

Storytelling of the +Bus

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Abstract:

This thesis seeks to investigate how Aalborg Municipality use storytelling to promote the +Bus project and make it support its dominating discourse and a new spatial understanding of Aalborg. To address this problem, the main research question of this project is: *How is Aalborg Municipality using storytelling of the +Bus to reinforce their dominating discourse and their vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg City?*

In the research of this project, it is firstly identified that Aalborg Municipality tells the same comprehensive story of the +Bus, as they originally did about the light rail. There are several underlying discourses of the story of the +Bus, but it is dominated by the discourse of growth. Secondly, it is through an analysis of the municipality's use of techniques in storytelling and the planning practices within the local plans of the surrounding areas, identified that the dominating discourse of growth has been structured and institutionalised in Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling of the +Bus. Thirdly, the power within Aalborg Municipality's storytelling of the +Bus has been analysed, as influencing investors in Aalborg's spatial understanding of Aalborg. The thesis finally concludes, that Aalborg Municipality's storytelling has reinforced the spatial understanding of Aalborg and the dominating discourse of growth, by directing the storytelling towards investors, incorporating the story in Aalborg's transition, and using different initiatives within their use of storytelling.

Dansk Resumé

Dette speciale omhandler Aalborg Kommunes brug af planlægningsværktøjet storytelling i forbindelse med implementeringen af +Bussen i Aalborg. Ud fra dette værktøj vil det blive vurderet, hvorvidt det har forstærket Aalborg Kommunes dominante diskurs omkring +Bussen og ændret rumforståelsen af Aalborg by. Udgangspunktet for specialet har været skiftet fra en letbane til en BRT løsning, i form af +Bussen, i Aalborg, og en dertilhørende undren omkring, hvordan Aalborg Kommune har kunne benytte sig af værktøjet storytelling til at fortælle en historie omkring +Bussen, tilsvarende historien omkring letbanen.

Ud fra disse overvejelser er følgende problemformulering for specialet udarbejdet: *Hvordan bruger Aalborg Kommune storytellingen af +Bussen til at forstærke deres dominerende diskurs og deres vision omkring en ny rumforståelse af Aalborg by?*

Til at besvare denne problemformulering er tre underspørgsmål udarbejdet:

- 1 Hvilke historier fortæller Aalborg Kommune omkring +Bussen, og hvad er den dominerende diskurs bag disse historier?
- 2 Hvordan udfører Aalborg Kommune storytellingen af +Bussen og hvilken effekt har den på planlægningspraksisser i Aalborg Kommune?
- 3 Hvordan påvirker magten i storytellingen rumforståelsen af Aalborg og forstærker den dominerende diskurs i Aalborg?

Disse spørgsmål bliver igennem projektet besvaret ud fra en teoretisk ramme opbygget af fire koncepter indenfor planlægning: storytelling, magt, diskurser og rumlighed, hvor storytelling er defineret som værende det bærende koncept i dette speciale. Den teoretiske ramme præsenterer, hvordan projektet forstår de forskellige koncepter individuelt, men også sammenhængen imellem dem, der er med til at skabe en forståelse for, hvordan storytelling kan være så magtfuld, at det kan forstærke en dominerende diskurs og en ny rumforståelse af en by.

En analytisk ramme er også opsat i specialet for at beskrive, hvordan projektet metodisk besvarer problemformuleringen. Analyserammen tager udgangspunkt i Maarten Hajers teori omkring diskurssanalyse, da specialet følger de relevante trin inden for hans teori igennem dokumentanalyser og interviews. Dokumentanalysen består af analyser af kommunale dokumenter som planer, visioner og byrådsreferater, samt avisartikler for at skabe en forståelse for Aalborg Kommunes forståelse af +Bus projektet. For at skabe en yderligere forståelse af projektet, er planlæggerne Anne Juel Andersen fra Aalborg Kommune, Mette Olesen fra NT og Jens Mogensen fra Region Nordjylland, som alle er en del af +Bus projektgruppen, blevet interviewet.

Gennem forståelsen, opnået i den teoretiske- og analytiske ramme, er analysen opdelt i tre kapitler, som hver især svarer på de tre underspørgsmål.

I den første del af analysen er Aalborg Kommunes historie omkring +Bussen identificeret som værende én stor sammenhængende og omfangsrig historie, der fortæller en historie, der er tilsvarende den historie Aalborg Kommune fortalte omkring letbanen. Derudover er forskellige bagvedliggende diskurser for +Bus historien blevet identificeret som værende:

Aalborgs transformation, bæredygtighed, byudvikling og kollektiv trafik, men den dominante diskurs bag +Bus historien er identificeret som værende vækst. Hertil er det til sidst fundet, at alle parter af +Bus projektgruppen indgår i den samme diskurskoalition, da de fortæller den samme historie omkring +Bussen.

Anden del af analysen indebærer en analyse af Aalborg Kommunes brug af teknikker i sproget i deres storytelling af +Bussen og derigennem en vurdering af, at den dominerende diskurs omkring vækst er blevet struktureret igennem Aalborg Kommunes retorik. Derudover indebærer dette kapitel en analyse af effekten af Aalborg Kommunes storytelling af +Bussen i forhold til deres planlægningspraksisser i lokalplanerne for byområderne omkring linjeføringen af +Bussen. Ud fra dette er det konkluderet, at den dominerende diskurs omkring vækst er blevet institutionaliseret gennem disse praksisser.

I den sidste analyse er magten i Aalborg Kommunes storytelling af +Bussen analyseret. Det er vurderet, at storytellingen af +Bussen har haft en indflydelse på, at investorernes rumforståelse af Aalborg har ændret sig. Kommunens strategiske brug af storytelling er til sidst analyseret med henblik på at skabe en forståelse af kommunens brug af tiltag i storytellingen, og med henblik på at analysere, hvem storytellingen er henvendt til. Analysen viser, at kommunens storytelling særligt er henvendt til investorerne, og at tiltag som at inkorporere historien i fortællingen omkring Aalborgs overordnet udvikling omhandlende vækst, og fortælle om eksempler fra andre byer, hvor de har haft succes med en +Bus løsning, har været med til at styrke +Bussens dominerende diskurs i form af vækst.

Specialet konkluderer på baggrund af de tre analyser, at Aalborg Kommunes storytelling af +Bussen har forstærket den rumlige forståelse af Aalborg, og den dominerende diskurs omkring vækst, ved at rette deres storytelling imod investorerne, inkorporere historien omkring +Bussen i Aalborgs overordnede udvikling og ved at benytte sig af tiltag i deres brug af storytelling.

Preface

This master thesis is constructed in the spring of 2018, from February to June by a 4th semester group from the master programme 'Urban Planning and Management' at Aalborg University.

This thesis is focusing on Aalborg Municipality's storytelling of the +Bus in order to research how it has promoted the +Bus and through that supported its dominant discourse and new spatial understanding of Aalborg.

The group would like to thank Kristian Olesen for constructive and supportive feedback as the project group's supervisor throughout the project period.

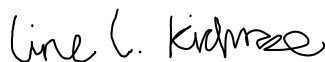
Further, the group would like to thank following actors for participating in interviews: Anne Juel Andersen, Planner from Aalborg Municipality, Mette Olesen, Project Manager from Nordjyllandstrafikskelskab, and Jens Mogensen, Traffic planner from the North Denmark Region.

Reading Guide

The group will use the reference style of the Harvard method, which means that the source will be written as; [Surname, Year] or just with a reference to the authors name as; surname [Year]. The references for quotes from the interviews will be referenced as: [Surname, Year, Time in Transcription]. The references will be presented alphabetically in a bibliography in the end of the project.

Models, tables, and figures will be numbered according to the chapter they are part of.

The picture on the front page is taken from: Unleash [2016].



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Introduction 1

From 1900-1970 the city of Aalborg was an industrial city, where especially the harbour played an important role [Jensen and Bøcker, 2011]. Factories such as yards and cement factories arose, and Aalborg became a city dominated by heavy industry, from where it got the name: "Denmark's City of Labour" [Jensen and Bøcker, 2011]. The identity and the departure of development became the industry from 1900-1970, but in 1959 this started changing, because the harbour was moved from the city centre further out east to the Greenland Harbour [Jensen and Bøcker, 2011]. This relocation of the industrial harbour opened an opportunity for the planning of the city of Aalborg, as the area around the central harbour became available [Jensen and Bøcker, 2011].

In the 1970s a focus on urban renewal arose, and together with the availability of the central areas in the harbour front in Aalborg city centre, this led to a change in the way the city was planned [Jensen and Bøcker, 2011]. The city centre now changed from containing industrial factories to instead containing recreational areas. Further, the university was established in 1974 and in 1992 Aalborg Municipality bought the harbour front to transform it into areas with a focus on recreation [Jensen and Bøcker, 2011]. Through the 1990s, different initiatives arose in Aalborg city centre focusing on developing and planning for the qualities in the spaces in the city, and with an emphasis on developing Aalborg as a knowledge city instead of the industrial city, it was known as before [Jensen and Bøcker, 2011]. Aalborg Municipality thereby started in the 1990s to create a story about the transition of Aalborg from an industrial to a knowledge city. This story can be argued to have grown into an overall accepted story of Aalborg in transition, used by Aalborg Municipality as a greater story to understand the development of Aalborg within. From the millennium, the development in Aalborg towards a knowledge city accelerated as the municipality started the renewal on the harbour front, and started the process of using the old building of Nordkraft as a centre of culture [Jensen and Bøcker, 2011]. Other projects like the reorganisation of Havnevej in 2006, the construction of Utzon Centre, and the establishing of the Music House have all contributed to the story of the transition from the city of Aalborg moving from an industrial city to a knowledge city [Jensen and Bøcker, 2011]. These projects and the changes of Aalborg city have all been related to and been part of creating the overall story of Aalborg in transition from an industrial to a knowledge city.

This development in Aalborg with several beacons, as a way to illustrate the story of the transition from an industrial to a knowledge city, has been illustrated in figure 1.1, which presents the rationalities behind urban development projects in Aalborg after World War II until today.

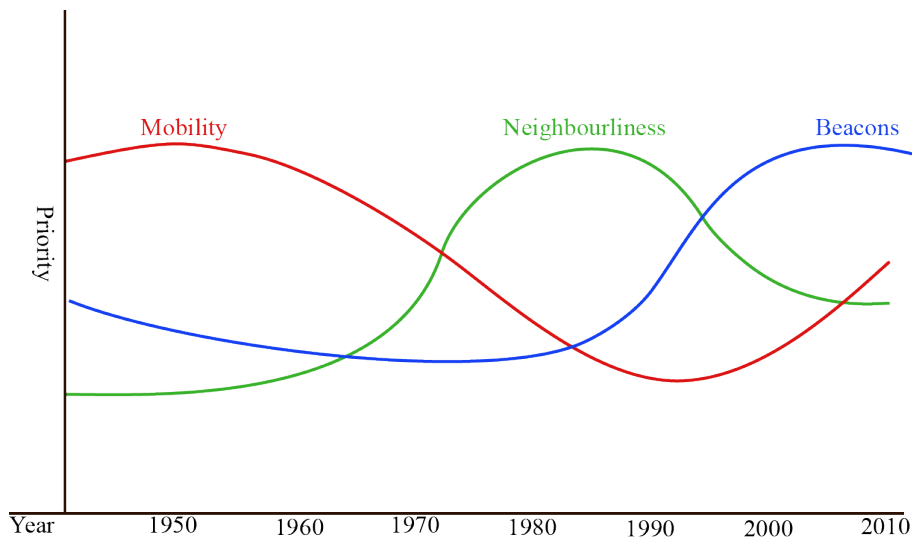


Figure 1.1: The rationalities for urban development projects in Aalborg [Andersen, 2013]

After World War II mobility was the rationality for urban projects, as the accessibility of the cars and political agendas became realised through urban planning [Andersen, 2013]. Both the means and the goals in this rationality of mobility thereby becomes growth, as the focus in that time was growth in the city through planning [Andersen, 2013]. After the oil crisis in 1973, the rationality of urban projects changed in Aalborg, as the emphasis in planning became 'neighbourliness' through a focus on decentralisation and local communities [Andersen, 2013]. The focus became to create a city centre with local communities and room for the pedestrians [Andersen, 2013]. From the 1990s and the 2000s, the focus changed again, as beacons throughout the city became the rationality of urban projects [Andersen, 2013]. This resembles with the development described above about projects like Nordkraft, the harbour front, and the Utzon Centre being established. The interesting thing is, however, that figure 1.1 shows, that the wave of mobility is rising again, which means that mobility, as being the rationality of urban project, has regained territory, and can today be considered as a rationality behind urban projects in Aalborg.

The connection between mobility, urban development and urban spaces is elaborated by Jensen and Richardson [2004], where they argue, that mobility has a great impact on urban spaces. Further, it is argued that mobility, in the shape of light rails, effects the urban development in cities [Olesen, 2014]. Mobility can thereby be argued as being a rationality for urban projects today as well as it was after World War II Andersen [2013]. Based on former thoughts, this project will investigate a case study of storytelling of the +Bus. It is a project in Aalborg Municipality about a high class transportation system, which does not just concern mobility, but also the implementation of the vision of Aalborg Municipality through storytelling, of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg city.

Aalborg Municipality's vision for Aalborg city is created in connection to the focus of the growth axis in Aalborg, which supports and tells the overall story of a transition from an industrial to a knowledge city. It was first presented in the planning strategy for Aalborg Municipality in 2011 [Aalborg Municipality, 2012]. The growth axis of Aalborg is told by the municipality to be the core of growth and development in Aalborg city.

Geographically it reaches from the airport in the north western part of the city to the harbour in the south eastern part of city, and it shows how Aalborg Municipality spatially wants the city of Aalborg to be understood [Aalborg Municipality, 2012]. The growth axis is illustrated in figure 1.1.

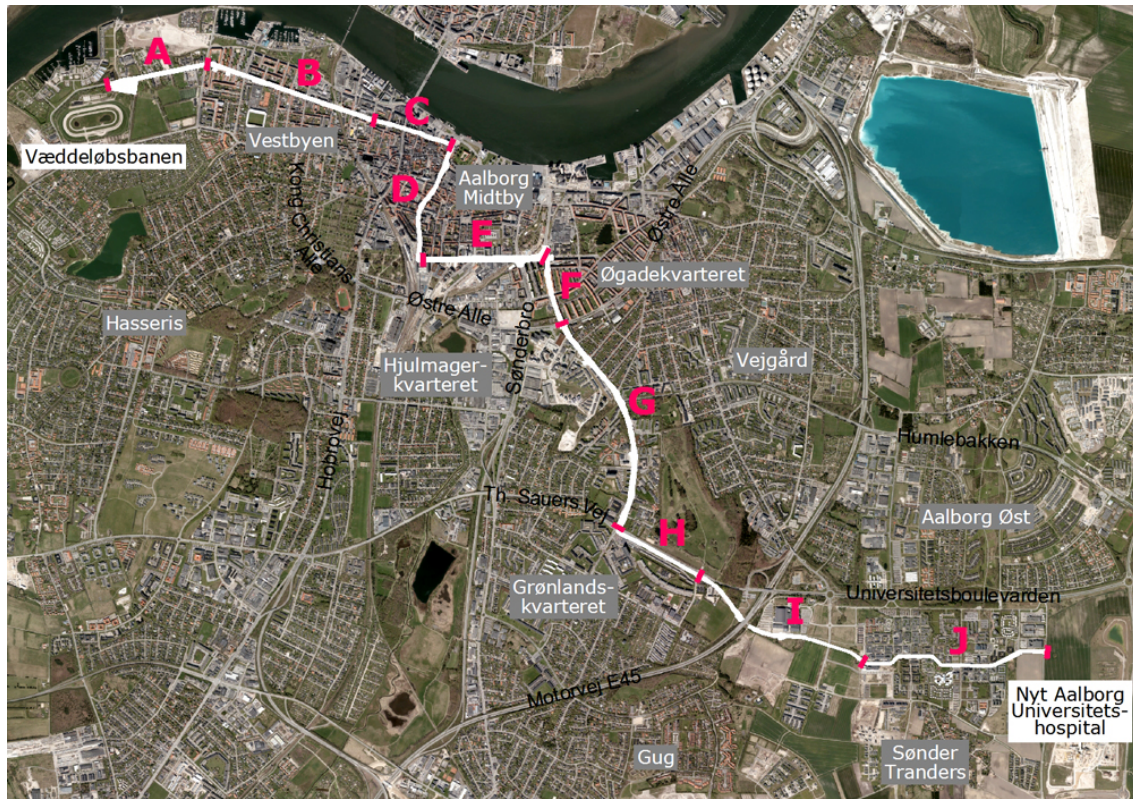


Map 1.1: The growth axis of Aalborg [Nordjyske, 2015b]

Along the axis, different development project are being established or has already been established. Examples on these are beacons such as: The harbourfront of Nørresundby and Aalborg, Nordkraft, Karolinelund, Utzon Centre, Eternitten, the university, the Super Hospital etc. [Aalborg Municipality, 2012]. Aalborg Municipality is using the growth axis as an illustrative driving force for growth and to support the discourse of Aalborg in transition from an industrial to a knowledge city [Aalborg Municipality, 2012]. Aalborg Municipality has a focus on the traffic within the city, where they tell the story about a new and sustainable traffic solution being necessary in Aalborg city along the growth axis as the pressure on the car traffic is heavy [Aalborg Municipality, 2012]. Aalborg Municipality also argues that the growth axis is supporting the future development of Aalborg city as an attractive 'tough little city', and it should keep the identity as diverse, sustainable, and rich in nature [Aalborg Municipality, 2012]. Aalborg Municipality thereby wants to focus on developing along the growth axis and tell the story of Aalborg as being diverse in both the character and the people who live there [Aalborg Municipality, 2012].

From the story of this growth axis and Aalborg Municipality's discourse of Aalborg going through a transition from an industrial to a knowledge city, Aalborg Municipality has created a vision for Aalborg city. The vision builds on the story described before about the growth axis, that this distance along the growth axis should be the new spatial understanding of Aalborg. In Aalborg Municipality's strategy of the city centre in Aalborg,

they also argue, that the city centre should be more connected, the different areas should have stronger identities, and it should be sustainable to travel through the city [Aalborg Municipality, 2018d]. Aalborg Municipality thereby creates a vision about a new spatial understanding of Aalborg city, through their story of the development in Aalborg following the growth axis and the city of Aalborg being more connected with strong individual identities. The understanding of Aalborg should thereby be changed from being small and compact, to instead becoming polycentric, as illustrated on map 1.2, which shows the alignment of the +Bus divided in different centres symbolised with letters from A-J.



Map 1.2: The polycentric structure of Aalborg, created by the +Bus [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a]

The implementation of this vision in Aalborg is going to be investigated in this project through a case study of storytelling of the +Bus. The +Bus has been chosen as a case, as it represents a transportation system, which can support this vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg city. Firstly, the route will run along the growth axis and secondly, taking the former argumentation of mobility supporting urban projects in relation, then this form of mobility in the shape of the +Bus can help provide urban development along the route and not just be considered as a transportation system through the use of storytelling. Considering the rationalities of urban projects, the +Bus thereby becomes interesting, as it can be considered as being the rationality of the urban projects. Furthermore, the +Bus will in this project be a catalyst for the vision of a new spatial understanding from Aalborg Municipality through a reinforcement of a dominant discourse.

As elaborated earlier, then Aalborg Municipality has used storytelling in the justification of urban projects in connection to the overall story of Aalborg being in a transition from

an industrial to a knowledge city. A case study of storytelling of the +Bus will be carried out, in this project, to understand how Aalborg Municipality adds value to the +Bus to make it fulfil the role of not just being a transportation system, but a rationality for urban development as well, and a reinforcement of a dominant discourse of Aalborg. The +Bus case can thereby be understood as another development project in Aalborg, which will be told in the greater context of the discourse of Aalborg going from an industrial to a knowledge city.

Based on these reflection, a main research question has been devised along with three sub-question, which will be presented in the next section.

1.1 Research Question

In perspective of the reflections about Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling in relation to urban development projects in Aalborg, this project will answer the following research question:

How is Aalborg Municipality using storytelling of the +Bus to reinforce their dominating discourse and their vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg City?

To be able to answer the main research question, following sub-questions have been devised:

- What are Aalborg Municipality's stories of the +Bus and what is the dominating discourse behind these stories?
- How does Aalborg Municipality carry out the storytelling of the +Bus and which effect does it have on the planning practices in Aalborg Municipality?
- How is the power of storytelling influencing the spatial understanding and reinforcing the dominant discourse of Aalborg?

1.2 Project Structure

This project aims to investigate the connection between the use of powerful storytelling and a dominant discourse, and thereby research how the power possessed in storytelling of a phenomenon can be used to reinforce a dominant discourse. It will be researched through the case study of storytelling of the +Bus in Aalborg city and used to understand how storytelling conducted by Aalborg Municipality has reinforced a dominant discourse, and catalysed a new spatial understanding of Aalborg city.

This introduction concerns the overall story of the transition of Aalborg from an industrial to a knowledge city, which creates a frame for the further research of the project. This introduction has presented the main research question and sub-questions of the project. In chapter 2 the literature review will be presented with a focus on each of the four concepts of the review; storytelling, power, discourse, and spatiality, and the connection between them. Through the investigation of the relation between the four concepts in the chapter, it will end out in a theoretical framework describing how this project understands

and uses the four concepts, and how they are connected, which will be illustrated in a theoretical framework model. The following chapter 3 will concern how the research methodologically will answer the main research question of the project through an analysis of storytelling of the +Bus. The chapter will contain a reflection of the scientific approach of the project which take point of departure in the understanding from the theoretical framework. Further, the research design and the method of case study will be presented along with a presentation of the analytical framework of the project to specify how the analysis methodologically will be carried out. Lastly, the data generating methods used in the project, in the shape of document analysis and interviews, will be presented along with a critical reflection of the project measured through the validity and reliability of the project.

The analysis of the project will be divided in three chapter; 4, 5, and 6, where each of them aim to answer the sub-question associated to the chapter. Chapter 4 will contain an analysis of the story of the +Bus and the dominating discourse behind them. This analysis will be carried out by an identification of storylines, metaphors, stories, and in the end the dominating discourse behind the story. Chapter 5 will afterwards analyse Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling of the +Bus and the effect, this storytelling has had on the planning practices in Aalborg Municipality. It will be done in the perspective of discourse analysis theory, as it will analyse if the dominant discourse has been structured through the language, the municipality use in storytelling, and if the dominant discourse has been institutionalised analysed through the effect of the storytelling of the +Bus in local plans in Aalborg.

The last chapter 6 of the analysis will then analyse the power of using storytelling and how this has influenced developers' conception of the spatial understanding of Aalborg. Afterwards, the power in the strategic use of storytelling will be analysed and finally, the connection between the power in storytelling of the +Bus and the dominating discourse, will be elaborated. Chapter 7, following the analysis chapters, will contain a discussion of the findings in the analysis discussing storytelling as a planning tool, and to what extent Aalborg Municipality use it in a democratic way. Chapter 8 will then present the conclusion of the project by following the structure of the project and through that answering the main research question of the project. Afterwards, chapter 9 will end the project through a reflection about how the storytelling of the +Bus can be further researched in the following steps of the process of the implementation of the +Bus.

Literature Review 2

In the following chapter, the aim is to create a theoretical framework to understand how the power of using storytelling can reinforce a dominant discourse and become a catalyst for a vision about a new spatial understanding. The theoretical framework will be created based on the four concepts of the literature review; storytelling, power, discourse, and spatiality, which will be investigated individually and in relation to each other. Through the concepts of storytelling and power, it will be addressed how the tool of storytelling possesses power through persuasive language and the strategic use. Furthermore, the concept of discourse will be presented as the connection between storytelling and power, as it is through a discourse analysis that the power of the storytelling can be revealed. Finally, the concept of spatiality will be elaborated in perspective of being the spatial embodiment of the project, and through that investigate how the power of storytelling, investigated through discourses, can change the space with a city. The chapter will end in a theoretical framework connecting the different concepts and their influence on each other to highlight the theoretical understanding, which will be acknowledged throughout this project.

2.1 Storytelling

Through the last decades, stories, along with storytelling, have become an essential part of modern urban planning. Until then, planning has mainly been dominated by 'just-the-facts', which caused that planning processes were technical and based on tools such as surveys [Throgmorton, 1993]. Throgmorton continues by arguing that this 'just-the-facts'-ideal caused that language and rhetoric were not considered as important, but only as a tool to transmit the logic of the argument. On the other hand, through the new perspective in planning of stories and storytelling; discourse, language, and rhetoric are in focus in the understanding of the cities and most importantly the behaviour of people living in the cities, who are being planned for [Throgmorton, 1992].

This section will address the first concept of the literature review; storytelling. Today, storytelling is essential in planning because as Throgmorton, one of the first theorists who addressed storytelling, argues, then good planning is "*persuasive storytelling about the future*" [Throgmorton, 1992, p. 17]. Additionally, [Sandercock, 2003, p. 12] points out that "*planning is performed through story, in a myriad of ways*", which makes storytelling an unavoidable tool in planning and therefore essential to research. In the following section storytelling in planning will be addressed as the main concept of the theoretical framework. Additionally, a definition of stories and the power of storytelling will be provided.

2.1.1 Storytelling in Planning

Storytelling in planning can be understood in different ways. As previously written Throgmorton [1993] sees planning as persuasive storytelling, while Sandercock [2003] understands storytelling as one of the tools in planning which is supportive to other planning practices.

According to Schön [1993] stories are drawn on the language of problem-setting, and "*set out a view of what is wrong and what needs fixing*" [Schön, 1993, p. 144], which causes that storytelling often is used for solving problems [Sandercock, 2003]. In the perspective of social constructivism, contrary this also means that the stories are based on self-constructed problems and self-constructed definitions of what is considered as wrong and something which must be fixed. It can thereby be stated that storytelling not only should be considered as a problem-solver but as a problem-creator too.

In the perspective of being related to problems, storytelling can be used in a variety of settings, but will in this project be understood in perspective of being used as a catalyst for changes. To achieve changes, planners must meet the following steps of:

- Telling the story public, so actors will accept its power as well as pain.
- Creating a compromise to settle differences of the actors.
- Creating a ceremony marking the beginning of something new.
- Creating a common commitment of the locals to make them believe in the change, and be willing to act upon it. [Sandercock, 2003]

One way, stories can be a catalyst for change is by being inspiration to citizens from other people, who have been dealing with the same issues or conflicts, in the aim of making the citizens reflect on the stories in the perspective of their own issues [Sandercock, 2003]. Additionally, it can be used as imagination for how the situation could be different. Forester [2000] points out that stories can be used to remind people of what is important, and that they can bring hope to people by visualising possibilities. In these cases, it is the job of planners to judge which stories are the right ones to tell in which situations.

Regardless the situation in which storytelling is used, it is not a planning activity which stands by itself, but it supports others and is only a part of the planning process [Hulst, 2003]. Usually, storytelling is used to make sense of situations by being a tool through which planners and actors can express their values and meanings.

Definition of Story

Despite Throgmorton [1993]'s definition of storytelling can be found everywhere, Riessman [2008] contrary argues that it is not right to consider everything as a story. According to Chatman [1980], a story is a telling of something which happened to an actor or a character. The stories should take point of origin in an event and the actors involved, and it should emplot the past by connecting stories so they form a coherent whole. A plan for instance is not a story in itself. Stories can be told through plans because the author or planner behind the plans are influencing content of the plans by their own interpretations [Hulst, 2003].

Stories in planning are comparable to the stories in fiction. They are something invented rather than the truth [Sandercock, 2003]. They connect a range of meanings from inventions, exemplars and anecdotes. In the most developed and persuasive form, stories in planning consist of several properties. As Sandercock [2003] points out, a story must include a dramatic tension structured by a beginning, middle and an ending. Additionally, Sandercock [2003] and Throgmorton [1993] both argue that a story must include coherence to structure a flow of actions including conflicts, resolutions, and crisis, rather than just listing these elements. Furthermore, the language must consist of imagery and rhythms, which can explain a certain situation and must finally must have the potential to be generalised [Throgmorton, 1993].

Furthermore, a good story is explained to be true, rich, unified, congruent and consistent [Kaplan, 1986]. The best stories take point of departure in the narrative rationality or fundamental story, and humans have the ability to recognise the coherence and fidelity of these stories [Fisher, 1987; Sandercock, 2003]. Regarding the coherence, it means that humans recognise the structural coherence of the stories, the stories' capability of dealing with issues and counter arguments, and finally, the reliability of the stories' narrators and characters [Fisher, 1987]. Furthermore, Dunstan and Sarkissian [1994] argue that stories are not just told, they are being lived by the storytellers at the same time. Therefore, stories are told as a reflection of the storytellers own life, previous behaviour, and other people's comments to the storytellers life. In perspective of being a planning practice, it is therefore important to acknowledge the planners, politicians and other decision-makers behind the stories.

2.1.2 Powerful Techniques in Storytelling

The connection between storytelling and power is elaborated by many theorists, but especially Sandercock focus on this, when she states, that *"[w]e need to be attentive to how power shapes, which stories get told, get heard, carry weight. (...) I believe that a better understanding of the role of stories can make us more effective as planning practitioners, irrespective of the substantive field of planning."* [Sandercock, 2003, p. 12]. Sandercock explains that power is part of shaping and understanding the stories, and by understanding the power behind the stories, it makes planners more effective [Sandercock, 2003]. To get a better understanding of the concept of power, the following will address the relation between power and storytelling in planning both the techniques and initiatives.

Power of Language

When researching the power of storytelling, the language and the techniques within it, must be considered. Especially, Throgmorton focus on planning tropes, and how they give power to a story, but also Hajer elaborates on power of language by stating that *"[l]anguage has the capacity to make politics, to create signs and symbols that can shift power balances and that can impact on institutions and policy-making"* [Hajer, 2006, p. 67]. Power thereby becomes important and relevant in storytelling not just through the telling of the stories, but also through the language creating the stories. This kind of power through language also resembles to the indirect and manipulative power, as the power behind the language of a story is being used both indirectly and manipulatively to persuade people of their

story.

As explained earlier, Throgmorton addresses good planning as "*persuasive storytelling of the future*" [Throgmorton, 1992, p. 17]. In this persuasive storytelling, tropes are used to make the stories more persuasive and thereby make them more powerful [Throgmorton, 1993]. Tropes are essential in the imagery and the rhythm of the language and are different kinds of figurative language, where other words than the literal once are used [Throgmorton, 1992]. Examples of planning tropes are: *metonymy*, which are used to replace an expression with another with the same meaning, *synecdoche*, words that replace the whole, *metaphors*, and *irony*. When these four tropes are combined into a plan, then it becomes a part of creating a persuasive story. Throgmorton [1993] further argues that planners choose what character they want to be through the language, they use in their stories. He argues that rhetoric and tropes are well connected to narratives because they are constitutive. The connection between the narrative and the tropes is, according to Throgmorton [1993], that the narratives create the context for the tropes, and the tropes 'supply' the narratives with persuasive power through the figure of speech and arguments. This means that "*narratives provide planning discourse with figures that connect characters with communities*" [Throgmorton, 1993, p. 336].

Furthermore, the communication of future oriented stories has by multiple theorists been discussed. Macintyre [1981], Throgmorton [1992], and Sandercock [2003] argue that the stories, besides being told or written in words, can be found in a non-narrative style too. According to Throgmorton [1993] and Sandercock [2003], stories can be found in maps, graphs, pictures, and models, because no such thing as true facts exist, for which reason "*planners should think of surveys, models, and forecasts as rhetorical tropes or as figures of speech and argument that give meaning and power to the larger narratives of which they are part of*" [Throgmorton, 1993, p. 335]. Throgmorton [1993] states that planners should not avoid hard arguments or technical skills like surveys, models etc. but instead understand how they work tropally, to be able to design and read them [Throgmorton, 1993]. Additionally, in the use of surveys, models and other hard arguments, it is even more essential to consider the power of people's different interpretations of them [Sandercock, 2003; Throgmorton, 1992; Macintyre, 1981]. Audience should be considered as joint-authors due to the 'writing', they add to the stories through individual interpretations [Sandercock, 2003].

