array of forces, including public hygiene, physicians, and governmental interests (Restivo 2011b). As with the successful technology of pasteurization, sociology of technology see technologies as developed through social networks, and not just as a result of natural sciences. Furthermore, in the development of actor-network theory, one of the main features of the theory was that it assigns agency to nonhumans, so that technological artifacts are seen as actors along with human actors (Restivo 2011b).

Regarding buildings as a technology, Gieryn creates in his article *what buildings do* (2002) a synthesis between the theorists Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu's works on buildings (Gieryn 2002). Bourdieu, with his studies of the housing traditions of the Kabyle people in the Berber-speaking region of Algeria, demonstrated how built structure influenced and cemented social structure, especially in relation to gender roles (Calhoun 2011). Giddens on the other hand, with his *structuration theory*, which states that "structure is the medium and outcome of the conduct it recursively organizes" (Bryant and Jary 2011, p. 438), sees the actors as knowledgeable and competent agents, aware of actions, and therefore as the actors giving structure to buildings. This contrast to how Bourdieu view the Kabyle people as being unaware of the built structure's influence on their gender roles. Gieryn argues that where Bourdieu's theories are ignorant to the development of the Kabyle House, Giddens forgets to emphasize how buildings influence social structures, and in order to achieve 'a complete sociology of buildings', the theories of Bourdieu and Giddens need to be combined (Gieryn 2002).

4.2.1 What buildings do

Gieryn's article *What buildings do* (2002) is, as earlier mentioned, based on a synthesis of Giddens and Bourdieu's theories on how buildings are respectively shaped by, and shaping social structure and interaction. Through the article, Gieryn introduces three concepts that help understand the design, use, and evaluation of buildings, namely the concepts of *Heterogeneous design*, *black-boxing*, and *interpretative flexibility* (Gieryn 2002).

Starting with the concept of *heterogeneous design*, buildings are designed physically or materially, but also socially, as formulated by Gieryn: “Walls and joists are arrayed so that a building is able to stand up, but eventual owners or occupants must also be able to see space that suits their needs” (Gieryn 2002, p.42). As the building is designed both physically and socially, certain social structures or agendas are built into the structure through the process of design (Gieryn 2002). Through the enrollment of a wide array of actors with sometimes conflicting interests, the building is shaped to fit a range of different needs and preferences, and because of the heterogeneity of interests, the building can be made to fulfil functions that are contradictory (Gieryn 2002). These interests are not power-neutral as powerful actors are likely to have a higher influence on the design than less powerful ones. Thus, the design reflects social structures.

The design of buildings is also heterogeneous in the way that the buildings are not only designed by actors, but it is also designed for actors. Thereby there is also a design of human interaction, as buildings are made to give room for a certain use or a certain type of citizens, and in the use of the building, citizens can be malleable enough to conform to the requirements of the building (Gieryn 2002).

In building a specific design, the process of heterogeneous design – the choices, the interests and the design of human interaction – becomes ‘fixed’, and the power-structures evident in the design-process becomes *black-boxed* (Gieryn 2002). Black-boxing refers to processes being hidden and out of human influence. Once built, machines can steer social action differently than intended, and so the building conduct influence with its own agency (Gieryn 2002). Gieryn identifies three ways in which buildings can influence social actions. Firstly, buildings become ‘*obligatory passage points*’, as human actions often are dependent on buildings, and so, users are – often unknowingly – subjects to the demands of the artifact (Gieryn 2002). Secondly, the building stabilizes social structures, as it conceals the intentions and thoughts brought into the design. Users conform to these structures presented in the building, as they are not usually critical towards the building, as long as it ‘works’ (Gieryn 2002). The third way that buildings influence social actions is by increasing the cost of making changes, and thus reducing the potential of changing the use of the building (Gieryn 2002). For example, if an office building is initially built with a high prioritization of individual offices, but no space for socializing, ideas of improving the office environment by providing these spaces have little chance of succeeding, as it requires significant costs to restructure the offices.

Even though buildings reduce the flexibility of use through heightening the cost of restructuring, they are still open to reconfiguration, and thus buildings are seen as having an *interpretive flexibility*. Reconfiguration of buildings may be *discursive* or *material*, where the first refers to changing the way

a building is used with little physical change, whereas the second refers to physically changing the building, either by renovation or demolition (Gieryn 2002). This process is heterogeneous, as the change is both physical and social. The change of structure or use also results in a change of how the building structures social action (Gieryn 2002).

The concepts introduced here are exemplified in Gieryn 2002 through the case of the biotechnology building of Cornell University in the state New York. The case introduces how the building was heterogeneously designed. As biotechnology was a field of development and of rising financial interest in the 1984, the state of New York was facing strong competition from neighboring states and therefore invested heavily in the new biotechnology building. At the same time, large corporations within biotechnology were interested in exchanging knowledge with the university. Because of these interests, open laboratories for visiting corporations and state officials were prioritized at the expense of teaching rooms for undergraduates.

Years after construction, the open laboratories were mostly unused, however the lack of teaching-facilities for undergraduates were atoned for, not by physically changing the structure of the building, but rather through moving the education to the researchers' laboratories, thus giving a more practical dimension to the undergraduate programs. What happened was a discursive reconfiguration of the laboratories. The structure of the building was not reconfigured physically because (1) this lack of teaching spaces was not questioned, i.e. *black-boxed*, and (2) because the cost of physical reconfiguration hindered change of that degree.

The case of the Cornell University shows how the power and intentions of interests affect the heterogeneous design, but that these influences are thereafter hidden in the use of the building. Likewise, the project Meet Aarhus also involves a heterogeneous design, but is not yet built. The black-boxing and the possibility of reconfiguration, especially discursive, will be theorized upon based on the heterogeneous design.

4.3 Application of theories

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the theories and concepts are roughly divided into two dimensions. In the first dimension, the concepts from Gieryn 2002 provide a framework to understand the municipal building through looking at the heterogeneous design, as well as the processes of black-boxing afterwards. Lastly, the potentials of discursive reconfiguration are applied to understand the flexibility of the building. In the second dimension, in order to understand the democratic processes, and the roles of the municipality and the citizens herein, the concepts from Elling (2016), Clausen and Hansen (2004), and Clausen et al. (2010) are applied, and later analysed

together with the heterogeneous design and blackboxing of the building. As earlier mentioned, theories and concepts within critical theory tend to be normative, meaning that they present a view of reality as it is supposed to be. This is common characteristic of the theories presented by Elling (2016), Clausen and Hansen (2004), and Clausen et al. (2010). Generally, the principles presented in these articles have scarcely or never been successfully applied in municipal practice to date. Therefore, applying these theories to analyze a municipal project is likely to uncover shortcomings in said project in larger degrees than applying theories that are not normative. Especially the concepts of the rationality in planning and democratic dimensions in sustainability are used normative in this thesis, presenting an idealistic perspective on urban planning.

5. Methodology

This methodology chapter explains the choices concerning how the research question is going to be answered, which includes use of theories, type of investigation and research strategy, and the data production in the thesis.

5.1 Research strategy and type of investigation

The formulation of the research question can lead to different types of investigations and research strategies. Andersen and Gamdrup (2011a) mentions four different types of investigations, namely *descriptive*, *explanatory* and *predictive*, critical diagnostic, and change oriented. The type of investigation describes the wanted outcome of the thesis, and the way theory is applied and data is collected in order to answer the research question. Concerning research strategies, Nielsen and Pedersen (2001) mention different types, namely case study, participant observation, phenomenology, and action research amongst others. The different research strategies describe ways to investigate a phenomenon, and set requirements for the data collection methods for the investigation. For this thesis, the formulation of the research question leads to an explanatory and predictive investigation, whereas the research strategy is a case study. What this means and this will be explained further in this chapter.

5.1.1 Explanatory and predictive investigation

Explanatory and predictive types of investigations seek to understand how a phenomenon can happen or why a phenomenon happened. The research question for this thesis seeks to understand how a municipal office building can facilitate inclusion. Since empirical data is not enough to uncover why or how something happens, the explanatory or predictive investigation requires the application of a model or theory together with descriptive data in order to understand a case or a phenomenon (Andersen and Gamdrup 2011a; Yin 2009). Thus, theoretical concepts become methods for

answering the research question. In the thesis, theories within critical theory as well sociology of technology are used to explain the chosen case and predicting the future of the municipal office building, based on the collected and applied data. The theories applied in the thesis contain a number of concepts, which can structure the analysis and aid the explanation and prediction of the chosen case.

5.1.1.1 Applications of theoretical concepts

In this section, a collection of the concepts from the theory and concepts chapter 3 are described as methodological tools to structure the analysis and discussion.

Firstly, *the heterogeneous design, black-boxing and interpretive flexibility* supports the analysis of the design process and the design features of the building (figure 9). The investigation of different aspects of the building is structured after these. Secondly, differences in rationality as well as the *act-coordinating contexts of actors*, helps analyze the role of the municipality as well as the residents in relation to the municipal building. Thirdly, the concept of a utopian dimension to sustainability gives a framework to analyze the discourse of the change-making strategy that the municipal building is a part of. Lastly, vertical and horizontal dimensions of democracy give a tool to look at the overall democratic processes in relation to the masterplan. These four aspects of the theoretic framework are applied to understand different parts of the collected and produced data, and the overall structure of the analysis is based on the appliance of theoretical concepts.

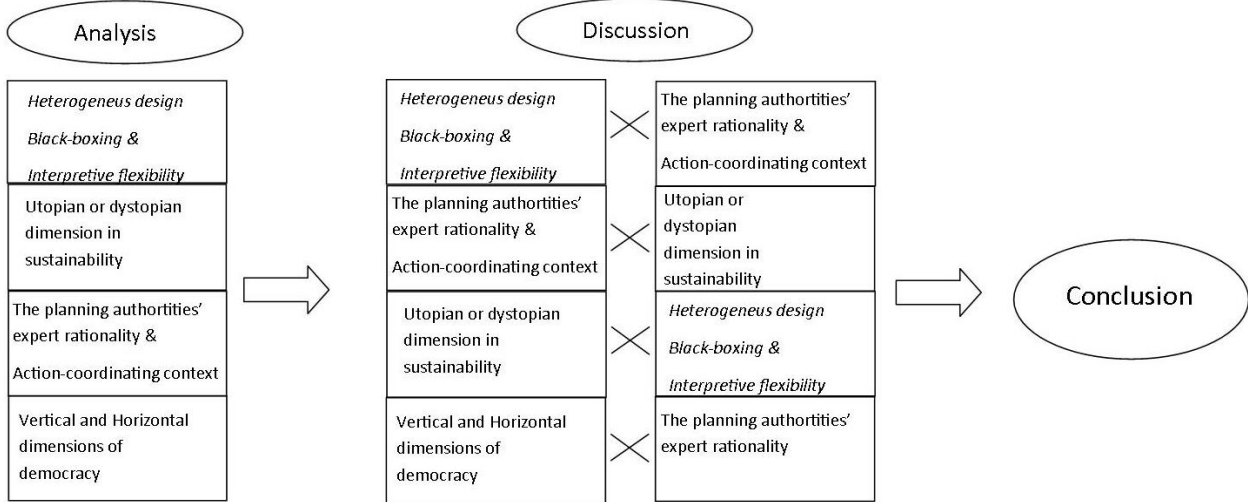


Figure 9: Application of theoretical concepts in analysis and discussion.

A few other theoretical concepts are introduced in the analysis, for example urban space as *public domain* and types of *active* and *in-active* citizens in public participation, but the use of these is described in the analysis.

5.1.2 Case study

As the research question seeks to understand how the development of a municipal office building can affect the overall urban transformation, the case study as research strategy is found fitting.

Robert K. Yin (2009) introduces a definition of case study in the *Case Study Research - Design and Methods*; "A case study is an empirical enquiry that [...] investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when [...] the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident." (Yin 2009, p.18).