Besides people's interpretation, the authors' use of hard arguments are essential to consider too. Behind all hard arguments, there is always an author who has decided what should and should not be included, what is relevant and should count, and finally how it should be presented. Furthermore, hard arguments are often presented as 'true facts' which makes it a political and manipulative tool of language [Throgmorton, 1993]. Contrary, it is argued that the style and the content cannot be separated, and some stories and understandings of the world, can only be communicated through stories [Nussbaum, 1990].

The connection of storytelling and power through the use of techniques, related to the language of the stories are therefore essential to consider in the analysis of stories. In the following subsection, the power of using initiatives in storytelling will be addressed.

2.1.3 Power of Storytelling

According to Sandercock [2003], there are multiple ways to analyse the use of stories. Overall she points out the importance of considering the concept of power in the analysis to understand why certain stories are being told, while others are not. Furthermore, the telling of the stories, how they are heard and weighted are shaped by power too. Power must be understood to recognise the conscious and unconscious use of plots and character types. By understanding the power dimensions and the role stories play, planners can become better and more effective as planning practitioners [Sandercock, 2003].

In the analysis of storytelling, it is essential to be critical towards power too. When analysing stories and storytelling, Hulst [2003] asks two questions: “*who wants this story to be true or come true, and why?*” [Hulst, 2003]. It is essential to pay attention to who the tellers and decision-makers of the stories are. The storytellers in planning are often the planners on behalf of politicians or other decision-makers, and as Forester [1999] points out, the stories always tell a lot about the authors. In the stories, the writers’ points of views and understandings of the world will always be reflected in the stories. Additionally, it is important to be aware of the influence of politics. In general, there is a positive understanding of storytelling as it is understood as being a tool which can be used to increase democracy, as people can express their own stories and understandings of a situation through it. Despite this positive understanding of storytelling, Hulst [2003] argues that storytelling always is used in a political perspective and used in a certain purpose to persuade decision-makers and actors. The political process must therefore be understood when analysing stories and storytelling and additionally for what purpose the story is told, and why a certain story is dominating [Hulst, 2003]. When aiming for understanding why certain stories are dominating, it is therefore important not only to consider what is a part of the story, but also to consider what is not a part of the story [Hulst, 2003].

Hulst [2003] points out two essential things to look for when analysing storytelling in planning:

- How storytelling is a part of a political process, and how stories compete for being the winner of most attention
- How storytelling relates to other political activities [Hulst, 2003].

Another place where power becomes important in storytelling is according to Sandercock when dealing with changes [Sandercock, 2003], as they can be used as a catalyst for change [Sandercock, 2003]. She argues that planners must tell successful stories as inspirations to people, who then acts according to these stories [Sandercock, 2003]. She states that “*[t]his ‘organizing of hope’ is one of our fundamental tasks as planners, and one of our weapons in that battle is the use of success stories, and the ability to tell those stories well, meaningfully, in a way that does indeed inspire others to act.*” [Sandercock, 2003, p. 18]. She acknowledges that planners have a ‘weapon’ in the shape of success stories, and this ‘weapon’ can be argued of containing power in the shape of both indirect power and manipulation. It can be reflected as an exercise of power by the planner where they can manipulate people to do something, they potentially would not have considered doing in the first place. In this way, storytelling can be used as a catalyst of change. Power is

thereby essential to research in the analysis of storytelling to understand its persuasiveness and influence on people, and how it can work as a catalyst of change through storytelling.

To elaborate further on the concept of power in storytelling, it is essential to look into power in perspective of political decisions and acts. Sandercock states that *"[t]he telling of stories is nothing less than a profoundly political act"* [Sandercock, 2003, p. 26]. Throgmorton continues by arguing that *"(...) planning tools become political instruments to achieve political ends (...)"* [Throgmorton, 1993, p. 334], to which Hulst emphasises that *"(...)we should see storytelling as a politically relevant planning activity(...)"* [Hulst, 2003, p. 313]. They each focus on the fact, that storytelling becomes powerful because it either leads to a political act, or because a political act or decision is the purpose of the storytelling. When dealing with the concept of power and political decision-making, it is relevant to include the theory of Bent Flyvbjerg of 'Power and Rationality'.

2.2 Power

In the following section the concept of power will be presented. Power will in this project be understood in perspective of storytelling, as presented in the previous subsection 2.1.2 and 2.1.3. In continuation of power in perspective of storytelling, this section will create an understanding of how the power and rationality behind political decisions and stories work. The understanding will be created based on Flyvbjerg [1998]'s most relevant propositions, that work as guidelines for investigating rationality and power.

The first proposition from Flyvbjerg is that *'Power defines reality'* [Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 227], as he states, that: *"(...) power defines what counts as rationality and knowledge and thereby what counts as reality"* [Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 227]. Through that he explains, that it is through interpretation of reality, that power defines reality, which is consistent with the view of both Sandercock and Hulst, as they argue, that stories are a political act, where the politicians becomes the powerful actors, who define the reality through their stories [Sandercock, 2003; Hulst, 2003]. Flyvbjerg further argues that *'Rationality is context-dependent, the context of rationality is power, and power blurs the dividing line between rationality and rationalization'* [Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 227]. He highlights here, that rationality is context-dependent, and the context is power, as power does not make sense to separate from rationality [Flyvbjerg, 1998]. By rationality is meant the logic and common sense behind a decision, and when Flyvbjerg argues, that rationality is context-dependent on power, then it relates to Hulst's perspective of storytelling being not just an increasing of democracy, but a tool to persuade decision-makers and actors in politics [Hulst, 2003].

In continuation of Flyvbjerg's point about rationality he also talks about the relationship between rationalisation, rationality and power, as he states that *'Rationalization presented as rationality is a principal strategy in the exercise of power'* [Flyvbjerg, 1998, p., 228]. Flyvbjerg differentiates between rationalisation and rationality in his theory, where rationality, as explained before, is the logic of arguments, and rationalisation is the justification behind the logic of the arguments [Flyvbjerg, 1998]. So, actors are able to rationalise a decision even though it is not the most rational one. Flyvbjerg argues, that rationalisation presented as rationality is a deliberate action to enable power [Flyvbjerg, 1998]. He uses the reference of the front-back relationship examined by Goffmann

to explain, that rationality is dominating upfront, while power and rationalisation are dominating backstage, which means that actors rationalise their rationality in their own interest [Flyvbjerg, 1998]. This becomes clear in the concept of storytelling, when Throgmorton talks about the persuasive storytelling, as he express ways of rationalising rationalities through stories. It further has great relevance to this project to understand that it is not always the logic argument that lies behind a choice or story, but instead the rationalisation of it, which could be argued of being the storytelling. This leads to Flyvbjergs other proposition, where he says that *'The greater the power, the less the rationality'* [Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 229]. He argues, the more power you have, the less reason or logic you need, when he states following: *"The greater the power, the greater the freedom in this respect, and the less need for power to understand how reality is "really" constructed."* [Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 229]. This perception is, especially by Flyvbjerg, considered in connection to politics and political acts, and is an example of e.g. how an actor, telling a story, can have so much power, that the story loses its rationality and instead emphasises the actor's agenda.

The final proposition from Flyvbjerg is that *'The power of rationality is embedded in stable power relations rather than in confrontations'* [Flyvbjerg, 1998, p. 233] Flyvbjerg argues, that in open confrontations the power of rationality is almost nonexistent, because rationality, or the logic of arguments give in for power in open confrontation [Flyvbjerg, 1998]. This means, according to Flyvbjerg, that the power of rationality achieves the highest yield in stable power relations [Flyvbjerg, 1998]. In relation to storytelling this proposition becomes interesting as it, according to Flyvbjerg, makes sense to assert the power of rationality in stories to explore the power relations behind the stories. In relation to this project, an open confrontation is not the case, and it thereby becomes relevant to consider that rationality and the power of it plays an important role in the stories from the stable power relations.

The theory of power and rationality by Flyvbjerg becomes relevant to this project, when considering power and storytelling as two interlinked concepts that support and affect each other. Flyvbjerg, however, has stated, as a criticism to Throgmortons theory of storytelling, that *"(...) power has a rationality that rationality does not know; power, not stories, is what matters"* [Throgmorton, 2003, p. 1]. Flyvbjerg thereby argues, as elaborated on through the relevant propositions, that power is always dominant and present, and you cannot avoid power through a communicative rational process like storytelling [Throgmorton, 2003]. Throgmorton responds to this, by arguing that he thinks of the stories in a larger context. Especially when transforming stories into narratives, that are easier to tell, then Throgmorton argues, that the construction of these narratives becomes political [Throgmorton, 2003]. Throgmorton further defends himself towards Flyvbjerg by talking about representational power, where he highlights the importance of asking about who has the power to make certain decisions about the stories [Throgmorton, 2003]. This focus of representational power is not just highlighted by Throgmorton in storytelling, but also Forester and Van Hulst pay attention to who the tellers and the decision-makers of the stories are. Thereby, they also pay attention to the power that lies in the authors' position, but also the political context of storytelling, which influences the stories, and thereby must be understood, to understand the stories and the storytelling of it [Forester, 1999; Hulst, 2003]. These statements from different theorists regarding

the concept of storytelling helps combine the concept of power and storytelling in this project. Throgmorton also ends up concluding, that his work and Flyvbjergs work are quite similar, as he argues, that Flyvbjerg uses many of the same tools as himself in his theory [Throgmorton, 2003]. Throgmorton thereby states that *"Flyvbjerg has told a persuasive story that (necessarily) has a political purpose: to convince its readers that planning is political and that planners must learn to be more effective in the political arena"* [Throgmorton, 2003, p. 11]. This quote becomes relevant in the project as a way to combine the concept of power and storytelling, because it illustrates, how power is affecting storytelling through the decisions and relations behind the story, and vice versa, how storytelling affects power relations through a persuasive discourse that convince people of their point of view.

2.2.1 The Connection Between Storytelling and Power

As described in the two previous sections, then storytelling and power are closely connected. In this project, the understanding of Throgmorton [1992], that planning is storytelling, is accepted as planners are performing storytelling rather they are aware of it or not. Additionally, storytelling is understood as a strategic planning tool, which planners actively can use to make changes and solve problems, as it possesses the power to change and shape people's understanding of a situation.

To understand the power of storytelling, the use of language and the techniques within it must be considered. In the understanding of language and words, the tropes of Throgmorton will be taken into account focusing on mainly the use of metaphors. They provide persuasiveness or in other words, power, to statements as they support the visualisation of the stories.

Regarding power of storytelling, then it is essential to understand, what the purpose of telling the story is. Despite being a democratic tool, through which people can express their understandings of a situation, indirect and manipulative power can be performed through storytelling too. It is thereby important, in this project, to understand, who is telling the story, of which reason it is told, and understand why a certain story has become dominant. The power of the author must additionally be considered because storytelling is never neutral and is always influenced by the authors behind it, whether it is planners, citizens or politicians. Storytelling will therefore be considered as a strategic, political, and powerful tool, of which reason storytelling, in the perspective of power, is understood as being convincing, influencing, and manipulative. Additionally, it can be stated that storytelling is a strategic tool through which planners can justify the rationalities of their planning. Within that, power of storytelling is understood as the rationalisation.

In the aim of understanding why a certain story is dominating, the following section will address the theory of discourses, as discourses can provide an understanding of why stories are created, and reveal the power in storytelling through a discourse analysis.

2.3 Discourse

As presented in the previous sections, discourses play an essential role in the creation of stories and. Discourse analysis further works as a way to reveal the power relations and is

understood as the understandings that lies behind the stories. Of this reason, the following section will concern the concept of discourse and discourse analysis in relation to Hajer [2006]'s perspective.

One of the first theorists to write about discourses was Foucault [1972] in his book *'The Archaeology of Knowledge'* but without giving a specific definition of the term *discourse*. According to Lessa, Foucault refers to discourses as *"systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of actions, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which [people] speak"* [Lessa, 2006, p. 285]. Hajer [2005] continues by describing discourses *"as an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices"* [Hajer, 2006, p. 67], whereby he argues that world views and discourses over time are produced and reproduced through practices. The project will adopt the understanding and analysis of discourses from Hajer, who explains that discourse analysis is useful when analysing policy making or politics happen. Additionally, it can be used to understand how the occurrence of strategies, discourses, cognition, political changes and change of institutional behaviours happen [Hajer, 2006].

Hajer is an advocate of the argumentative turn in policy making and analyses, which involves a new view of planning, as explained in the introduction of the chapter. He emphasises that planning is driven by values and embedded in the context in which it is carried out [Hajer, 2006]. Analyses, which take this perspective of planning into account including the consideration of persuasion and argumentation, aim to *"reconstruct what policy analysts do when they do it, to understand how their findings and advice are communicated, and how such advice is understood and employed by those who receive it"* [Fischer and Gottweis, 2012, p. 3]. Therefore, it is relevant to analyse storytelling in perspective of a discourse analysis, because by considering the context in which the storytelling is created, it provides an understanding of why and how the storytelling has been carried out, and finally how it is understood and employed by those the storytelling is directed to. Contrary, Hajer [2006] argues that an analysis of the context in which the storytelling is told, also requires an analysis of storytelling as a discursive construction along with, stories, storylines and metaphors in a socio-historical perspective. Through the socio-historical perspective, this project obtains an understanding of the context in which discursive constructions have been produced, which allows this project to understand how the discursive construction of meanings has emerged from political practices [Hajer, 2006]. In the aim of analysing politicians' persuasive use of storytelling, the discourse analysis looks into which policy argumentation, which the used language consists of [Fischer and Gottweis, 2012], to identify the constructed nature of the stories. This approach to stories are shaped by a basic assumption in discourse analysis that *"language profoundly shapes our view of the world and reality, instead of being merely a neutral medium mirroring it"* [Hajer, 2006, p. 66].

To carry out a discourse analysis, there are three concepts, according to Hajer [2006]; *metaphors*, *storylines* and *stories* which can help illuminate discourses. According to Hajer [2006] a metaphor is a cover for something else, and it is argued that *"the essence of metaphors is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in term of another"* [Johnson and Lakoff, 1981, p. 6]. As explained in section 2.1, Throgmorton [1992] points

out that the use of metaphors combined with the other three tropes; metonymy, synecdoche and irony are important in the creation of persuasive discourses. To this, he lastly argues that planners are the “*authors who write persuasive stories about the future*” [Throgmorton, 1992, p. 19] which creates persuasive discourses.

Metaphors are used in storylines to “*refer to a condensed form of narrative*” [Hajer, 2005, p. 302] and are often used as a cover of something which is too complex to describe or understand. Storylines are condensed statements which are summarising the context of narratives which people use as ‘short-hand’ in the aim of describing stories in a less complex way. The use of storylines enables people to create a meaningful political intervention despite they never will obtain the full understanding of each other, because the understanding depends on the individual interpretation [Hajer, 2005].

The use of symbolic understandings of metaphors and storylines, compared to writing or speaking in the literal sense, can make stories more powerful [Olesen, 2017; Hajer, 2006]. According to Throgmorton [1993], the power of the tropes and storylines and the individual interpretation, understanding and meaning people create of them, are something planners must pay attention to. Throgmorton states that it is the job of the planners to create public and democratic discourses. In this case, it is the role of the planners to facilitate room for the creation of these democratic discourses of which the planners and others talk openly and coherently about what is right, feasible and good [Throgmorton, 1993]. For the planners to create these discourses, it is essential that they listen to the stories of the audience in the aim of understanding their thoughts and feelings and be prepared for the questions they intent to ask, of which reason the individual interpretation becomes essential [Throgmorton, 1993]. Additionally, Throgmorton points out that planners must embrace persuasive discourses and take them into consideration when analysing data, generated from tools such as surveys, due to the discourses impact on the answers [Throgmorton, 1993]. Finally, besides researching what is said or written, which metaphors and storylines are used, then it is just as important to analyse what is not said or written, as it is in the analysis of storytelling.

The last element to Hajer’s discourse analysis is discourse coalitions. Discourse coalitions are an “*ensemble of storylines, the actors that utter these storylines, and the practices through which these story lines are expressed*” [Hajer, 2005, p. 302]. To this he emphasises essence of considering that storylines cannot be understood outside the context and “*practice in which they are uttered*” [Hajer, 2005, p. 302]. Of these practices, he states that they consist of “*embedded routines and mutually understood rules and norms that provide coherence to social life*” [Hajer, 2005, p. 302].

The advantages of researching the discourse coalitions are its approach of researching the context and practices of storylines [Hajer, 2005]. Through discourse coalitions strategic action can be analysed in the context of specific socio-historical discourse and institutional practices. Practices are additionally important, if planners intent to produce new dominating discourse, as it is not enough to create new storylines. The use of storylines can become a particular way of conceptualising the world, suggest social positions and practices. Dominating discourse coalitions must on the other hand force central actors to accept the rhetorical power of a new discourse also called discourse structuralism. Furthermore, the new discourses should be implemented and reflected

in institutional practices, referred to as discourse institutionalisation [Hajer, 2005]. A discourse structuralism is achieved when a discourse is dominating the way in which a certain social unit such as policy domains, societies or firms conceptualise the world. In this way, the structuration of discourses can be measured by the extent the discourse rhetorically is used by social units. Further, the discourse institutionalisation occur if the discourse solidifies into institutional or organisational practices [Hajer, 2005]. If the discourse both is structured and institutionalised, then the discourse is dominating. In political debates, it is usually not possible to find only one dominating discourse, but ultimately the debate is based on multiple different discourses, including discursive elements drawn on for instance different storylines, which all combined create a whole [Hajer, 2005].

The discourse analysis will take point of departure in Hajer's previously mentioned perspective of discourse analysis, which will be further illustrated and explained in relation to the project in the analytical framework in figure 3.3.

2.3.1 The Connection between Discourses, Storytelling, and Power

As explained in the beginning, then the concept of discourses is included in the literature review to understand the context of the storytelling carried out by planners. In the perspective of Hajer [2006], discourses are understood as an ensemble of ideas, understandings and concepts through which meaning is given to a phenomenon. By understanding what meaning storytellers associate phenomena to, then it can provide an understanding of how storytelling is carried out. Furthermore, discourses are understood as the connection between power and storytelling, as the power of storytelling will be revealed through a discourse analysis.

To obtain this understanding of the storyteller, a discourse analysis will be carried out. Like an analysis of storytelling, a discourse analysis requires that metaphors and storylines will be analysed. In the perspective of the identified metaphors and storylines, practices and events will be analysed, which all together provide an understanding of the worldview and reality of the storytellers or the planners. Afterwards, discourse coalitions are identified, which are the ensembles of the actors, practices, and storylines which support a shared story. The discourse coalitions will in this project be considered as being in position of rhetorical power, also called the discourse structuralism, and in position of the institutional power, referred to as discourse institutionalisation. In perspective of storytelling, then discourse structuralism can be related to the powerful techniques in storytelling, as it concerns how the world is conceptualised, and the language about the phenomenon which the discourse concerns. Additionally, the discourse institutionalisation will in this project concern to what extent the discourses are influencing the institutional practices. Furthermore, the dominating discourse will be understood in perspective of the concept of spatiality, as it occurs if the discourse influences the institutional and organisational practices, which in this project will be understood as political practices, influencing space. Of that reason, the following section will address the last concept, spatiality.

2.4 Spatiality

The former sections have presented the concepts of storytelling, power, and discourses, and shown how these concepts can be used to firstly address stories and secondly reveal and understand the power behind these stories through a discourse analysis. In this connection, the concept of spatiality becomes relevant to research, as the last concept of the literature review. Spatiality can contribute to create an understanding of the space being analysed in the case study, not just as an absolute space, but as a relational space, where the understanding of the space are being interpreted differently by different people through different discourses in planning.

2.4.1 The Concept of Space

To get a better understanding of the concept of space in relation to this project, David Harvey's tripartite division of space will be elaborated. According to Harvey [2008], space can be divided into three different definitions: absolute space, relative space, and relational space. Absolute space is a fixed space, that can be measured and mapped, and it works within a certain frame, and can thereby be understood as a passive arena in which different physical elements interact [Harvey, 2008; Hansen and Simonsen, 2004a]. A criticism of this perception being too descriptive led to the development of the second concept of space; relative space. In the relative concept of space the relation between the geographical objects and the space becomes interesting, as the understanding is, that the relative space only consists because the objects within the space consist [Hansen and Simonsen, 2004a]. Another aspect that becomes important in the relative space concept is time, to which Harvey states that *"[i]t is impossible to understand space independent of time under this formulation and this mandates an important shift of language from space and time to space-time or spatio-temporality"* [Harvey, 2008, p. 272]. Both the concept of absolute and relative space considers the social and the spatial as separate phenomena, but in the third concept of space these phenomena are connected [Hansen and Simonsen, 2004a].

Relational Space

The concept of relational space can be considered as the social space, as the social and the spatial are widely connected, and creates an internal relation [Hansen and Simonsen, 2004a; Harvey, 2008]. The objects within the space affect the space, and the space affects the objects within the space, which means that the objects and space are merged together in this conception of space, as they cannot be separated [Hansen and Simonsen, 2004a]. Harvey explains it as *"an event or a thing at a point in space cannot be understood by appeal to what exists only at that point. It depends upon everything else going on around it (much as all those who enter a room to discuss bring with them a vast array of experiential data accumulated from the world)"* [Harvey, 2008, p. 274]. Additionally in the book *'for space'*, Doreen Massey corresponds with the relational understanding of spaces as she relates identities and spaces: *"(...) identities/entities, the relations 'between' them, and the spatiality which is part of them, are all co-constitutive."* [Massey, 2005, p. 10]. By this, she means, that the essence of the identities is not predetermined, but instead defined by the relations in space [Massey, 2005]. Additionally, Massey reflects on how space is always under construction [Massey, 2005]. She states that *"(...) imagining space*

as always in process, as never a closed system (...)" [Massey, 2005, p. 11]. This ongoing process of space is, according to Massey, because space is being constructed by relations, which also indicates that spaces are individually interpreted and thereby have multiple understandings. She explains the ongoing process of space in following quote: *"Here, then, space is indeed a product of relations (...) and for that to be so there must be multiplicity (...). However, these are not the relations of a coherent, closed system within which, as they say, everything is (already) related to everything else"* [Massey, 2005, p. 11]. In this way space is understood in a relational way, where space becomes constructed through relations, understood as diverse, and works in an open system. This view will be adopted throughout the project.

Through a case study of South African mining compounds, Crush continuously elaborates on how the same space can be understood and interpreted differently according to the person interacting in the space, by which they construct their own understanding of spaces [Crush, 1993]. Even though the compounds illustrated both isolation, capturing, and control, then Crush found out through his case study, that the space of the compounds was formed and characterised by the interchange between the different peoples' knowledge and identity in the compounds, which lead to an understanding of the compounds as a union or 'bond of brotherhood' [Crush, 1993]. This perception relates to Massey's and Harvey's understanding of space being relational and identified through the objects and identities within the space. This case study of Crush [1993] thereby teaches us, that even though the compounds were built to control the workers, then because of the relations between the workers, the discourse of this space became not just suppression, but also social organisation, unionism and brotherhood. This thereby shows, how different spaces can be interpreted differently depending on the ones interpreting it.

This way of thinking of the space in a relational way is relevant for the project, as it plays an important role in urban development projects, and the planning of these. In the case study of the +Bus this way of understanding space as relational becomes important to include, as it brings another aspect to the analysis of the understanding of the spatial planning of the +Bus in Aalborg city centre.

2.4.2 Spatiality, Power and Discourses

Based on the argument that spaces are socially constructed, Flyvbjerg and Richardson [2002] argue that planners, policy-makers and decision-makers possess the power to create a social 'space-time' which means that they *"create or make possible a particular set of practices and knowledge that are specific in both space and time"* [Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002, p. 16]. By making a set of practices possible or impossible, planners are in power of designing social norms of the public's daily life from which people are constructed or manipulated to think and act in a certain way [Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002]. By doing so, the planners become in power of embodying discourses in physical spaces by enabling and disabling specific practices and ways of constructing reality. This allow them to reinforce dominating discourses and power relations through physical spaces in a particular context and time. As explained in section 2.3, the power relations can be identified through a discourse analysis, which will be further elaborated in the following in the perspective of space.

Spatiality and Discourses

Taking point of departure in the definition of space, and how spaces are interpreted differently by everyone in the same way as people interpret metaphors, storylines and stories differently, then the following will elaborate on the relation between space and discourses.

As elaborated by Crush [1993], spatiality is essential to research, because people's understanding of space are individually constructed through conflicts of interests and power struggles [Flyvbjerg and Richardson, 2002]. Of that reason a discourse analysis of spatiality can identify individual world views, and in relation to planning, the underlying discourses of policy making or spatial visions, as elaborated earlier in this subsection. Furthermore, Soja [2000] points out the importance of researching spaces through lived spaces, as *"representations of space in policy making can only be limited, partial and contingent views of what lived spaces are actually like"* [Jensen and Richardson, 2003, p. 42]. By researching the lived spaces, discourses can be identified, and as Jensen and Richardson [2004] write in their book, then Foucault and Lefebvre define the relation between discourses and lived spaces as dialectical relations. The reason for defining it as a dialectical relation is that *"[d]iscourses create the lived spaces, while actions within the lived spaces are creating the discourses"* [Jensen and Richardson, 2004, p. 42]. To summarise, it can therefore be stated that *"(...) analysis of space requires analysis of discourse if we are to understand how spaces come to be as they are, how people exist and act within them, and how our ideas and ways of thinking are affected by what happens in spaces"* [Jensen and Richardson, 2004, p. 43].

What is pointed out in the quote is that an understanding of a space is created based on the underlying discourses. Vice versa, if planners aim for shaping a new understanding of an existing space, the same parameters must be considered, such as; understanding how the space became as it is or understanding what is essential to the space to reinforce the dominating discourse, understanding the people living and acting within it or will act in the future, and finally, how people's understandings are influenced by the practices of the spaces.

2.4.3 Spatiality Policy Discourse

In the following subsection, the theory of spatial policy discourse will be addressed through the perspective of the work by Jensen and Richardson [2004]. According to Jensen and Richardson, analyses of space must take the relation between socio-spatial practices (social actions), the symbolic meanings (the meaning attached to actions) and cultural meaning (meaning attached to environments) into account. Besides the dimensions of practices and meanings, lived spaces must be analysed through the dimensions of political social identities and mobility too. In the subsections below, the four dimensions will be addressed individually, in the perspective of discourses.

Socio-Spatial Practices

In the analysis of practices, social relations must be researched because they cannot be separated and these relations only exist within a spatial framework [Harvey, 1996; Massey,

2005]. Both Foucault [1972]; Jensen and Richardson [2004] use the same definition of practices which includes:

"techniques of notation, computation and calculation; procedures of examination and assessment; the invention of devices such as surveys and representational forms such as tables (...) the inauguration of professional specialisms and vocabularies" [Miller and Rose, 1993, p. 83].

Within these spatial frameworks of the social practices, institutions exist. Institutions of different kinds, both those who control and those who dominate administration and organisations of which they create symbolic spaces with appurtenant meanings [Jensen and Richardson, 2004]. Furthermore, Lefebvre [1974] states that places are defined by social practices which is supported by Foucault, who argues that social practices are essential in the production of spaces and additionally, that the domain of organisations and administrations embedded in the local practices.

Symbolic Meanings

The second dimension of lived spaces is symbolic meanings. The way social meaning is given to lived spaces is through socio-spatial practices [Shields, 1992]. Shields [1992] argues that social agents attach culture and symbolic attributes to spaces in the aim of understanding them, which makes it interesting to research the 'represented space'. When researching represented spaces, it must be considered as a discursive construction which represent a set of meaningful actions which provide a mechanism for the selection of what is associated as appropriated utterances and actions [Jensen and Richardson, 2004].

Socio-Political Identities

The third dimension to research, in the understanding of lived spaces, is identities. In this perspective identities should be understood as a part of the process of attaching meaning to spaces. Identities can, according to Jensen and Richardson [2004], be organised based on dominating institutions, as described in section 2.2 about power, but will never become identities without being exposed for individualisation which means that actors must construct their own meaning of the identities [Castells, 1997]. In the justification of this argument, he compares identities to roles. Castells argues that roles organise the function, while the identities organise the meanings of spaces, which he describes as the *"symbolic identification of a social actor of the purpose of her/his actions"* [Castells, 1997, p. 7].

Socio-Political Mobility

The final dimension in the analysis of lived spaces is mobility. Mobility, along with spaces and flows, are all essential in the understanding of socio-spatial relations. When mobility or new infrastructure systems are implemented, they can transform the spatiality of social life [Jensen and Richardson, 2004]. In this sense, mobility can be used to overcome uneven geographical development, as well as it negatively can create bias in the urban space and cause differences at various spatial scales. According to Castells [1997]; Hajer [2006]; Urry [2000], mobility contributes to understand the relational space as it concerns the relation between spatial logic and forms of rationality.

Jensen and Richardson [2004] point out a tension in the representation of space which concerns the conflict between '*the space of place*' and '*the space of flow*'. Usually, an understanding of a space relies on the historical rooted understanding of the place, to which a tension is caused along with the technological change of the world. According to Jensen and Richardson [2004], mobility can be defined as a spatial practice. Additionally, it can be stated that the spatiality of mobility is the relation between spatial practices and the symbolic meaning, connected to the supporting rationalities of certain types of mobility. What makes mobility central in the shaping of the urban space, is its influence on social relations which makes it essential to understand the future urban development [Foucault, 1972; Jensen and Richardson, 2004]. In this sense, mobility is a powerful tool in the creation of the social world, due to its power of creating inclusion as well as excluding in the social world through its influence on people's everyday life.

The Connection between Spatiality, Storytelling, Power and Discourses

As explained in the introduction of the literature review, then spatiality is included as the fourth concept, to secure the spatial embodiment of this project. In this project, space will be understood as relational space, as it is understood as more than being absolute. Space will be understood as highly connected to objects, time and human interactions within it.

As planners are able to change space, this project will acknowledge that planners possess the power of embodying new discourses in physical spaces, and thereby reinforce dominating discourses by creating new spatial understandings. These changes can be achieved if planners enable and disable specific practices of people which cause new social norms of people's daily life. In this way, planners can manipulate people to think and act in new ways.

Furthermore, space is understood as something which always is in process, as it is related to time and additionally as something which is interpreted differently by everyone. In this project, the analysis of space will be understood as a part of the analysis for analysing the dominating discourse. The analysis of space will reveal how space has changed, in perspective of the storytelling of a phenomenon, as a result of changing practices. In this way, the analysis will contribute to reveal the actors underlying discourse of the space. The analysis of space will be an indicator for the extent the dominating discourse has been reinforced by the authors of the storytelling regarding a phenomenon within the space. In this analysis, four dimensions will in this project be researched; practices related to the space, meanings associated to the space, identities of the space, and finally the mobility of the space.

In the previous four sections, this projects understanding of the four theoretical concepts of this project have been defined. On the basis of these four definitions, the following section 2.5 will create the theoretical framework, which will visualise how this project will connect these four concepts.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

In the following section, a conclusion of the literature review, including the four main concepts; storytelling, power, discourses and spatiality, will be presented. Additionally, a

theoretical framework will be created, based on how these four concepts are understood and will interact in the project.

Storytelling

Storytelling, which was the first introduced concept, will throughout the project be the main concept of the analysis. As a response to the planning practice being technical and based on a 'just-the-facts'-ideal, storytelling was introduced in the 20th century along with a new perspective of planning where the rhetoric, discourses and human behaviours were considered. In this project, storytelling will be acknowledged as an unavoidable tool because as [Sandercock, 2003, p. 12] points out, "*planning is performed through story, in a myriad of ways*". As a planning tool, storytelling will never in this project be understood as neutral, of which reason it is essential to analyse the author of the stories, since it will provide the project with the understanding of their underlying strategy, policies and agendas of the stories. As a strategic tool, this project sees, that storytelling is a powerful tool, through which the planners as storytellers are in possession of indirect or manipulative power.