As the Meet Aarhus project is introduced as an instrument of change the context of the urban regeneration of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, it is best understood within its context, and so the boundaries between the phenomenon studied and its context is not evident. As urban regeneration is a contemporary phenomenon, and different ways to improve the social coherence of area through physical changes is attempted, it is useful to study a project within urban regeneration as a case. The Case study research strategy is therefore chosen to understand the role a municipal building can have within the context of an urban regeneration, and can therefore provide inspiration for similar cases.

5.2 Qualitative approach

A qualitative approach has been chosen for the explanatory and predictive investigation of the case study. Qualitative study refers to methods seeking to go beyond what can be quantified or measured (Andersen and Gamdrup 2011b). The overall qualitative approach emphasizes the examination of processes, and understands data as contextualized (Nielsen and Pedersen 2001). Understanding the overall context and processes is necessary to the answering the research question, and therefore a qualitative approach is found fitting.

Qualitative methods have been criticized for not being value-neutral (Nielsen and Pedersen 2001; Andersen 2011). However, Critical theory, which makes up large parts of the theoretical framework for this thesis, state that research could not and should not be value-neutral (Nielsen and Pedersen 2001). Therefore, a qualitative approach is found fitting within the paradigm of critical theory, in which most of the theoretical framework of this thesis is situated.

The qualitative approach can take many forms, and qualitative studies are often multi-methodological (Nielsen and Pedersen 2001). The most used method in the thesis is interviews, comprising both expert-interviews and focus group interviews. In addition, there is a degree of document analysis in the problem field and parts of the analysis, where municipal plans and policies

are analyzed. This is shortly described later in this chapter. The thesis also uses some quantitative data, which is mostly represented through statistics used in chapter 2.

5.2.1 Interpretation and quality assessment

Nielsen and Pedersen refers to Flick 1998 in the statement that all qualitative analysis is analysis of text (Pedersen and Nielsen 2001), and through the text, an understanding of the world is constructed. In the whole process from creating interview questions, to writing notes from the interviews, through applying the interviews in description and analysis, there is a process of interpretation. The analysis and the result is therefore not an objective description of the world, but rather colored by the world-view of the student-researchers and his interpretation of data. The analysis and the result of the research is therefore in need of quality-assessment. To assure that the conclusion is a sensible representation of reality, the researcher has to take validity and reliability into consideration.

Validity is linked to whether the result of data collection answers to the questions, whereas reliability refers to the quality of the data, for example whether or not the person interviewed tells the truth (Nielsen and Pedersen 2011). If there is a mismatch between the research strategy and the research question, the data produced is not valid to answer the research question. For example, a document study on municipal plans would not produce the valid data to understand to what degree local citizens are able and willing to use the publically accessible spaces in the ground floor of a municipal office building, or to what degree the local associations are actually involved in defining the use of the building, because the data produced by a pure document study does not take into consideration the residents needs and wants, the actuality of the involvement of the public, nor the development and state of the local associations. In order to ensure validity, it is important that there is transparency in the way the research is conducted. Transparency is attempted through guiding the reader through the thesis by meta-text explaining how the chapter is contributing to answering the research question and a thorough explaining of the methodological choices and theoretical choices, as well as explaining how the theoretical choices affects the results, helps clarify the level of validity. For example, this thesis is acknowledging that the use of normative theoretical concepts makes the result highly critical to the case studied, whereas the use of another theoretical framework would produce other results.

In the thesis, Reliability is assured by taking possible reasons for altered responses in interviews into account. The background, employment, or engagement in institutions or organizations of interviewed persons and the context of the interview is therefore described in the following section. The example of Kayed, who was interviewed as a citizen, but holding an employment in the BHA and

interviewed in proximity of colleagues is a good example of a situation where reliability needs to be taken into consideration.

5.3 Overview of data

Following is an overview over the data-collection for this thesis. Firstly, the interviews are presented and described. Thereafter, a short description of the document data follows, and lastly there is an overview of the student-researcher's observation and participation in relation to the thesis.

5.3.1 Semi-structured and unstructured interviews

Three forms of interviews have been conducted for this thesis, namely semi-structured, unstructured and focus group interviews. This section explains the unstructured and semi-structured interviews. Andersen & Gamdrup introduces two ways to classify interviews. Interviews can be classified in relation to whether they are standardized or not standardized, and whether they are structured or not structured (Andersen & Gamdrup 2011b). For this thesis, all the interviews are non-standardized, meaning that every interview follows an individual interview-guide. Three interviews follow an interview-guide that is similar, but some liberties have been taken during the interview. There is also a difference in the degree of structure in each interview, referring to freedom in the way they followed the pre-made interview guide. In some instances, an interview-guide was followed, but never directly, thus making the interview semi-structured. In other instances, the interviews did not follow an interview-guide. These interviews are referred to as unstructured. Following an interview-guide made it possible to steer the interview into covering themes that was found important for the data collection of the thesis, but flexibility in relation to the interview-guide made it possible to follow new information that was not taken into consideration before the interview. Furthermore, the interviews in this thesis can also be understood to what degree they are explorative or confirmative. Interviews are explorative to the degree that they explore the field of investigation and make a broader knowledge of the case investigated, whereas the confirmative interviews are based on gained information and directed towards clarification. Interviews with explorative qualities are done early in the process, whereas the more confirmative interviews are made later in the process, when the aim of the thesis had become more concrete.

5.3.2 Focus group interview

This section concerns the use of focus groups in the thesis. The book *Focus Groups - Theory and Practice* by Rook et al. from 2007, introduces the importance of several practical considerations when conducting focus group interviews. Firstly, the seating arrangement to create maximum eye-contact between subjects to encourage interaction and the character of the physical environment with fewest possible distractions. Secondly, there are social considerations. One such consideration is

to create heterogeneity within the participants of the focus group, which in one sense heightens the representativity of the interview, and in another sense can bring a higher degree of innovation in answers (Rook et al. 2007).

The interview was conducted following an open interview-guide with broad questions, where the progression of the interview was intended to be based on communication between the interview-subjects, and not steered by the interviewer. Participants in the focus group interviews were all residents of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, and the reason for conducting a focus group interview was to introduce a possibility for different residents to brainstorm over possible involvement and functions in the municipal office building. The strength of the focus group method is the degree that participants can help each other reply and develop their answers, but a weakness is that the social context of the focus group may hinder some answers (Rook et al. 2007).

The focus group had only two participants, which is not ideal, as a focus group should ideally involve 6-12 participants (Rook et al. 2007). Regardless, the method of a focus group was followed, with little liberty due to the size of the group, the participants' interpersonal relationship, and the fact that both participants were representatives of residents in the department-board.

Gathering persons for the focus group interview relied on network, because of time limitations, and because it was hard to come in contact with local citizens. A contact was made through active residents, who then gave contact information to a number of other residents. The contacts where, unsurprisingly, consisting of other active and engaged members of the community, rather than a representative group of local citizens with different levels of activity within the local area. All in all, 10 citizens were confirmed for two focus groups, however only two showed up for one focus group-interview, and one agreed to participate in an individual interview. Both of the participants in the focus group were active in the BHA department board. Therefore the participants had a role of representing the overall residents as well as a role as citizens. These two roles were explored at different times during the interview. This can be seen as a possible weakness, as the citizen-perspective is important for the thesis, but it can also be used as an example of how challenging it can be to engage citizens in public participation.

5.3.3 Overview of interviews

This is a general overview of the different interviews. The interviews are presented after date conducted.

Name	Date	Relation	Type of interview	Notes
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Christian Fumz	22.03. 2017	Associated with the organization GivRum ("Give Room") Hired by Aarhus Municipality	Unstructured and explorative	The interview were meant to help shape the understanding of the case as well as developing the research strategy
Bente Damsgaard Sejersen	23.03. 2017	Project-chief of the Meet Aarhus Project. Municipal officer	Semi-structured and explorative	The interview is an important interview in the thesis, but it was collected early in the process. This is elaborated in chapter 5.3.4
Anonymous	07.04. 2017	Citizen. Employed at a public pastime activity project	Unstructured and confirmative	The interview was short and aimed to get a citizen perspective on the change-making in the area.
Abdinasir Jama Mohamed	18.04. 2017	Elected in the BHA department board and active in Samvirket ("the cooperative")	Semi-unstructured	The interview aimed at understanding the development of the associations and their role in the local area.
Helle Hansen	25.04. 2017	Elected in the association board and with a long history of engagement in the BHA department board	Semi-structured	The interview aimed at giving a historic understanding of the change-making agency, as well as uncovering how the role of the local democracy within BHA and the overall change-making.
Chadi Kayed	27.04. 2017	Active citizen, employed by the BHA	Semi-structured. Loosely following the focus group interview guide.	The intention with this interview was two-fold; firstly getting his citizen perspective, secondly inquiring about his engagement in assuring renovation of apartment blocks.

Faisal Mohamed	28.04. 2017	Active citizen, active within Samvirket ("The cooperative")	Semi-structured. Following the focus group interview guide.	He was first supposed to be a part of focus group. He was individually interviewed instead.
Elsebeth Frederiksen & Malek El-Batran	28.04. 2017	Active citizens, both elected into the BHA department board.	Focus-group interview.	The interview were supposed to be a larger group representing the citizen perspective. The two attendees were highly active citizens, and thus not fully representative.

5.3.4 Challenges in data collection

Although three interviews were made with local residents, concerning their experiences of the change-making in the area, these were all active in some way in improving the area. For some reason, they were often representing the views of other citizens in many of their answers, all three of them representing them differently, likely colored by their own views and experiences, as well as representing different groups of residents. Especially Chadi Kayed was showing an overly positive perspective on the changes in the area and the municipal building. Chadi Kayed was chosen as an interview-object through the recommendation of another student-researcher who said he gave critical insights to the development of the masterplan.

The interview with the anonymous interview-subject is somewhat representing the views of a citizen who is not specifically active within the change-making of the area. It would although be beneficial with more interviews of this sort, as it would make the resident-perspective in the thesis more representative for the area.

The interview with Bente Damsgaard Sejersen was semi-structured and specific concerning the municipal offices, but was also somewhat explorative, as the interview was conducted early in the process. If the interview was conducted later in the processes, it could possibly have provide more detailed and in-depth information on the process of the Meet Aarhus project.

The interview with Helle Hansen, as it was made later in the progress, was more in-depth and had a more thorough investigative character. It would however be beneficial to conduct a more in-depth interview with more confirmative qualities with actors more directly involved in the planning process

of the Meet Aarhus project, as this would have contributed to richer detail to and critical investigation of the case.

5.3.5 Documents

Some of the data used in the thesis is also of documentaric nature, meaning an indirect observation of events (Andersen 2011). Andersen 2011 refers to documentaric data as *i.a.* literature, statistics and documents, to mention the most relevant for this thesis. As the context is a local-planning process, the documentaric data is heavily comprised of documents describing future plans for the area, as well as statistics over the state and development of the area. These are used as secondary data, and used to understand the context of the case of study.

5.4 Observation and participation

This section describes the empirical elements that has not actively been used in the analysis and discussion, but nevertheless are vital in forming a general understanding of the area. These empirical elements are broad, containing elements of empirical value that does not fit into other categories.

5.4.1 Participation

The student researcher has been present under presentations of the change-making actions in the E&P-house (described in chapter 2.5) by representatives from the BHA. The first presentation was held 15.02.2017 by the information-employee Vibeke Dam Hansen, where the over-arching future plans for Gellerupparken and Toveshøj was presented, as well as specific details on workshops, public meetings, and temporary projects. This shaped an overall understanding of the actual plans, all of which were not described in the masterplan and the disposition plan. Another presentation was held 07.03.2017 together with a larger group of young professionals with interest in sustainable development.

The presentation in 07.03.2017 included a walk in the bazaar, where several participants discussed their relation to the Bazaar as an attractive place to visit. One of the participants grew up in Gellerupparken, but had an ambiguous relationship to the bazaar as a native Dane, recalling memories of feeling unwelcome and alienated when visiting the Bazaar. However, this perception had changed with the last years. This helped shaping the student researchers understanding of the Bazaar, both as a place that attracts curious visitors, but also a place that is different and may seem unfamiliar in Denmark.

5.3.4 Movements within the area

The student researcher is living right outside Gellerupparken, which lies on the way to the preferred workspace. This gives a view into the special culture of the area. There have also been visits in the

bazaar as well as the library, which are meeting places and hangouts for many of the locals. The Bazaar is particularly interesting as a meeting place for the non-western part of the residents, and is always full of people, otherworldly smells and foreign languages. The frequent movements through the area have helped generating a practical understanding of the area, which helps describe the change-making agency in some chapters of the thesis as an addition to other sources.

5.4.5 Location

The location for writing the thesis has changed during the process. This is of interest as Guiryn 2002 mentions the different choices of location for science, discussing the choices for location of the astronomer Tycho Brahe – who retreated from society during studies – and the chemist Andreas Libavius – seeking engagement in public life during his studies – “A tension between contemplative and activist faces has been a part of science in the four centuries since” (Gieryn 2002, p. 47).

During the writing of this thesis, the student researcher has by own decision, after an invitation by Christian Fumz, spent the month of April working on the thesis in a temporary workspace situated in Gellerupparken called Opgangen, which gave the opportunity to socialize with local residents as well as entrepreneurs using the opportunity for cheap localities within Gellerupparken. This was of great help in understanding the area, as well as practically making the focus group interview possible.



Picture 13. Some of the users of Opgangen (Opgangen 2016).

After data was collected, the student researcher decided to retreat – going back to the study-place outside of Gellerupparken – and in doing so getting the opportunity to look at the project in a more abstract view, while using theories to analyze the data collected.

This tension between the context-close phase during data collection, and the following writing phase, where the case studied were looked upon through a more abstract theoretical lense, created the necessary different

conditions for the academic work on the thesis. Whereas Opgangen provided a lively context full of relevant

impressions to form an overview of the case studied, retreating to the workspace outside the area provided an environment for maximum concentration during the vital last writing phase.

If there had been the option to involve in Opgangen at an earlier stage of the process, it would have been beneficial. If the thesis would be made again, more time would have been spent in the actual

area, and more opportunities to involve in events and activities within the area would be taken. However, spending the last phase of the thesis-writing away from the area has been good for concentration and focus.

6. Process and design

This part of the thesis aims to describe the chosen case – the municipal office building Meet Aarhus – in regard to the process in which a range of actors have been included, but also the way that the building is designed to facilitate social interaction. Furthermore, the involvement of citizens in the implementation of the masterplan is briefly described, in order to highlight the role given to residents in the change-making.

6.1 The process of design

This chapter describes the design of the building, by introducing the actors and the agendas that came into the design process.

The municipal office building (Meet Aarhus) was introduced in the change-making agenda in the last phase before the masterplan *from housing area to an urban district* was approved politically in 2007 (Sejersen 2017; Hansen 2017). The idea was brought in on political level, inspired by a similar urban regeneration project in Odense, Denmark, where a municipal office was established in a distressed neighborhood. However, the municipal office building in Odense did not have the wanted effect, as it did not introduce new functions to the area and failed to integrate the locals in the use of the building. Therefore, it was decided that the similar project in Aarhus should have a publically accessible ground floor with inviting functions so that it could be a ‘building for the local area’, as formulated by Sejersen (2017).

As a part of the overall masterplan, the office building is seen as a ‘lighthouse’ for the change-making in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj and is meant to function as a kick-starter for integrating the area into Aarhus, thus giving the office building a central role in the urban regeneration efforts (Aarhus Municipality 2016b). This objective is also thought into the design of the building. Meet Aarhus is meant to have an ‘Aarhus Identity’, rather than a local identity, and a goal is that the building will be used by the whole city, and not just the local area (Sejersen 2017).

The overall change-making process in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj contains a high degree of cooperation between Aarhus Municipality and the Brabrand Housing Association (Sejersen 2017), and it is likely that the *Meet Aarhus* project is also of interest to the BHA, but to what degree is not certain. Hansen (2017), who has been involved for many years in the department and association

board within the Housing association, mentions the building as a positive means of introducing a new type of citizens into Gellerupparken and Toveshøj.

The establishment of a municipal office with a central position in the area required the demolition of a number of apartment blocks. A decision to demolish three apartment blocks were made politically, and later supported in the local democracy in a majority vote (Hansen 2017). The initial intention was to only provide space for 500 employees, however in a meeting after the vote in the local democracy the politicians decided to provide space for 1.000 employees in the new municipal office building. This required the demolition of another apartment block, which was not decided in the local democracy (Hansen 2017).

Involvement of the residents was not a part of the design process, and the involvement process were limited to information – representatives from the municipality were present with information about the municipal office building at several public meetings about the masterplan (Sejersen 2017). The intention was to not ‘tire the locals out’ by introducing more citizen involvement in the area (Sejersen 2017). This is not to say that the municipality were completely unaware of local opinion: The municipal presence at the different public meetings gave them the opportunity to ‘converse’ with local citizens regarding the municipal office building (Sejersen 2017).

The physical and material design of the municipal office building started in the architecture competition surrounding the municipal office building. This was called a Public-Private Partnership-competition (PPP-competition), where teams of actors in the private sector contested to design and facilitate the building process of the municipal office building, as well as operating the building in partnership with Aarhus Municipality for the first 15 years of use. The designs were based on the main directions given by the municipality – the space given, the amount of space for municipal jobs, and the function of inviting the local area into using the building. The winning team, consisting of A.Engaard as a building-contractor, Arkitema as an architect, a Copenhagen based Café Europa, and Christian Fumz from the organization GivRum, proposed a design of the building as well as defining some functionalities (OPSGellerup n.d. a). During the process of preparing the proposal for the PPP-competition, the team was consulted by Hauxner, a Copenhagen based urban consultant, in urban strategy and process. The design of the project team was implemented in the local plan proposal, which was approved politically summer 2016 (Aarhus Municipality 2016).



Picture 14: Exterior design of the municipal office building. Seen from south-west (OPSGellerup n.d. b)

A worthy mention is the decision to involve Christian Fumz from the organization GivRum in the project team. GivRum has been on the forefront in introducing the concept of temporary urban planning in Denmark, with their numerous projects in turning unused spaces for use of innovative businesses and creative events in Aalborg and Copenhagen (Fumz 2017). An agenda for temporary development of the area had already been introduced to the Gellerup regeneration project through Instant City, as introduced in chapter 2.5. Fumz' role in the project is facilitating and leading a section of the building designated to entrepreneurs, providing offices, workshops, etc. as well as creating an environment for generating ideas (Fumz 2017). Fumz was originally invited into the project team by the contractor firm A-Engaard, but as a result of winning the competition, he gained two years of employment by Aarhus Municipality.

The Copenhagen based consultant Hauxner needs to be mentioned as an important agent in designing the publically accessible areas. On her own website, it is stated that she among other things consulted the project team on the '*challenges and potentials of Gellerup*' (Hauxner n.d.) in the competition phase as well as developing the external functions – likely referring to invitation of local and visiting citizens. She has been in conversation with local actors and citizens, but how and to what degree is not clear (Sejersen 2017).

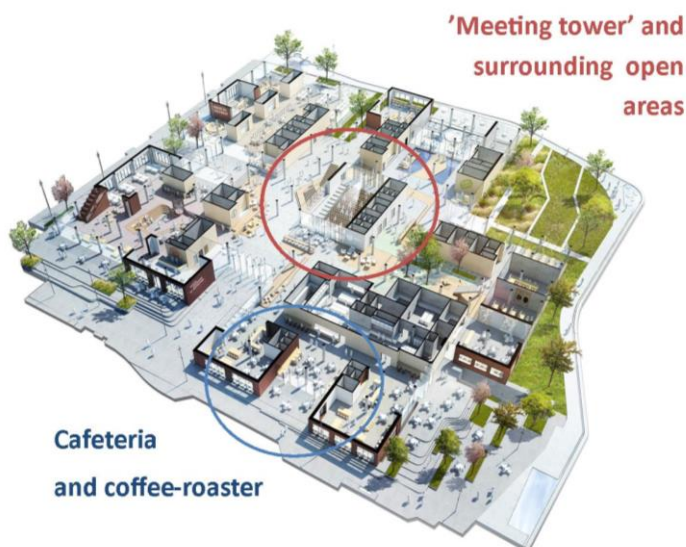
6.2 The design of Meet Aarhus

The Meet Aarhus project is not just designed *by* a range of actors, but the building is also designed *for* a range of actors, with the aim of facilitating social interaction. The design for social interaction is most evident in the design of a *publicly accessible ground floor*, as well as a publicly accessible *rooftop garden* and the part of the building designated for offices and workshops to be used by local and non-local *start-ups*.



Picture 15: Overview of the ground floor. Seen from south-west (OPSGellerup n.d. b). Edited through Microsoft Publisher.

The *publicly accessible ground floor*, illustrated on picture 15, is connected to the surrounding area through entrances on four sides, and the entrances all lead to a lobby in the middle, which is a more or less square space with a 'meeting-tower' situated in the middle (see picture 16). The space with most potential for use by local residents and visitors in the ground floor is the area surrounding the meeting tower, as well as the area where the cafe is situated in the western part of the building. The staircases connecting the publicly open ground floor and the other floors not dedicated to public use are made broad, for municipal employees to move about in the building instead of elevators (Sejersen 2017). Initially, this was aimed at improving the physical health of the municipal employees, but it also has the effect of creating meetings between municipal employees, locals, and visitors to the area moving about in the building. In general, the building includes a range of decisions



Picture 16: The 'Meeting tower and the cafeteria (OPSGellerup n.d. b). Edited through Microsoft Publisher.

concerning the health of the employees, and another mention is the decision to establish a fitness center in the building, facilities for bicycle-storage and changing rooms with showers for the employees, as well as a decision to design several half-public areas in relation to the stairs, where employees are encouraged to walk during meetings and phone-calls.

Whether or not the fitness facilities are publically open is uncertain.

'The meeting tower', illustrated on figure 16, is first and foremost built for municipal activities like meetings and conferences etc. Another function is mentioned, which is the possibility for local associations to use it after municipal work-hours. The many associations are at the moment small and economically unsustainable, but this is changing (Mohammed 2017a). Mohammed (2017a), Mohammed (2017b) as well as Kayed (2017) say they have a high interest in using these meeting facilities, but especially Mohammed (2017b) is worried that the price will be too high, and that the local associations will not be prioritized to municipal activities and actors from outside the area. Whether or not local associations will be given a special price or priority when booking the facilities in the 'meeting tower' is uncertain, but the integration of the many associations in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj has certainly been taken into account in the design to some degree. However, no direct involvement of the associations has been made in designing the building (Mohammed 2017a).



Picture 17: The 'meeting tower', from the surrounding lobby-area inside Meet Aarhus (OPSGellerup n.d. b)

Another feature concerning human interaction is respectively the cafeteria and the coffee roaster. Firstly, the coffee-roaster is a part of a local Aarhus brand, and was not a part of the initial project team. Exactly which business was not specified in the interviews. The inclusion of the coffee roaster is thought to attract youths from the youth housings (Sejersen 2017), which are described in chapter 2.4. The building does not have a cantina *per se* which encourages the municipal employees to use the publically open café-area, where they will receive discounts (Sejersen 2017). The price is up to

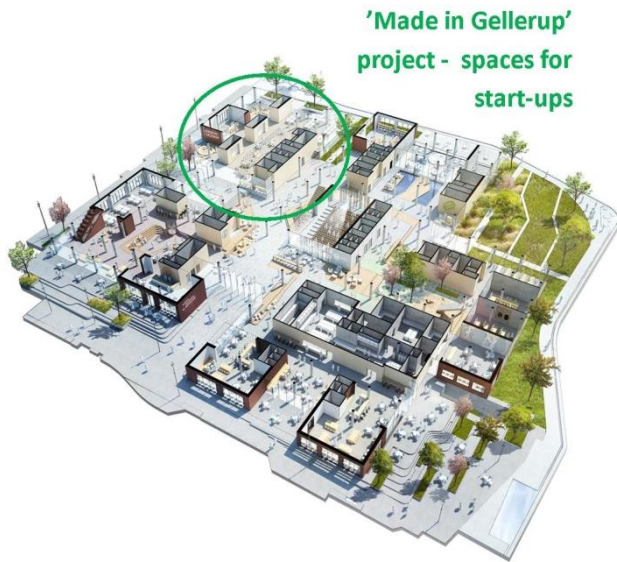
Cafè Europa to decide, but it will be slightly more expensive than the cafeterias in the Bazaar (Sejersen 2017). The Cafeteria is not meant to compete with the bazaar situated in proximity to the north of the building, and is thought to attract another group of citizens than the Bazaar.