Power

This project acknowledges that storytelling possesses two levels of power. Firstly, the use of language in storytelling is powerful. Language is understood as having the ability to "*make politics, to create signs and symbols that can shift power balances and that can impact on institutions and policy-making*" [Hajer, 2006, p. 67]. To understand power, in the use of language, it is essential to understand the use of techniques such as tropes and a non-narrative style of storytelling. Furthermore, power of storytelling is in this project understood as the underlying power relations and political strategies in storytelling, which can be used to facilitate changes. This project believes that planners are in the possession of creating persuasive stories. Thereby they possess a great power by deciding which stories they tell to inspire people and shape their understanding of a certain topic. To understand this power, it is essential to understand how planners for instance embed stories in a greater context and use storytelling of a phenomenon as a problem-solver. Power of storytelling is in this project therefore understood as essential in revealing hidden agendas of the political decisions.

Discourses

In the aim of revealing the underlying political decisions and power in plans, strategies and visions, the theory of discourse analysis is important in this project. The understanding of discourse analysis will in this project be adopted from Hajer. He describes discourses as "*an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena*" [Hajer, 2006, p. 67], and as something which is produced and reproduced through practices. Therefore, a discourse analysis will provide this project with an understanding of the context in which the storytelling is carried out to understand the purpose of the storytelling and the power that lies within the storytelling. In this project, the discourse analysis and the analysis of storytelling are understood as being

closely connected. As the storytelling analysis, the discourse analysis requires an analysis of the socially constructed language, metaphors, storylines and stories.

Spatiality

Spatiality is the last concept of the theoretical framework, which in this project will be understood as relational. The relational space acknowledges a vice versa influence between objects and spaces, time and finally humans. It acknowledges that the understanding of space always is in process, and the fact that spaces are interpreted differently by everyone. These two understandings of relational space are adopted in this project. In this project, spatiality will be used to reveal the power of storytelling in perspective of the physical and mental changes of space which storytelling of a phenomenon has caused. To analyse spaces, this project will implement the understanding of four dimensions: the practices in the spaces, the symbolic meanings attached to it, the identities of the spaces, and finally how it is related to mobility.

The Interaction of the Theoretical Concepts

In this project, discourses will overall be understood as the context in which storytelling is carried out. The discourses will present the authors' underlying understanding of the phenomenon of which the storytelling is carried out. The aim of this project is, in this connection, to research and understand how storytelling of a phenomenon can reinforce the underlying discourses of the phenomenon and thereby the contextual understanding of the storytelling.

To address this connection, the project will accept the following theoretical framework presented in figure 2.1. In the figure, the project's understanding of how the four concepts; storytelling, power, discourses and spatiality are connected will be illustrated, which is understood as the ontology of the project. This connection will be presented in perspective of a case study.

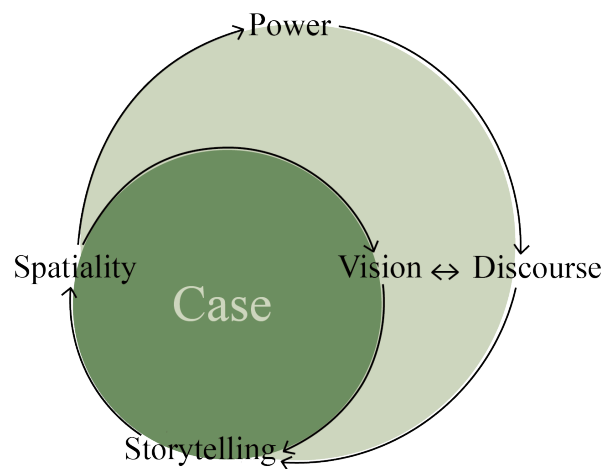


Figure 2.1: Theoretical framework

This theoretical framework is created based on the four theoretical concepts. It takes point of departure in the main concept of the project, storytelling, and the purpose of understanding the underlying power of storytelling, to reinforce the underlying discourse of the phenomenon it concerns. As illustrated in figure 2.1, the theoretical framework of the project is circular and it is understood as a never ending process, where the concepts continuously influence each other. In the figure, the two shades of green is illustrating two different levels. The dark green colour symbolises what is 'visible', such as the public told story of a phenomenon and the vision, it is intended to support. Contrary, the light green coloured circle is illustrating the shadow of what is visual, by additionally including the underlying understanding, in perspective of discourses and power.

In this project, storytelling will overall be understood as a strategic tool, which can reinforce the dominant discourse of the phenomenon, it concerns. As the framework illustrates, then the concept of power is understood as a concept which is connecting storytelling and discourses. Additionally, power is essential to understand, to investigate the influence of storytelling on the discourses. Power will in this way be understood, in the project, as the power of the storytelling, which includes both the power of language and the strategic and political use of storytelling.

To make the connection between storytelling, power and discourse more case orientated, spatiality is included as the fourth concept. In this project, the discourse analysis is understood as a method to reveal the power of the storytelling. The discourse structuration analysis will reveal the story of the phenomenon, and how a phenomenon is talked about in the storytelling. Additionally, the analysis of the discourse institutionalisation will provide knowledge of how the storytelling has changed practices concerning the phenomenon. In the project, these practices will be understood as physical practices which are changing space in which the phenomenon exists.

Furthermore, spatiality is connected to the vision, as the vision, in this case, directly concerns the new spatial understanding of the city, as presented in the introduction. Finally, the vision is connected to discourses and storytelling. What the connection between vision and discourses shows, is the project's understanding of the vision being an illustration of the underlying discourses of the phenomenon. Of that reason, to what extent the vision is met, is understood as an indicator for the degree the discourse has been reinforced by the storytelling carried out of the phenomenon. Finally, the vision is connected to storytelling, as the vision of a new spatial understanding, is influencing how the storytelling of this phenomenon is carried out.

As the theoretical framework is circular, this project understands that the influenced discourse will influence the storytelling once again, which afterwards will cause that all concepts will be influenced all over.

Methodology 3

The aim of this chapter is to create a methodological understanding of the project in continuation of the theoretical framework devised in section 2.5. The chapter will firstly contain a description of the scientific approach of the project including the ontology and epistemology following the approach of social constructivism and hermeneutics. Secondly, the research design will be presented to create an understanding of how the project will be carried out with a focus on the three sub-questions. As this project will use the case study of the +Bus to consider, how storytelling can reinforce a dominant discourse through a spatial vision, then a section of case study, as a method, will be elaborated through the work of Flyvbjerg's five misunderstandings. It will be followed by an elaboration of the analytical framework, describing in details how the analyses methodologically will be carried out. The methods for generating data for these analyses will then be described in the following section, which in this project will be document analysis and interviews. The section will describe both the theory behind it, but also the coding for the carrying out of both methods. In the end of the chapter a critical reflection of the validity and reliability of the project will be used to 'measure' the quality of the project.

3.1 Scientific Approach

In continuation of the theoretical framework devised in the former section 2.5, this section will investigate the understandings and hidden assumptions behind this framework and thereby the scientific approach of the project. According to Farthing [2016], there are multiple hidden assumptions in a research paper, which his ice model illustrates. The method is the tip of the ice berg, where the methodology, ontology, and epistemology are hidden assumptions beneath the surface of the water, and it is these hidden assumptions this section will try to reveal and understand in relation to the project [Farthing, 2016].

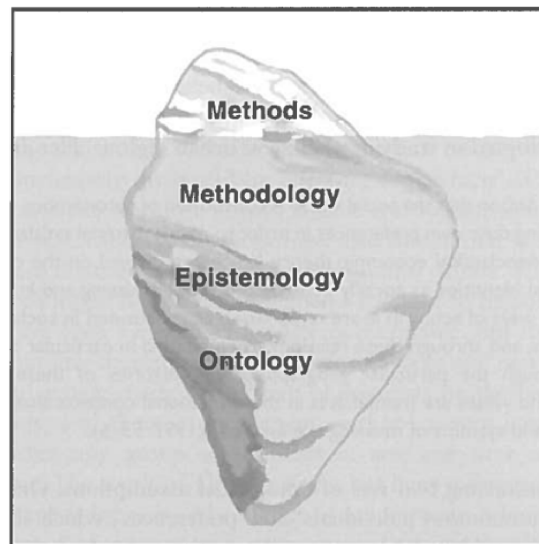


Figure 3.1: The iceberg model

As this project tries to identify stories and dominant discourses through the powerful storytelling of the +Bus, the scientific approach will follow two different approaches: social constructivism and hermeneutics. Social constructivism is an approach, which have an understanding of the reality as being subjective [Pedersen, 2012]. The reality is in social constructivism constructed through interactions with others, either through rules and norms from the society or discourses taught from others interactions [Pedersen, 2012]. As the reality is socially constructed, then the reality also varies from person to person, depending on how people interpret it [Pedersen, 2012].

This approach of social constructivism becomes relevant in this project, as the project will conduct a discourse analysis to reveal which discourses that lies behind the stories of Aalborg Municipality regarding the +Bus. The discourse analysis thereby researches which discourses that have become dominant through the habit of Aalborg Municipality and their way of thinking.

Hermeneutics is another approach relevant for the scientific approach of this project, as it focuses on interpretation, which becomes important in both the analysis of discourses, storytelling, power, and spatiality. Hermeneutics believes that reality is understood through interpretation and uses the hermeneutic spiral to illustrate the interaction between pre-understanding and interpretation [Hansen and Simonsen, 2004b]. This approach of understanding the reality through interpretation relates well to this project, as it is an interpretation of planners language in stories which will be analysed through a discourse analysis.

Ontology

According to Farthing [2016], ontology is "(...) *what we believe constitutes social reality*" [Farthing, 2016, p. 23]. The ontology of this project will follow a combination of the ontology of the social constructivism and hermeneutics, elaborated on before. From the social constructivism, the understanding of the world being socially constructed by people

is adopted, and in continuation of this the focus of the reality being interpreted differently by different people with different pre-understandings, adopted from the hermeneutics, also becomes relevant in the ontology of this project. In this project, there will therefore not be understood one true reality about the stories and discourses of the +Bus, but instead be understood that there are different interpretations and understandings of the phenomenon. The ontology of this project becomes the theoretical framework of the project, as this framework describes how this project sees the world. This means that, based on the thoughts from social constructivism and hermeneutics, this project sees the world as the connection between power, storytelling, discourses and spatiality, where the connection is understood in a way, where storytelling reinforces the discourses illustrated through spatiality, and the power within this storytelling is revealed through a discourse analysis.

Epistemology

Epistemology refers, according to Farthing [2016], to *"(...) the claims or assumptions made about possible ways of knowledge of social reality, whatever it is understood to be?"* [Farthing, 2016, p. 23-24] The epistemology of this project again relates to the epistemology of social constructivism. In social constructivism, the epistemology becomes dominant compared to ontology, as it relies on the fact that you cannot achieve objective knowledge and that you gain your knowledge from your habits, behaviours or discourses in society. This further comprehends with the hermeneutic epistemology where the pre-understanding of a phenomenon becomes important as you through this pre-understanding achieve a new understanding through interpretation of the phenomenon. In this project, the consideration of people's position thereby becomes relevant, as it is part of the interpretation to understand where they gain their knowledge from, and how they accept the reality they understand as being the 'right' one. When identifying stories in this project, it becomes important to understand what discourses that lies behind them. Further, the epistemology of the project becomes the revealing of discourses, as it is through discourses and discourse analysis that the project will explain the effect and power of storytelling and the stories of the +Bus. In this project, the discourse analysis becomes the way to gather information about the world. The methodological and analytical way of gathering these data from discourses will be described in this methodology chapter.

3.2 Research Design

In this section, the research design of the project will be presented. Firstly, the overall empirical problem, which the project is addressing, will be presented. It will be followed by a short description of the conceptual problem, which was addressed in the literature review, and the methodological problem, which will be addressed in this chapter. Lastly, the section will present the main research question and how it will be answered in the analysis, through an explanation of the three sub-questions.

Empirical Problem		
As a part of Aalborg Municipality's story of Aalborg in a transition from an industrial to a knowledge city, a high class transportation system in Aalborg city is planned for. Firstly, a light rail was expected, but due to political disagreements it got replaced with a BRT system in the shape of the +Bus. The empirical problem of this project thereby is how Aalborg Municipality can use storytelling to address the change from a light rail to a +Bus, and make it support Aalborg Municipality's discourse of the +Bus and new spatial understanding of Aalborg.		
Conceptual Problem	Methodological Problem	
How can we create a theoretical framework to understand how storytelling in planning can be used to reinforce a dominant discourse?	How can we methodologically research the connection between storytelling and discourses?	
Main Research Question		
How is Aalborg Municipality using storytelling of the +Bus to reinforce their dominating discourse and their vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg City?		
Sub-Questions		
1	2	3
What are Aalborg Municipality's stories of the +Bus and what is the dominating discourse behind these stories? stories?	How does Aalborg Municipality carry out the storytelling of the +Bus and which effect does it have on the planning practices in Aalborg Municipality?	How is the power of storytelling influencing the spatial understanding and reinforcing the dominant discourse of Aalborg?
Content		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Case presentation• The process of the +Bus• Analysis of the storylines of the +Bus• Analysis of the story of the +Bus in perspective of the light rail• Analysis of the dominating discourse and discourse coalitions behind the story of the +Bus	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Analysis of the techniques used in the language of the storytelling• Analysis of the effect of the storytelling	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Analysis of the acceptance of the new spatial understanding of Aalborg• Analysis of the powerful initiatives used in storytelling -• Analysis of the strategic use of storytelling• The connection between discourse and storytelling
Method		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Document analysis• Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Document analysis• Interview	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Document analysis• Interview• E-mail correspondence
Data Required		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Plans and strategies• Minutes (City Council)• Newspaper articles• Knowledge from the +Bus project group	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Plans and strategies• Knowledge from the +Bus project group• Local plans	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Plans and strategies• Knowledge from actors (developers, housing associations, the +Bus project group)

Figure 3.2: Research design

As it is written in table 3.2, the empirical problem of the project concerns how Aalborg Municipality can use storytelling to address the change from a light rail to a +Bus, and make storytelling support Aalborg Municipality's dominating discourse of the +Bus and new spatial understanding of Aalborg. To answer this empirical problem, the project has addressed the conceptual problem of creating a theoretical framework for understanding how storytelling in planning can be used to reinforce a dominant discourse. The answer to this problem is presented in section 2.5, in which the theoretical framework is presented. The theoretical framework is based on the concepts; storytelling, power, discourses and spatiality, which all together provides an understanding of how storytelling can reinforce a dominant discourse by creating a new spatial understanding of the city. Additionally, this chapter, Methodology, aims to create a methodological framework for how the theoretical framework can be connected to the empirical problem and this exact case study of storytelling of the +Bus in Aalborg. Furthermore, this chapter aims to create a framework for how to research the connection between storytelling and discourses from a methodologically perspective.

Based on the empirical problem, the project aims to carry out a case study of storytelling of the +Bus, which will be elaborated in the following section 3.3. In perspective of the case study, the project will answer the main research question: *How is Aalborg Municipality using storytelling of the +Bus to reinforce their dominating discourse and their vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg City?* This research question will be answered through the three sub-questions presented in table 3.2.

To address the first sub-question, the analysis will present the case through a description of the +Bus. Subsequently, the analysis will present the process of the +Bus project, which will be elaborated in connection to key events outlined through a timeline. The understanding of the process and its events, which have happened from the beginning of the process, will create a fundamental understanding useful in the rest of the analysis. The aim of the first sub-question is to identify the story, which Aalborg Municipality tells about the +Bus. To identify the story, a document analysis of municipal documents including plans, strategies, and minutes will be carried out, followed by interviews with key actors, in the aim of identifying metaphors and storylines. Taking point of departure in the identified storylines, the story of the +Bus will be identified. The story will further be analysed in perspective of the story of the light rail. Finally, the analysis will end up with an identification of the dominating discourse and the discourse coalitions of the +Bus to reveal the underlying understanding of the story of the +Bus. How this question methodologically will be addressed, and how the concepts of storylines, metaphors, stories, and discourses are connected, will be elaborated in the analytical framework in section 3.4.

In the second sub-question, the purpose is to understand how Aalborg Municipality is carrying out the storytelling of the +Bus, identified in sub-question 1, and which effect this storytelling has had on planning practices in Aalborg Municipality. In the aim of understanding how Aalborg Municipality has carried out the storytelling of the +Bus, their language, in the shape of the powerful techniques, they use, will be analysed. In the analysis of the language, used by Aalborg Municipality in their storytelling of the +Bus, the structuration of the dominating discourse of the +Bus will also be analysed to understand how Aalborg Municipality talks about the +Bus. The second part of the

analysis of sub-question 2 will analyse the effect Aalborg Municipality's storytelling of the +Bus has had on the planning practices of Aalborg Municipality, and through that evaluate to what extent the dominating discourse of the +Bus has been institutionalised. This part of the analysis will be analysed through local plans devised by Aalborg Municipality, to understand how the planning practices of Aalborg Municipality act upon the storytelling of the +Bus.

In the last sub-question, it will be analysed how Aalborg Municipality is managing to reinforce their dominating discourse through their use of powerful storytelling. To answer the question, the analysis will firstly research the storytelling of the +Bus' influence on investors' choice of investments in Aalborg and analyse whether or not the dominant discourse has been accepted of other actors than Aalborg Municipality. Through this analysis, it will be researched whether the influence of storytelling has changed their spatial understanding of Aalborg city. In continuation of this part of the analysis, the power in Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling of the +Bus will be analysed together with an analysis of the strategic use of storytelling by Aalborg Municipality, to understand the power that lies within the storytelling of the +Bus. The third sub-question will end with an analysis of the connection between storytelling and dominating discourse to finally conclude how the power of Aalborg Municipality's storytelling of the +Bus is influencing the spatial understanding of Aalborg and reinforcing a dominating discourse of Aalborg.

In the following section, the case study of the +Bus will be presented in the purpose of elaborating how this project wants to use it as a method.

3.3 Case Study

In the following section, the case study as a method will be elaborated. The section will address, how the project in the analysis will approach the theoretical framework through case study, and how the case study will be used to finally provide general statements about the connection between concepts of storytelling, discourses, power and spatiality. The case study will be elaborated in the perspective of Flyvbjerg's article '*Five Misunderstandings About Case-Study Research*' [Flyvbjerg, 2006].

In this project, a case study of the storytelling of the +Bus will be carried out, to see how storytelling can reinforce a dominating discourse and create a new spatial understanding of Aalborg. In the project, it is, in the perspective of the scientific approach of social constructivism and hermenutics, presumed that Aalborg Municipality's discourse of the +Bus is visualised in their vision of the future spatial understanding of the city of Aalborg. Of that reason, it will be analysed how the storytelling of the +Bus will support the vision of a new spatial understanding of the city of Aalborg and reinforce the dominating discourse of the +Bus. Consequently, the discourse of the +Bus must be identified to understand the aim of creating a new spatial understanding of Aalborg. It is additionally required that the story, the municipality's discourse of the +Bus is promoted through, will be identified to render the analysis of storytelling as a strategic planning tool possible.

In the analysis of discourses, knowledge must be considered in the practice and context in which it is uttered [Hajer, 2006], which Flyvbjerg [2006] in his first misunderstanding states that case studies can provide. He argues that it is a misunderstanding that general context-

independent knowledge is more valuable than knowledge which is context-dependent which is obtained through case studies. In light of the assumption, that human affairs cannot be researched based on predictive and universal theories, Flyvbjerg [2006] states that only context-dependent knowledge exists because humans behaviour cannot be considered rule-based. About the highest level of understanding of the human behaviour, he states:

"The highest levels in the learning process, that is, virtuosity and true expertise, are reached only via a person's own experiences as practitioner of the relevant skills"

[Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 223]

Through the use of case study of the storytelling of the +Bus in Aalborg city, a more detailed study of the connection between storytelling, discourses, power and spatiality will be achieved. Case studies provide more details due to the closeness to real-life situations and its nuanced approach to the reality [Flyvbjerg, 2006]. On the basis of Flyvbjerg's argument that *"the force of example" is underestimated* [Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 228], the detailed information, obtained through the case study, will be used to generalise the connection between the theory of discourses and storytelling in perspective of planning. Based on this misunderstanding from Flyvbjerg, the case of this project can be characterised as being a 'most likely' critical case, as the case study of the storytelling of the +Bus can say something generally about storytelling as a tool for reinforcing discourses. The case can further be used to say something about promoting a product, which in this project is the +Bus, through storytelling and how a new spatial understanding can be implemented through this. The case study of storytelling of the +Bus is thereby used to address the new spatial understanding of Aalborg, but at the same time it says something generally about the connection between storytelling and dominating discourses.

As Flyvbjerg points out, it can be difficult to summarise and generalise case studies, because they must be read in their full narrative. On the other hand, this does not mean, that knowledge cannot be generalised [Flyvbjerg, 2006]. In this way, the case study will be used to describe the planning of the new spatial understanding of Aalborg and gather knowledge about the connection between Aalborg Municipality's dominant discourse of the +Bus and the use of the planning practice; storytelling. In this way, the story of the +Bus must be told in its *"diversity, allowing the story to unfold from the many-sided, complex, and sometimes conflicting stories"* [Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 238].

In perspective of Flyvbjerg's misunderstandings, case study is a relevant method for this project. In section 4.2 in the analysis, the case in the shape of the +Bus will in details be presented, while the following section will explain how the case methodologically will be addressed through the analytical framework.

3.4 Analytical Framework

This section will elaborate on the analytical framework taking point of departure in the theoretical framework, created in section 2.5. Through the analytical framework, the methodological approach of the analysis will be addressed to explain how the theoretical framework, methodologically will be used in the analysis. In continuation of the analytical

framework, the steps of a discourse analysis inspired by Hajer [2006] will be elaborated. It will be explained how the steps will be implemented and researched in the project.

In perspective of the literature review presented in chapter 2 and theoretical framework illustrated in figure 2.1, the analytical framework of the analysis is created. The framework is illustrated in figure 3.3 and creates an understanding of how the analysis will be carried out in the project, based on the four concepts; storytelling, power, discourses and spatiality.

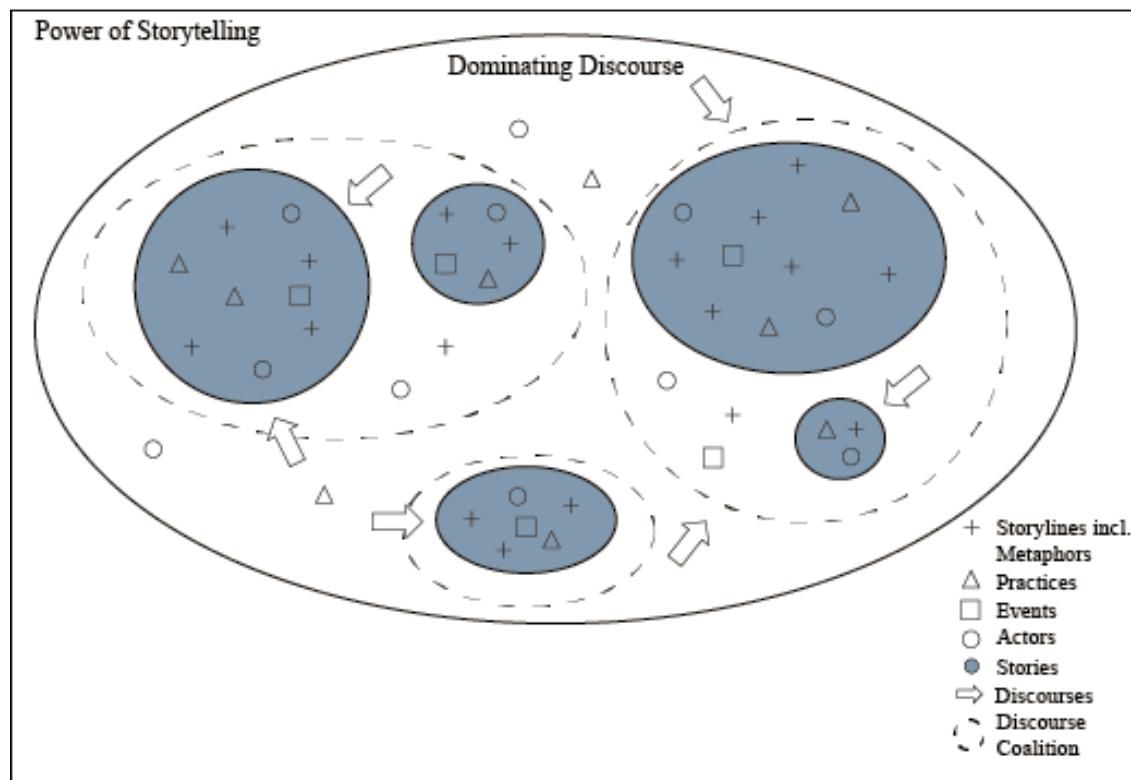


Figure 3.3: Analytical framework

Figure 3.3 illustrates the analytical framework of the project, and thereby the steps the analysis will follow. The analytical framework is based on a combination between the analytical tools of the three concepts; storytelling, discourse and power, but not spatiality as it is considered being a part of power of storytelling. The analysis will use the theories to identify both metaphors and storylines which are pluses, from which stories afterwards will be identified. In continuation of the stories, presented by the surrounding grey circles, practices and events of the planning process, symbolised by triangles and squares, will be identified. In addition, it will be analysed which influence these practices and events have had on the story of the +Bus. Discourses will afterwards be identified, marked as arrows towards the stories, to symbolise their influences on the told stories. Furthermore, the supportive actors of the discourses, illustrated by circles, will be identified to which all these elements will be combined into discourse coalitions marked by the dotted circles. The dominant discourse will be identified through an analysis of the power of storytelling, aiming to identify the structuration and institutionalisation of the discourses.

Finally, after the inner circles have been analysed, it will be evaluated how the power of storytelling, practised by Aalborg Municipality, has reinforced the dominating discourse

and how the storytelling of the +Bus has influenced the spatial understanding of Aalborg.

Methodological approach to the Analytical Framework

The methodological approach to the analytical framework will take point of departure in an analysis of discourses and storytelling. According to Hajer, the most important thing in a discourse analysis is to exam: "*(...) what is being said to whom, and in what context*" [Hajer, 2006, p. 72]. This information will be generated through the following steps inspired by Hajer [2006]:

- 1 Desk Research
- 2 Document Analysis
- 3 Interview
- 4 Identification of Key Incidents
- 5 Analysis of Events in Particular Cases of Argumentation
- 6 Interpretation

The first step of '*desk research*' will be used in the project as a way to understand the state of the art in the case study, gathered through information from different plans devised by Aalborg Municipality and newspaper articles relating the +Bus and the light rail.

The second step regarding '*document analysis*' will be used in this project as both a method to gather information about the +Bus and the transition in Aalborg, but also as the first part of the analysis, as the first sub-question partly will be answered through a document analysis of different plans, articles, and minutes regarding the +Bus. Through this document analysis metaphors and storylines will be identified to be able to identify discourses and stories later in the analysis. The justification and methodological reasoning for document analysis as a data generating method, will be presented in section 3.5.

'*Interview*' is the third step and will be carried out to supplement the document analysis in the employment of metaphors and storylines, but also to create an understanding of the rationality behind the stories of Aalborg Municipality. The interviews thereby works as a step towards understanding the planners purpose of the storytelling, and meaning added to the +Bus. The coding and the steps of the interviews will be presented in section 3.5.

Regarding the step of '*analysis of events in particular cases of argumentation*', then it will not be used as direct as the other steps, as it will be used in the project to consider the context of the argumentation. The identified storylines will be related to the context in which they are said, which will be highlighted in the scheme of document analysis, illustrated in table 3.1. This step will thereby enable a reflection of the identified stories in a perspective of time.

The last step this project will use from Hajer's discourse analysis is '*interpretation*', which will be used in the project as an interpretation of the former steps of the discourse analysis to understand which discourse is the dominant one. Taking point of departure in the dominant discourse, the project will then interpret, its relation to the storytelling of the +Bus.

The analytical framework will be carried out through the three sub-questions of the project, and to generate data for this analysis the project will use two main methods: document analysis and interview, which will be presented in following section.

3.5 Data Generating Methods

In the following section, the two data generating methods; document analysis and interviews, will be presented. The use of the methods will be justified in the sub-sections along with the coding and theory behind it.

3.5.1 Document Analysis

To identify storylines, stories, practices, events, discourses, and data for the analysis of storytelling, document analysis will be used as one of the main methods to generate data for these identifications. As explained in the former section, then document analysis is one of Hajer's steps in the creation of a discourse analysis [Hajer, 2006]. He argues that a document analysis entails "*(...) analysing documents for structuring concepts, ideas and categorisations; employment of story lines, metaphors, etc. This should result in a first attempt at defining structuring discourses in the discussion*" [Hajer, 2006, p. 73]. Document analysis becomes relevant in the analysis of the project, as it, according to Hajer, is an analysis of important and relevant documents to get knowledge and information about the phenomenon in question, which in this case is the +Bus [Hajer, 2006].

Documents in a document analysis can, according to Farthing [2016], be characterised as a lot of different types of documents. He mentions newspaper and magazine articles, documents produced by national and local level governments, but also not text-based documents like maps, photographs, and statistics [Farthing, 2016]. In this project, the documents will mostly consist of plans, strategies, and visions from Aalborg Municipality, Nordjyllandstrafikselskab (NT), and North Denmark Region. This is mostly plans concerning the +Bus, but also, to some extent the light rail, as the change from a light rail to a +Bus is a relevant part of the context of the +Bus. The documents, that are already devised, are mostly produced by Aalborg Municipality and their different project groups regarding the +Bus, but both NT and North Denmark Region are part of the greater project group regarding the +Bus. They mention the +Bus in several of their documents as well. Of that reason, this project will consider Aalborg Municipality as the main author of the storytelling in the documents regarding the +Bus, despite NT and the North Denmark Region being co-authors of the documents.

Plans are relevant to analyse in this project, especially because, as Farthing [2016] states, that these types of documents create an understanding of the social world in relation to why the plans are produced and who the authors behind the plans are.

Further the document analysis will contain minutes from meetings in Aalborg City Council to create an understanding of the political decisions being made in relation to both the light rail and the +Bus in Aalborg Municipality. These types of documents becomes interesting to analyse, as they can be used to look more into the official or formal policy in place [Farthing, 2016]. To get a broader perspective of the analysis, documents in the shape of newspaper articles from both Nordjyske and TV2 Nord will be included in the analysis

as well. According to Farthing [2016], articles as documents are not used very often in planning studies, but in this project they become relevant to get a broader and different angle on the document analysis, than just documents from the project group of the +Bus. The different types of documents will be used in the document analysis to create a better understanding of the stories of the +Bus, and to reveal which discourses that lies behind these stories. All the documents that will be analysed in connection to the document analysis is listed in appendix A.

Besides the identification of different types of documents, the interesting thing, according to Farthing [2016], in a document analysis is *"(...) what [documents] tell us about how those who produce them interpret the world"* [Farthing, 2016, p. 138]. He further talks about *"(...) document as a way of uncovering or generating knowledge about policy discourses"* [Farthing, 2016, p. 139]. These statements relates very well to the use of documents in this project, as the documents together with interviews will be used to uncover the stories and discourses regarding the +Bus and a new spatial understanding of Aalborg city. As elaborated in the literature review in section 2.2, power is a part of the discovering of discourses and stories, which makes the author of documents and their interpretation of the world relevant to look into in a document analysis. Further, the language also becomes very relevant in the analysis of the storytelling of the +Bus, as it is through the language that people describe how they understand and interpret the world in a specific context [Farthing, 2016]. This way of understanding documents justify the use of a document analysis in this project, as they can be used to identify the metaphors and storylines that lies within the documents, and in the end help reveal the stories and discourses behind them, and through that understand the storytelling of the +Bus.