Picture 18: The public accessible rooftop garden (OPSGellerup n.d. b)

Another publically accessible area is the rooftop garden, illustrated above, which is situated on the 5th floor. The publically accessible rooftop garden is one of many rooftop gardens, but the other rooftop gardens are not publically accessible (Sejersen 2017). As the rooftop gives a good view over the surrounding area, the publically accessible rooftop garden is likely to be attractive for visits. It might be an interesting feature for visitors, either by curiosity or through guided tours facilitated by Aarhus Municipality. In this way, the rooftop provides a central function in making the municipal offices a 'lighthouse' for the change-making, as the new and changed Gellerupparken and Toveshøj are visible from the rooftop. The rooftop garden is also meant to be accessible for residents in the area. However, accessing the rooftop garden involves having to move through semi-public space assigned for municipal workers. It will be interesting to see whether this intention will be borne out. Local associations are broadly taken into consideration in the design. The rooftop garden is thought to have a greenhouse, where vegetables and herbs can be grown for use in the cafeteria. There is a plan to involve residents in using the greenhouse through initiating a new local association to grow produce, or to involve an already existing urban-gardening initiative with the name World Gardens (Sejersen 2017).

Lastly, there are some designs of human interaction in the inclusion of the *Made in Gellerup* project. The entrepreneurial space, called Made in Gellerup, invites for use of local and non-local entrepreneurs. It is not specified what the requirements for entrepreneurs is to join the project. There is however a high entrepreneurial spirit among non-westerners, according to the report *Entrepreneurship in Vulnerable Neighborhoods* by Andersen et al. (2010), which is also confirmed by



Picture 19: The 'Made in Gellerup' project (OPSGellerup n.d. b). Edited through Microsoft Publisher.

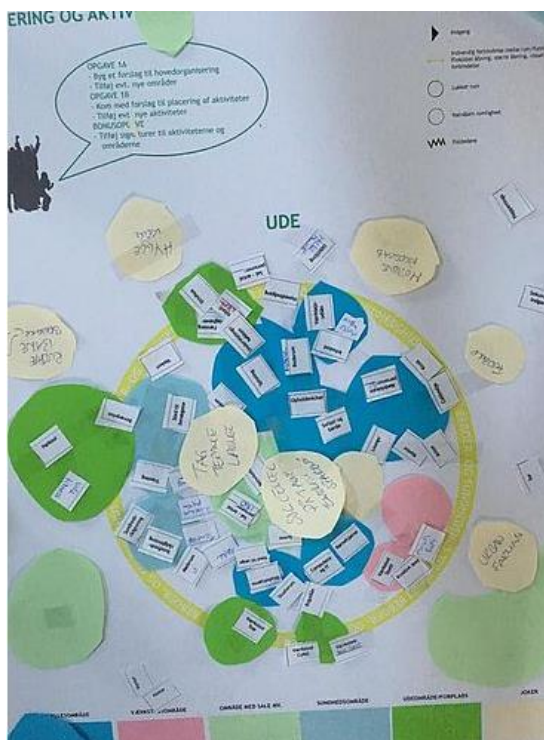
Kayed (2017), Mohammed (2017a) and Mohammed (2017b). The leader of the project, Christian Fumz, who, after introduction in the winning project team is employed for 2 years by Aarhus municipality, also states that there are a lot of ideas and will to innovate in the local area (Fumz 2017). The goal and vision for the project by Christian Fumz, is that the project will create a social network surrounding and encouraging entrepreneurs. The entrepreneurial space is therefore thought to make room for more than just the entrepreneurs themselves, but also different interest groups (Fumz 2017).

The design of the Meet Aarhus project also includes a degree of flexibility, primarily in the interior of the building. Flexible elements are for example movable furniture in the municipal offices as well as in the publically accessible ground floor. The interior is also planned to consist of a large degree of movable walls, where different office solutions can be experimented with, as well as different ways to limit smaller spaces in the ground floor, dependent on what fits best for the use. There will be a re-evaluation of the buildings internal and inviting functions after 2 year in use, facilitated by the consultant Hauxner (n.d.; Sejersen 2017).

6.3 The role of the residents in the urban regeneration

Even though the design of the office building Meet Aarhus includes little involvement of local citizens, the overall process of the masterplan involves citizens in different levels. The aforementioned choice to not further involve citizens in regards to the municipal office building was partly justified by an overall intensive public participation in other parts to the masterplan, and thus a further citizen involvement in relation to the office building would 'tire citizens out'.

The original 2007 masterplan do state that the implementation of its principles is dependent on resident-democracy, as well as the BHA and the city politicians. The residents are meant to be involved in the concretization, in order to secure a local ownership (Aarhus Municipality 2007). At different points in the masterplan, citizens were invited to participate. Firstly, the final masterplan was voted for among the residents in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, where around 400 residents gave their vote, with a majority voting in favor (Hansen 2017). In 2009, there were different meetings regarding the masterplan in different languages. A ‘hidden factor’ as formulated by Hansen (2017) was the possibility of a mosque. The original regulation of the area did not allow a mosque, but if the masterplan was approved, a chance for the mosque to be built presented itself (Hansen 2017).



Picture 10: Diagram of Functions in the new resident-house (Gellerup.nu 2017)

Another citizen-involving event was the aforementioned parallel-assignment, where the masterplan was to be concretized through the disposition plan. In conversation with representatives from the BHA, they gave the impression that the workshop did not involve a lot of participants among the local residents (Brabrand Boligforening 2017). El-Batran and Frederiksen (2017) mentioned that the workshops involved only the most active citizens, who were mostly old citizens of Danish origin. Other workshops were held concerning more specific projects, for example the green area and the resident house, which are shortly described in chapter 2.4 and 2.5. The workshop concerning the resident house used co-creation methods facilitated by consultants, but engaged only 15 residents (Gellerup.nu 2016). Many

of the major decisions described in the disposition plan for Gellerupparken and Toveshøj have gone through votations in the local departments. Examples are the decision to demolish apartment blocks and whether or not to sell apartments. The latter was initially approved through a majority vote, but was in a later meeting voted down, because the apartments to be sold turned out to be more expensive than first planned. As the apartments became too expensive for many of the residents, they were not wanted (Hansen 2017). As the greater physical changes require local plans, this also gives a second possibility for giving a reply, as local plans require an 8 week hearing period by law. However, public meetings are optional (Erhvervs og vækstministeriet 2015). For the moment, no public meetings has been arranged in relation to hearing for a local plan related to the masterplan.

An example of engagement among the residents in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, is in the decision to have the existing apartment blocks renovated. This was not initially a part of the master plan, but due to engagement from the residents, the renovation of the public housing apartments were made possible with funding from Landsbyggefonden (Kayed 2017). The renovation of the existing apartments was mentioned by Hansen (2017) as the main interest of the residents in the masterplan, alongside the interest of the mosque from the large muslim community in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj.

Lastly, citizens are represented in the Brabrand Housing Association (BHA) through representation in the department board and the association board. Local citizens are voted in to the department board, as well as the association board. Helle Hansen, a resident of the Gellerupparken department, is voted into the association board, as a representative for the residents. Theoretically, the BHA is representing the citizens that embodies the association, but is autonomous in the way that the director, who is chosen by the association board, hires employees, and takes professional decisions. However, the decisions have to be qualified democratically either in the association board or the department board.

7. Analysis

The analysis chapter seeks to answer the research question by looking at the collected data through the different concepts in the theoretic framework. Roughly, the analysis can be divided into three parts. The first part draws heavily on the concepts of *heterogeneous design*, *black-boxing* and *interpretative flexibility* from Giuryn 2002 *what buildings do*, and seeks to answer the first sub-question; *How is the Municipal office building Meet Aarhus heterogeneously designed, and how does it influence the overall change-making in the area?*

The second part of the analysis regards the overall discourse behind the municipal building as an instrument for the change-making in the area, by applying the concepts of *strategic* or *utopian dimensions to sustainability* to the case of the municipal office building. The third part of the analysis concerns the rationality behind the planning through the lens of different rationalities; the expert-rationality of the planning-authorities as well as the goal-driven rationality of Aarhus Municipality and the communicative rationality of the citizens. These two chapters seek to answer the second sub-question of the research question; *What discourses are visible in the municipal change-making agency?*

The last part concerns the involvement of the local area and applies the concept of *vertical and horizontal dimensions in democracy* by Hansen & Hansen 2004 in order to answer the third sub-question; *What are the possibilities and barriers for involving residents in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj?*

7. 1 The building as an actor

This first part of the analysis looks at the municipality building; its functions and its design. The concepts of heterogeneous design is used analyze the building and the design. The concept of black-boxing is thereafter applied in order to understand the buildings possible influence of the area, and the concept of *interpretative flexibility* is applied to understand the flexibility in the building and the possibilities of *discursive reconfiguration*.

7.1.1 Heterogeneous design

As described in chapter 4.2.1, Gieryn 2002 introduces the concept *heterogeneous design* as a way of describing how a building is designed both materially and socially. Socially, the municipal building is designed through the invitation of different actors, representing their different views on how the building should function, supporting their individual interests and the discourse. Materially, the building is designed through a choice of structure and materials, first introduced in the PPP-competition.

As described in chapter 6.1, the municipality building was introduced into the overall masterplan on political level by the municipality. Therefore it is a top-down representation of the municipal interest in the area, and it has the discourse of being a 'lighthouse' for the change-making in the area. The Brabrand Housing Association (BHA) is also thought to have an interest in the building, as they are willing to sell land and demolish parts of their public housing-area. However, the local residents have had little influence on the design process, apart from the municipal presence at the different public meetings and public events. The municipal presence at these events involved a possibility for dialogue between citizens and municipality on an informal level, but there is a clear distance between hearing local opinion through conversing and applying the citizens' perspectives into the design-process of the building.

Heterogeneous design is also a design of human interaction (Gieryn 2002). Design of human interaction can be identified in several aspects of the building. As earlier mentioned, the intention for different citizen to meet has been a part of the plan for the building for a long time (Sejersen 2017). But through the physical design phase, through the PPP-competition, these intentions were made into material design of the physical functionality of the building. Through this phase, another set of actors is introduced in the design of the municipality office building Meet Aarhus, respectively local residents, local associations, local and not local entrepreneurs, municipal employees and visitors. However, the building is designed *for* these different actors, but not *by* these actors.

The design for including different actors is most evident in the design of a *publically accessible ground floor*, the publically accessible *rooftop garden*, as well as the part of the building designated for the *Made in Gellerup* project. Overall, the ground floor is thought to function as an '*urban space with a rooftop over it*' (Sejersen 2017), however although the ground floor is publically *accessible*, the question is whether it will be a *public domain* – a public space where the local residents feel a broad sense of ownership.