To get a similar analysis, of the different documents being analysed, a scheme has been developed, which consists of four different aspects to analyse in the document analysis. The scheme has been devised to create an organisation of the analysis of the documents, which makes it easier to both redo the analysis, or to make it more similar to other peoples analysis of the same phenomenon. Table 3.1 shows a template of the schemes being devised for each of the documents, and it consists of information about the author, context, title and time of the documents, and then information about the phenomenon which is either the +Bus or the light rail. When using the scheme in figure 3.1, similar terms for the +Bus and the light rail will be searched for as e.g.: BRT system, transportation project, high class transportation, mobility etc.

Who	Context	Name and Date	Phenomenon (+Bus/Light rail)
Who is the author of the document?	What is the context of the document, why was it written?	What is the name and date of the document?	How is the phenomenon described in the document?

Table 3.1: Template of the organisation of the document analysis

Document analysis is a method, that works well in the beginning of a project to gather information, but also as a start of the analysis. However, to get a better and more holistic

understanding of the research, document analysis will be combined with the method of interview, which will be presented in the next section.

3.5.2 Interview

In the following subsection, interview as a data generating method will be elaborated. The interview will be carried out to generate data to perform some of the previously presented steps in section 3.4 about the analytical framework. The interviews will contribute to perform the steps of interview, support the identification of key incidents, analysis of practices in particular cases of argumentation, and finally the interpretation. The method of the interview will be carried out based on the theory of Kvale [2011].

According to Kvale [2011], the first step of carrying out interviews is to identify the purpose of it. In perspective of the analytical framework, there are multiple aims of performing the interviews. Firstly, an understanding of the process should be obtained through the interviews and thereby addressing 'what-led-to-what' during the process. Additionally, the purpose of the interviews is to achieve knowledge of the interviewees' understanding of the +Bus and how it will influence the city of Aalborg, in the aim of researching what discourses and discourse coalitions, the individual actors support. Finally, the interviews should provide information on the coherence between their practices and discourses.

When performing interviews, the entire process must be designed before it is carried out [Kvale, 2011]. Firstly, an interview guide has been tailored individually for each of the interviews which can be found in appendix B. In the design of the interview guide, it is essential how the generated data will be analysed. In the discourse analysis, the project aims to understand the different discourses of the involved actors, of which reason it has been decisive to ask similar questions to the interviewees. The interview guides have therefore been structured, so they include a set of 'standard questions' to all interviewed actors and a set of 'specialised questions' towards the role of the certain actors in the +Bus project. The formulation of the questions has been as impartially as possible to reflect the researcher's own suspended preconceptions and to minimise the influence of the answers. Furthermore, the interviews have been designed semi-structured because they "*seek to obtain descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomenon*" [Kvale, 2011, p. 51]. The semi-structured interviews have additionally allowed the interviewees to interpret the questions and presented phenomenon individually by which their discourses related to the phenomenon is easier to identify.

In the design of the interview, a decision of the interviewees was made too. First of all, it was decided to interview all parts of the project group of the +Bus, which includes Aalborg Municipality, NT and the North Denmark Region. It was decided to interview these representatives from these organisations in the aim of understanding why the story of the +Bus is told in the way it is, by analysing the discourses they support. Furthermore, in the perspective of Flyvbjerg's five misunderstandings, multiple perspectives of the same story will be understood through e-mails from different developers and housing associations in Aalborg. They have been e-mailed in the aim of gathering data to analyse if the actors, who are influencing the future development of Aalborg city, share the same discourse of the +Bus. In this way it will be analysed to what extent they accept the new spatial

understanding of Aalborg through storytelling of the +Bus. The questions have been devised as being similar for all of the developers and housing associations. The interviewees are presented in table 3.2 below, along with the role they play in the +Bus project.

Interviewees	Name	Interview Form
Project Manager/Planner of Aalborg Municipality	Anne Juel Andersen	Face-to-face
Traffic Planner/ North Denmark Region	Jens Mogensen	Face-to-face
Project Planner/NT	Mette Olesen	Telephone
Head of Development/Himmerland Housing Association	Sven Buch	E-mail
Director of Development/Arne Andersen	Arne Andersen	E-mail
Director/Sundby Hvorup Housing Association	Jens Erik Grøn	E-mail
Head of Development/A. Engaard	Morten W. Løgsted	E-mail
Director/Plus Bolig Housing Association	Mette Bach Kjær	E-mail
Director/Alabu Housing Association	Klaus Ringgaard	E-mail

Table 3.2: Interviewed actors

In relation to the third step of Kvale [2011], concerning the interview itself, then two of the three main interviews were carried out as face-to-face interviews to create a trustful atmosphere in the aim of obtaining more detailed answers of the more sensitive questions. To secure the detailed answers and in-depth conversation, the questions have been carried out in Danish so the level of details would not be limited by the language. Consequently, the quotes from the interviews have been translated into English, which unavoidable causes interpretation by this project which in perspective of the social constructivism is acknowledged in this project. Furthermore, the interviews have been recorded and finally transcribed in the purpose of translating the oral words into written text [Kvale, 2011]. The Danish transcriptions of the interviews can be found in appendix E, F, and G. In the transcriptions as well as the quotes used in the project, the grammar has been corrected. Further, most sounds such as 'hmm' or 'ehm' have been deleted, if they have not been essential to the answers. In the transcriptions and quotes, the following coding has been used:

- Long pause (.)
- Unclear phrases (-)
- Added words []
- Deleted words (...)
- Not finished sentence ...

After the transcription of the interviews, they will be analysed through the analytical framework as described in section 3.4. This analysis will involve identification and

confirmation of storylines, evidence for identified practices, and finally it will be used to analyse the power of the dominating discourses.

In the analysis of the interview, the interviews must be verified. This requires an analysis of the validity, whether the interviews investigate what is intended to investigate and the reliability, the consistency of the results [Kvale, 2011], which the following section will address.

3.6 Critical Reflections

According to Farthing [2016], the concepts of validity and reliability can be used as a way to measure the quality of the research being conducted and thereby being critical towards the project. In this section, these concepts will be considered in relation to the structure of the project. According to Farthing [2016], validity concerns "*(...) the extent to which in a piece of research the researcher is measuring what they say they are measuring*" [Farthing, 2016, p. 81]. As elaborated on earlier in the methodology chapter, then the analysis of this project will be conducted as a discourse analysis, where both storylines, stories, discourse coalitions, and discourses will be identified to further use it as a way to understand the power, which the storytelling of the +Bus possesses. Through these identifications of especially storylines, then it must be considered, that the role of the researchers becomes important, as it is the researchers who identify all these aspects, and it is the researchers, who conduct the questions for the interviews. The data generation and the analysis of these data are important to consider in relation to the role of the researcher. The researcher is capable of making people answer what they want and what fits within the project, and further the same can happen with the structure of the analysis. This project thereby tries to make the project more valid by making interview guides devised in connection to the interviews, as the asking of similar questions to the interviewees makes the data generated from these useful in the research. Further, the conducted research design of the project makes the project more valid, as the organisation of the project containing both research questions, methods and data helps create a focus on what to research and the purpose of researching it.

The concept of reliability of a project is according to Farthing [2016] the uniformity of the research, so if another researcher can conduct the same research with the same result. Based on the scientific approach of both social constructivism and hermenutics, it is, in this project, acknowledged that the researchers bring their own understanding and interpretation to the analysis, as everyone works from their own pre-understanding of a phenomenon. As described before, the researcher's position in a project thereby plays an important role, also in consideration of reliability. The researcher is essential to consider, as he/she brings a pre-understanding to the project, which makes it difficult for other researchers to do the same research even though one tries to compensate for it. When describing the pre-understanding of this project in the ontology and the theoretical framework in section 2.1, then the project becomes more transparent and thereby both more valid and reliable, as it shows how the project is understood and will be carried out in the sense of a certain pre-understanding. Further, this project aims to make the project more reliable by conducting schemes for document analysis with similar coding for each document to increase the uniformity of the analysis of the different documents. Further,

the interviews guides as mentioned earlier, also helps the reliability of the project, as they make the structure of the interviews more similar and thereby the results of them too. The analytical framework presented in section 3.4 also helps strengthen the reliability, as the steps works a guidance for the carrying out of the analyses.

Transparency, in this project, is thereby aimed to be reached through both a theoretical and analytical framework, and research design, as presented earlier. The design of the project, and the structure in general is an indicator for both validity and reliability in a project, as it shows the thought and ideas behind the actions of the project. The design of this project has it strengths through the similarity of discourse analyses and interviews, and the analysis based on Hajer's steps which brings a certainty to the research, and also makes the research more transparent. However, the design also contains a lot of uncertainties. As mentioned earlier, then the researcher plays an important and large role in the research through identification of different aspects like storylines, stories, discourse coalitions and discourses. This pre-understanding, that comes with every researcher, thereby makes the project less transparent, as there can be a lot of of biases attached to the pre-understanding of the individual researcher. However, this project tries to reduce these biases by being aware of them throughout the project.

Based on these considerations of both validity and reliability, the project aims to work in a critical, reflecting, and methodological way to answer the main research of the project.

The Story of the +Bus 4

The aim of this chapter is to answer the first sub-question of the project: *"What are Aalborg Municipality's stories of the +Bus and what is the dominating discourse behind these stories?"* This question will be answered firstly through a case presentation introducing the +Bus in Aalborg, and a presentation of the process of the +Bus. Secondly, an identification of the story of the +Bus through storylines will be made to understand how Aalborg Municipality promote the +Bus. In continuation of the identified story, the underlying discourses of the story will be identified, in the aim of finally be able to identify the dominating one. In the end, the discourse coalitions of the +Bus will be identified to reveal which actors share the same storylines and support the dominating discourse.

4.1 Case Presentation

This section aims to present the +Bus to better understand what the +Bus is, where it will be located in Aalborg, and the technicalities behind it.

The +Bus project group consisting of Aalborg Municipality, NT, and North Denmark Region, have five main reasons, why the +Bus project is a necessity in Aalborg. Aalborg is growing, Aalborg is facing traffic-relating challenges, a new Super Hospital is in progress in Aalborg East, Aalborg is experiencing Denmark's largest growth in new arrivals, and the +Bus will run faster through the city [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a,p. 3, own translation]

As presented in chapter 1, Aalborg is a city in a transition of development from an industrial city to a knowledge city, and the growth in Aalborg is following the growth axis which the route of the +Bus will follow [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a]. Because of this growth, Aalborg city is, according to the municipality, experiencing a lot of traffic-related challenges, especially regarding the traffic jams [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a]. Further, a new Super Hospital is under construction, and Aalborg is the city in Denmark with the highest net population growth, so the city needs faster and better accessibility through Aalborg, according to the municipality [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a]. All of these challenges are reasons constructed by the municipality of why the +Bus is a necessary transportation system in Aalborg city. To meet these challenges, the +Bus will contain following qualities, according to Aalborg Municipality:

- *"Runs on green energy (electricity)*
- *Fast entry and exit*
- *Large doors*
- *Easy use of travelling card*
- *Run in separate lane*

- *Only stops at the bus stops*
- *Can contain 150-200 passengers*
- *7.5 minutes between the bus stops*
- *Always green light in the traffic signals*
- *There will be 17 new +Busses*
- *Direct route*
- *Smooth surface*
- *50.000 people will live within 500 meter of a bus stop"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, pp. 4-5]

The solution of a +Bus is thereby a Bus Rapid Transportation (BRT) system, which is a bus potentially running on electricity in its own lane through different stops along the growth axis of Aalborg city [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a]. The +Bus will have 23 stops, and run from the racing track in the western part of the city to the Super Hospital in the eastern part of the city [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a]. The route of the +Bus is illustrated in map 4.1.



Map 4.1: The route of the +Bus through Aalborg city [Aalborg Municipality, 2018a]

The stops of the +Bus are divided in four main areas, which the +Bus will run through. The municipality has described these four areas with individual identities to illustrate the differences in the areas, the +Bus will pass, and how it will help develop these areas [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a]. The four main areas are: Vestbyen, Midtbyen, Østbyen, and the university area. 11 of the 23 bus stops are characterised as main stops, and according to the municipality, they will do an effort to develop the urban spaces around these stops to make them more attractive, and to better integrate the +Bus in the city [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a]. The main stops are:

- Haraldslund
- Vestbyen Station
- Nytorv

- John F. Kennedys Plads
- Karolinelund
- Eternitten
- Grønlands Torv
- University
- Campus Forum
- Aalborg Super Hospital [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f].

The case of the +Bus will be used to understand how Aalborg Municipality's powerful storytelling of it can reinforce the +Bus' dominant discourse and be a catalyst for the new spatial understanding of Aalborg. The next section will describe the process of the implementation of the +Bus, to understand in which context the story of the +Bus is told.

4.2 The Process of the +Bus

This section will present the process of the implementation of the +Bus and through that the context in which the story of the +Bus is told. To understand the context of the implementation of the +Bus, this section aims to describe the story from a light rail to a +Bus told by Aalborg Municipality.

The system of a high class transportation system has changed during the process of the +Bus, which is illustrated in figure 4.1. This timeline is devised to get a better understanding of the events during the implementation of a +Bus in Aalborg, which creates a better understanding of the story of the +Bus.

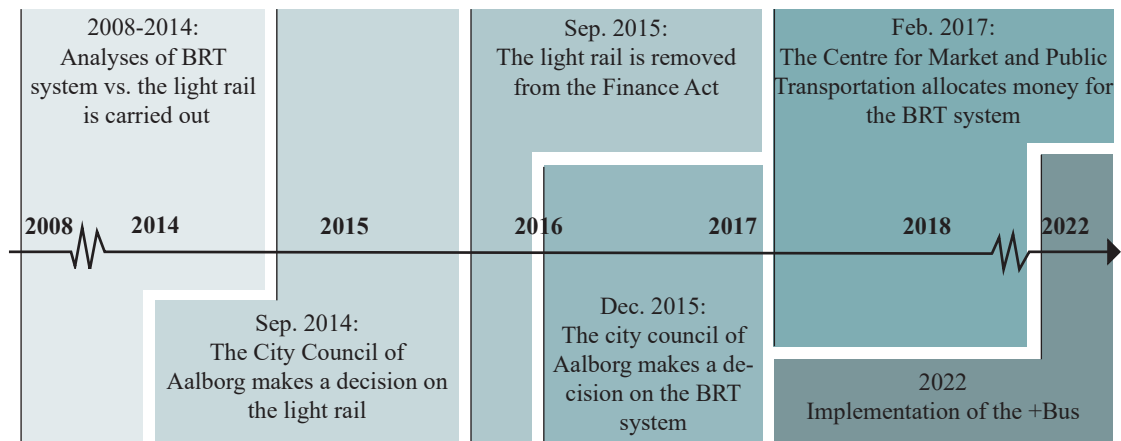


Figure 4.1: Timeline of the process of a public transportation system in Aalborg city

4.2.1 Light Rail in Aalborg City

As the timeline shows, the first solution to a public transportation system in Aalborg was a light rail. Aalborg Municipality made from 2008-2014 a lot of studies to investigate, what kind of transportation system would be the best for Aalborg city. It was a light rail system and a BRT system which were investigated, and several reports, especially the investigation report from 2014, analysed upon which system would, according to the municipality, meet their challenges the best [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c].

The aim of the report was to analyse the systems that would raise the level of quality and capacity in public transportation, and make it more attractive and efficient [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c]. The two systems were analysed in different parameters like; the material of the systems, the impact of the city, the security and the rights of the system, the environmental impact, and the economy and maintenance impact [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c]. In the end the investigation of the two systems lead to a decision made by the politicians in Aalborg City Council the 8th of September 2014, where the majority decided, that a light rail was the best solution in Aalborg [Aalborg Municipality, 2014a]. All the politicians supported the decision, except Hans Peter Beck from Liberal Alliance who did not vote in favour of the light rail, because he thought the solution was too expensive and several plans in connection to the implementation of the light rail were missing [Aalborg Municipality, 2014a]. However, the alderman of the Culture and Health Committee for Aalborg Municipality, Mads Duedahl, expressed in an interview in 2014 with DR regional news, that the light rail was the best solution because *"far more people can be transported with the light rail, and at the same time, it is more energy efficient. And 5000 are going to work at the new Super Hospital in a few years"*[DR, 2014, own translation].

In connection to the decision about a light rail, an addendum to Aalborg municipal plan was devised in 2015, where further justification of the light rail was explained [Aalborg Municipality, 2015c]. Aalborg Municipality argues in the addendum, that the light rail has been chosen not just as a traffic solution, but as a solution which can support the ongoing story of a transition from an industrial city to a knowledge city [Aalborg Municipality, 2015c]. Further, they argue that it is the best solution for a transportation system, because it attracts people, solves the problem of overloaded busses, and supports the development in the already existing growth axis, which the light rail will run along [Aalborg Municipality, 2015c]. In the municipal addendum a track, from Mølholm in the western part of Aalborg to the new Super Hospital in the eastern part of Aalborg, was reserved, which means that the light rail could be established along this alignment [Aalborg Municipality, 2015c]. In continuation of the addendum to the municipal plan, an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) report of the light rail was made in June 2015 considering several environmental impacts on the same distance as reserved in the addendum [Aalborg Municipality, 2015e]. The Danish Government supported this assessment with 6 m DKK, and promised in the proposal for the Finance Act 2015, that Aalborg Municipality would get 839 m DKK, as economical support from the state to implement the light rail [Transportministeriet, 2014].

Despite the majority in favour of a light rail in Aalborg City Council, the preliminary examinations, and the justification of the light rail as the best transportation system in Aalborg city, the light rail did not get implemented in Aalborg. The reason behind this was, that in 2015 Denmark had a parliamentary election, where Lars Løkke Rasmussen became Prime Minister for a minority government only consisting of the party Venstre [Aarhus University, 2015]. The power thereby shifted in Denmark, and a new Finance Act was obligatory to devise [Finansministeriet, 2015]. In September 2015 a new proposal for the Finance Act 2016 was made, and it did not contain economical subsidy for a light rail in Aalborg [Finansministeriet, 2015]. The subsidy from the state got cancelled, because the proposal for the Finance Act 2016 only allocated subsidies to the ongoing light rail projects in Denmark, which did not include the project in Aalborg [Finansministeriet, 2015]. This meant that Aalborg Municipality had to come up with a new solution for a

transportation system in Aalborg, as they could not finance the light rail alone [COWI, 2016].

4.2.2 BRT System in Aalborg City

Two months after the state cancelled the subsidies to the light rail in Aalborg, the city council agreed on a BRT system, despite the local politicians continuously fought for the light rail the weeks after the rejection [Aalborg Municipality, 2015a]. This new solution for Aalborg was decided on a meeting the 14th of December 2015 [Aalborg Municipality, 2015b]. At the meeting the city council approved, that the light rail secretariat continued, but instead as a BRT secretariat, and the politicians agreed, that the BRT project could continue within the same frames as the light rail project, as the investigation report contained both solutions, and the EIA report assessed the same route [Aalborg Municipality, 2015b]. In continuation of the agreement of the BRT system as a transportation solution, Aalborg Municipality devised a report concerning an estimation of the construction of a BRT system in February 2016 [COWI, 2016]. The report argues, that the solution should still be a public transportation system, with a high regularity with high speed, and a good comfort [COWI, 2016]. Further, the report explains, that the route of the BRT system should run from Aalborg racing track in the western part of the city until the new Super Hospital in Aalborg East [COWI, 2016]. The report also shows, that the cost for the BRT solution compared to the light rail solution is much lower, especially because the BRT solution is a bus that runs on the existing road, and not in its own tracks [COWI, 2016].

Many of the already devised investigations could be implemented for the BRT project, and Aalborg Municipality could continue within the same frame as the light rail project. However, the costs of the BRT system is lower than the light rails cost, but Aalborg Municipality still needed subsidies from the Danish Government to implement the BRT project [Aalborg Municipality, 2017]. Therefore, Aalborg Municipality made an application in 2017 for resources from the pool for investments in public transportation. Here they highlighted Aalborg's need for a BRT system, and presented this transportation system, as a project called the +Bus [Aalborg Municipality, 2017]. In February 2017 the Danish parties; Socialdemokratiet, Dansk Folkeparti, Det Radikale Venstre, Socialistisk Folkeparti, and Enhedslisten, allocated the pool for better and cheaper traffic with 395 m DKK for investments in public bus transportation in Denmark [Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2017]. This pool got allocated without the support of the government at that time, but only by the opposing parties, who allocated 250 m DKK to the +Bus project in Aalborg City [Transport-, Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2017].

With this decision in February 2017 about a subvention for the +Bus on 250 m DKK, Aalborg Municipality is now planning for this solution in Aalborg city. The cost of the +Bus is calculated by Aalborg Municipality to be 510 m DKK, where 250 m DKK, will be financed by the state, 245 m DKK. financed by Aalborg Municipality, and 15 m DKK financed by Region North Denmark [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f].

The process of the +Bus is at the present moment at the stage where Aalborg Municipality has published a proposal of the local plan for the +Bus and a municipal addendum for the +Bus in April 2018, which means that the next step for the municipality regarding

the +Bus is the public hearing for the proposals of these plans. The local plan is 538 pages, and is a report of both the entire route of the +Bus, and an explanation of the different areas along the route. [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f]. The municipal addendum of the +Bus is made to make a foundation for the +Bus route and to highlight the value of the +Bus in relation to the sustainable urban development in Aalborg, according to the municipality. Aalborg municipality is expecting the +Bus to be implemented in Aalborg city by 2022 [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f].

Through this story from a light rail to a +Bus, the next section will focus on the story of the +Bus, as Aalborg Municipality through this process of implementing the +Bus has had to reinvent their story of a high class transportation system in Aalborg. The next section thereby focuses on the storylines in relation to the +Bus.

4.3 Identification of Storylines

This section will identify the storylines of the +Bus to analyse how Aalborg Municipality is telling the story of the +Bus. This section will present the identified storylines, which have been constructed through document analysis of different plans, articles, and strategies, and through interviews with representatives from the +Bus project group. The different storylines will be supported and explained by statements from both the document analysis and the interviews, and this section will highlight the use of metaphors within the different storylines. By identifying the storylines of the +Bus, an understanding of which themes, the +Bus project group associate the +Bus to, will be provided, and the structure of the section will follow these themes.

Urban Transition

The first storyline identified is based on Aalborg Municipality's overall story about development in Aalborg city, as it concerns the transition from an industrial city to a knowledge city related to the +Bus:

The establishment of the +Bus is not just a transportation project but a part
of the transition from an industrial to a knowledge city

Aalborg Municipality states that *"the desire to establish a light rail or BRT system in Aalborg should not be seen as a transport project alone, but as an important part of Aalborg's overall urban strategy and transition from industrial to knowledge city"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c, p. 10, own translation]. The quote expresses, how Aalborg Municipality explains that the +Bus is not only a transportation system, but is an element in, what Sandercock [2003] describes as, Aalborg's fundamental story of the transition from being an industrial to becoming a knowledge city, which have been going on for years. Aalborg Municipality thereby describes the +Bus project in the fundamental story of urban transition in Aalborg, and as all of the storylines can fit under this theme, it can be argued that this is the overall theme of the storylines.

Growth

The second theme, the next three storylines are gathered around, is growth. The storylines in connection to growth are:

The +Bus is a physical manifestation of the growth axis

The +Bus is a profitable investment and supports the growth in proximate urban areas

The alignment from Vestbyen to the Super Hospital is the most favourable solution, as it creates the best potential for growth

As elaborated in the introduction and the case presentation, then the growth axis is an important parameter for growth in Aalborg, which has been used as an illustration of the way the municipality wants to develop the city. The first storyline explains, how the +Bus will be an expression of this axis, as Mette Olesen explains in her interview: *"I actually thinks that the vision of the growth axis has been so heavily articulated, that it is as strong as the implementation of a +Bus. The +Bus just becomes the physical manifestation of the growth axis"* [Olesen, 2018, 26:38, own translation]. The +Bus is thereby understood as a physical implementation of the growth axis in Aalborg. Aalborg Municipality also supports this storyline, as they express that *"the BRT-connection will strengthen the growth axis and connects important destinations in the city."* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 5, own translation]. The +Bus is thereby not just described as something which will manifest the growth axis, but also further strengthen it. The municipality further describes the +Bus and the growth axis as similar as they say *"with high capacity, stability and great comfort, the +Bus will make it faster and more attractive to move through the city's growth axis"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 2, own translation]. The growth axis and +Bus are according to Aalborg Municipality the same alignment and thereby they work hand in hand. The storyline uses the word manifestation used by Mette Olesen, which adds a physical dimension to the growth axis, and underlines the importance of the relation between the +Bus and the growth axis.

The second storyline also focuses on growth, but in Aalborg in general, as Aalborg Municipality argue that *"the BRT-connection will support the extremely positive growth and development that characterises the city in these years. New housing and commercial buildings - especially alongside the growth axis - mean that more and more people need to travel fast and easy around the city"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 5, own translation]. The +Bus is described as a growth factor that will strengthen the growth in Aalborg, as new housing will arise in surrounding areas of the +Bus route and the people living in these houses will need this form of transportation in their everyday life. Additionally the +Bus is described as an factor of growth in the municipal plan 2013, where the alignment of the +Bus' placement along the growth axis is explained to be *"the starting point for a concentrated urban growth in Aalborg"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2013b, p. 87, own translation]. Aalborg Municipality thereby adds the value to the +Bus of being the

starting point of urban growth in Aalborg, which means that they think, that the +Bus will not just strengthen the growth but also facilitate it.

Related to the storyline about the growth axis of Aalborg, the third storyline within growth describes how the route of the +Bus is the best one, as it creates the greatest potential for growth. This is told by Aalborg Municipality, who states that *"the +Bus travels through the city from West to East and creates coherence between the individual districts. Analyses show that the alignment West-East from the newly established Vestre Fjord Park through the city centre to the University Hospital is the optimal solution. It creates the best potential for development. At the same time, the passengers' travel through the city becomes more efficient"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 6, own translation]. This quote shows how Aalborg Municipality describes the route as being optimal, and how it both creates coherence and efficiency in travelling time. Mette Olesen from NT also talks about how she thinks, that the route from West to East is optimal, in the first stage of the implementation of the +Bus, as bus line 2 runs on the +Bus route now and is used by *"the most passengers, so that is where we start upgrading"* [Olesen, 2018, 06:49, own translation]. She also states that the Super Hospital plays an important role in the route of the +Bus, and the two projects must be coordinated by expressing that *"(...) the +Bus must open, when the Super Hospital opens"* [Olesen, 2018, 06:49, own translation]. She argues that it is essential that the +Bus is running before the hospital opens, as it is difficult to change the behaviour of people, if they get used to driving in their private cars. The alignment of the +Bus is thereby argued to be the most favourable solution due to growth by both NT and Aalborg Municipality.

Through the first three storylines around growth it becomes visible, that Aalborg Municipality and NT describe and understand the +Bus as being important for the growth and development in Aalborg city. It will both facilitate, influence, and strengthen the urban development, especially along the growth axis.

Public Transportation

The next set of storylines are concentrated about the theme of public transportation. The storylines are:

Aalborg City needs the +Bus as a traffic-related backbone to solve their traffic-related challenges

The +Bus will entail a growth in passengers by improving the capacity, accessibility, and frequency of public transportation

The +Bus project will support Aalborg as a city and promote it as a centre of excellence in the North Denmark Region

Aalborg Municipality justifies the implementation of the +Bus by describing different traffic-related challenges: *"The traffic jams becomes longer and longer in Aalborg, and public transportation has difficulties keeping up with the needs. If the many newcomers*

have the same travel habits, as people in Aalborg have today, it means that the daily transportation in the city will rise by 400,000 km. Without a better option, 79% of this increase will consist of car traffic" [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 3, own translation]. The municipality justifies through this quote, that a +Bus will be a solution to these challenges. However, it must be considered, that the traffic-related challenges are self-induced by the municipality, and can thereby be argued of matching the justification of the +Bus better. They further describe the +Bus as the traffic-related backbone to which Jens Mogensen expresses that *"the +Bus project should contribute to ease some of the traffic pressure"* [Mogensen, 2018, 18:35, own translation]. By the word 'backbone', the municipality uses a metaphor to describe the meaning of the +Bus being an important transportation system in Aalborg city, which other transportation systems in public transportation are connected to. They thereby try to visualise the importance of the +Bus in the public transportation in Aalborg through the understanding of the purpose of a backbone in the human body. Contrary, Mette Olesen argues that *"it is not meant that the other [bus] routes should suffer from a +Bus, it should contribute to help lifting the entire system"* [Olesen, 2018, 05:18, own translation].

The second storyline within public transportation explains how the +Bus is described as an improvement and strength in the public transportation in Aalborg and through that will entail a growth in passengers. Jens Mogensen from Region North Denmark states that *"(...) because you can be sure to get their quickly, I think that it is useful for the passengers, and it will attract more passengers (...)"* [Mogensen, 2018, 13:12, own translation]. Mette Olesen from NT agrees with the growth in passengers. She highlights that new target groups might be interesting in using public transportation due to the increased level of service. In the interview she argues that *"the [+Bus] will probably appeal to someone else, especially the urban target groups, who move to the city these days"* [Olesen, 2018, 11:16, own translation]. Furthermore, the +Bus as being a strength for the public transportation gets justified by several technical statements by Aalborg Municipality. They argue that *"the busses are up to 25 meters long and can carry 150-200 people at a time. In addition, the busses offer extra high comfort and user-friendliness, which offers a gain in travelling time"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 5, own translation]. Additionally, Mette Olesen supports this statement and adds that *"it to a great extent concerns capacity. And of course, it concerns the level of service and a product you would like to offer (...). Additionally, it is important that people do not feel (...) poor comfort"* [Olesen, 2018, 10:16, own translation]. The statements support the opinion of the +Bus increasing passengers using the public transportation in Aalborg through an improvement of both capacity, accessibility and frequency.

Not only, will the +Bus increase the public transportation in Aalborg, it will also improve the connection to the regional public transportation, as the third storyline of public transportation states. Aalborg Municipality supports this storyline as they state that *"the high class public transport connection is part of the Northern Jutland main network for public transport"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 7, own translation]. As the quote says then the +Bus is described as being part of the main network in Northern Jutland, which following quote from the municipality further supports. *"A light rail or BRT, together with a new continuous train system across the region, a new lane connection to Aalborg Airport, and a strengthened connection to the busses will provide a total boost to public transport both*

locally and regionally" [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c, p. 82, own translation]. Additionally, Jens Mogensen from The North Denmark Region explains that *"the only place where there are such accessibility problems is on the main road network in Aalborg in the centre of Aalborg"*, of which reason they financially are a part of the +Bus project. The +Bus is thereby relevant to different scales as it will also boost the regional public transportation even though the route only runs in Aalborg city. Mette Olesen from NT supports this by stating *"what we call the main network in Northern Jutland, that the +Bus is part of"* [Olesen, 2018, 23:58, own translation]. It can thereby be argued that the +Bus will not only support the public transportation in the city of Aalborg but also the North Denmark Region.

The three storylines about public transportation shows how Aalborg Municipality, NT, and North Denmark Region understand the +Bus as a major improvement within public transportation in Aalborg, and overall in the North Denmark Region.

Sustainability

The next three storylines are related to the theme of sustainability, as they state that:

The +Bus will provide a decongested route for public transportation in Aalborg and will reduce the citizens need for car traffic and parking spaces

The +Bus will be the backbone of sustainable development in Aalborg City

The +Bus will both entail and support the goal of urban densification

The first storyline of sustainability describes how the +Bus will be prioritised compared to cars in the traffic of Aalborg. This is supported by following statement: *"While the +Bus, for the users of public transportation, means increased accessibility, the consequences for motorists will be a limited freedom of movement in relation to the situation today"* [Nordjyske, 2018, own translation]. The car traffic will according to this be reduced due to the +Bus, and it will gain more accessibility, and as Jens Mogensen asks *"would it not detrimental affect the cars along the route? It probably would"* [Mogensen, 2018, 05:58, own translation]. Another example is that some roads along the alignment of the +Bus either will be closed or made into one-way streets due to the implementation of the +Bus [Nordjyske, 2018]. In continuation, Jens Mogensen points out that *"in fact, it is also something that we want to achieve. We will then get the cars out of the city and move more people to public transportation of which reason it can be understood as a means instead"* [Mogensen, 2018, 05:58, own translation]. Anne Juel Andersen from Aalborg Municipality also states that both car traffic and parking will be reduced due to the +Bus, as she states that *"we would like to promote public transportation, and there are some consequences for parking and cars, but in return you will get urban spaces, which everyone will benefit from"* [Andersen, 2018a, 34:10, own translation]. The reduction of parking and cars thereby becomes settled with the establishments of urban spaces, according to Anne Juel Andersen.

The second and third storyline of sustainability reflect on the overall sustainable profit an establishment of a +Bus will entail. In the local plan for the +Bus, Aalborg Municipality argues that *"in addition, the [+Bus] will on parts of the route have its own lane and will be prioritised in the traffic lights to ensure maximum accessibility. This is crucial for BRT becoming an attractive alternative to the car and an effective 'lever' for sustainable urban development"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 19, own translation]. The +Bus is thereby argued as being an important factor for the sustainable development in Aalborg, as it will be a more sustainable alternative to driving a car. To reach this sustainable development is, according to Anne Juel Andersen, a goal, when she says that *"(...) it is also a goal when we think of mobility in the future, it is a goal to achieve sustainable mobility, (...) and for that we need to prioritise public transport"* [Andersen, 2018a, p. 08:30, own translation]. The municipality uses different metaphors to really emphasise how they think, that the +Bus will be part of the sustainable development in Aalborg. They describe the +Bus as both being a 'lever' and 'backbone' for sustainable development, which shows that they attribute a lot of value to the +Bus in connection to sustainability.

The third storyline of sustainability is supported by several statements highlighting the importance of the +Bus in continuation of densification. Aalborg Municipality states that *"the light rail/BRT solution will support an urban development that creates density, co-localisation of the city's important destinations, and short distances in the city"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c, p. 14, own translation], and they further describe their goal of establishing the +Bus as *"(...) a green and sustainable urban density around the BRT connection focusing on city quality, attractive urban spaces, urbanity and sustainable mobility"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 7, own translation]. The +Bus will, according to the municipality, achieve urban density, but also support the ongoing urban density, which will make Aalborg city more sustainable.

The three storylines of sustainability thereby argue, how the +Bus will be understood as the backbone of sustainable development in Aalborg, as it will reduce cars, parking and support the urban densification.

Urban Development

As the former storylines describe, then the +Bus is attributed a lot of different values, and the +Bus is not only considered as a traffic-related project, but also as an urban development project, which is the theme for the next storylines:

The +Bus is a driving force for urban development

The +Bus will connect important areas in Aalborg City and improve the
coherence of the city

The +Bus will help forge new identities for Aalborg City and its constituent
cityscapes

The +Bus is in the first storyline of urban development described as a driving force of urban development. It is especially Aalborg Municipality who understands the project like this,

when they state that *"the +Bus is as much about the city as it is about traffic. Aalborg Municipality wants to use the +Bus as a driving force for urban development"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 15, own translation]. The municipality uses several metaphors when they describe the +Bus's effect on urban development, as they describe it as both the 'catalyst', 'driving force' and 'life blood' of the urban development in Aalborg [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a]. These metaphors are used from Aalborg Municipality to create an understanding of the +Bus as something much more than a bus, and connect the mobility project to urban development, which Anne Juel Andersen also claims, when she states that *"mobility and urban development are two completely linked sizes"* [Andersen, 2018a, 08:30, own translation]. Anne Juel Andersen further describes the +Bus and strategy of the city centre of Aalborg as being very connected, as she explains that *"the city centre strategy and the +Bus project are constantly grinding each other, not in a bad way, but they need coordination all the time"* [Andersen, 2018a, 20:30, own translation]. The municipality thereby describes the +Bus as having a great connection and effect on the urban development of Aalborg, which is further elaborated in the second storylines.

The second storyline of urban development highlights the opinion of the +Bus being an important connection through areas in Aalborg city. This is supported by several statements, that describes that *"the +Bus creates a new form of mobility that fundamentally changes the cohesion of the city"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 5, own translation] and it thereby relates to the storylines of public transportation, as this storyline further argues for the +Bus being important in the public transportation in Aalborg city. Anne Juel Andersen also agrees with this, when she states that *"we think, [the +Bus] will connect the city in a better way"* [Andersen, 2018a, 08:30, own translation]. The +Bus thereby not only becomes a bus, but also an important connection for the coherent understanding of Aalborg city. This point of view is further supported by different illustrations from especially Aalborg Municipality, who sees this new +Bus as being the leading transportation system for combining the different opportunities in the different areas in Aalborg. The municipality also describes the different areas with different identities along the +Bus, which the last storyline puts into focus.

The +Bus is according to the third storyline of urban development both forging a new identity for Aalborg city in general, but also in the different surrounding areas along the +Bus route. Aalborg Municipality states that *"an identity connection is created by having the entire transportation system, both route, stops and other technical equipment, and giving it the same overall expression"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c, p. 53, own translation]. The identity shaped through the +Bus should thereby be coherent through the city, according to Aalborg Municipality. On the other side, the areas along the +Bus route also gets their own identity from Aalborg Municipality to describe the variety in the areas along the +Bus route. Aalborg Municipality argues that *"the intention is that the different areas on the BRT route must have their own identity based on the particular potentials of the area"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016d, p. 22, own translation]. This supports the idea of the +Bus forging the identity of not only Aalborg in general, but as well in the different surrounding areas.

Through the storylines of the urban development, it becomes clear that the +Bus is added value of not just working as a transportation system, but as an overall urban development

project, which will affect the growth and the transition of Aalborg city.

Through all of the storylines, it is found that the +Bus is attributed with a lot of value concerning both growth, public transportation, sustainability and urban development in Aalborg. The analysis of the storylines of the +Bus thereby shows, that Aalborg Municipality, NT, and the North Region Denmark are creating one comprehensive story about the +Bus, which will be further explained in the next section, as it will combine the story of the +Bus.

4.4 The +Bus Story

This section will use the storylines identified in the former section and combine them into the entire story, told by Aalborg Municipality and the project group of the +Bus. The story has been identified as being one combined story, with different themes within it, in the shape of the different storylines. After identifying the story of the +Bus, it will be set in perspective to the light rail, to explore how the story of the light rail has contributed to the creation of the story of the +Bus.

The story of the +Bus is told in relation to the fundamental story of urban transition in Aalborg, as it takes point of departure in how Aalborg is going through a transition from an industrial to a knowledge city. The +Bus is told as being a part of this transition, and as an element of the transition is the growth axis, which the +Bus, according to the storytellers, is a physical manifestation of. The alignment of the +Bus is further not randomly picked, but again connected to the growth axis, as it is the most potential route for growth in Aalborg city, as it runs through important attractions and connects institutions.

Despite planning for growth, Aalborg is also dealing with traffic-related challenges due to the increasing population. The busses are today lacking capacity and level of service since they, especially at bus line 2, are overloaded and people usually cannot sit down. The solution for these traffic-related challenges is told in the story to be the +Bus, as it will become an important parameter for the public transportation in Aalborg.

The improving of the public transportation system, in the shape of the +Bus, is increasing the accessibility and amount of passengers. The +Bus will attract more people to use public transportation and not only the ones using it before, but another and larger target group. Further, the +Bus will improve the accessibility, especially for vulnerable road users. The +Bus project does not only concern public transportation on the Aalborg scale but is influencing the regional scale too.

Additionally, the +Bus is a driving force for reducing the use of private cars and thereby the need for parking too, as the +Bus is a sustainable solution, that will attract several people to use public transportation instead of cars, and therefore the need for both cars and parking spaces will be reduced. The +Bus is thereby explained as a sustainable project, as it potentially will run on renewable energy, convince more people to replace the car with public transportation, and increase the capacity of passengers in a bus. This will entail and support urban densification, which is a goal to reach in connection to the +Bus, as housing will be gathered around the +Bus stations.

Finally, a large part of the +Bus story is its influence on the urban development and not just mobility, which is most of all what makes it distinguish from regular city busses. By influencing the urban development, it is told that the +Bus will contribute to create a new spatial understanding of Aalborg city and will create a new coherent structure of the different areas. By doing this, it additionally helps forge new identities for Aalborg city as a whole, but for the individual areas connected to the route as well. The +Bus is thereby not just a bus as every other busses, but is the foundation of urban development in Aalborg in general and in the areas along the route of it.

This story of the +Bus is adding a lot of qualities to it as it expresses the +Bus in relation to both growth, public transportation, sustainability, and urban development. Anne Juel Andersen from Aalborg Municipality highlights, how the focus from Aalborg Municipality has been to construct a coherent story of the +Bus, as she says that "*[Aalborg Municipality] ties things together, it is both mobility, the growth axis including housing, green qualities, and patterns of movement, which we tie together. That is the story we are telling*" [Andersen, 2018a, 27:46, own translation]. The goal for the story of the +Bus is according to Anne Juel Andersen to tie different aspects together, which is what the analysis of the storylines and in the end an identification of the combined overall story of the +Bus is all about.

To get a better understanding of the story of the +Bus in relation to the process of the high class transportation system in Aalborg city, the following subsection will investigate the story of the light rail in relation to the story of the +Bus.

4.4.1 The Story of the +Bus in Perspective of the Light Rail

As pointed out in section 4.2, the high class transportation project has not always concerned the +Bus project, of which reason the story has been about both the +Bus and the light rail. In perspective of the rejection of the light rail, Aalborg Municipality had to reinvent the story of the high class transportation system to concern the +Bus. Aalborg Municipality has decided to include the rejection of the light rail in the story of the +Bus to ensure, that the ambitions of the light rail will be met through the +Bus project. How the rejection has influenced the story of the +Bus, will be elaborated in the following.

One of the first times the project of a high class transportation system was mentioned was back in 2008, where the mayor of Aalborg expressed a need for "*a smoother form of public transport from Aalborg city centre to Aalborg East. A mode of transport that saves time*" [Nordjyske, 2008, own translation]. Additionally, this was the starting point for the story of the +Bus.

The focus in the story of the high class transportation system has changed since the start of the +Bus project. As presented in the case presentation, it was in the period 2008-2014 analysed whether the +Bus or the light rail was the best solution for Aalborg. Of that reason the two solutions have during the process been compared. At this period the comparison concerned the rail factor of the light rail, where Aalborg Municipality argued that "*the difference between a light rail and BRT is attributed to the so-called rail factor, which reflects experiences for a higher attractiveness of a light rail than a corresponding*

BRT solution" [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c, p. 90, own translation]. Additionally the rail factor has been used as an argument for an increase in passengers, as it is associated with trains which to different user groups are argued to appear more attractive than busses [Olesen, 2018]. Furthermore, factors such as green pavement, sustainability and finally economy were in focus. Regarding the pavement then Aalborg Municipality wrote in one of the preliminary analysis that *"the light rail solution allows more choice for the pavement along the track"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c, p. 51, own translation], allowing more green or aesthetic solutions. In relation to the economy, the city council politician Mads Duedahl expressed that *"experience shows that the light rail will pay up til 13 times the investment back. Unlike, for example, increased bus operation, light rail is a continuing investment that gives investors the confidence in future development"* [Nordjyske, 2015d, own translation] where he pointed out the economic benefits of the confidence the rail factor of the light rail would provide the investors. The Transportation Spokesman for Socialdemokratiet, Rasmus Prehn supported the positive statements about the light rail by arguing that *"the light rail is basically a good and healthy investment if we want more people to replace their car to public transport. The light rail will cause less traffic jam and a greener Aalborg for the benefit of the environment and the hustle and bustle of the city"* [TV2 Nord, 2015, own translation].

As a consequence of the cancelled subsidy for the light rail, the +Bus project group's position of the light rail and +Bus changed. In only a couple of years, the story of the light rail and the +Bus changed too. The light rail was no longer in favour, and the +Bus was by Aalborg Municipality described as *"very similar to light railways, as the same elements are used. Only the steel wheels are replaced with rubber and the rails with asphalt"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2017, p. 3, own translation]. Through this quote, it became clear that the position of the municipality changed along with the practice of the removal of the light rail from the Finance Act, which made a light rail solution impossible to implement in Aalborg. The green, sustainable and economic advantages of the light rail were no longer in focus, and the story of the high class transportation system changed focus to the similarities between the +Bus and the light rail.

Today, the two solutions are not only given equal status, the story of the +Bus solution is often told more positive than the light rail through the focus of the reduced cost. For instance, it is told that a light rail might have more capacity than a +Bus, but in perspective of the size of Aalborg, this large capacity is not needed [Olesen, 2018]. Anne Juel Andersen additionally points out that some of the advantages of the +Bus are that *"we do not have to put up all cables in advance, which is extremely expensive"* to which she adds that *"it costs a quarter [of the price of the light rail], so it also means that you are closer to a stage 2"* [Andersen, 2018a, 13:32, own translation]. Additionally, the position about the confidence, the rail factor of the light rail gave the investors, has changed. Today, the confidence of the light rail is referred to as the flexibility of the +Bus and as Mette Olesen points out, *"(...) when you have a system that is more flexible, it is easier to redesign it, whereas if you have a system that is more rigid like a light rail, one can not just change it"* [Olesen, 2018, 13:21, own translation].

As it is pointed out by the planners of the project, it has been essential to the +Bus project to continue with the same ambitions as they had with the light rail project.

"The ambition for the +Bus project is to create a high-class public BRT system that is capable of generating the same traffic and urban development related benefits, known from light rail projects" [Aalborg Municipality, 2017, p. 4, own translation].

This quote indicates the importance of keeping the same ambitions for the +Bus project to be able to achieve the same benefits as the light rail project could have provided to Aalborg. In this perspective, Anne Juel Andersen says that the municipality asked themselves: *"Could we not make a bus smart and cool and attractive like a light rail?"* [Andersen, 2018a, p. 13:32, own translation], which now is what they are working for. As this indicates, then Jens Mogensen from North Denmark Region states that *"if you cannot have what you love, you must love what you get"* [Mogensen, 2018, 16:52, own translation]. Of the same reason, it has been important to Aalborg Municipality, at an early stage after the decision of a +Bus, to point out that the *"+Bus solution is the permanent solution for public transport"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 14, own translation], and it should not be considered as being temporary. This was in the aim of telling the public that the municipality believe in this solution, and additionally, provide the investors with confidence in the future planning of Aalborg.

Today, the interviewed planners point out the benefits of the process the +Bus project has been through. They argue that the project's origin in a light rail project enabled possibilities which would not have been possible, if the vision was created based on a bus project. As Mette Olesen points out then *"the light rail is just a tool"* [Olesen, 2018, 16:30, own translation] or it turned out to be a tool to create this high level of ambitions for the +Bus project. Anne Juel Andersen additionally asks that *"if we have the same visions that we had for the light rail, don't you think it could be met by a bus?"* [Andersen, 2018a, 13:32, own translation]. In this quote, she points out the possibility of meeting the same ambition through another technology. To answer her question, all three planners argue that it all depends on the will of the politicians to sacrifice space of the cars. Mette Olesen additionally points out, that she is excited to see *"if they hold on [to the ambitions]. If they hold on, they say that they will have to shut down some parking spaces and limit some traffic"* [Olesen, 2018, 13:32, own translation].

To sum up this section 4.4, then the story of the +Bus, told by Aalborg Municipality, is a comprehensive story, as it takes point of departure in Aalborg's transition from an industrial to a knowledge city and concludes with a description of its influence on the future urban development in Aalborg. In the perspective of the process of the +Bus project, the story is at one point exactly the same, but has at the same time changed too. The story has stayed the same as the planners, in the larger perspective, explain that the +Bus will contribute to the transition of Aalborg and the future urban development of Aalborg as the light rail would. Contrary, the perspective of the story has changed because the story of the +Bus to a higher degree concerns the reduced costs and the flexibility of the system, where it previously focused on the confidence the rail factor gave the investors and economic repayment of the light rail.

Taking point of departure in the identified storylines and story of the +Bus, the following section will identify the dominating discourse and discourse coalitions of the +Bus to understand what lies behind the story of the +Bus.

4.5 Dominating Discourse behind the Story of the +Bus

The aim of this section is to identify the discourses behind the story of the +Bus to understand the dominating discourse behind Aalborg Municipality's arguments of the +Bus.

Through the identification of the story of the +Bus, and the time perspective in relation to the light rail, the discourses of the +Bus can be identified. The storylines of the +Bus gives an implication of the discourses around the +Bus, as a discourse, according to Hajer's discourse analysis, can be characterised as *"(...) an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices"* [Hajer, 2005, p. 300]. The discourses of the +Bus are classified according to the themes identified in section 4.3 about storylines, where urban transition is identified as the contextual discourse, and the four others as the underlying ones. The discourses are the following:

- Urban Transition
- Growth
- Urban Development
- Sustainability
- Public Transportation

The different discourses behind the +Bus are identified as being individual words, but the words are all connected to the understanding of the +Bus and these understandings will be elaborated for each of them.

Urban transition is understood as a contextual discourse, as it works on a higher scale than the other discourses, because the understanding of the urban transition in relation to the +Bus is connected to the first storyline of the +Bus being part of the transition from an industrial to a knowledge city in Aalborg. The +Bus thereby becomes part of this overall contextual discourse, as it works as part of this transition.

Growth is another discourse behind the +Bus as it, according to Aalborg Municipality, plays an important role in connection to the implementation of the +Bus. The storylines about the growth axis, the alignment, and the +Bus being a profitable investment all support the discourse of growth in connection to the +Bus. When Aalborg Municipality talks about the +Bus in relation to growth then it is described as being important for growth, as they articulate that *"the BRT connection will support the extremely positive growth and development that characterises [Aalborg] in these years"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 5, own translation]. The +Bus is thereby added the value of growth, and the +Bus as a catalyst for growth is used in several argumentation of Aalborg Municipality to justify the implementation of the +Bus in Aalborg.

Another discourse around the +Bus is urban development. The +Bus is understood as not just a mobility project, but to a great extent as an urban development project. This discourse of the +Bus in relation to urban development is supported by the storylines of identities of Aalborg city, the connection between important areas, and the +Bus being a driving force for urban development. Especially, the last storyline is about how Aalborg Municipality understands the importance of the +Bus in connection to urban development,

and therefore how the discourse of urban development, should be understood in relation to the +Bus. The connection is understood as *"the wish for a +Bus is a completely central strategic element in the municipality's overall vision for the city. The value of a +Bus solution must therefore be assessed in relation to the potential it gives to urban development"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2017, p. 3, own translation]. The potential the +Bus gives to urban development, is through this articulation the understanding of the second discourse of the +Bus.

The argumentation of the urban development discourse leads to the third discourse behind the +Bus, which is sustainability. This is supported by several storylines which concerns; the +Bus reducing cars and parking, growth in passengers, and urban densification. These storylines all have different purposes, but can all be connected to the storyline about the +Bus being the backbone of sustainable urban development in Aalborg, as e.g. a reduction of cars and parking due to the implementation of a +Bus will make the city more 'green' and sustainable, as people will then use the +Bus instead of the cars. When identifying sustainability as a discourse is thereby meant in connection to the +Bus as being the backbone of sustainable development, which the municipality describes in the following quote:

"With BRT, Aalborg's public transportation will get an effective boost, which will both benefit the road users, who will arrive faster, and [the +Bus] will at the same time clear the way for further sustainable urban development within the growth axis of the city" [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 5, own translation].

The storylines of a growth in passengers and urban densification also support the discourse of sustainability, as a transfer from cars to public transportation and thereby a growth in passengers will make the urban development in Aalborg more sustainable. Simultaneously, urban densification will also move the development in a more sustainable direction, as it induces less space to plan for. The discourse of sustainability is therefore understood as being related to the +Bus, in the way of the +Bus being a catalyst and driving force for sustainability, especially in relation to urban development.

The last identified discourse around the +Bus is public transportation, which is supported by the storylines; the expansion of target group, Aalborg as the centre in the region, accessibility, and an improved increase in public transportation. This discourse thereby surrounds the focus of how the +Bus will increase the level of public transportation in Aalborg, both by making the city more accessible, and connect the city with the rest of the North Denmark Region. The value added to the +Bus in relation to public transportation is described like:

"With a +Bus, the public transportation gets prioritised through the city, and is thereby making it possible to achieve shorter travelling times and better regularity" [Nordjyllandstrafikselskab, 2017, p. 27, own translation].

The +Bus becomes an asset in relation to public transportation and the discourse is thereby understood as the +Bus being the driving force for public transportation in Aalborg.

4.5.1 Dominating Discourse

Through these reflections of the discourses behind the story of the +Bus, the dominating discourse of the +Bus is identified as being growth understood in relation to the understanding of the +Bus being a catalyst for growth. This does not mean that the other discourses do not have a high influence on the storytelling of the +Bus, but all of them are related to the discourse of growth, of which reason growth becomes the dominating one. That growth is the dominating discourse appears in the justification of respectively the light rail and the +Bus. As the subsection of the +Bus story in perspective of the light rail presents, then the story of the high class transportation system has always been justified by the economy. The light rail was justified by the economically benefits of the rail factor, where the +Bus is justified by the reduced costs, through which the same vision can be met.

Furthermore, the dominating discourse of growth can be justified as it appears in the story Aalborg Municipality tell of the +Bus. As it is identified in section 4.3 one of the storylines of the +Bus is that *'The +Bus is a physical manifestation of the growth axis'*. Through this storyline the role of the +Bus in the implementation of the growth axis becomes clear, as being the result of the fundamental story of the transition of Aalborg. Since, the +Bus is argued as the physical manifestation of the growth axis, it can be argued that the +Bus is understood as the physical manifestation for achieving growth, which also to a great extent supports that growth is the dominating discourse for the +Bus.

Acknowledging that the dominating discourse of the +Bus is growth, it can be argued that most of the storylines identified of the +Bus are related to growth too. Firstly, there are all the storylines which are directly related to growth such as *'The +Bus is a profitable investment and supports the growth in proximate urban areas'* and *'The alignment from Vestbyen to the Super Hospital is the most favourable solution as it creates the best potential for growth'*. Besides the storylines which are directly pointed toward growth, more of the storylines concern growth in an indirect way. It can be argued that the storyline *'The +Bus project will support Aalborg as a city and promote it as a centre of excellence in The North Denmark Region'*, concerns growth too. By becoming a centre of excellence in the North Denmark Region, the +Bus is described as a transportation system which is for citizens of the entire region, of which reason the areas along the alignment become even more attractive to investors. Furthermore, the storylines of the +Bus being a driving force for urban development and allowing increased densification in the locations near its stations, can be an argument for growth too. In this way, most of the storylines can be argued to concern growth. It can be argued because increased use of public transportation, the creation of a more coherent city and reduction in car use, all can be argued to be told in the aim of creating growth through urban development projects in the city. In perspective of this dominating discourse of growth, the following subsection will address the discourse coalitions.

4.6 Discourse Coalition

This section will identify the discourse coalitions in relation to the story of the +Bus to understand how actors share the same usage of storylines in relation to the +Bus. Additionally, this section will consider the dominating discourse of growth's impact on the discourse coalitions.

According to the discourse analysis adopted from Hajer [2005], discourse coalitions are "(...) a group of actors that, in the context of an identifiable set of practices, shares the usage of a particular set of storylines over a particular period of time" [Hajer, 2005, p. 302]. The discourse coalition in this case can be identified as being the members of the +Bus project group; Aalborg Municipality, NT and Region North Denmark, with respectively Anne Juel Andersen, Mette Olesen, and Jens Mogensen as the representatives of the organisations. These three persons are all actors who use the same storylines to describe and add value to the +Bus. However, in section 4.4 the story of the +Bus was identified as being a comprehensive story combining different aspects as sustainability, urban development, growth, transition, and public transportation. The story can thereby be considered as not only being comprehensive but also all-encompassing. This broad story of the +Bus is part of the argumentation of Aalborg Municipality, NT, and North Denmark Region, all being part of this discourse coalition, as a story as broad as this broad story of the +Bus makes it 'easier' for everyone to be part of it.

Even though all three organisations are part of the discourse coalition, then they each represent something different, and they have different parts in the coalition. Jens Mogensen argues, that the region is not part of the storytelling of the +Bus, as he states:

"The whole story about that a +Bus can support urban development, it is a story that comes from Aalborg Municipality, which [North Denmark Region] has considered as a fact. (...) [The story] is not something we have analysed ourselves and looked into, nor has it been an argument for the region, to become a part of [the +Bus project]" [Mogensen, 2018, 02:24, own translation].

Jens Mogensen thereby explains, that the region's role in the +Bus project does not concern storytelling, which he makes very clear in the interview with him. However, Anne Juel Andersen from Aalborg Municipality and Mette Olesen from NT explain their role in a different way, as especially Anne Juel Andersen emphasises that the role of Aalborg Municipality is much more in relation to urban development and in the shaping of the story of the +Bus. She highlights that storytelling in relation to the +Bus project is a strategic tool, they use in Aalborg Municipality to connect the different aspects to better get people in Aalborg to understand what the municipality wants to do with the +Bus, and through that get people to support the project [Andersen, 2018a]. Through the document analysis of the different plans regarding the +Bus, it was also clear, that especially Aalborg Municipality uses storytelling and adds value to the +Bus through this planning tool. Mette Olesen also acknowledges NT as being part of the storytelling, but with a focus on Aalborg Municipality as being the main authority shaping the story of the +Bus. However, she explains that NT is still part of the storytelling as she states that *"in [NT's] storytelling, the +Bus is also part of the main network"* [Olesen, 2018, 23:58,

own translation]. She thereby accepts that the story of the +Bus is the same as the one shaped by Aalborg Municipality with the +Bus being the 'lifeblood' of Aalborg city and urban development. At the same time, NT works as an organisation which shapes its own story of the +Bus in connection to the story of the municipality.

The three representatives from the different organisations are thereby all part of the discourse coalition, but have different roles within it. Even though they have different roles according to themselves, they are in this project identified as being one gathered coalition, as they all support the comprehensive story of the +Bus. In relation to the theory, it also makes sense to identify all of them as one coalition, as Jens Mogensen e.g. do not use storytelling actively, but that does not mean that he does not see the world in the same way as the other actors, as he and the region are still authors of several document of the +Bus. Further, it can also be argued, that even though Jens Mogensen says that they do not use storytelling in the region, but only refers to it through the connection to the Super Hospital, then, in the light of the theory of Throgmorton, storytelling can also be used by planners even though, they are not aware of using it. Storytelling thereby becomes understood as being everywhere compared to using storytelling as a strategic tool and being aware of it like Anne Juel Andersen and Mette Olesen do. Additionally, it can be argued that the storytelling, carried out by the municipality and NT, has been powerful as the North Denmark Region has accepted the story, and further is using the story themselves.

Both Aalborg Municipality, NT and, Region North Denmark, are all part of the same discourse coalition, even though they play different roles within it, then they still share the same storylines of the +Bus and thereby support and develop the story of the +Bus together. This way of forming a discourse coalition containing people with different roles and part within the project, thereby makes the coalition and the story stand stronger, as it becomes more difficult to argue against their story and opinions because of the broad variety of angles within it. This resembles to the proposition of Flyvbjerg, arguing that the power lies within stable power relations. It can be argued that this discourse coalition consist of stable power relations, because both Aalborg Municipality, NT, and North Denmark Region are a part of it. The story of the +Bus thereby becomes powerful through this stable power relation.

The discourse coalition identified in this section is the +Bus project group consisting of Aalborg Municipality, NT, and Region North Denmark, as the story of the +Bus has become so comprehensive, which makes it easier to be part of the coalition around it. The next section will present the sub-conclusion for the findings within this chapter.

Sub-Conclusion

This section will conclude on the first sub-question: *What are Aalborg Municipality's stories of the +Bus and what is the dominating discourse behind these stories?* The answer will be based upon the findings within this chapter 4.

The story of the +Bus is told based on the story from Aalborg Municipality about the decision from a light rail to a BRT system called the +Bus. The storylines of the +Bus show, how the story of the +Bus is told in relation to five different themes: the

urban transition of Aalborg, public transportation, sustainability, and urban development. These different themes makes the story of the +Bus very comprehensive along with the perspective of the light rail, which must be considered when telling the story of the +Bus. It is therefore found in the first analysis, that the story of the +Bus, told by Aalborg Municipality, is to one extent the same as the story of the light rail, but it has also changed as the planners of Aalborg Municipality now tell the story of the +Bus being a better solution than the light rail. The story of the +Bus can thereby be concluded as being a story devised by Aalborg Municipality on the basis of the light rail, and as a comprehensive story adding several values to the +Bus as growth, sustainability and urban development.

This chapter has also investigated the dominating discourse and discourse coalitions of the +Bus through the story of it. The discourses of the +Bus identified are the same as the themes of the +Bus which are: urban transition, growth, urban development, sustainability, and public transportation. These discourses are identified as the ones behind the story of the +Bus, as they are used by Aalborg Municipality as the reasoning for telling the story of the +Bus in the way they do. The finding of five different discourses of the story of the +Bus thereby shows, that Aalborg Municipality wants to add a lot of different value to the +Bus in their story of it. Through these discourses it is found that growth is the dominating discourse of the +Bus, understood as the +Bus being a generator for growth as most of the storylines support this discourse. Further, it is concluded in the identification of the discourse coalition of the +Bus, that the coalition contains both Aalborg Municipality, NT, and the North Denmark Region. The story made by Aalborg Municipality thereby has such a wide range, that all of these organisations can agree on it, even though they still have their specific focuses in connection to the +Bus.

To understand, how this story of the +Bus told by Aalborg Municipality has been carried out, and which effect this storytelling of the +Bus has had on the planning practices in Aalborg Municipality, the next chapter will investigate the storytelling of the +Bus.

Storytelling of the +Bus 5

The main purpose of this chapter is to answer the second sub-question of the project: *How does Aalborg Municipality carry out the storytelling of the +Bus and which effect does it have on the planning practice in Aalborg Municipality?* This chapter will thereby use the story of the +Bus, identified in chapter 4, to investigate Aalborg Municipality's storytelling through an analysis of how they carry out the storytelling. Furthermore, an analysis of the effect of the storytelling on planning practises in Aalborg Municipality will be carried out. In the aim of analysing the structuration of the dominating discourse of growth, the techniques in the language will be identified. Further, this chapter will investigate Aalborg Municipality's storytelling of the +Bus' effect on the planning practices in the areas surrounding the alignment of the +Bus. The effect of the storytelling of the +Bus will be understood through an analysis of the changing planning practices within the local plans of these surrounding areas. The aim of this analysis is thereby to analyse to what extent the dominating discourse of growth has been institutionalised in the planning of Aalborg Municipality.

5.1 Techniques in the Language of Storytelling

The aim of this section is to analyse how Aalborg Municipality carries out the storytelling of the +Bus through different techniques in perspective of the dominating discourse of growth. The analysis will address the power of Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling in the project of the +Bus by analysing the structuration of the dominating discourse, as introduced in the literature review. Through this analysis an understanding of how Aalborg Municipality talks about the +Bus will be achieved. This analysis will reveal the power of the language used by Aalborg Municipality in their telling of the story of the +Bus.

The language used in storytelling is essential, because as Hajer [2006] states then *"language has the capacity to make politics, to create signs and symbols that can shift power balances and that can impact on institutions and policy-making"* [Hajer, 2006, p. 67].