Looking at the illustrations of the Meet Aarhus project, Mohammed (2017b) reacted to the generic style of the building – that it does not look like something belonging in Gellerupparken – whereas Kaved (2017) had mostly positive views on the design. Another issue identified by Mohamed (2017b), was the lack of non-westerns in the picture; "where are the immigrants?" (Mohammed 2017b). His verdict was that many of the local citizens would not use it, as they would not feel at home there. The process of design has also given the building a possible imposing quality because of the sudden decision to demolish blocks, outside the influence of local residents. Also, the building is built to have an *Aarhus identity* rather than a local identity, and has a rather generic design, which can be interpreted by many citizens as supporting a gentrification agenda. This alleged intention of

gentrification is under broad suspicion by the broad body of residents (Mohammed 2017b; El-Batran & Frederiksen 2017; Anonymous 2017). Mohammed (2017b) is furthermore critical towards the fact that local businesses has not been invited to run the cafeteria, and that the Copenhagen-based cafeteria was unlikely to attract local non-western residents, as it was unlikely to be able to compete with the prices in the Bazaar. However, he also commented on the positive aspects of having a proper cafe and coffee roaster where local residents could get specialty-coffee without having to travel to the inner city. El-Batran and Frederiksen (2017) as well as Kayed (2017) also mentioned the coffee roaster as a positive aspect in the municipal office building, and looked forward to get a quality cappuccino and the like.

7.1.2 Black-boxing.

The municipal office building is now under construction, and according to the plan, it will be taken into use by late 2018. The artifact, and also the results of the social design described in the last chapter is then 'sealed shut' (Gieryn 2002), if no last-minute changes are made. The possible agency of the municipal office building will be analyzed on a theoretical level, as practical data on the use and the buildings' influence on the area are not attainable. Gieryn (2002) means that buildings are "capable of steering social action in ways not always meaningfully apprehended by actors or necessarily congruent with their interests or values"(Gieryn 2002, p.43). The agency of the building when constructed is unknown, and will only be visible after completion. Some possible developments will however be theorized, based on the process of heterogeneous design and available literature: 1) the building will obtain an agency of invitation and ownership by the area and 2) the agency of non-locality to the area, or even gentrification, will be developed. Both of these two are potential due to the heterogeneous design of the building, and may grow out of proportion: either the building grow as an imposer and a constant reminder of the municipalities' gentrification agenda, contributing to a higher degree of distrust from the residents, or the building's invitational capabilities surpass the agenda of making the building generic with an Aarhus identity, the building gains a local identity, and the building is overrun with local activities, which can possibly be a nuisance for the municipal employees.

As earlier introduced in chapter 4.2.1 Gieryn (2002) mentions three ways in which a building can affect its users: firstly, the building becomes an obligatory passage point. This is most relevant for the direct users of the building, such as the municipal employees, the users of the entrepreneurial spaces, and associations using the 'meeting tower'. In addition, the building also becomes an obligatory passage point for the area, as the office building is situated in the middle of the area – in the northern border between Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, on the walkway between the two main

retail centers: the Bazaar Vest and City Vest. Furthermore, being a 'lighthouse' of the area, it is a potential landmark central to the future identity of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, it is also an obligatory passage point for visitors to the area, affecting the way citizens in Aarhus think or talk about Gellerupparken and Toveshøj. Employees, residents, and citizens with an active role in the area as well as visitors and the broad population of Aarhus have to take position to the building in



Picture 21: Illustration of municipal employees everyday use of the offices (OPSGellerup n.d. a)

some way or another, since it is not passively 'just there'. Secondly, the original intentions and processes in the heterogeneous design become hidden, as the building becomes an artifact with an agency of its own. The agencies and discourses that was apparent and visible in the discussions of what the building should be, becomes unapparent and invisible, and the building becomes 'just' a building. The discussion is over, and the building becomes a

part of citizens' everyday lives, and so, the agenda of creating meetings between municipal employees and residents, invitational use, as well as the agenda of non-locality becomes hidden. What is certain is that for the municipal employees, the building will be reduced to fulfilling its function to the municipal office building, where employees do their everyday job. The intensions to create a meeting between municipal employees and local residents, as well as the invitational aspects thought into the design of the building, may potentially disappear from the mindsets of its users, and not define the way they use the building for everyday purposes.

For the residents, the building may be reduced being the 'imposer' that does not fit in their neighborhood. If residents are not properly introduced to and invited into the use of the building, they may not obtain ownership of the building, which will be a domain for the 'others' i.e. the municipal workers and visitors from the outside. The sudden decision of removing more apartment blocks to provide space for more municipal workplaces can strengthen this effect. Therefore, of the endless scenarios for the buildings future agency, and between the two most likely that was posed earlier in this chapter, it is here argued that the building will steer towards 'alienating' local residents.

In many ways, its inclusion or alienation of local citizens boils down to how the heterogeneous design process involves functions that attracts and welcomes a broad range of people; in the use of the concept 'public space with a roof on top' there is an idea of the urban space as a 'public domain'. The idea of an urban space being 'public domain' or not, is taken from Hinojosa & Moreno (2016) *the missing public domain in public spaces: a gendered historical perspective on a Latin American case*.

The mentioned paper stresses, amongst other things, that public space might be publically accessible without being 'public domain', i.e. having ownership within a broad group of citizens. Through the framework of heterogeneous design, the idea of a 'public domain' remains an idealism, as the heterogeneous design process prioritized involvement and consideration of certain groups of actors and citizens over others. This will further be discussed in the discussion chapter 8.1.

The third way that buildings shape social interaction, according to Gieryn (2012), is that a completed building has a higher cost of reconfiguration than a building still in its design phase. As the design is made concrete and physical, the intentions built in through the heterogeneous design process is strengthened and fixed, as a reconfiguration involves significant costs. Luckily, the building has been built to offer public accessibility in its physical design, and a sudden decision to 'lock of' space for outsiders will be expensive, and the ground floor is most likely not fitting employee-only use. On the other hand, as mentioned, accessing the rooftop garden is likely to involve moving through floor levels designated to municipal use. Making post-construction changes to make it more accessible will be costly.

7.1.3 Interpretative flexibility

Luckily, buildings are not entirely permanent and unchangeable, but contain a degree of interpretative flexibility. As for the 'Meet Aarhus' project, it is built to contain a certain degree of flexibility (Sejersen 2017). The municipality justified the lack of involving citizen in the design phase by stating that the office-building is so flexible, that there should ideally be room for new ideas of uses from citizens. This is true to some degree, as the building includes movable walls and furniture in the office areas as well as the publically accessible ground floor. Also, the aforementioned re-evaluation is amongst other planned to be based on hearing of different users, where, hopefully, the residents will be invited in the review of the building. A degree of flexibility was also introduced in the part of the building operated by the *Made in Gellerup* project – where offices and workshops are provided for entrepreneurs. A risk was taken by involving the Made in Aarhus project in a part of the building, as it is a new way of using public buildings (Sejersen 2017). To allow such a big risk, the building is made flexible, so that the spaces used for the entrepreneurial activities can be sold to businesses if the original intention fails. If the project turns out to be a success, the areas can be sold to the *Made in Gellerup* project if it becomes independent of the municipality (Sejersen 2017).

Furthermore, the cafeteria and the coffee roaster is only permanent to the degree that they are economically sustainable, and as for all businesses within the service-industry, their economical sustainability is dependent on the popularity within the users; municipal workers as well as residents and visitors. Mohammed (2017a) said there was a general lack of local involvement in the building,

and specifically proposed the idea of a locally driven cafeteria or shops in order to draw locals to the building. El-Batran likewise had a wish to see local events and activities in the ground floor of the building, and proposed inviting the many local food cultures and display these in the context of the new municipal office building, in likeness to another municipal project ‘smag a la Gellerup’ (El-Batran & Frederiksen 2017). In the ‘Smag a la Gellerup’-project, local residents are hired by the municipality to present food from their respective food cultures through a food truck and a ‘GastroBike’ (Smag a la Gellerup n.d.).



Picture 21: Example of displaying food culture: Smag a la Gellerup's GastroBike (Smag a la Gellerup 2016)

Even though the building will adapt an agency of its own, either functioning as an ‘imposer’ to the residents, or creating ownership among the residents, there are possibilities to actively reconfigure the discourse of the building. The imposing agency may be changed, if the local residents are able to actively define the publically

accessible space in the ground floor of the municipal office building by e.g. community events, marked sales, or other initiatives, or through direct involvement in the evaluation of the building facilitated by Hauxner. Both cases refer to a *discursive reconfiguration* of the building, potentially redeeming it from its imposing and ‘alien’ dimension. However, due to the cost of physical reconfiguration, change in the building is limited to discursive reconfiguration, and discursive reconfiguration may be hard to implement if it requires physical reconfiguration.

7.1.4 Summary

Through heterogeneous design, different actors define the discourse of the building. These different discourses balance between the discourse of non-locality and the discourse of invitation. Whereas the building is designed to impose an Aarhus identity on the area, and thus result in being an ‘imposer’ in the local area, the building is also designed with the intention to facilitate different kinds of human interaction. Through implementing a publically accessible ground floor, a rooftop garden, a café and a ‘meeting tower’, the design aims to invite different citizens to use the building.

In the intention of making a ‘public space with a roof on top of it’ there is an ideal that the publically accessible ground floor will become ‘public domain’, where the space has ownership within a broad group of citizens. However, through different consideration and (the lack of) involvement of actors in the heterogeneous design, the building has the potential for becoming an ‘alien’ in the area, in which

the residents are invited in to have a look. Luckily, this can possibly be redeemed through a *discursive* reconfiguration, by actively inviting citizens in the use of the building, and involving citizens in evaluating the use and the function of the building after two years of operation. However, the potential of reconfiguration may be limited due to the cost of physical reconfiguration.

7.2 The change-making agency

As the process behind Meet Aarhus is uncovered in the earlier part of the analysis, this part of the analysis concerns the overall change-making in the area in regards to the discourses and the role of the municipality and the residents herein.

7.2.1 Strategic or utopian approach to social sustainability

This part of the analysis will analyze the discourse behind the municipal office building, to understand whether the Meet Aarhus project represents a strategic or utopian approach to social sustainability. To get a full picture of the discourse behind the building, one needs to understand the general visions that Aarhus Municipality has for the development of the overall city, as well as the visions the municipality has formulated for the local area in partnership with the BHA.

Aarhus Municipality has a broad definition of social sustainability. Some of the municipality's visions are described in the planning strategy from 2015, guiding the development of Aarhus until 2050. The planning strategy stresses that the great influx of new citizens also creates stress on social cohesion, creating a decline in diversity as citizens settle down in proximity to other citizens of similar socio-economic status (Aarhus Municipality 2015). The vision is manyfold, and includes introducing different types of residence in areas so that areas comprise a mixture of owned housing, public housing, and youth and elder-housings. Furthermore, areas should have an equal mix of publically accessible functions, such as libraries, sports facilities, cafés, and restaurant. Creating a strong local identity is also a part of the vision, as well as temporary urban development. Another definition is found in the sustainability tool that Aarhus applies in the building sector: the *360-model of sustainability*. The part of the model concerning social sustainability, which is presented in figure 10, stresses amongst other things aesthetics, user-influence, flexibility, green- and blue areas, public access and inclusion, and social facilities (Aarhus Municipality n.d.). The municipal office building Meet Aarhus is an attempt to reach these goals, and the tool is applied through the design of the building (Sejersen 2017).

In many ways, the overall objective in the masterplan, as introduced in chapter 2.4, can be summarized as making the area more cohesive to the rest of Aarhus both visually and socially. Socially, Gellerupparken and Toveshøj is to be made cohesive by attracting a more diverse mass of

residents through providing a mix of public housing, youth housings, and semi-attached housing, and visibly by opening the area up: introducing roads, renovating the buildings, and providing new buildings with a modern standard. The municipal office building is introduced as a part of the solution to make Gellerupparken and Toveshøj more socially and visually cohesive. Socially by introducing different functions, like a cafeteria and a coffee roaster, inviting visitors and municipal employees into using the area. Visually, by representing a modern building standard with visual coherence with the rest of Aarhus.