Metaphors

Taking point of departure in the use of tropes in storytelling, as Throgmorton [1992] addresses, then they play a great part in the Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling. Some of the most used statements include metaphors. It is statements such as; *"the +Bus will form the backbone of a new neighbourhood in the future"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 11, own translation] and *"+Bus, Aalborg - the lifeblood of the city"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 1, own translation]. In these statements metaphors, which provides

power and persuasiveness, are used. Both of these statements are using metaphors from the body, where the first quote, use backbone as a metaphor which can be argued to be a reference to that the +Bus will be the centre of the public transportation of Aalborg, to which the other city busses are connected to. In the second statement, the metaphor is the 'lifeblood', and it can be argued to be a reference to how the +Bus will provide life around the city. These metaphors are used to attach importance to the +Bus influence on urban development.

Aalborg Municipality also uses other metaphors in their storytelling of the +Bus, as the following quote shows: *"In addition, the [+Bus] will on parts of the route have its own lane and will be prioritised in the traffic lights to ensure maximum accessibility. This is crucial for BRT becoming an attractive alternative to the car and an effective 'lever' for sustainable urban development"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 19, own translation]. In this statement the municipality uses the metaphor 'lever' to describe how the BRT system, in the shape of the +Bus, becomes a phenomenon which lifts the sustainable urban development in Aalborg. It can be characterised as a metaphor, as the +Bus will not literally lift the sustainable urban development but instead be used to improve it. The municipality further describes how the +Bus will not only improve the sustainable urban development in Aalborg, but also facilitate it, through another metaphor described in the following quote: *"With BRT, Aalborg's public transportation will get an effective boost, which will both benefit the road users, who will arrive faster, and [the +Bus] will at the same time 'clear the way' for further sustainable urban development within the growth axis of the city"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 5, own translation]. The metaphor, 'clear the way', is used by the municipality to understand how public transportation, in the shape of the +Bus, will improve and facilitate the sustainable urban development in Aalborg. They add through this metaphor an understanding of the +Bus being able to lead the sustainable urban development in Aalborg, as the words 'clear the way' is understood as a new beginning of something. The +Bus is thereby added a great role in the sustainable urban development in Aalborg through this metaphor.

Additionally, the metaphor of a 'driving force' for urban development is used in the storytelling of Aalborg Municipality by the +Bus. In the +Bus booklet, they write that *"Aalborg Municipality wants to use the +Bus as a 'driving force' for urban development"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 15, own translation]. The use of the metaphor of a driving force, is a technique, which the municipality uses, to vulgarise the complex description of why they expect the +Bus to generate urban development. In this way, the story becomes more powerful, as all actors can relate to and understand the story. Furthermore, they use the metaphor of a 'growth engine' about the +Bus [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a]. Similar to the metaphor of being a driving force for urban development, this metaphor is used to describe how the +Bus will contribute to generate growth in a more persuasive way. Through the metaphor of a 'growth engine', the municipality creates a picture of the +Bus being the engine of Aalborg, which will make the growth in the city run.

Finally, the municipality also uses metaphors from the world of chemistry. They use the metaphor of a 'catalyst' of the +Bus, where they in the +Bus application to the state write that *"the point of departure [in the +Bus project] is a desire to increase the*

quality and capacity of public transportation, as well as using public transportation as a 'catalyst' for further urban development in Aalborg" [Aalborg Municipality, 2017, p. 2, own translation]. In the municipality's use of this metaphor, they create a persuasive story of how the +Bus will facilitate urban development, and thereby growth in Aalborg. They tell the story of how the +Bus, just as a chemical reaction, will "*precipitate an event or change*" [Dictionary.com, 2018] which in this concerns an increased growth in perspective of urban development.

As pointed out in the literature review, the power of storytelling, through the use of metaphors, can rather be indirect or manipulative which Anne Juel Andersen supports, when she states that you can manipulate through storytelling as described earlier [Andersen, 2018a].

Non-Narrative Style

Besides the use of words, Aalborg Municipality also uses non-narrative style of storytelling.

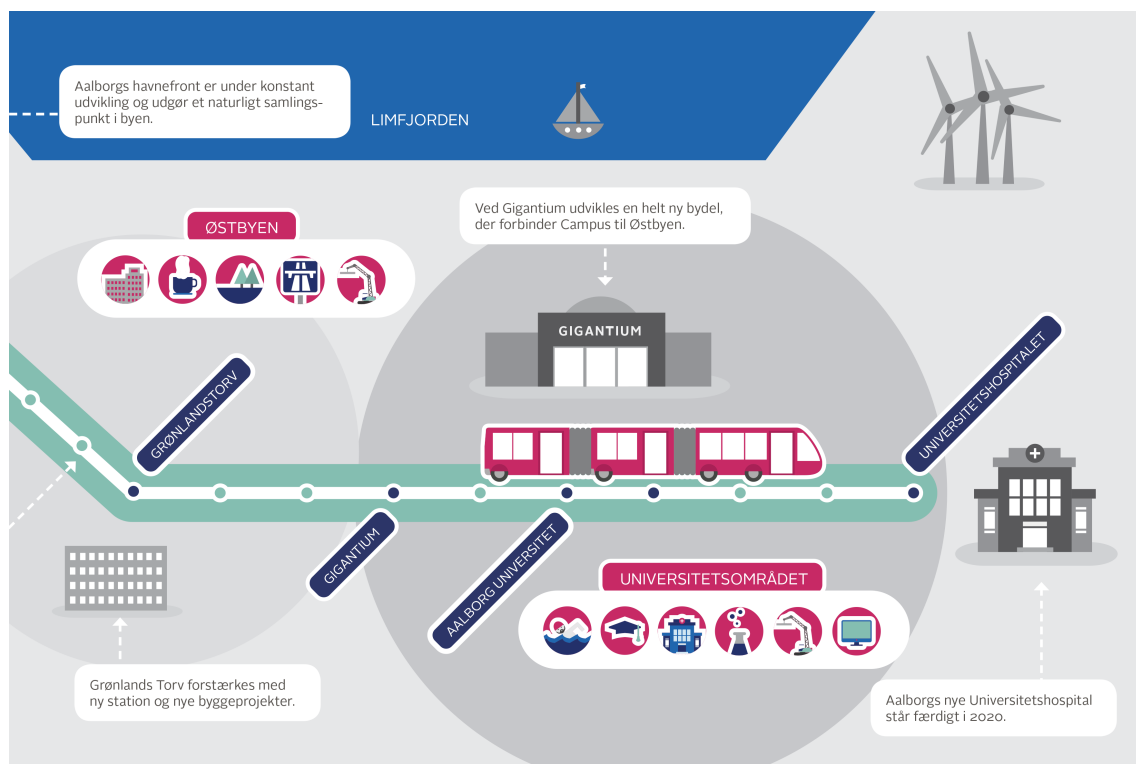


Figure 5.1: An illustration of the flow of the +Bus through Aalborg [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 7]

Examples of non-narrative styles used in the storytelling by the municipality are their use of maps. This use of non-narrative storytelling is illustrated in picture 5.1 above and additionally in picture 5.2 and 5.3. As the three maps are showing, then the +Bus is included in varying types of maps. Picture 5.1, which is illustrating the eastern part of the route, from the city centre to the Super Hospital, is illustrating the +Bus on a map. The map is created to tell Aalborg Municipality's vision of the +Bus' influence on the urban development. It is illustrated in the centre of the picture as the most important item,

which is visualised to be the connection between the individual urban areas in the city. On the map, these urban areas are associated to different identities. Østbyen is associated to the highway, accommodation, industry and green areas which is connected to the identities of education, hospital, science and industry, which the university area is associated to.

What is not 'Said'

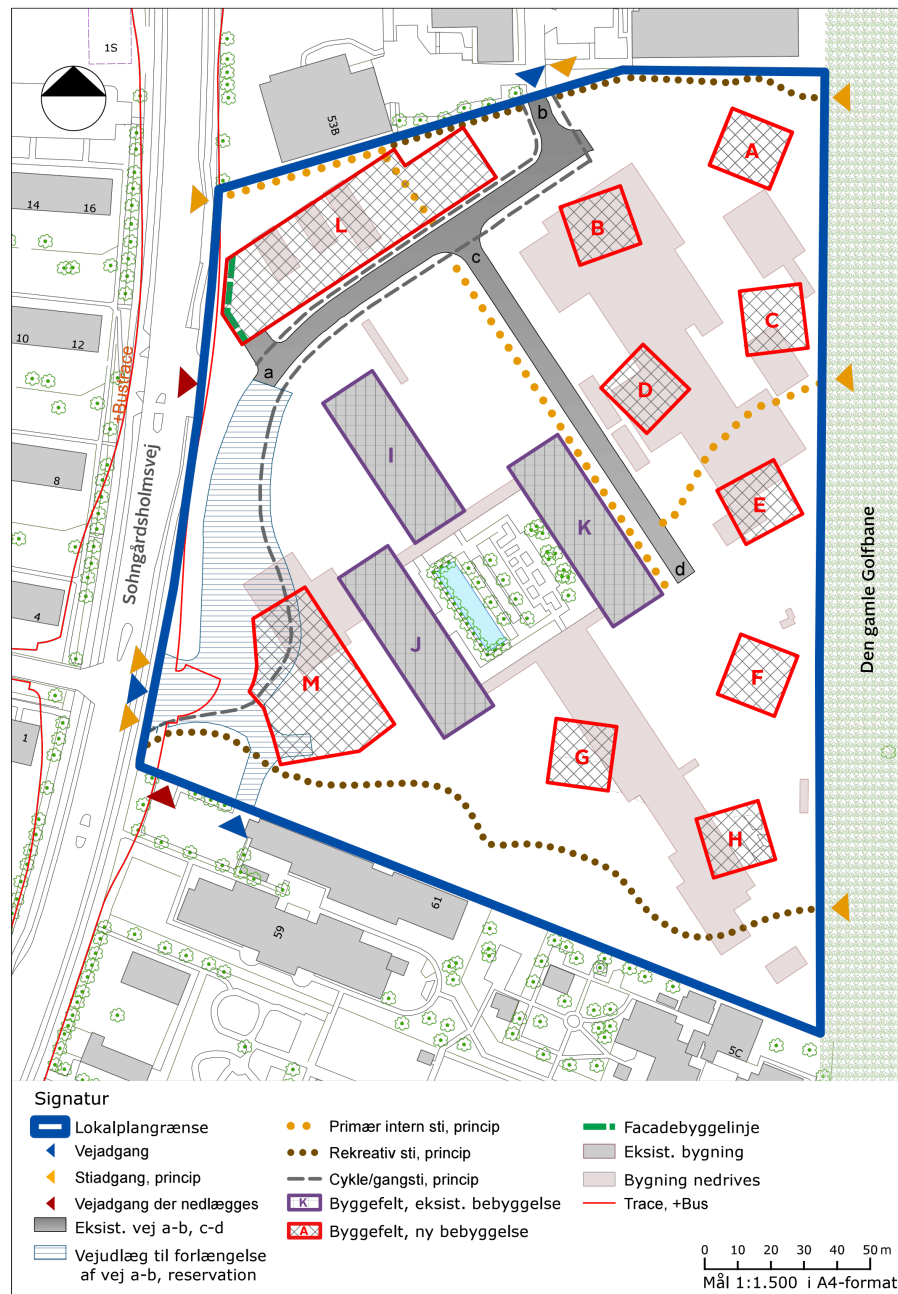


Figure 5.2: A map made by Aalborg Municipality of Parkbyen, an area next to the +Bus [Aalborg Municipality, 2018g, p. 78]

Contrary to picture 5.1, then picture 5.2 is not a visionary map, but a map of the land use of Parkbyen, located along the +Bus alignment. As the map is illustrating the land use of the area, then it can be argued that the +Bus is illustrated because it plays an

important role regarding the land use. What is remarkable of this map is, that the +Bus is the only mode of transportation which is illustrated, despite private cars and regular city busses are running along the same roads. As explained in the literature review, it is in the analysis of storytelling, besides the analysis of what actually is said, additionally important to analyse what is not said, or not illustrated in a non-narrative style. Through this priority it becomes clear that Aalborg Municipality is aiming to support this mode of transportation compared to the other types. This is additionally supported by more of the identified storylines. The storyline; *'the +Bus will, through improved capacity, service, and frequency, increase the level of public transportation'*, supports the story of the picture as it also emphasises the +Bus compared to existing modes of transportation, as it points out the increased level of it. Additionally, it can be argued that it also tells the story of the +Bus supporting growth, as it is told in the storyline; *'the +Bus is a profitable investment and supports the growth in proximate urban areas'*.

The Context of the Story

The map on picture 5.3, is just like picture 5.1 showing a vision. This map is visualising the storyline of *the +Bus is a physical manifestation of the growth axis*, as the +Bus alignment is illustrated within the growth axis of Aalborg. Together with the railroad, the +Bus is illustrating the main axis of public transportation of the city, by which a story is told of the synergy between these two visions of Aalborg. By building the story of the +Bus on the contextual discourse of Aalborg's transition, the story becomes more powerful. As the contextual discourse of Aalborg's transition already is accepted, the story of the +Bus also becomes 'easier' to accept.

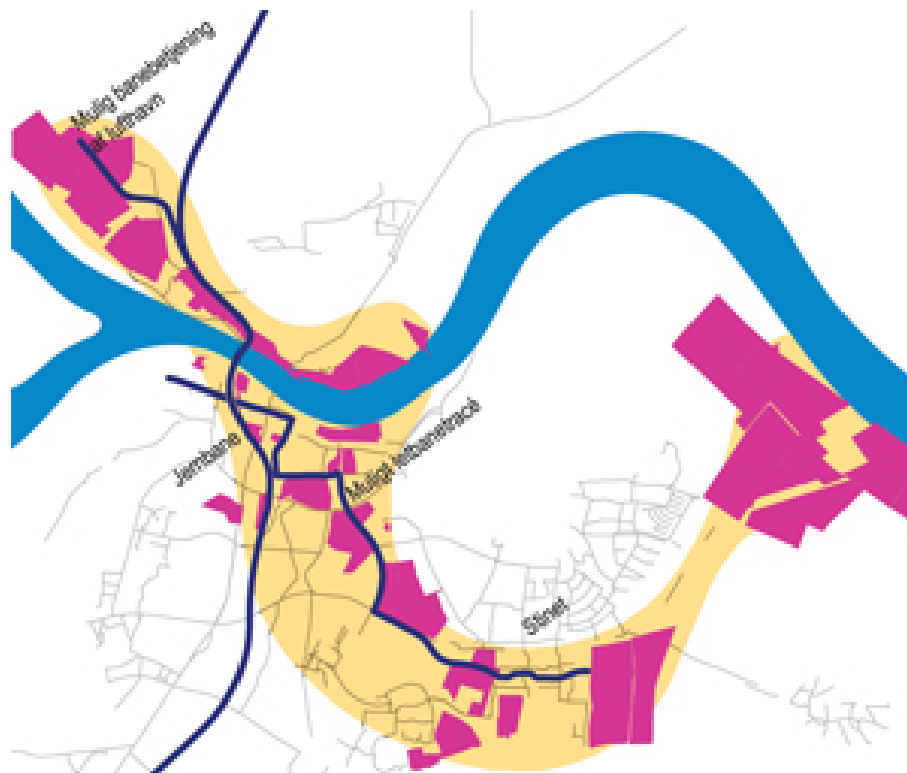


Figure 5.3: An illustration of how the +Bus is a part of the story of the growth axis in Aalborg [Aalborg Municipality, 2013a, p. 10]

'Just-the-Facts'

The municipality is furthermore combining the use of stories in words and the non-narrative styled stories. In the +Bus booklet, they explain five challenges which the +Bus will address, of which one of them concerns the traffic-related challenge:

"The traffic jams become longer and longer in Aalborg, and public transportation has difficulties keeping up with the needs. If the many newcomers have the same travel habits, as people in Aalborg have today, it means that daily transportation in the city will rise by 400,000 km. Without a better option, 79% of the increase will consist of car traffic" [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 3].

As a solution to these self-induced challenges, Aalborg Municipality tells the story of the +Bus by visualising how many cars the +Bus potentially can replace, as picture 5.4 is showing. Through this picture every single car which the +Bus can replace are visualised to emphasise how many 60 cars are. Additionally, they use a mathematical equation, which causes that the information is presented as 'just-the-facts', despite it does not take parameters, such as if the route matches your travel, price, comfort of having a private car, and freedom of being able to leave when you feel like it, into account.

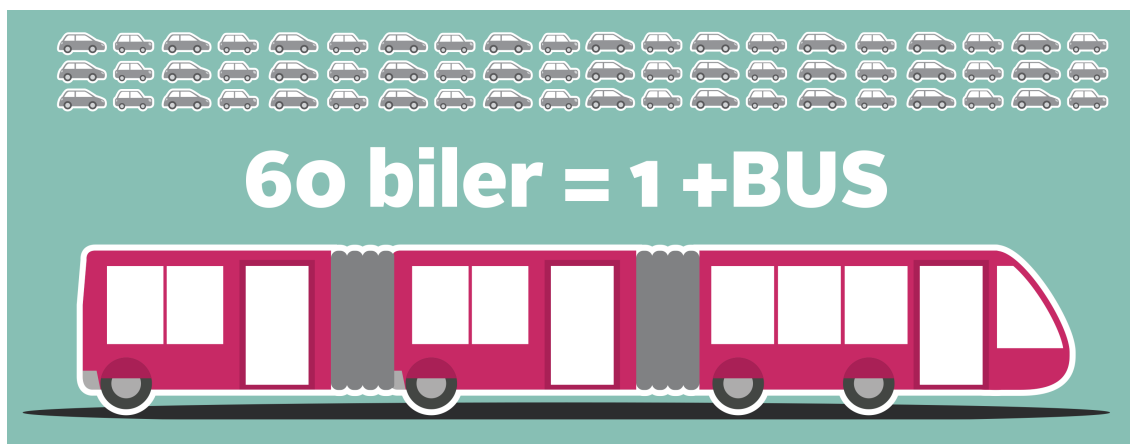


Figure 5.4: An illustration of the +Bus' ability to replace cars [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 2]

In the literature review, Sandercock [2003] and Throgmorton [1993] point out the power that lies within the use of hard arguments. In perspective of their positions, it can be argued, that the hard arguments, such as the municipality's use of the equation to compare the +Bus to private cars, provide power and persuasiveness to the overall and comprehensive story of the +Bus, also in the perspective of the dominant discourse of growth.

Through this section, Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling and the power of the language used in it, has been analysed. As introduced in the beginning of this section, the aim of analysing the storytelling of the +Bus has been to understand how Aalborg Municipality's has carried it out, and to understand the structuration of the dominating

discourse of growth. This dominant discourse of growth is to a great extent represented in the rhetoric of Aalborg Municipality, and their storytelling of the +Bus. In consideration of theory of discourses in section 2.3, it can thereby be concluded that the discourses have been structured. To further get an understanding of the effect of Aalborg Municipality's storytelling of the +Bus, the following section will analyse the effect of it through changes in the planning practices of Aalborg Municipality, in the shape of local plans in the surrounding areas of the +Bus.

5.2 The Storytelling's Effect on Planning Practices

The aim of this section is to research if the dominating discourse of growth has been institutionalised. It will be researched through an analysis of the local plans of the surrounding areas of the +Bus alignment. Throughout this section, an analysis of the changed planning practices affected by the storytelling of the +Bus will be carried out. In the previous section, the structuration of the dominating discourse of growth shows, that the +Bus has been given a greater value, compared to regular city busses. It is not just a transportation system, but as the dominating discourse of growth indicates, then the project is as well an opportunity for changing urban areas surrounding the +Bus alignment. How the planning practices of Aalborg Municipality have changed, will be presented below.

As it was introduced in the case presentation in section 4.1, then the +Bus will be running from the racing track in the western part of the city to the coming Super Hospital in the Eastern part of the city. The alignment of the +Bus between these two end stations is illustrated on figure 5.5 below. The analysis of the +Bus' influence on the planning in the municipality will focus on the areas surrounding this alignment.

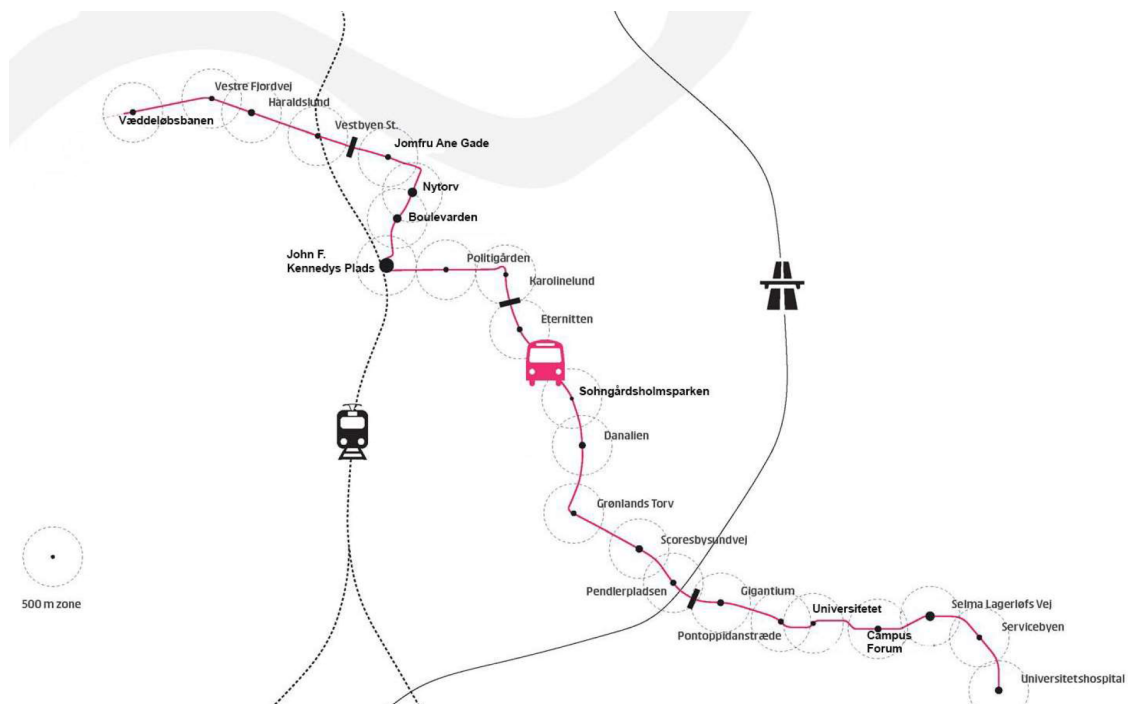


Figure 5.5: An illustration of the alignment of the +Bus through Aalborg [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 20]

The +Bus' influence on Plans from 2013-2015

As described in section 4.4.1, some of the first thoughts about a need for a new transportation system was presented in 2008, where the mayor of Aalborg expressed a need for a new, faster, and smoother solution [Nordjyske, 2008]. Contrary, it was not until 2012, that this new transportation system actively was incorporated in the practices of the municipality, where it was used as an argument in the local plan of the bus trace in the Grønlands Torv district. In 2012, it was not yet the +Bus which influenced the practices of the planners, but the light rail which they were planning for at the time. This local plan was the first example of a change in the urban land caused by the future implementation of, what they believed it would be at that time, the light rail.

The first time, that plans showed changing planning practices, which did not only concern changes regarding the high class public transportation system itself, was in the municipal plan 2013. In the municipal plan, it is stated that *"densification must happen near the stations around an upcoming light rail"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2013b, p. 21, own translation]. The municipal plan thereby shows a new demand for urban development near the stations because of the arrival of the transportation system. Additionally, the municipal plan states that the high class public transportation system should be the foundation for creating new hubs. The transportation system thereby changes the planning practices about the planning for hubs, for cars, bikes, and public transportation.

The first time the +Bus was used as an argument for a changing planning practice in local plans was in 2014 and 2015 for respectively Vestre Fjordpark in West and Sdr. Tranders in East. In these two local plans, the planning practice has not directly changed because of the high class public transportation system, but in relation to Vestre Fjordpark, the accessibility was increased and the entrance to the park changed [Aalborg Municipality, 2014b]. For Sdr. Tranders, it is argued as being an attractive location because *"the closeness to Aalborg University, the Super Hospital, and the light rail will bring the area into a new era as an attractive area for settlement"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2015d, p. 7, own translation]. From this statement in the local plan it is showed, that the +Bus plays an important role for the attractiveness of this area.

The +Bus' influence on Plans in 2016

In 2016, the +Bus has caused changes in the planning practices through additionally two local plans. At this point, the Danish government had rejected to give financial support to a light rail in Aalborg, and Aalborg Municipality had decided they wanted a BRT system.

First of all, the BRT system, or the +Bus, plays a significant role in the implementation of the development of Danalien, which is the area around one of the +Bus stations. In the preamble of the local plan the municipality write:

"Planning and realisation of a high-class public transport connection in the growth axis is closely linked to the wishes and needs to density and urbanise urban areas around the alignment." [Aalborg Municipality, 2016c, p. 5, own translation]

As this quote states, then the development of this area is justified with the implementation of the +Bus and the urban life, they expect the +Bus will bring. It can thereby be argued that this area will be developed because of its location along the route. In the same way, the second local plan of the area between Gigantium, a sport and culture house, and the alignment of the +Bus, is justified by the +Bus too. In the plan, it is argued that the area is expected to grow, as it is argued in the local plan that the +Bus is expected to generate it. Of that reason a local plan was needed for this area.

In the local plan of Danalien, the planning practice within the area, around parking norms is changed because of the +Bus too. In the local plan they explain that *"due to the location of the area by the BRT route, future residents are assessed to have relatively low car ownership, and a reduced parking standard of at least 0.8 parking space per dwelling is determined"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016c, p. 8, own translation]. As a result of the future implementation of the +Bus, the planning practice around parking will be changed. Based on a belief that the +Bus will cause behavioural change of the citizens, it is decided that the parking norm will be reduced to 0,8 per home.

The +Bus' influence on Plans from 2017-2018

From 2017-2018, more local plan and local plan proposal have been published along the alignment of the +Bus, including a draft of the municipal addendum of the +Bus.

Regarding the municipal plan addendum, then it is a new planning practice itself as *"the background for this municipal plan addendum is the need to create the planning basis for a BRT connection and to support development by setting out the guidelines for a green and sustainable densification around the BRT connection focusing on city quality, attractive urban spaces, urbanity and sustainable mobility"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 7, own translation]. The new planning guidelines for the new planning practices concern, what they define as the urban development zone, which is located within a distance of 500 meter to the +Bus alignment [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c]. The addendum regarding the BRT system includes guidelines for how the areas near the stations of the +Bus should be planned. This includes an increased focus on the urban space, connections, plants and traffic of cars and bikes. Regarding the design of the +Bus stations then the addendum in general requires the planning practice to consider sustainable development and mobility by securing *"that the stations and urban spaces around them appear attractive, recognisable and is adapted to the local environment"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 5, own translation]. Additionally, the guidelines concern the location of future development. In the municipal plan addendum, Aalborg Municipality possesses the following understanding of the +Bus:

"The proximity to the BRT stations provides particularly favourable conditions for sustainable urban development. The short distance to high-class public transport can reduce car ownership and increase mobility" [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 5, own translation].

As a consequence of this understanding, a new planning practice, of locating new development of housing and business near +Bus stations, is included in the guideline. This is implemented as a new planning practice because the planners believe it will

"enable sustainable landfill" [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 5, own translation]. Finally, the municipal plan addendum also includes a new planning practice around parking. In consideration of the understanding that the short distance will reduce the car ownership, a new parking norm is implemented reducing the numbers of parking spaces per home, as it is explained in the local plan of Danalien.

How these guidelines are expressed in the planning practices are for instance showed in the local plans of the following areas located in the urban development zone of the +Bus:

- Parkbyen, Sohngårdholmsvej, 2018 (Proposal)
- Kollegievej, Vejgård, 2018 (Proposal)
- Ny Kastetvej and Kastetvej, the western part of the city, 2018 (Approved)
- Alfred Nobels Vej og James Tobins Alle, the university area, 2018 (Proposal)

Common to all of these areas is that the +Bus is a part of the justification of their location. For instance, the location of Kollegievej is justified through Aalborg Municipality's wish of *"providing the basis for the formation of a strong future urban hub of public transport, including a new +Bus station at the corner of Grønlands Torv, located across the road"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018b, p. 4, own translation]. Through this quote from the local plan, the municipality describes that this area is being developed as it plays a role in creating a hub of public transportation in relation to the +Bus station. Furthermore, it is argued that the development of Parkbyen is carried out, as it *"unfolds the municipality's overall vision of densifying the city along the growth axis and future +Bus trace"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018g, p. 3, own translation].

Despite of the +Bus' influence of the planning practice of locating urban development in the city, the +Bus has also influenced the planning practices within the areas, as it is described in the analysis of the local plans from the previous years. In the local plans from 2017-2018, then planning practices have changed regarding the themes; parking, urban densification, accessibility for soft road users, plants, and architecture.

Just as the parking norm has changed at Danalien, then the guidelines of the addendum of the municipal plan have influenced the planning practices outlines in the local plans of Parkbyen, Kollegievej in Vejgård, and Alfred Nobels Vej in the university area. In the local plan of Parkbyen, the +Bus' impact on the reduction of parking spaces is described as: *"The close connection to the +Bus also means that Parkbyen is planned with fewer parking spaces"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018g, p. 80, own translation]. Additionally, it is written in the local plan of Alfred Nobels Vej in the university areas that *"it is estimated that a reduction of the parking standard can be made, as the local area is located close to a station and close to public transport links. The stop of the +Bus is established approx. 300 meters from the northern boundary of the local area"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018e, p. 32, own translation]. By this statement, it becomes clear, that the planning practice around the parking norm at this area has changed too because of the +Bus.

Besides parking, it becomes clear that the planning practice of the densification has changed in the areas around the +Bus alignment too. In the local plan of Kollegievej, it is stated that *"the area also becomes a densification hub in relation to the establishment of a stop for the +Bus"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018b, p. 10, own translation] of which

the +Bus' impact on the densification becomes clear. In the local plan of Parkbyen, the municipality furthermore writes:

"The area is already in close proximity to the public transport on Sohngårdsholmsvej and Universitetsboulevarden, but with the implementation of the +Bus with increased departures and greater comfort, an increase in demand for public transport is expected. This is - along with optimised connectivity - a pressing argument for densification in the area" [Aalborg Municipality, 2018g, p. 86, own translation].

As it appears in this statement, the +Bus, and its impact on the number of departures in public transportation and comfort, is the justification of why the area should be build more dense.

At Kollegievej and Parkbyen, the accessibility for soft road users, the amount of green in the area, and the architecture are furthermore influenced by the +Bus. Regarding the increased accessibility for soft road users, then the +Bus has changed the planning practice, as it "demands" more pathways to ensure the connection to the +Bus [Aalborg Municipality, 2018g]. The aim of changing the planning practice regarding the architecture is the same as the increased pathways, to create more connection between the urban development and the mobility in perspective of the +Bus. In the local plan, it is written that *"the connection through the building must be designed to 'invite inside' and establish contact between surrounding buildings and the future +BUS stop at Grønlands Torv"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018b, p. 38, own translation]. Through the local plan, the design in the connection through the buildings should be focused towards the +Bus. Additionally in the local plan of Parkbyen, it is decided that the design of the area should be designed in a way so it *"creates a natural and flexible flow between the area and the future station for the +Bus"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018g, p. 14, own translation].