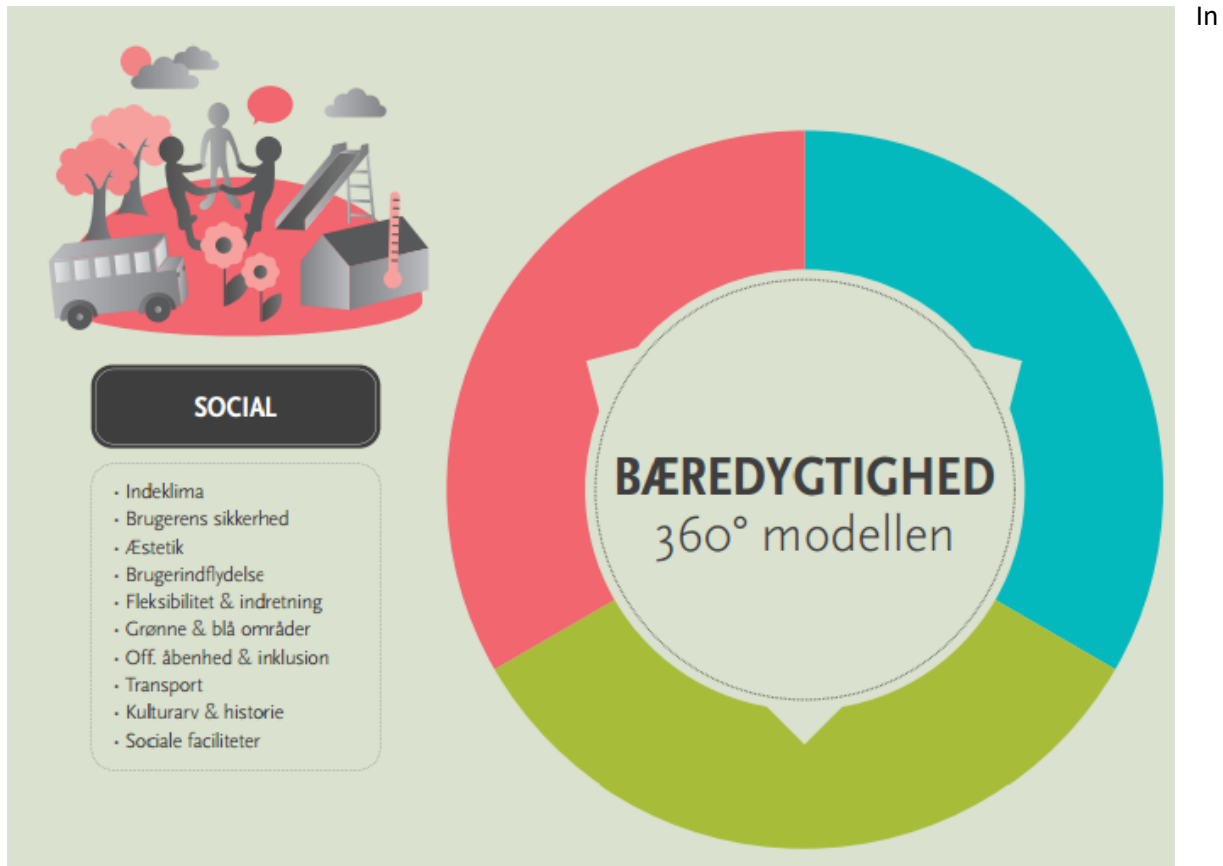


Figure 10: Aarhus Municipality's 360-degree model of sustainability (Aarhus Municipality n.d)

the chapter 4.1.4, Clausen et al 2010 argues that a strategic approach to sustainability, where sustainability implemented from the outside into existing fields within economic, societal, or political spheres, represents a potential dystopic dimension of sustainability where avoidance of crisis is the main emphasis. The introduction of the office building Meet Aarhus within the overall change-making process in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj can be seen as a strategic approach to implement the municipal vision of a social coherent and sustainable city to the area. This has the potential of contributing to a dystopic emphasis in the urban regeneration for two reasons; Firstly, by contributing to a change-making that is aimed towards making Gellerupparken and Toveshøj into something that they are not today; a more visual and social coherent part of the city, that is more

similar to Aarhus as a whole. Through its generic design, the building tries to impose an Aarhus-identity in Gellerupparken. Secondly, by contributing to a change-making agenda where the current mass of residents is seen as a problem that needs to be changed. The image of the residents as a problem is a central part of the discourse behind the masterplan from the BHA, as introduced in chapter 2.3. According to the focus group interview with two residents with a long history of being active in the Gellerupparken department board, a majority of the other departments in the BHA see Gellerupparken and Toveshøj as problematic (El-Batran and Frederiksen 2017). This is likely to have put pressure on the BHA to change the Gellerupparken and the Toveshøj department. This results in the impression among the residents that they are not wanted in the area, and this impression is common with the residents in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, according to Mohammed (2017b), and El-Batran and Frederiksen (2017), and has the potential to increase distrust.

There is however a certain degree of an envisioned future in the change-making agency, and therefore there is not entirely a dystopian emphasis in the implementation of social sustainability through the Meet Aarhus project. The masterplan broadly describes the vision of making Gellerup into a livable part of Aarhus and a local center to Aarhus west, with a wide range of functions and activities, from sports to culture. The municipal office building is seen as a 'kick-start' of this process of change towards the future vision presented in cooperation between Aarhus Municipality and the BHA.

The problem is that this utopian vision is not democratic. Clausen et al (2010) argues that in order for sustainability to be truly utopian, there needs to be a strong democratic dimension. Through the process of heterogeneous design, the building does not embody a broadly anchored utopian vision of the residents. From a democratic and utopian perspective, the involvement of local residents in defining their wishes of the future of the area is essential in creating a view of social sustainability that is utopian. Introducing this would lead the change-making process to be based on the positive characteristics of the area, and how to develop the positive characteristics in such a way that it tackles the challenges of social cohesion and inclusion, instead of an emphasis on the area and its citizens as being a problem that needs to be fixed. This requires a process where the citizens go from being a central part of the problem to becoming a vital part of the solution. The implementation of a utopian aspect to social sustainability is further discussed in the discussion chapter 8.2.

7.2.2 Rationality of the municipality and the planner

As earlier mentioned, the *Meet Aarhus* project presents a vision of the future of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj that is defined by Aarhus Municipality. The solution for the problems of the area then comes from the outside, instead of through visions for a socially sustainable future generated from

the inside, within and between residents of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj. This can also be understood through the role of different rationalities within planning.

As introduced in the theory chapter 4.1.3, Clausen & Hansen (2004) argues that problems with implementing democracy and sustainability in urban planning are partly due to the urban planners' understanding of rationality. The theory states that urban planners navigate within a wide range of different planning paradigms, with a tendency to being influenced by a rational paradigm to some degree, thus understanding their role as an urban planner as an expert role in steering the development of society. Aarhus Municipality as a planning authority seeks to handle the problems in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj together with the BHA, and through the *Meet Aarhus* project they introduce a vital part of their solution: a 'lighthouse' project presenting their efforts in changing the area. The office building is their definition of a future socially sustainable Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, but this vision is introduced from the outside of the area with the intention to steer the development of the area into a direction defined by their overall vision for social sustainability in Aarhus. Thus, Aarhus Municipality takes on an expert role in steering the development of the local area, based on their vision of a socially sustainable Gellerupparken and Toveshøj as well as a socially sustainable city.

As a planning authority, Aarhus municipality is not only applying an *expert rationality* in changing the area, but as an actor within the *action coordinating context of the system-world*, they apply a *goal-oriented rationality*, following the theoretic framework from Elling (2016) which is introduced in the theory chapter 4.1.2.

Throughout the design of the municipal building Meet Aarhus, a range of qualities and functionality were considered. One of these considerations is the esthetics of the building; as a 'lighthouse' of the change-making where Gellerupparken and Toveshøj is implemented into the overall identity of Aarhus, the house needed to reflect the rest of Aarhus visually. Another consideration was the inviting functions mentioned earlier, were the municipal office building could become a part of the local area. Through the theoretical framework in Elling (2016), this can be analyzed as the appliance of the expert cultures *truth*, *morals* and *art*, each with their own rationality, to improve the area. However, as an actor within the action coordinating context of the system-world, the municipality acts with goal oriented rationality. These initial considerations in the design of the *Meet Aarhus* project, originating from the different expert cultures, become instrumentalized towards the goal of maximum legitimacy. The municipality, representing the sub-system 'the state' within a local context, seeks to gain legitimacy through proving that they represent the electorate that elected the

politicians within the municipality, and that they are able to perform the task that they are given: to govern and develop the city of Aarhus in a sensible way.

However, the most critical and distrusting citizens in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj does not give the municipality its legitimacy. Rather, it comes from the general population of Aarhus. As a representative of the citizens of Aarhus, the municipality cannot be indifferent to the problems seen and experienced in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, since the area has an overweighting negative image in the general population. As seen in chapter 2.3, the area has experienced significant amounts negative media coverage. Thus, the legitimacy of Aarhus Municipality as a political entity, depends on its ability to change Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, and fix the problem that the area pose to the overall image of Aarhus as a city.

The legitimacy of Aarhus Municipality is also dependent on its ability to fulfill its goals. The plan strategy from 2015 regarding the development of Aarhus towards 2050 stresses the need for finding room for families close to the city center in order to reduce the overall need for transport (Aarhus Municipality 2015). Furthermore the planning strategy also stresses the need of densifying areas in proximity to the city center, especially areas in relation to railstations and developments along the coming lightrail (Aarhus Municipality 2015). Therefore, a central objective of the Meet Aarhus project is developing the area into an attractive, multifunctional area for its citizens, not for the sake of the residents living there, but for heightened legitimacy by the general population of Aarhus, businesses and possible new taxpayers.

Aarhus Municipality also has financial concerns. In the transformation of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, Aarhus Municipality is leading a double role, both as planning-authority and a construction client. Through buying land to provide municipal offices, the municipality has made a significant financial investment in the area. The municipality is therefore also oriented towards the goal of profit, and according to Sejersen (2017), Aarhus Municipality is currently facing financial pressure. Generally, Danish municipalities compete in attracting businesses and tax-payers.

As the municipality is leading a double role, both as an administration and construction client, Aarhus Municipality is also the main planning authority within the masterplan, with the role to make the different actors and interest groups work together. However, the actor responsible of ensuring the residents involvement in the change-making in the area is the BHA. Whereas most of the citizen involvement actions are facilitated by the BHA, the Meet Aarhus project is not a matter of discussion within the local democracy, as it is a 'municipal project' (El-Batran & Frederiksen 2017). The municipality as a construction client for the office building does not have the same democratic

obligations as the BHA within the area, and the involvement of citizens is then easily left out, in order not to interfere with the goals of profit and legitimization among the general population of Aarhus.

The involvement of temporary urban planning is also of growing interest within the urban regeneration of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, with the Instant City project as an example, but also as a goal for Aarhus Municipality (2015). The introduction and involvement of the Made in Aarhus project in the Municipal Office building, thus creating the agenda of temporary urban development, is also creating a high degree of legitimization of the Municipal project. Without doubt, the Made in Gellerup project can have positive effects in inviting and activating local resources, and empowering local citizens, but it does not introduce any of the democratic and co-creative effects often associated with the temporary urban development projects.

Elling (2016) argues that everyday citizens are the only actors in the planning process that bring in long-sighted and holistic thinking in planning, which is related to their appliance of expert-cultures. Within the context of the life-world, they are able to assess a building through the cognitive instrumental rationality of truth, the moral-practical rationality of moral, and the esthetical-expressive rationality of beauty (Elling 2016). The local residents and citizens with an engagement in the many associations in the Gellerup-Toveshøj area are the only actors with the local contextualized knowledge of the area who are not bound to a goal-oriented rationality. However, it is worth mentioning that in order to argue through the expert cultures, you need to have developed a certain expertise.

7.2.3 Possibilities and barriers for citizen involvement in the overall change-making agency

The decision to not involve citizens in order not to 'tire them out', may at first glance seem like an excuse to save the time and financial resources needed to facilitate such processes. However, this decision might not be entirely unjustified.

For this thesis, there is not enough data to discuss the overall knowledge and education of the local residents, but what is indicated, is that there are major challenges in regard to both *language* and understanding of *democracy and rights*. According to Mohammed (2017b), there is a genuine problem that citizens are not fully aware of all their democratic rights. Even among active members within the different association in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, there is a lack of knowledge of possibilities of funding and how the associations can have an influence on the masterplan (Mohammed 2017b). Hansen (2017) mentioned that language was a general problem during municipal workshops and citizen-meetings arranged by the Housing Association. Several meetings in different languages had to be arranged with the use of translators, and a lot was 'lost in translation'

(Hansen 2017). At the same time, Mohammed (2017a) mentioned that there is a growing 'democratic culture', but he did not give the impression that the democratic understanding was at a satisfactory level. Sejersen (2017) pointed out that 'they see the same faces and the same opinions dominate all of the public meetings', which El-Batran and Frederiksen (2017) also specified in their experiences with public meetings. Furthermore, employees from the BHA specified the low involvement of local citizens, and pointed out that there were a few active and engaged, but generally unrepresentative participants on the workshops regarding the physical implementation of the general objectives in the masterplan. Mohammed (2017b) stated that these were generally 'old and white'. Therefore, it can be said that the decision of the Municipality to not facilitate public involvement on the base that the residents are tired of involvement is not entirely unjustified, as the lack of democratic culture and understanding of rights are making the whole process revolving the masterplan confusing for many of the residents.

However, there is evidence of activity and engagement from the residents. An example of this is the renovation of the existing public housings, where local residents argued for their interest in having their apartments renovated as a part of the change-making in the area. The residents also voted against selling the apartment blocks when it did not align with their interests. Also, the high number of associations in the area is an indication of engagement within the local community. The dissociation between the level of engagement and activity and the participation in democratic processes, stems from the fact that residents as a group is heterogeneous, consisting of different cultures, socio-economic backgrounds, social status, etc.

In the article *towards tailor made participation* by Agger (2012) citizens are broadly classified as active and inactive in relation to citizen involvement. Based on the experiences from the data collection of the thesis, these two main groups are identified. The active citizens are active in many of the local associations, and have an understanding of their democratic rights and how to get involved in the local democracy. They are generally content with living in the area, emphasizing its strengths and enjoying the social coherence within the local community, but also positive towards the change-making. Hansen (2017), Kayed (2017), and Mohamed (2017a,b) are all representative of this group. "Active citizens are able to use the institutional settings for participation to promote their interest and to use and develop their resources for participation" (Agger 2012, p.38). They use their resources to influence the decisions affecting their lives, and these resources can be seen as relational resources (network), knowledge resources, and last but not least time (Agger 2012).

Agger (2012) separates active citizens into expert citizens, everyday makers and social entrepreneurs. Many active residents are social entrepreneurs, being active in associations aimed at socially

improving the neighborhood. And social entrepreneurs are characterized by being able to “identify needs and opportunities in their community, recruit and motivate others, and thereby build networks and social capital, overcome obstacles and challenges as well as secure funding and the resources that are needed” (Agger 2012, p.33)

Inactive residents can be seen as citizens who do not have the resources, neither relational resources nor knowledge, or interest in participating (Agger 2012). A lack of interest may depart from a lack of understanding of their democratic rights within the housing association, or from distrust towards the housing association and the municipality. Although generally content with living in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, many are negative towards the change-making, and see this as confusing and the masterplan as unfathomable: Mohamed (2017b) states that many of his peers do not trust the change-making to be good and do not fathom the changes proposed in the masterplan; El-Batran & Frederiksen (2017) mentions a problem of distrust between inactive residents and their representatives in the department board, as well as distrust towards the BHA; Anonymous (2017) shares a clear stance of mistrust towards the ‘authorities’, an undefined size which the municipality and the BHA are likely a part of. Mohamed (2017b) mentioned that many residents were frustrated by not being able to contribute to the masterplan – however, contributing to the masterplan was understood as being hired ‘professionally’. This also goes in line with the issue stated by Mohammed (2017a), that there are issues in understanding involvement and engagement as a voluntary endeavor, and not as professional engagement.

As Clausen and Hansen (2004) introduces (see theory chapter 4.1.3), democracy can be understood as vertical and horizontal. Even though the BHA is democratically driven, and the Masterplan in general therefore can be said to be democratic in some way, there is a high emphasis on a vertical dimension of democracy, where the main forms of democracy is a vote to a yes or no question, or by representation through the department-boards. When asked about potentials and ideal ways of involvement in the area, both Mohammed (2017b) and El-Batran (El-Batran & Frederiksen 2017) express a need to change the methods of involving residents. El-Batran mentioned the ideal of inviting citizens into groups where they could discuss and generate ideas for the change-making in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, whereby they could be involved in a more direct way. Frederiksen on the other hand stressed that the BHA is fundamentally democratic, and that the residents had had the chance to involve and bring their ideas and needs, through active engagement and through representation by the department board. Mohammed (2017b) mentioned issues with involvement. I.e. that the involvement was done through “traditional” channels, meaning that invitations were distributed through the postal system. Residents get a lot of information from the BHA regarding

practical matters, and a mail from the housing associations is associated with invoices (Mohammed 2017b). The need for face-to-face communication was stressed, as well as engaging residents from the different communities to inform and invite each other to workshops and meetings (Mohammed 2017b). Both Hansen (2017) and Mohammed (2017a) talked of projects within the BHA where they were hiring local residents as face-to-face messengers, so the methods and the means to communicate verbally has been exploited to different degrees. However, a more structured method of applying these principles in regards to involving citizens could be tried.

Also in relation to the municipal office building, verbal communication has been used to some extent. Sejersen (2017) mentions the municipality being present at other citizen meetings, workshops, and arrangements to inform of the Meet Aarhus Project and to communicate with citizens. Sejersen also mentioned that Hauxner had applied some degree of communication with local citizens as part of consulting the Meet Aarhus project, but there is no mention or description of a structured method. Again, there are traces of a verbal communication, but the development of a method is needed.

7.2.4 Summary

This analysis chapter has introduced the process and the design elements of the Meet Aarhus project, methodically structured through applying the concepts of heterogeneous design, black-boxing, and interpretative flexibility. This uncovers the uncertainty of whether or not the municipal office building will achieve ownership with the local residents, or if it will end up being an 'imposer' in the area, contributing to the suspicion of a gentrification agenda within the change-making. In any event, the municipal office building is designed with a certain degree of flexibility, making a *discursive reconfiguration* of the building possible.

A further exploration of the discourses behind the Meet Aarhus project uncovers both a dystopic and a utopian emphasis on the change-making agenda: The building reflects a utopian vision for a socially coherent Aarhus and a multifunctional and socially coherent Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, but there is also a dystopic emphasis within the change-agency for the local area, in which the area is seen as a problem in need of a solution, with the local residents being a central part of the problem. It has been suggested that a utopian emphasis on the change-making based on the local citizens needs and wants for the future should be developed. The lack of a locally and democratically anchored utopian dimension is investigated through exploring the expert rationality of the Municipality as a planning authority, and the need for Aarhus Municipality to legitimize itself within the general population Aarhus, as well as their need to attract businesses and new taxpayers for financial reasons. Lastly, the

residents of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj has been characterized as a heterogeneous group, consisting of both active and inactive residents, and the possibilities and challenges of involving these. Furthermore, the concept of vertical and horizontal dimensions of democracy has been applied to investigate the potentials of further developing methods of involving residents in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj.

8. Discussion

The analysis was largely organized by applying the theoretic concepts to empirical data, seeking to answer each of the sub-questions of the research question separately. In this discussion these different perspectives will be synthesized in order to answer the research question in the conclusion.

8.1 Public domain?

As earlier described in chapter 7.1, different interests and discourses define the functions of the building through heterogeneous design and when these processes become 'black-boxed' in the construction of the building, the building define the way it is used and its impact on the area in different ways. In this part of the discussion, the heterogeneous design process, as well as the 'black-boxing', will be discussed along with the part of the analysis regarding the planning authorities' expert rationality and goal oriented rationality.

Through the heterogeneous design process introduced in chapter 6.1, a social design of the municipal office building took place through the invitation of different actors. The most influential actors in the social design of the Meet Aarhus project were the politicians and the municipal planners, whereas the project team was most influential in the material design of the building. Through the application of expert knowledge, the municipality designed a building together with the BHA and the project team that aimed to invite the local area into the building, without assessing the needs and perspectives of the local residents in the social design of the building. And so, the Meet Aarhus project is built to invite the municipal idea of the local area, and to support and develop the municipalities' idea of the future Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, without taking the actual area into account. The citizens, with their needs and knowledge, were rather 'represented' by the Municipality as a planning authority than involved with their own opinions.

Furthermore, because of a goal-oriented rationality, with the goal being maximum legitimization among the general population of Aarhus, this thesis argues that the building was to a large degree made to invite the general population of Aarhus, rather than the local residents in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj. The large and diverse population of Aarhus is hard to identify and directly involve

through co-creational design, but the choice of a generic design that invoked a general Aarhus-identity reflects the wish and choice to invite the general population. As a 'lighthouse' for the municipal change-making in the area, the building is designed to invite citizens from other areas into a 'better' and 'changed' Gellerupparken and Toveshøj that is now opened for the rest of the city.

The aesthetic representation of the building can also be seen as a representation of the citizens that the building is built for. As the aesthetical-expressive rationality used by the municipality is instrumentalized towards the goal of attracting a different group of citizens, the municipal office building is built for a 'changed' Gellerupparken and Toveshøj with a different population than today. Thus, the building aesthetically represents whole different group than the citizens currently living there. Inviting the local citizens into the design, giving them the opportunity to broadly

define the aesthetical values of the building would also potentially make a building that

creates more ownership, as the citizens would be able to use their aesthetical-expressive rationalities to define a building that is fitting their perception of their area.

As the municipality seek to gain legitimization from the general population of Aarhus, and attract new taxpayers and businesses to Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, local citizens were not prioritized, and the design for human interaction were taking the visitors and the new taxpayers into consideration over the local residents, as the concerns of legitimization and attracting businesses and new taxpayers has had a larger role in the social design of the municipal office building Meet Aarhus.

As the municipal offices are built, these intentions and discourses brought in by the heterogeneous design are 'black-boxed'. As introduced in 7.1.2, the building has the can potentially have imposing qualities rather than inviting. The building becomes an obligatory passage point for local citizens as well as for the municipal employees, and as a visible and central 'lighthouse' of the municipal activity in the area, the building gains an agency based on the expert rationality of the municipality, as it tries to change the area into the municipal definition of an envisioned socially sustainable Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, and is thereby a potential 'imposer' to local residents, who suspects a gentrification-

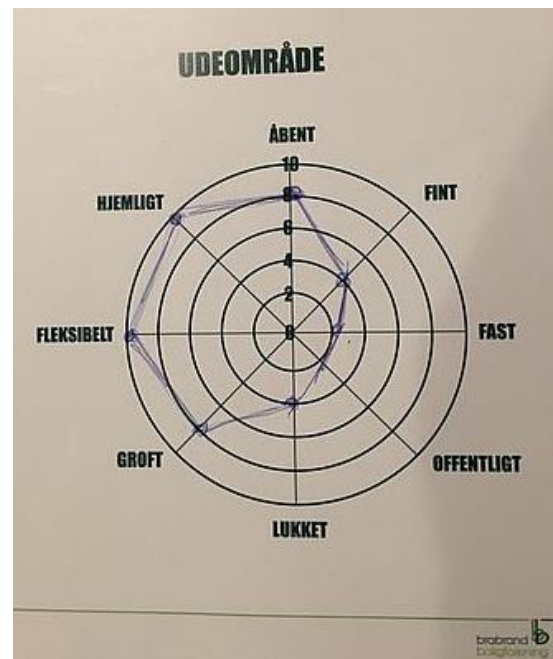


Figure 11: Defining the esthetic qualities of the citizen-house (Gellerup.nu 2016)

agenda. However, municipal employees are in their everyday moving through a building that has publically accessible areas in the ground floor as well as on one of the rooftop gardens, where there is a potential to meet local residents and outside visitors on their daily route to their respective offices, because of the intentions to facilitate social interaction in the heterogeneous design. But as the initial intentions for inviting the local area becomes black-boxed as well, the building becomes easily 'just an office building' and the intentions of invitation is forgotten in the municipal workers' everyday movements.