Through the analysis of the local plans, it becomes clear that the storytelling of the +Bus already has changed the planning practices in the urban development zone, despite it has not been implemented yet. The local plans show that the planning practices have changed in two ways. First of all, the storytelling of the +Bus has been used as a part of the justification for new development, and the locations for new development areas. The storytelling is used as justification since the municipality in more local plans tells, that the +Bus is expected to provide growth in its surrounding areas. Besides influencing the location of the area, the storytelling of the +Bus has also influenced the planning within the areas. As it is pointed out in the analysis, the storytelling of the +Bus has changed the planning practice of parking, the design of the areas, the accessibility for soft road users, and the density of the urban areas. It can be argued that these changing planning practices within areas, all are related to growth because all the changing planning practices are made to create a greater connection to the +Bus and thereby make the areas more attractive to investors.

What the analysis additionally shows, is that the storytelling of the +Bus has caused that the planning practices regarding the locations of new urban development have changed, to be located along the alignment of the +Bus. In the analysis, the +Bus has only played

a significant role for one local plan of an area located on the western and central part of the alignment. Contrary, the +Bus has been essential in the justification in most of the development in the eastern part of the alignment, despite a lot of development is happening in West and in the city centre. This indicates that the +Bus has not been essential to the development in the centre and in the West, and that it probably would have happened despite of the +Bus. Contrary, the development in East potentially is a result of the storytelling of the +Bus since the +Bus is used as an argument in the first paragraph of the preamble.

Finally, the analysis also shows that the role of the +Bus, or the high class public transportation system, has become more essential during time. In the beginning, the local plans only concerned a few changes in the planning act of the urban development of the areas, regarding the densification of the areas near stations. Contrary, the +Bus plays a much larger role in the local plans today. A good example of this is the local plan of Parkbyen from 2018, which includes all changes of the planning practices, which are described before. In this local plan, the +Bus is mentioned 28 times, which in contrast to the local plan of Vestre Fjord Park from 2014 mentions the light rail three times.

In general, it can be argued that the dominating discourse of growth has been institutionalised, as the municipality's planning practices have changed because of it, through the storytelling of the +Bus. Additionally, this means, that Aalborg Municipality's storytelling of the +Bus has had a great effect, as it is now causing that the city is spatially changing. In the local plans, it becomes clear, that it is the storytelling of the +Bus, which has caused these changes, as the +Bus specifically, is used as the argumentation of the changes in the planning practices. It can therefore be argued, that the storytelling of the +Bus has changed the planning practice of where new urban development is located, and additionally the planning practices within these new development areas. This can be argued, since regular city busses have been running along the same alignment for decades, and has not influenced any of these changes.

In perspective of the analysis, in the former two sections, of the discourse institutionalisation and structuralism, it further becomes clear, that the discourse of growth is the dominating one. Growth has been a dominating factor in the change of planning practices, as it has been essential for the location of new development. Furthermore, it has been dominating in the story of the +Bus, told by Aalborg Municipality, as it directly is used as one of the main arguments for the project. Additionally, it is used indirectly in the story, as it appears as the underlying argument for justifying the +Bus by for instance increased density, its regional, connection, and its increased numbers of users of public transportation.

Sub-Conclusion

Through the analysis of the sections within this chapter, the second sub-question: *How does Aalborg Municipality carry out the storytelling of the +Bus and which effect does it have on the planning practice in Aalborg Municipality?* will be answered in this section.

Aalborg Municipality uses different techniques in their storytelling of the +Bus in the shape of their language. Different tropes, especially metaphors, maps, and pictures are

used by Aalborg Municipality to carry out the storytelling. The story of the +Bus thereby gets carried out through different techniques of the language to make the telling of the +Bus more persuasive and powerful. Aalborg Municipality has thereby used the power of language, in relation to the theory of Throgmorton [1992], to carry out the storytelling of the +Bus to make the story persuasive to people. Through this analysis of Aalborg Municipality's storytelling of the +Bus, it can further be concluded, that the dominant discourse of growth, identified in chapter 4, has been structured, as the discourse has been used in the rhetoric of the municipality regarding the +Bus.

The effect of this storytelling of the +Bus has further been analysed in this chapter by 'measuring' the changes in the planning practices, in the shape of the local plans surrounding the alignment of the +Bus. Through this analysis it can be concluded, that the storytelling of the +Bus has had a great effect on the planning practices, as several of the local plans have been changed because of either the light rail or the +Bus. It is further found, that the role of the +Bus has changed, as it has become more influential during time. This analysis of the effect of the storytelling of the +Bus in relation to the planning practices further shows, that the dominant discourse of growth has been institutionalised. This can be concluded as Aalborg Municipality acts according to their understanding of the +Bus being a generator for growth in their planning practices.

To further analyse the power of the storytelling of the +Bus, the next chapter will investigate how the power of storytelling has influenced investors' spatial understanding of Aalborg, and then elaborate on how the storytelling of the +Bus has been used to reinforce the dominating discourse of growth.

The Power of Storytelling 6

The aim of this chapter is to answer the third and final sub-question of the project which is: *How is the power of storytelling influencing the spatial understanding and reinforcing the dominant discourse of Aalborg?* To get an understanding of how the spatial understanding of Aalborg has been influenced by the power of the storytelling of the +Bus, an analysis of the storytelling's effect as a facilitator for new investments in Aalborg, will be carried out. Further, the power of storytelling of the +Bus will be investigated firstly through an analysis of the initiatives used in the tool of storytelling, and secondly an analysis of the strategic use of the storytelling. The chapter will end up with an analysis of the connection between storytelling and discourse, as it will investigate how storytelling of the +Bus is reinforcing the dominating discourse of growth.

6.1 Storytelling's Impact on Investments

This section will elaborate on the dominating discourse, identified in chapter 5 as being growth, in relation to how this dominant discourse of Aalborg Municipality regarding the +Bus has had an effect on investors' investments in Aalborg city. This 'measurement' of the effect of the +Bus will create an understanding of, how well the storytelling of the +Bus has been executed, and thereby how powerful the storytelling of the +Bus has been.

Several developers and housing associations in Aalborg have been asked through e-mails, to what extent they find the +Bus as a foundation for investing in certain areas in Aalborg. The answer from most of the housing associations was that the +Bus had a major influence on the choice of investments in Aalborg. Klaus Ringgaard from Alabu Housing Association in Aalborg states that:

"[The +Bus] is of great importance and supports our desire for investment to a great extent - regardless it being a +Bus or a light rail" [Ringgaard, 2018, own translation].

Klaus Ringgaard explains through this quote, that the +Bus, or a light rail, is very important for the decision of where to invest in Aalborg. Jens Erik Grøn from Sundby Hvorup Housing Association agrees with Klaus Ringgaard, as he states that the +Bus has had a *"great influence, as easy access to public transportation is important especially, when we build 100 new student accommodations"* [Grøn, 2018, own translation]. Jens Erik Grøn thereby explains through this quote, that the +Bus has had a great influence of the choice of their investment, and especially in connection to the building of student accommodations, as young people often use public transportation, and a +Bus station

will thereby improve the attractiveness of an area. Sven Buch from Himmerland Housing Association also focus on the different target groups, when questioning him about the effect of the +Bus, and he also says that young people will benefit from that solution, as he states that:

"[A high class public transportation system] has clearly been important for our investment in housing for students and younger families, but also for seniors in Aalborg East" [Buch, 2018, own translation].

Sven Buch further elaborates on this. He states that in Himmerland Housing Association they see the most growth in the target groups of; students, younger people, and seniors, who are people above 55 years old [Buch, 2018]. According to Sven Buch, all of these groups want to live within the city centre of Aalborg, and they are the ones who use and benefit from the +Bus being implemented, and therefore Himmerland Housing Association is interested in investing where the +Bus is located [Buch, 2018]. Mette Bach Kjær from Plus Bolig has a different view of the effect of the +Bus, as she points out that *"[Plus Bolig] do not yet know which influence the +Bus will bring"* [Kjær, 2018, own translation], as this transportation system is not yet implemented in Aalborg. However, she further describes the importance of a good transportation system close to their investments, when she says:

"Generally, it is important that the infrastructure is good and well ran where we invest, especially in a big city like Aalborg. It is important because for several of our residents, good infrastructure is a parameter, when choosing where to live - and we want to be as attractive as possible, so that is why a well ran transportation system is important" [Kjær, 2018, own translation].

According to Mette Bach Kjær, a transportation systems is important for their investments in Plus Bolig, as people, according to her, live where there is accessibility to a good and well ran infrastructure [Kjær, 2018]. However, she does acknowledge, that the effect of specifically the +Bus is difficult to consider at the moment, as it has not yet been implemented.

All of the housing associations more or less agree that a transportation system, as e.g. in the shape of a +Bus, has had an effect on where they have chosen to place their investments, as it is very attractive with proximity to a +Bus for several target groups within Aalborg city. Two developers have also been questioned of the effect of the +Bus in relation to investments in Aalborg, and Arne Andersen from Arne Andersen Vrå A/S has answered similar to the representatives from the housing associations. He says that *"the +Bus has had an impact on the decision about the investment [at the corner of Sohngårdsholmsvej and Universitetsboulevarden] as we believe that the +Bus will help attract residents to the area"* [Andersen, 2018b, own translation]. He thereby express, that the +Bus has had an effect on the choice of investment in the project at Sohngårdsholmsvej and Universitetsboulevarden, which is an area in Aalborg East. Arne Andersen explains, that it is through the attractiveness of the +Bus that the location is chosen. It can be argued, that the investment might not would have happened in that location if the +Bus

has not been planned for. The reason why, this area would not have been planned for without the implementation of the +Bus is that the area is not as attractive and developed as other areas within the alignment of the +Bus.

The development company A. Enggaard has also been asked about the effect of the +Bus in the choice of investment in Aalborg, and they reply differently than Arne Andersen, as Morten W. Løgsted from the company states that:

"We have been working on project development in Aalborg East for many years and still have a fairly large 'land bank' in the area. We consider the area to be attractive due to proximity to major educational institutions and jobs. (...) Our investment is not based on proximity to the +Bus. We would have invested here anyway. But it undoubtedly influences housing typologies, designs, target groups, and parking strategies" [Løgsted, 2018, own translation].

Morten W. Løgsted states, as the only one asked, that the +Bus does not have a direct affect on the choice of investment in this case in Aalborg East. He expresses, that the +Bus has an influence on many other aspect as housing typologies, design, target groups etc., but he argues, that it does not directly have an effect on A. Enggaard's choice of investment. He explains that they have a 'land bank' in the area, which means that they have already invested in a lot of land in the area and these investments were not based on the implementation of the +Bus in the area.

Through these statements from different housing associations and developers in Aalborg, it can be argued, that the storytelling of the +Bus has worked in a sense, where these people have been convinced of the +Bus being attractive in relation to, the dominant discourse of growth, in Aalborg. It can further be argued, that the comprehensive story of the +Bus from the municipality has worked, as all of the people e-mailed state, that it does not matter if the transportation system is a +Bus or a light rail. Arne Andersen from Arne Andersen Vrå A/S, and Sven Buch from Himmerland Housing Association state the following about the importance between a +Bus or a light rail in Aalborg:

"Whether it is a +Bus or a light rail does not have a big impact on our investments" [Andersen, 2018b, own translation].

"It has not been crucial to us if it was a light rail or a BRT solution, which became the preferred one" [Buch, 2018, own translation].

They both agree, that the transportation system in itself does not effect the choices of investments in Aalborg, but instead it is the appearance of a transportation system that matters. As elaborated in section 4.4.1 in the first part of the analysis, then the intention of the planners of Aalborg Municipality was to make a story of the +Bus that was equal to the one of the light rail, and they focused on the fact, that the shift from a light rail to a +Bus should not demean the story of the +Bus. This seems to have worked for Aalborg Municipality, as both the developers and representatives from the housing associations do not matter if the transportation system is a +Bus or a light rail, which shows, that the

municipality has achieved to make the storytelling of the +Bus as persuasive as the one for the light rail. Aalborg Municipality thereby succeed, according to this analysis, to build the story of the +Bus upon the story of the light rail, and make it so persuasive that the investors do not differentiate between the +Bus or the light rail. The storytelling of the +Bus has thereby become powerful, as it has persuaded the developers and housing associations of the +Bus being a generator for developing growth in Aalborg. It is found that the investors are not only accepting the +Bus as being a generator for growth, but are also part of retelling Aalborg Municipality's story of the +Bus, in relation growth. This is justified through this analysis, as the quotes from the investors show that they do not just consider the +Bus as being a regular city bus, but they add value to the +Bus which do not only consider a transportation system. For instance, they describe it as a high class transportation system, which indicates that this technical solution of the +Bus is considered as much more than a bus.

It can further be concluded, that all of the housing associations interviewed, and one of the developers, act upon the storytelling of the +Bus, and thereby it shows that the +Bus has an effect on the location of investments in Aalborg city. This supports the findings in chapter 5, as it also shows that the storytelling of the +Bus has influenced the location of new development in the local plan of the surrounding areas of the +Bus. These findings will be elaborated in connection with the next section about how the storytelling of the +Bus has changed the investors' spatial understanding of Aalborg.

6.2 A new Spatial Understanding

The aim of this section is to analyse the spatial understanding of Aalborg to analyse to what extent Aalborg Municipality has met their vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg through storytelling of the +Bus. It will be analysed in relation to the impact of the investors acceptance of the storytelling of the +Bus, analysed in the former section 6.1. Through the literature review and the devised theoretical framework in section 2.5, spatiality is understood as relational and with a dialectical reason between physical space and social life. In this section this understanding of relational space will be analysed through the theory of spatiality, where the storytelling of the +Bus will be reflected in connection to social practices, symbolic meanings, socio-political identities, and socio-political mobilities. This will analyse if Aalborg Municipality has managed to make the storytelling of the +Bus powerful enough to create the new spatial understanding of Aalborg, and in general how power of storytelling can be used to change spatiality.

As presented in the introduction in chapter 1, the vision of Aalborg Municipality is about a new spatial understanding in Aalborg, which should change from being small and compact to instead be understood as being polycentric, consisting of multiple urban areas. The centres should, according to Aalborg Municipality, be the different main areas throughout Aalborg, which have been characterised with their own identities for the area. The vision is shaped from the growth axis told by Aalborg Municipality, and follows the alignment of this. In the analysis in chapter 4, the story of the +Bus is analysed to be the physical manifestation of the growth axis. Taking point of departure in this analysis, this section will analyse the investors' spatial understanding of Aalborg to understand if Aalborg Municipality's vision of creating a new spatial understanding is met. To what extent the

vision of a new spatial understanding is met, will be used as an indicator for measuring the power of the storytelling of the +Bus.

From section 6.1, it was found that all of the housing associations interviewed, and one of the developers, stated that the +Bus played a great impact on the choice of investment in Aalborg. Especially, in the eastern part of Aalborg, they said, it had an influence of choice of investment, as they expressed that the proximity to a +Bus or a +Bus station was attractive for people, especially the students, young people, and seniors. Through this analysis of the power of the storytelling of the +Bus, it can further be concluded, that because the housing associations and the developers act according to the understanding of the +Bus being a generator for growth, then they have accepted the storytelling of the municipality and thereby accepted the new spatial understanding of Aalborg. The justification for claiming this is that the investments of the developers and housing associations runs along the alignment of the +Bus, and thereby Aalborg Municipality has succeeded in getting investments along the route and making e.g. Aalborg East a bigger part of Aalborg city. However, as explained in the former section, then A. Enggaard did not see the +Bus or the light rail as a factor for investing in certain areas. The storytelling of the +Bus in relation to implementing the vision of the municipality, can thereby be considered as having worked to a certain extent.

When talking about space, it is important to consider the reflections made in the literature review about spatiality, as the new spatial understanding of Aalborg should not just be understood in an absolute way, but also in a relational way. The intention is that it is not just the size of Aalborg and the distance from A to B which should be changed through Aalborg Municipality's vision, but also the understanding of how to interact within the different spaces of Aalborg, and to understand the entire route of the +Bus as being part of Aalborg city. The developers and housings associations have through their investments in, e.g the corner of Sohngårdsholmsvej and Universitetsboulevarden, accepted that Aalborg will through the implementation of the +Bus include this area in the city of Aalborg, and make the connection to the city centre better, and thereby change both the absolute and relational way of understanding Aalborg city. Through these conclusions, it makes sense to reflect upon the power of the storytelling of the +Bus in relation to the theory about four dimensions to consider when analysing spaces; socio-political practices, symbolic meanings, socio-political identities, and socio-political mobility.

Social Practices

As Lefebvre [1974] and Foucault [1972] state, then social practices are important to places and space, as it is the social practices which defines the different places. This resembles well to the relational understanding of space in this project, as it shows, how people must create these social practices within a space or place to define it. In relation to the analysis of the institutionalisation and effect of the +Bus in section 5.2, it can be argued that both the +Bus's impact on local plans in Aalborg Municipality and choices of investment show, that the social practices of people in Aalborg are being affected by the +Bus, and the spaces thereby becomes shaped through the implementation of the +Bus. The changing of the practices in relation to the implementation of the +Bus thereby has an effect on the spaces and places along the alignment of the +Bus, as the changing of local practices

influences the social practices.

Symbolic meanings

Another aspect of shaping a space is through symbolic meanings [Shields, 1992]. As elaborated in the literature review, then social meaning is given to space through attaching culture and symbolic attributes to the spaces, and through that space can be defined and shaped [Shields, 1992]. In relation to the vision of Aalborg Municipality, about a new spatial understanding of Aalborg city, then there has been added both culture and symbolic attributes to the storytelling of the +Bus, which can be argued of having helped shape the spaces along the +Bus route, and through that shape the spaces in the new spatial understanding of Aalborg. Especially, the surrounding areas along the alignment of the +Bus have been added with different attributes and identities like a green area, a leisure area, a service area etc. The added attributes or values to both the surrounding areas of the route of the +Bus, and the values added to the +Bus in the storytelling can thereby be understood as part of shaping the spaces along the route of the +Bus and through that the spaces within the new understanding of Aalborg. In continuation of these reflections, then the third aspect of attaching meaning to space is through adding identities to different spaces [Jensen and Richardson, 2004]. As described, then it is found in the former analysis of the project, that different identities has been attached to the different areas surrounding the alignment of the +Bus.

Socio-Political Identities

Aalborg Municipality divides the area along the +Bus route in four different areas, which is illustrated in figure 6.1.

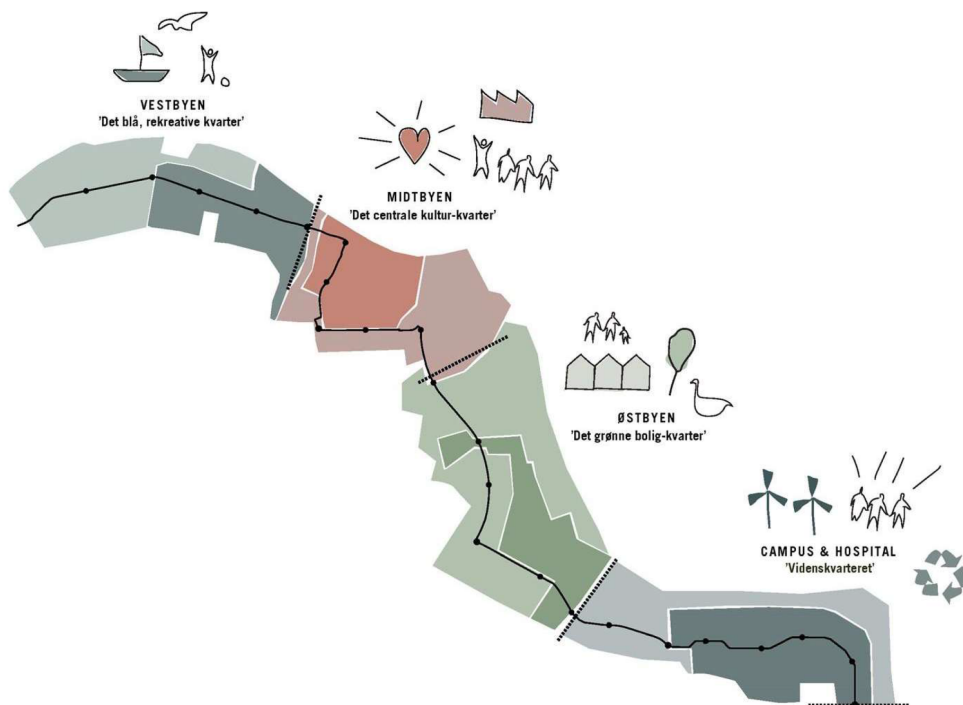


Figure 6.1: An illustration of the alignment of the +Bus through Aalborg with the identities of the surrounding areas [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 10]

Figure 6.1 shows the four areas Aalborg Municipality has divided the route of the +Bus within, along with the identities of these areas. The first area is called Vestbyen and is added the identity as *"the blue, recreational neighbourhood"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 10, own translation]. Midtbyen, which is the next area along the +Bus route, is characterised by Aalborg Municipality as *"the central, cultural neighbourhood"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 10, own translation], as this area runs through the oldest part of Aalborg city. *"The green housing-neighbourhood"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 10, own translation] is the identify of the third area, which is called Østbyen, and runs along several housing blocks mixed with open green areas. The last area is the Campus and Hospital area, which has been added the identity as *"the knowledge neighbourhood"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 10, own translation] because of the location of Aalborg University and the coming Super Hospital. These different identities added to the areas along the +Bus route create meaning to the spaces within them and help achieve the vision of Aalborg Municipality of making spatial understanding of Aalborg which is polycentric, with these four centres as the main urban areas.

Besides creating an identity to the individual spaces along the route of the +Bus, figure 6.1 also shows, how Aalborg Municipality wants to implement the story of the +Bus in the contextual discourse of Aalborg. Through this figure, the story of Aalborg's transition from an industrial to a knowledge city is told in connection to the story of the +Bus. Through the story of the +Bus, each of the polycentric urban areas are given a new identity in consideration of its role in the knowledge city of Aalborg. Through the understanding of space being relational, which argues that actors are part of shaping and creating an understanding and identity of a space. As described before, it can, in relation to figure 6.1, be argued that Aalborg Municipality already, through their storytelling of the +Bus, has created the identities along the alignment of the +Bus. This shows, how Aalborg Municipality uses the power of storytelling to create different identities along the alignment of the +Bus without considering the actors who potentially will use and are already using the spaces to become part of the creation and the identification of them, as the theory and understanding of relational space otherwise point out. Aalborg Municipality has thereby through the storytelling in figure 6.1 limited the creation of spaces along the +Bus alignment, as the actors are 'only allowed' to define the spaces within the identities applied by the municipality. Strictly speaking, it can in this perspective be argued, that actors can only settle down in Østbyen and should only be recreational in Vestbyen, as the storytelling of the +Bus only allows the urban areas of Aalborg to develop within their identities.

Socio-Political Mobility

Mobility is a fourth dimension which, according to Jensen and Richardson [2004] can be used to understand the relational space and thereby the relationship between the social and space. Through the literature review, it is further elaborated, that mobility is part of not just understanding, but also shaping the urban spaces [Jensen and Richardson, 2004]. This relates very well to the case of this project, the +Bus, as Aalborg Municipality tries, through their storytelling of the +Bus, to use it as an indicator for the vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg. The reason why the +Bus becomes a good case for that is based on the theory of socio-political mobility, where mobility is described as being powerful as it can both include or exclude the social world and through that the

understanding of the space [Jensen and Richardson, 2004]. The +Bus can thereby be argued of not just being considered as being a transportation system, which transports people from A to B, but instead as a system, which creates urban spaces along its alignment, and shapes the way people live their everyday life and thereby how they understand the space of Aalborg. The way of making people understand both Aalborg East and Aalborg West as being part of Aalborg city is through the mobility in the shape of the +Bus making the spatial understanding of Aalborg relational and not just absolute.

All of these reflections, about how the storytelling of the +Bus has achieved the vision of Aalborg Municipality about a new spatial understanding of Aalborg, should be considered in the context of the process of the implementation of the +Bus at the moment. To create understandings of new spaces, it requires, according to Jensen and Richardson [2004], that the spaces exist and have been lived. The argumentation regarding the +Bus' influence on the spaces both through practices, symbolic meanings, identities, and mobility in general must thereby be considered as only being reflections, as it cannot be fully analysed yet. However, the storytelling of the +Bus and the vision from Aalborg Municipality give an indication of the municipality's intention of how the spatiality of Aalborg will be effected. Further, the analysis of the local plans regarding the +Bus and the interviews from investors in Aalborg justify the conclusion about the vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg being accepted. The storytelling at this point is thereby mostly related to the developers and politicians rather than the citizens, as it in this phase are the visions and ideas of the +Bus which should be accepted through the storytelling. However, it can be argued, that since the investors have accepted the story of the +Bus, and their practices regarding new investments are supporting the story of the +Bus, then it can be argued, that the story of the +Bus is more likely to be accepted by the citizens afterwards.

This section thereby concludes, that the vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg has been accepted by developers and housing associations as a result of the power of the storytelling of the +Bus. This power of using the tool of storytelling will thereby be analysed in the next section to understand how Aalborg Municipality has made the story of the +Bus powerful through storytelling.

6.3 The Power of using Initiatives in Storytelling

In this section, the use of Aalborg Municipality's storytelling will be analysed to reveal the power within it. The analysis will take point of departure in the techniques of the municipality's use in the storytelling, which was analysed in section 5.1. In this section, the initiatives which the municipality use in their storytelling will be analysed individually, and the section will end out with a rationalisation of the use of the tool storytelling.

The Structure of the Story

As it is pointed out in the literature review, then good stories should take point of departure in an event and emplot the past, which is exactly what Aalborg Municipality is doing, as the story of the +Bus does not only concern the +Bus itself. The story is told into the context of Aalborg's development, in perspective of the contextual discourse of Aalborg's transition from an industrial to a knowledge city. Additionally to create a story, which

form a coherent whole, the story contains a flow of the actions which have taken place during the process of the project. An example, of an event which actively is incorporated as a part of the story, is the rejection from the government of the light rail. This event has been actively used in the story to create a joint will of making the +Bus as successful as the light rail project would have been, of which can be argued that they have succeed, since none of the developers or housing associations prefer one over the other. In the interview with Anne Juel Andersen, she additionally describes the attitude of the mayor of Aalborg after the rejection was final, by quoting him:

"Nope, we should not hang around, we should not feel sorry for ourselves and beg for something else, we should not be half-hearted about this, we should go all in, and now we are going for this solution" [Andersen, 2018a, 16:05, own translation].

Through this quote, she is pointing out, how the mayor used the rejection to create this shared will to make this project succeed. Eventually, it has also been the approach towards investors to point out an even stronger local political will of supporting the project despite the lack of support by the government. In this way, the use of emotional language by the mayor has made the story of the +Bus more powerful.

Storytelling as a Problem-Solver

In continuation of the 'Structure of the Story', Aalborg Municipality has actively used storytelling to solve problems, as Sandercock [2003] also argues that storytelling is useful for. From the beginning of the process then the storytelling of the project was carried out to solve the self-induced traffic-related challenges of Aalborg. These challenges are referring to the traffic-related issues from the city centre to the university and the increased traffic-related challenges, which the coming Super Hospital expect to bring. Additionally, when the story of the +Bus describes it as being a problem-solver of the challenges Aalborg is facing, the story becomes more powerful. As the +Bus is described to solve a problem which citizens of Aalborg are meeting in their everyday life, most people will be positive towards it. This is a good example of the impact of storytelling, as regular city busses are driving along the route of the +Bus today, and most people do not have the prerequisite to understand the technological differences between the +Bus and city busses.

As a problem-solver, the storytelling of the +Bus, turned out, during the process, to be even more essential than expected. When Aalborg Municipality was rejected the financial support for the light rail, a new situation appeared. Through storytelling, the planners had to convince the private investors, who wanted to invest in Aalborg because of the light rail, that they could expect that the +Bus would provide the same benefits. As explained earlier, then it turned out that the power of the storytelling of the +Bus was strong enough, as the investors today do not differentiate between the light rail and the +Bus.

Storytelling makes sense of Situations

As explained in the literature review in section 2.1, storytelling can be used to make sense of situations and explain the values of planners. In the case of the +Bus then the planners have used storytelling to enhance the significance of the +Bus in relation to regular city busses. Additionally, it has been used to make sense of why the +Bus has been given this large priority compared to city busses. Through their storytelling, they made it clear which values, they associate the +Bus with. From planning documents and the interviews, it becomes clear that a great emphasis is given to the +Bus, as it is describes to be *"a driving force for urban development"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 15, own translation], which is not the case for the city busses today. In this way, it becomes clear, through their use of storytelling, that the municipality values urban development and the growth, which they assume the +Bus will bring.

Regarding the use of storytelling in planning, Anne Juel Andersen additionally justify, why they are using it as a planning tool through the use of an anecdote. She uses an anecdote from the real estate market, where she points out, about storytelling, that *"you would use it if you were selling a house too. You would not only say that it has yellow bricks, and it is from 1936, but you would say; "try to look at the view" and explain the house as a whole, and how to move around [in the area]"* [Andersen, 2018a, 36:18, own translation]. Through this quote, she argues that storytelling is a tool to make sense of a phenomenon in a certain context, and additionally, that it is used in all professions and states that *"it is so normal"* [Andersen, 2018a, 36:18, own translation] to use it.

Storytelling explains how a Situation can be Different

In the literature review in section 2.1, it is described how storytelling can be used as a tool to achieve changes, by describing how the situation can be different. The storytelling of the +Bus project is an example of this. In this project, the planners use storytelling to change the spatial understanding of the city by implementing the +Bus as the physical manifestation of the growth axis. As described in the introduction, the planners aim to change the spatial understanding of the city from being small and compact, as it is today, to becoming polycentric and include multiple urban areas, connected by the +Bus.

A strategic tool which Sandercock [2003] describes can be used to explain how a situation can be different, is the use of examples from elsewhere. In this case, where Aalborg Municipality aims to facilitate an increased use of public transportation, they have told and chosen examples from other cities where BRT systems have changed the way people use and understand public transportation within a city. An example of the use of examples in their storytelling is in the +Bus booklet, where Aalborg Municipality writes:

"Experience from similar projects in cities such as Malmö and Metz tells that passenger growth has exceeded expectations in a short period of time"
[Aalborg Municipality, 2016a, p. 9, own translation].

Through this example, the planners have chosen an example where similar projects have been implemented and achieved great success, even larger than expected, which are

allowing those, for whom the story are told, to imagine how positive the future of Aalborg could be, if the +Bus was a part of it.



Figure 6.2: A future picture of the urban development of the area near Gigantium, including the light rail [Aalborg Municipality, 2013a, p. 12].

Through picture 6.2 along with similar pictures of other areas, the municipality is additionally creating inspiration of how the +Bus, or in this case the light rail, potentially can influence the urban development of Aalborg. By creating these images of the future, and using the non-narrative language technique, presented in section 5.1, they tell the story of how the city could be different from how it is today, and how the +Bus can influence these changes. Despite only a few words are added to it, there is a lot of storytelling in the pictures. It tells a visual story of the urban development the +Bus potentially can bring and tells the story of how attractive the areas around it could be.

Storytelling of Space

Storytelling is additionally used by Aalborg Municipality as a strategic tool to create a new spatial understanding of Aalborg city. To tell the story of a new spatial understanding, the municipality uses more of the initiatives and techniques presented earlier. For instance,

as shown throughout this project, Aalborg Municipality has created a number of maps to visualise how the city will change spatially as a consequence of the +Bus. Furthermore, the municipality uses the technique of implementing the story of the +Bus in the contextual discourse of Aalborg's transition. Firstly, they support the spatial understanding, they want to create through the +Bus project, by incorporating it in the growth axis developed through the contextual discourse of the transition. Additionally, they tell the story of how the +Bus will create a connection between the new identities, the different urban areas are given, after the transition of being a knowledge city.

Through this spatial understanding, created as a result of the storytelling of the +Bus, the municipality aims to control the future development of the investments. They aim to create a persuasive story of the +Bus, through which they can control the investments of the investors. As it is presented in section 6.1, the investors have to a great extent accepted the story and the dominating discourse of growth of the +Bus. This understanding is shown in their practices, as most of them express, that the +Bus is essential for their location of investments in the city. Of that reason, it can be argued that the municipality has managed to create a story of the +Bus which is so persuasive, that they to a great extent control how the city spatially will be shaped.