As introduced in the analysis chapter 7.1.2, the ground floor as well as the rooftop garden is meant to provide a 'public space', but it was questioned whether the areas would become 'public domain'. In the heterogeneous design, it is seen that local residents are taken into consideration through providing a publically accessible ground floor, by which the local building is thought to be invitational. However, through the goal of legitimization and profit, the building presents a generic design, invoking an Aarhus-identity and steered towards being an attractor of businesses and new taxpayers, as well as gaining legitimization among the general population of Aarhus by presenting a 'changed' and 'better' future Gellerupparken and Toveshøj. Therefore, the goal of inviting the local residents becomes downgraded. First and foremost, Meet us in Aarhus is a municipal office building, and designed to harbor municipal activities, whereas the original intentions for the building to be open and inviting becomes hidden in the daily use of the building. Local residents are potentially becoming guests in the office building, as the use of the building becomes defined by the municipal employees everyday tasks and movements, and the building becomes 'just' a municipal office building. This steers the building away from being 'public domain' amongst local residents, and towards being a building for municipal activities first and foremost and a legitimation factor for the change-making in the local area , in which the local citizens has little ownership.

8.2 Utopia or dystopia

As introduced in analysis chapter 7.2.1, the municipal building Meet Aarhus is a part of a municipal goal to hinder a dystopic future for Aarhus, where the municipality is comprised of socially incoherent areas. Furthermore, the building is seen part of the solution of a change-making process where the area and its current residents are seen as problematic. However, the Meet Aarhus project also presents a utopian vision of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj. It is seen as the initiation of making the area a coherent part of Aarhus city, by making the area multi-functional and mixed, ethnically and socially.

Some residents seem do embrace this vision, for example Kayed (2017) and Frederiksen (El-Batran & Frederiksen 2017), but at the same time there is a growing suspicion of a gentrification agenda. As a part of a gentrification agenda, the utopic vision defined by the municipality becomes for the suspicious part of the residents a dystopia – where Gellerupparken and Toveshøj becomes neighborhoods where there is no place for citizens outside the job marked and citizens from non-western background, as they are seen as a problem. Also, if the local residents don't experience that they have a say in defining the vision of the future, and are not invited as a crucial part of the solution, the utopia becomes a dystopia. Even though he is supportive of the general ideas to change-making, Mohammed (2017b) reacts to the lack of involving the residents as a key part of the solution to the area's future, and the messages that this lack of involvement implicates – “If they want us to move out of the area, they should just tell us!” (Mohammed 2017b). The anonymous man interviewed at the place of free-time-activities for unemployed youth expressed the concern of a gentrification agenda clearly, and had the impression that the “authorities” which can be interpreted as the municipality and the Brabrand Housing Association (BHA), were mainly interested in having “them”, i.e. immigrants and decendants of immigrants, out of the area (Anonymous 2017). During the interview, hearing that the conversation revolved the masterplan, a young man shouted on his way out of the door “It is a jungle! They (The BHA) say it was a jungle before, but it is a jungle now!”. The interviewed employee at the place of pastime activities stated that the common impression amongst his peers, as well as the users of the place, was that the area has become unrecognizable due to the current change-making, and they could no longer see their place in it (Anonymous 2017).

As earlier pointed out, the development of a utopian dimension in sustainability requires a more direct democratic process. Firstly, there need to be a change of discourse, where the residents are changed from being a ‘problem’ to becoming a part of the solution. The invitation of local residents in defining the use of the municipal building can help creating ownership in the building, by making the change-making more comprehensible, as well as giving them a role in the change-making in the area, where they become a part of defining the municipality's change-making through the municipal office building. As discussed in chapter 8.2, the expert rationality has been a hindrance in giving the citizens a role in defining the future of a socially sustainable Gellerupparken and Toveshøj.

Furthermore, due to the goal-oriented rationality behind the change-making actions and through the municipal building, a defining role is given to the municipal planners as well as the consideration of the general citizens in Aarhus.

As earlier mentioned, the Municipality office building will take on an agenda of its own based on the functions as well as the discourses built into its design. There is a danger that the municipal office

building will add to the growing story of the authorities plans for gentrification, creating more distrust in the local citizens by contributing to the growing fear of a dystopic future where local residents from non-western cultures and citizens on social-care are regarded as misfits in the future of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj. On the other hand, the discourse of invitation and community involvement are also visible in the heterogeneous design of the municipal building. The question is: how can the municipal building contribute to a shared democratic utopian dimension in a future socially coherent Gellerupparken and Toveshøj, where citizens are a part of the solution and not a problem in need of a solution?

8.3 Discursive reconfiguration

The earlier chapters of this discussion draws a picture of a building that has imposing qualities, and that emphasizes a dystopic future in the eyes of the local citizens, with the goal of legitimization and profit for the municipality as a main drive force.

The predictions presented so far in this thesis concerning the future of Meet Aarhus are dystopic to say the least, but the truth is that the future is hard to tell, and more importantly the future is changeable. Up until now, the discussion has concerned the effect of expert rationality in the heterogeneous design as well as the goal oriented rationality that drives the municipality to change Gellerupparken and Toveshøj based on a vision of the future which seems potentially dystopic to parts of its residents. Of course, a design process that takes the local voice into consideration and embodies locally based dreams and creates ownership and optimism for the future amongst local residents would be desirable, but as the building is now under construction, the possibility for last-minute changes in the design that steer towards a greater involvement of local citizens is decreased. This might sound like a condemnation of the municipal change-making and the future of the area because of the municipal office building, if it was not for the *interpretative flexibility* of the building.

As introduced in chapter 7.1.3, a *discursive reconfiguration* is possible, where the use of the building is changed in spite of the original intents in the heterogeneous design process, and where the building's influence on its users and the overall area is changed as well. This is possible due to the degree of flexibility designed into the building, where the interior involves movable features and movable walls, so that the publically accessible space can be manipulated to encourage the use by local residents. After two years of use, local citizens can be involved in a larger degree in reviewing the use of the building, thus giving them a voice and influence. If the original café and coffee-roaster move out of the building, local driven businesses can move in, giving more ownership to the local citizens. As the building can be reconfigured, it has a great potential for introducing a utopian dimension in social sustainability, and use the life-world perspectives and the communicative

rationality of residents to a greater extent to define the use of the building. This could also increase ownership over the building's functions and the publically accessible areas among groups of the local residents, and bring it closer to the ideal of a 'public space with a roof over it'. This however depends on how the consultant Hauxner chooses to facilitate the use of the building when it starts being used, as well as the evaluation of the internal functions after two years.

Even though the heterogeneous design did not favor the perspective of local citizens, the citizens are still thought of as an actor in the design of social interaction, as explained in chapter 6.2. As both imposing qualities and the intensions of inviting exist in the building, it is not impossible to tip the building over to the side of invitation and ownership. However, there are limits to reconfiguration. Larger reconfigurations that goes beyond a discursive reconfiguration and where "a black-box is pried opened" (Gieryn 2002, p.45) through material reconfiguration, involves significant costs for the municipality.

8.4 The meeting between different citizens

The question remains: does this all relate to the municipal employees, the local residents, and outside visitors' possibility of meeting each other? Up until now the emphasis has been greatly upon the local residents and their relation to the municipal office building. The residents are however only one actor that the building tries to invite to use the building. Other noteworthy groups are the municipal workers, visitors from the outside, and future residents that move into the semi-attached family houses and the residents of the youth housings. Hansen (2017) and Kayed (2017) both mentioned the positive effect of the office building in introducing new types of citizens into the area. As introduced in chapter 6.2. the design process of the municipal office building Meet Aarhus involved an aspect of design for human interaction, in which the building is designed to create some levels of interaction between the aforementioned groups of citizens.

Where the municipal workers and the existing residents are measurable sizes, the future residents and the overall citizens of Aarhus and beyond that are potential visitors are rather unmeasurable and uncomprehensive actors. The emphasis on the role of the resident is heavily due to the fact that they have a say and an interest in the change-making in the area, and that the meeting between the residents and the municipal workers, as well as visitors, is important to secure inclusion, and to reduce the negative image of Gellerupparken and Toveshøj. In order for the meetings to take place, local residents need to actively use the building, and for this to happen it is crucial that there is a sense of ownership to the building, and that it is not seen by the residents as an imposer in the area.

The possible meeting also depends on the municipal workers' attitude towards the area. There needs to be a will amongst the municipal employers to meet with and to cooperate in using the same space as local residents. Another potential for meeting is the Bazaar, where the Bazaar can be used for lunchbreaks etc. by the municipal employees. This holds some great potential of creating a meeting between the average user of the bazaar and a complete different type of citizen, with a job in the municipal building.

This is where black-boxing becomes an issue, as the intentions for the municipality's community involvement becomes hidden and forgotten in the everyday use of the building. Both the encounter between the residents in the publically accessible spaces as well as the potentials of using the bazaar requires a clear intention and steering from the municipality, in keeping the intention of inclusion alive. As the building starts to be used, it turns into being 'just another municipal building' if there are no efforts in mixing and co-residing with the local residents.

As for visitors, there are great possibilities in using the building as it is a 'lighthouse' for the change-making agenda in the area. Professional excursions are already happening in the Gellerupparken and Toveshøj related to the urban regeneration efforts, and using the office building as a part of exhibiting the area is an obvious choice, as the building itself is supposed represent the Municipal change-making in the area. In making a building for all of Aarhus, this is likely to invite frequent visits by curious citizens. Also, the coffee roaster as well as the cafeteria introduces functions and possibilities that are usually found in the middle of the city center. As Kayed (2017) and Mohammed (2017b) pointed out, now they don't have to go all the way to the city center to have a good cup of coffee. This might give a new opportunity and reason for citizens in surrounding areas to visit the Gellerupparken and Toveshøj.

9. Conclusion

This master thesis seeks to answer the research question: *To what degree can the Meet Aarhus project secure inclusion of different citizens residing or working in the Gellerupparken and Toveshøj in Aarhus West?* Central to the word *inclusion* is the degree that the building invites different citizens to use the building, and the degree to which different people want to use the building.

Through the design of the building, both material and social, the Meet Aarhus project is supposed to facilitate different sorts of social interaction. However, through the process of heterogeneous design residents were not involved in defining the use and the functions of the building. Furthermore, as the municipality is oriented towards the goal of maximum legitimacy and profit, attraction of the general population of Aarhus, and potential new taxpayers and businesses were prioritized over the local residents. Because of the lack of involving the local residents, and due to a generic design, the publically accessible areas designed in the municipal office building is not likely to become 'public domain' amongst the residents.

As a 'lighthouse' and initiation of a change-making agency in the local area, the building becomes a part of a vision for a sustainable future Gellerupparken and Toveshøj which does not originate with the local citizens, but rather is a vision from Aarhus Municipality. Because of the suspicion of a gentrification-agenda, the vision from Aarhus Municipality can turn into a dystopia for groups within the local residents, where the local residents are not wanted or fitting within their local area. Developing a democratically driven utopian vision for a future Gellerupparken and Toveshøj based on everyday needs and dreams of residents is needed, and the discursive reconfiguration of the Meet Aarhus building can contribute to this.

As the building incorporates an interpretive flexibility, a discursive reconfiguration of Meet Aarhus is possible, provided that the locals are actively engaged in reviewing and monitoring the use of the building, and actively participating in its publically accessible functions. Here, ownership with the local residents can be gained, in which the residents are further invited into use of the building.

The meeting between different kinds of citizens is then possible and likely, provided that the municipality has a clear vision of securing inclusion, where municipal employees wants to coexist with the local residents and do not see them as a nuisance. There are further potentials for inclusion if the municipal employees use the Bazaar and other local functions.

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