Through these examples of initiatives, which Aalborg Municipality use in their storytelling of the +Bus, the power of this planning tool becomes clear. By implementing the story in the contextual discourse of the transition of Aalborg, it is more inclined that the story will be accepted. By using storytelling to make sense of a situation and describe the values associated to the +Bus, those, to whom the story are told, are more inclined to accept and understand the situation in the same way as the author of the story. By telling the story of how the +Bus will solve challenges, people are facing in their everyday life, they are more inclined to support the project. Finally by using 'good examples' people are inclined to accept the good story. It is despite that important information and details are missing from the examples, which are essential to know to be able to judge if the situations, in the examples, are comparable.

Rationalisation of the use of Storytelling

Through the analysis of the power of initiatives used in storytelling, it is relevant to reflect upon why this use of storytelling becomes relevant for Aalborg Municipality. Anne Juel Andersen rationalises Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling as a planning tool through a use of anecdotes where she, as presented earlier, compares storytelling to the real estate market, where she argues, that you would never sell a house based on hard arguments, but always tell the story of the house. In light of this perspective of storytelling, she also points out how it can be used in a manipulative perspective, because of its ability to change people's understanding of a phenomenon or looking at a situation differently. Finally, she emphasises the importance of storytelling when unexpected events happens, referring to how important storytelling was, when it was announced that the Finance Act 2016 no longer included the support to the light rail project in Aalborg, as they were promised. In this case, they had to, through storytelling, convince the investors, who already had decided to invest in Aalborg because of the light rail, that the +Bus project could achieve the same results. According to Anne Juel Andersen from Aalborg Municipality, the use and power

within the use of storytelling becomes important in connection to the implementation of +Bus and in the shift from a light rail to a +Bus.

In continuation of the rationalisation of the use of storytelling, the following section will analyse the strategic use of storytelling, and reveal the power relation within it.

6.4 Strategic use of Storytelling

In the aim of understanding the strategic and political use of storytelling, this section will analyse who the authors of the story of the +Bus are. The reason why, it is essential to pay attention to the authors of the stories in storytelling is, that the writers' worldviews are reflected in the stories, as it is pointed out in section 2.1 in the literature review of storytelling. Additionally, the strategic and political intentions of carrying out the story will be revealed in perspective of understanding the power that lies within the position of the authors as it can manipulate the stories. Finally, the effect of the strategic use of storytelling will be analysed in a perspective of how the storytelling is carried out as a part of the planning process of the +Bus project.

As it is argued in the literature review in section 2.1, then Hulst [2003] emphasises that it is essential to be critical towards the planning tool of storytelling. In this perspective stories must be understood as something invented, rather than the truth. Of that reason, it becomes important to be aware of the storyteller, and in what purpose the story is told. Additionally, Anne Juel Andersen points out, that stories can be told through different perspectives, and states that through storytelling "*you can manipulate*" [Andersen, 2018a, 38:56, own translation], which makes it even more essential to research the power the authors, of the story of the +Bus, possess.

In the perspective of the story of the +Bus, the storytellers and the storytelling have changed during the process depending on the aim of the story. As explained in section 4.4.1, then one of the first times, that a new transportation system was mentioned, was in 2008 where the mayor of Aalborg announced that Aalborg was facing traffic-related issues and of that reason needed a new transportation system. From this time until 2014, it was analysed whether a light rail or a +Bus was the right solution to these traffic-related challenges. Storytelling was in this situation used by both planners and politicians to justify why a light rail would be the better solution, as it was the solution they wanted. In the investigation report, Aalborg Municipality for instance wrote that "*the difference between a light rail and BRT is attributed to the so-called rail factor, which reflects experiences for a higher attractiveness of a light rail than a corresponding BRT solution*" [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c, p. 90, own translation], where they, in the storytelling, chose to focus on the factors supporting the light rail rather than the +Bus. At this time, the storytellers not only aimed to convince investors and the public in general of Aalborg, but the storytelling was additionally pointed toward the Danish government, as a consequence of their application for financial support. As presented in the process of the +Bus in section 4.2, then the government decided to reject the financial support to the light rail. This rejection shows that they did not manage to create and tell a story of the light rail, which was powerful enough for the Danish government to support.

In continuation of this event of the rejection, the perspective in the storytelling changed.

Through newspapers, it became clear that the storytelling to a high degree now was carried out by politicians, who first of all told the story of how the government assigned a lower priority to Aalborg compared to other cities. To a newspaper the mayor of Aalborg expressed:

"I am deeply shocked that the government has removed the money that Aalborg Municipality has been promised to Aalborg light rail. We have been given a lower priority and are apparently not worthy to interfere with the country's other major cities, who all were given light rail, and despite the fact that the municipality of Aalborg itself was ready to finance 1.4 billion DDK. Despite the strong growth we are experiencing - both in terms of more residents, more students and more jobs - a lower priority, and an obvious city hierarchy with Copenhagen, Aarhus and Odense in the driver's seat, it is a reality" [Nordjyske, 2015a, own translation].

As this quote points out, the storytelling by mayor and other politicians of Aalborg, was, in the period of rejection from the government, focusing on the low priority Aalborg was given. Additionally, he pointed out how it would impact the urban competitiveness between the major cities of Denmark, which he furthermore pointed out, that Aalborg, in the mind of the government, no longer was a part of since they all were 'given' a light rail.

During a couple of months, the plot of the story told by the politicians changed, as the politician for public transportation expressed: *"In politics we must look at what is possible and we must not forget that the BRT solution does have some advantages compared to the light rail"* [Nordjyske, 2015c, own translation]. After the politicians of Aalborg realised that a light rail no longer was a possibility, the focus of the storytelling changed towards the +Bus and the advantages it possessed. Along with the politicians changing focus in the storytelling of the story, the planners now told the good story of the +Bus too, as they do today. In the period where Aalborg Municipality applied for financial support to the +Bus, the planners' storytelling was focused towards the state. In the application, the planners send in 2017, the storytelling played a great role in convincing the state about Aalborg's need for a +Bus, and how the city would benefit from it. In the application, they told the story of how the +Bus will contribute to the development of the entire city: *"The establishment of '+Bus Aalborg' should not only be seen as a transportation project, but as an important part of Aalborg's overall strategy for development. The vision of a +Bus is an integrated part of the urban strategy vision for Aalborg Municipality"* [Aalborg Municipality, 2017, p. 3, own translation]. When Socialdemokraterne, SF, Dansk Folkeparti, Radikale Venstre and Enhedslisten allocated money for the +Bus in Aalborg in an agreement in the transportation area, it showed the power the planners possess, as they managed to create a story of the +Bus which was accepted by these parties.

Besides convincing the politicians of the parliament, the planners and the politicians additionally told the story of the +Bus to the investors. They aimed to convince the investors that the project of the +Bus would provide the same benefits as the light rail, despite of the storytelling, they originally carried out, which promoted the light rail. At a city council meeting, it is expressed by politicians that *"the development of the urban spaces of the 11 stations must ensure that a bus solution can help lift the city in the same*

way as the light rail more naturally did" [Aalborg Municipality, 2016b, own, translation]. As the quote expresses, then the politicians argue that the +Bus will provide the same advantages as the light rail would, and will provide the same attractiveness. In relation to the storytelling, which is carried out of the +Bus, it can be argued that they succeed in convincing the investors, as they do not differentiate between a +Bus or a light rail solution.

Along with the storytelling performed for the investors, then the interviews additionally made it clear, that the planners today is performing storytelling towards the politicians too. As Jens Mogensen argues in his interview, then the success of the +Bus project *"relies on whether [the politicians] dare to stick to the concept and say that they will prioritise the public transport"* [Mogensen, 2018, 11:31, own translation]. All three planners of the +Bus project group address the importance of the political will for the project of the +Bus. Additionally, Anne Juel Andersen states: *"In fact, we are trying to see if we can (...) hold on to most of the elements [from the light rail project] in the BRT project"* [Andersen, 2018a, 13:32, own translation]. The reason why the political will can become this important in the +Bus project is because of its flexibility. As described earlier, the +Bus does not possess the rail factors of which reason the politicians can ease on the priority of the +Bus on behalf of the cars. In this connection Mette Olesen argues that it *"politically is exciting to see if the politicians stick to it. If they hold on and say that some parking spaces must be shut down and some car traffic must be limited along the alignment"* [Olesen, 2018, 13:21, own translation]. If the storytelling, carried out to the politicians, has been successful is yet not to tell, since the decisions have not been made yet.

As this section outlines, then the storytelling has been carried out by planners and politicians towards different groups. Additionally, the storytelling has appeared as a powerful tool, as their story of the +Bus has so far been accepted to a great extent. How the storytelling has influenced the story's underlying dominating discourse will be analysed in the following section.

6.5 Connection between Storytelling and Dominating Discourse

This section will, based on the analyses in chapter 4, chapter 5 and this chapter, investigate the connection between storytelling and the dominating discourse through an analysis of the reinforcement of the dominant discourse of growth through storytelling of the +Bus.

Storytelling has been analysed in this chapter as a powerful tool, as it is used to convince and persuade people about a story, which in this case concerns the +Bus. Further, the dominant discourse has been identified, in chapter 4, to be growth, and thereby being Aalborg Municipality's main justification in the storytelling of the +Bus. The +Bus project can through these analyses be considered as a result of its discourse of growth, and a connection between storytelling and the dominant discourse is established. The connection is established because the dominant discourse of growth has been reinforced, by the planning practices of Aalborg Municipality and the developers point of view. How storytelling can be used to reinforce a dominant discourse, can be justified when comparing to regular city busses in Aalborg.

Aalborg Municipality has through storytelling added a lot of value to the +Bus, which have made the +Bus differentiate from regular city busses in Aalborg. The bus line 2 runs at the same route as the +Bus will, but it is not considered in addition to growth as the +Bus is. The dominant discourse of growth thereby plays an important role in the storytelling of the +Bus, as it is through the analysis of the dominant discourse that the acceptance of the story of the +Bus can be evaluated. Further the dominant discourse of growth can be evaluated through the analysis of the municipality's practices and the developers practices and thoughts about where they want to invest in Aalborg.

To fully understand this connection between storytelling of the +Bus and the dominant discourse of growth in Aalborg, the theoretical framework model devised in section 2.5 will be included. The model shows the connection between the four concepts of the project, and illustrates how storytelling is used to reinforce a dominant discourse.

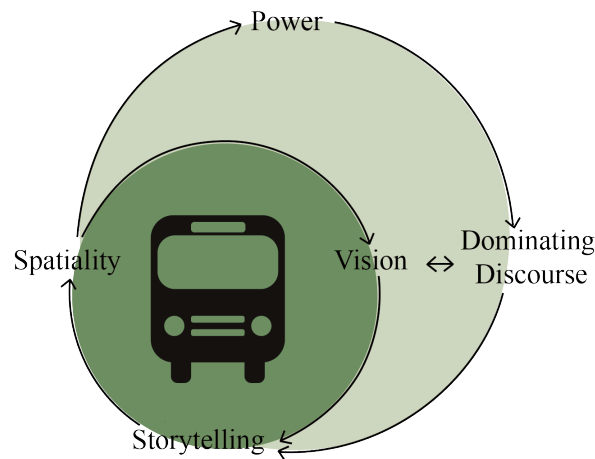


Figure 6.3: The theoretical framework in the perspective of the +Bus

As figure 6.3 shows, then it is not just the direct connection between the dominating discourse and storytelling which makes storytelling reinforce a dominant discourse, but also the concepts of power, spatiality, and the vision of a new spatial understanding in Aalborg. The dominant discourse is identified as growth in relation to the case of the +Bus. As the model shows, then the dominating discourse is what lies behind the story of the +Bus, and is thereby part of shaping this. This has been visible in the analysis of the structuration in section 5.1 and institutionalisation in section 5.2 of the discourses behind the +Bus, as it shows how the discourses have been used in rhetoric through the story of the +Bus and acted upon in the planning practices of Aalborg Municipality. As presented earlier, the dominant discourse of growth has further been identified as the main discourse behind the story of the +Bus, and this thereby explains the connection between the dominant discourse and storytelling. Further, the dominant discourse of growth has been part of shaping the vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg, as the arrow between vision and dominant discourse shows. As the smaller circle of the figure shows, then the connection between storytelling, spatiality and the vision is directly related to the case study of storytelling of the +Bus. It is through the analysis of

the new spatial understanding in section 6.2 that this connection of this smaller circle is analysed, as it is concluded, that through the storytelling of the +Bus, the vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg city has been accepted, as the developers and housing associations acts upon this new form of spatiality. However, as elaborated in section 6.2 of the new spatial understanding, then an implementation of the spaces along the +Bus are needed to fully consider a new understanding of a space.

The concept of power illustrated in the top of the model shows how power and discourses are connected. The power of storytelling analysed in the sections in this chapter, is understood through the dominant discourse, as it is the justification of the storytelling of Aalborg Municipality. The connection between power and storytelling of the +Bus is analysed in section 6.3 and section 6.4, which finds that storytelling of the +Bus becomes powerful through different initiatives used by Aalborg Municipality and through the strategic and political use of it by both the planners of Aalborg Municipality and the politicians of Aalborg City Council. The reason why the dominant discourse is between the connection of power and storytelling is because it is found, that it is in this discourse of growth that the power within the storytelling of the +Bus lies. It is found because Aalborg Municipality does not use direct power, but instead exercise power through the use of storytelling.

Through the connection between the different concepts and the case study of this project, the main argument is that the storytelling of the +Bus possesses the power to be capable of reinforcing the dominating discourse of growth, which causes, that the new spatial understanding of Aalborg will be achieved. However, the case study of storytelling of the +Bus can also be understood in a larger scale than only the scale of the +Bus. It can also be argued, that the storytelling of the +Bus can be used to reinforce the overall contextual discourse of Aalborg being in a transition from an industrial to a knowledge city.

Sub-Conclusion

The third sub-question: *How is the power of storytelling influencing the spatial understanding and reinforcing the dominant discourse of Aalborg?* has been answered throughout this chapter, and the conclusion of it will be presented in this section.

Through an analysis of the +Bus' influence on investors' choice of investments in Aalborg, it has been concluded that the vision of a new spatial understanding in Aalborg devised by Aalborg Municipality has been accepted. The storytelling of the +Bus can thereby be understood as being powerful, as it has been so influential as it can affect where the investors choose to invest in Aalborg, and thereby change their understanding of the city of Aalborg.

This power of storytelling has further been analysed through both an investigation of the power of the initiatives used in storytelling and a research of the strategic use of storytelling. It is through these analyses found, that the different initiatives, Aalborg Municipality use in their storytelling, show how the power of storytelling are used to convince people of the story of the +Bus. The way power of storytelling has influenced the spatial understanding is through the use of initiatives in storytelling of making sense of why the planners intent to change the spatial understanding of Aalborg through the +Bus. Further, planners have presented the +Bus as a problem-solver to the challenges, they have described that the city

is facing. Finally, they explain to the investors, how the situation will be different when the +Bus is implemented, and how new areas will experience growth, by introducing examples of similar cities to Aalborg, which has experienced positive results by an implementation of a +Bus. Power thereby becomes important in Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling, which Anne Juel Andersen from the municipality also states. Not only the initiatives in the use of storytelling are the powerful dimension in the storytelling from the +Bus, but also the strategic use of it, in the shape of the people using this storytelling of the +Bus. The power of storytelling in the shape of the initiatives in storytelling and the people using it have influenced the investors' spatial understanding of the city, as they invest along the +Bus alignment.

The analysis of the project ends with the reflection of the connection between storytelling of the +Bus and the dominating discourse of growth, which through the theoretical framework of the project concludes, that storytelling of the +Bus has the power to reinforce the dominating discourse of growth and through that accepting the new spatial understanding of Aalborg.

The findings within the analysis of the project, which have been researched in chapter 4, 5, and 6, will be discussed in the next chapter, to be reflective of the findings.

Discussion 7

In the following section, a discussion of Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling of the +Bus will be carried out. Throughout the analyses in chapter 4, 5, and 6, it is found that the dominating discourse of the +Bus is growth and is the underlying understanding of Aalborg Municipality's storytelling of the +Bus. Through these findings, the aim of this section is to discuss how the dominating discourse of growth has influenced the use of storytelling of the +Bus and the direction, it is taking Aalborg city? Furthermore, it will be discussed if other directions than growth for the city are possible, in perspective of the used storytelling of the +Bus? Finally, the section will discuss if storytelling by Aalborg Municipality is used democratically, in a transparent way.

In the discussion of how the dominating discourse of growth has influenced the use of storytelling, the strategic use of storytelling by Aalborg Municipality is essential to consider. One consequence of the dominating discourse of growth, in the storytelling of the +Bus, has caused, as explained in section 6.4, that it mainly has been directed towards potential investors in Aalborg. In this perspective, it can be argued, that the storytelling has been carried out to secure that the +Bus will facilitate growth in relation to urban development of Aalborg. Furthermore, the focus on the dominating discourse towards growth, has caused that Aalborg Municipality has incorporated the story of the +Bus in the contextual discourse of the transition. As it is presented in the introduction in chapter 1, the story of the transition of Aalborg is an accepted story in Aalborg, which also is dominated by the discourse of growth. Of that reason, the aim of telling the story of the +Bus, in perspective of the overall and accepted story of Aalborg's transition, is furthermore to secure growth. So, by relating the story of the +Bus to the story of the transition of Aalborg, it further positions the story of the +Bus within a greater frame of growth in Aalborg city.

In the perspective of Aalborg Municipality's strategic use of storytelling, by directing the storytelling towards the investors, and incorporating it in the fundamental story of Aalborg's transition, storytelling's impact on the city can be discussed.

On the one hand, it can be argued that the municipality has succeeded in reinforcing the dominating discourse of growth. As it is presented in section 6.1, Aalborg Municipality has managed to carry out a persuasive storytelling of the +Bus as a generator for growth to the investors. Not only has the investors accepted the story, but they also act upon it, as they state that the +Bus has played a significant role for the location of their recent investments. Further, the investors are retelling Aalborg Municipality's story of the +Bus, as they use the same words of the +Bus as Aalborg Municipality, such as the word; 'a high class transportation system'. In this way, the investors' use of words show that

they associate the +Bus with more, than just being a transportation system or a regular city bus. In this way, it can be argued, that Aalborg Municipality's overall aim of the storytelling, to generate growth, has been accomplished, as the municipality has made the +Bus alignment attractive for growth, and secured growth in the surrounding areas of the +Bus alignment.

On the other hand, it can be questioned if the dominating focus on growth has prevented other directions of development in Aalborg, related to the +Bus, from being possible. In this perspective, it can further be questioned if the municipality's approach to the storytelling of the +Bus has caused that only growth will be increased, and other aspects such as livability, sustainability and climate change will be neglected.

Through the perspective of growth being the only possible direction for Aalborg Municipality to develop the city towards, it is further interesting to discuss whether Aalborg Municipality, in their storytelling, even opens the discussion about growth being the 'right' direction to take Aalborg city. Theoretically, storytelling is understood as being a democratic tool, as it can be used to express stories and understandings. However, it can be questioned whether Aalborg Municipality has used their storytelling of the +Bus in a democratic way. They have not discussed how the direction of Aalborg city should be, but instead decided, through their storytelling, that it should be based on growth. Additionally, the storytelling has not concerned the interests of the citizens or other actor groups, as it has mostly been directed towards investors and politicians, as elaborated before. Aalborg Municipality thereby uses the power they possesses, as authors of the storytelling of the +Bus, to set the agenda of the direction, which Aalborg city should be developed towards, according to them.

This way of using the tool of storytelling, can be discussed if it instead of being democratic is used more in a manipulative sense. The storytelling of the +Bus limits the discussion about Aalborg city to concern only growth, through which it can be argued that they manipulate people to understand and talk about the +Bus in relation to growth and not other aspects.

Furthermore to discuss if storytelling has been carried out in a democratic way, it makes sense, to consider if Aalborg Municipality's storytelling of the +Bus has been transparent for the citizens of Aalborg. It can be argued, that the citizens do not directly understand what Aalborg Municipality wants through their storytelling of the +Bus, as they have a 'hidden' understanding in their dominating discourse of growth. The aim of Aalborg Municipality is thereby not just to tell a story about the +Bus, but to a great extent to reinforce their dominating discourse of growth, and understand the city of Aalborg in relation to growth. The storytelling of the +Bus thereby contains more than just the story of a bus. Of that reason, it can be argued, that the comprehensive story of the +Bus is told by Aalborg Municipality to make the citizens accept the story and support the project of the +Bus in the aim of reinforcing the dominating discourse of growth in Aalborg city. The transparency, in Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling, can thereby be questioned, as it can be argued that the municipality actually has a purpose of reinforcing their dominating discourse of growth and the broad and comprehensive story, only is created to make people support the project of the +Bus.

This discussion has concerned, Aalborg Municipality's use of storytelling of the +Bus, and how it has been influenced by their dominating discourse of growth and the understanding of how they want Aalborg city to be developed. Furthermore, the consequences of the storytelling of the +Bus, being directed towards investors and incorporated in the story of Aalborg's transition, has been discussed. In this perspective it has been discussed how they have achieved growth along the +Bus alignment, but consequently has limited themselves in the development of the city of Aalborg. Further, it has been discussed whether the storytelling executed by Aalborg Municipality has been used as a democratic tool, as it through its limitation to growth, do not consider other aspects from e.g. the citizens in their story of the +Bus. In this perspective, it can finally be argued that the storytelling of the municipality cannot be defined as being either 'bad' or 'good', but is a tool, which is important to pay attention to in relation to the power, the author behind it possesses.

Conclusion 8

In the following chapter, the conclusion of the project will be presented. Overall, the chapter will draw a conclusion on the main findings from the analysis carried out in chapter 4, 5, and 6 and the discussion in chapter 7. In perspective of the theoretical framework, this chapter will conclude on the main research question of the project:

"How is Aalborg Municipality using storytelling of the +Bus to reinforce their dominating discourse and their vision of a new spatial understanding of Aalborg City?"

To understand how storytelling theoretically is connected to discourses, four concepts must be considered. Besides the concepts of storytelling and discourses, then the concepts of power and spatiality must be researched, as they are connected, as figure 8.1 shows.

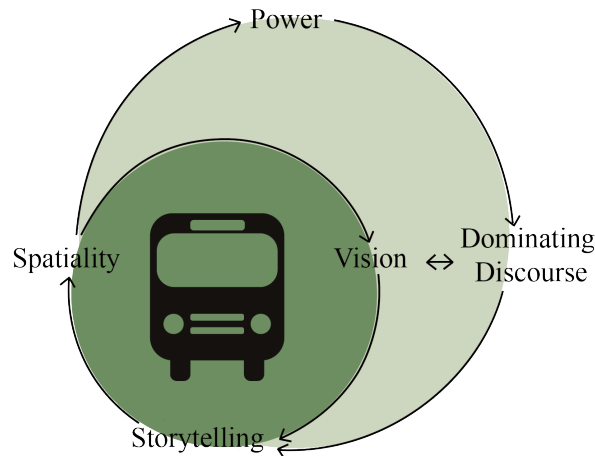


Figure 8.1: The connection between storytelling, discourses, power and spatiality in the Perspective of the +Bus

To understand how storytelling, in the case of the +Bus, is used as a planning tool to reinforce the dominating discourse of it, the story of the +Bus has firstly been identified.

The story, which Aalborg Municipality tells of the +Bus, is concluded as being one comprehensive story, which is constructed by a broad set of themes including; urban transition, growth, urban development, sustainability, and public transportation. At the same time, these themes are Aalborg Municipality's underlying understanding of why

the +Bus should be implemented in Aalborg, and thereby their discourses of the +Bus. Through these discourse, the dominating discourse of the +Bus, being a generator for growth, has been identified. Despite, all discourses of the +Bus are included in the comprehensive story of the +Bus, then it is concluded that most of the discourses are related to growth.

In the storytelling of the +Bus, it is concluded that the municipality uses different techniques. They use metaphors, a non-narrative style, through which the +Bus for instance becomes incorporated in the context of Aalborg's transition, and finally they use examples from elsewhere to show how the situation can be different. Through the language analysis of the storytelling of the +Bus, it is concluded that the dominating discourse of growth has been structured as it is incorporated in the language and story of the +Bus. Besides being a part of the story of the +Bus, the dominating discourse of the +Bus has been institutionalised too, as it has influenced the planning practices of Aalborg Municipality. As the analysis shows, then the understanding of the +Bus has influenced the planning practice regarding the location of new development and how the new development will be carried out. This is showed in the addendum of the municipal plan of the +Bus, which includes new planning guidelines for the area, which they define as the urban development zone. In relation to the practices, growth is concluded as being dominating too. As the local plans show, then the +Bus has generated growth in perspective of new development in areas which without the present of the +Bus, would not have been developed.

The dominating discourse of growth has to a great extent been accepted by both the developers and housing associations. First of all, they have accepted the story of the same advantages can be achieved through the +Bus as through the light rail, as neither of the investors differentiate between the two solutions. Additionally, the discourse through which the +Bus is understood as a generator for growth, and the new spatial understanding the +Bus is intended to create, are, by most of the investors, accepted. This is showed as a majority of the interviewed investors argue that the locations for their new investments are influenced by the coming +Bus.

As the actions of the investors have been influenced by the story of the coming +Bus, it is concluded that the municipality's strategic use of storytelling has been powerful. This should be understood in perspective to regular city busses, which has not been essential to the investors before. Additionally it can be concluded that Aalborg Municipality to a great extent manages to reinforce the dominating discourse of growth of the +Bus through storytelling. They have succeeded in telling the story of the +Bus' impact on the future urban development of Aalborg, as it has influenced in planning practices of the municipality themselves, and furthermore the investors.

Finally, it can be concluded, that Aalborg Municipality, to reinforce the +Bus' dominating discourse of growth, has directed the storytelling towards investors to secure future growth along the alignment of the +Bus. Additionally, the municipality uses different initiatives within the storytelling. It is initiatives such as incorporating the +Bus story in the story of Aalborg's transition, making sense of the values they associate to the +Bus, and using storytelling to create a new understanding of space, to control the location of investors' future investments. The main conclusion of the project is thereby, that the strategic use

of storytelling of the +Bus possesses the power to reinforce the dominating discourse of growth, which is a requisite in the creation of the new spatial understanding of Aalborg. In this perspective, it can be concluded that storytelling in general is a powerful planning tool which plays an essential role in the reinforcement of the dominating discourse in Aalborg Municipality. This is not only in the perspective of the +Bus, but in urban development project in general. Storytelling can be used to promote dominating discourses by telling a persuasive story in the overall context of a city's development and by using the different persuasive and powerful techniques and initiatives which the planning practice of storytelling possesses.

Reflection 9

In this chapter a reflection of the research devised will be presented to get an understanding of possibilities for further research. The chapter will take point of departure in the time perspective of how far the +Bus project is at the moment and present the possibilities for researching the other phases of the implementation of the +Bus.

As elaborated earlier in the project, then Aalborg Municipality is at a stage now in the process of the implementation of the +Bus, where the storytelling of the +Bus is mainly directed to the investors and politicians. The proposals of the addendum to the municipal plan and the local plan for the BRT system have just been published, so the next step for Aalborg Municipality is the public hearing and through that the involvement of the citizens of Aalborg. It could therefore be interesting to further research the storytelling of the +Bus, but the storytelling directly addressed towards the citizens. As it appeared in this project then the storytelling of the +Bus mostly addressed developers and politicians and not the citizens directly. It could therefore be interesting to revisit the research of the storytelling from Aalborg Municipality about the +Bus, when their communicative strategy for the citizens have been made, and see if it differentiates from the storytelling of the +Bus analysed in this project.

In perspective of the comprehensive story described in section 4.4, it can be argued that the story of the +Bus can be considered as being broad and too comprehensive. It could be interesting to investigate if Aalborg Municipality continues telling the comprehensive story of the +Bus, when approaching the citizens, as it can be argued whether the storytelling persuades and informs them about the +Bus. Anne Juel Andersen from Aalborg Municipality expresses in the interview with her, that the municipality just hired a communicative chief from the 1st of May 2018, which should start out by developing a new communicative strategy about the +Bus [Andersen, 2018a]. It thereby seems as the municipality will try new initiatives in their communication of the +Bus and through the storytelling of it. This thereby makes the next step for Aalborg Municipality regarding the storytelling of the +Bus interesting to further research upon.

In the longer run, it could further be interesting to research the storytelling of the +Bus, when it has been implemented in 2022. Considering the theory of Sandercock [2003] about using storytelling to achieve change, this project acknowledges that the storytelling of the +Bus has not changed major things yet, but will firstly be able to measure this, when the +Bus has been implemented in Aalborg city. Sandercock [2003] explains in her theory, that to make storytelling a tool which can create change, then the planner needs to tell the story public, to make actors accept it, which will be the next step for Aalborg Municipality regarding the +Bus. She further elaborates that the planners need to create

compromises to settle actors, to create a ceremony to mark a new beginning, and finally to create a common commitment of the locals, so the change can be believed and acted upon by the citizens [Sandercock, 2003]. All of these parameters listed by Sandercock, could be interesting to further research within storytelling of the +Bus, when the +Bus has been implemented. This would be in the aim of investigating how the storytelling has worked, and to what extent the citizens of Aalborg have accepted the +Bus, not just as a transportation system, but as a facilitator for growth. Finally, it would be interesting to research if the municipality, through storytelling of the +Bus, will manage to make the citizens' accept the new spatial understanding of Aalborg.

It can through these reflections be concluded that this project is the 'start' of an analysis of the storytelling of the +Bus, as the storytelling continuously will be interesting to research through the different phases of the storytelling of the +Bus in Aalborg city.

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Appendix A

Appendix A is a scheme listing the documents and newspaper articles, used in the document analysis of the project, by name, author and year

Document	Author	Year
Godkendelse af udpegning af medlemmer til den politiske styregruppe for +BUS-projektet	Aalborg City Council (Minute)	2018
Lokalplan 1-1-134 BRT-tracé Aalborg - udkast	Aalborg Municipality	2018
Tillæg H.033 for BRT i Aalborg	Aalborg Municipality	2018
Lokalplan 4-4-117 Boliger, Alfred Nobels Vej og James Tobins Alle, Universitetsområdet	Aalborg Municipality	2018
Lokalplan 4-1-112 Bolig, erhverv, Kollegievej, Vejgård	Aalborg Municipality	2018
Lokalplan 1-3-117 Boliger, Ny Kastetvej og Kastetvej, Vestbyen	Aalborg Municipality	2018
Lokalplan 4-1-115 Vestre Fjordpark Mølholm	Aalborg Municipality	2017
Mobilitetsplan 2017-20 Fremtidens mobilitet i Nordjylland	NT	2017
Ansøgning om puljemidler fra Pulje til investeringer i kollektiv busstrafik, 1. ansøgningsrunde	Aalborg Municipality	2017
Mobilitet i Nordjylland - de regionale prioriteter	North Denmark Region	2017
+BUS Aalborg - Byens nye livsnerve	Aalborg Municipality, NT, North Denmark Region	2016
Lokalplan 4-4-113 Boliger, Marshalls Alle, Universitetsområdet	Aalborg Municipality	2016
Lokalplan 4-2-114 Lokalcenter, Danalien og Sohngårdsholmsvej, Grønlandskvarteret	Aalborg Municipality	2016
Redegørelse for tillæg H.031 for letbane i Aalborg	Aalborg Municipality	2016
Orientering om udarbejdelse af præsentation af +BUS Aalborg	Aalborg City Council (Minute)	2016

Table A.1: Documents for document analysis

Document	Author	Year
Videreførelse af sekretariat for etablering af en BRT-løsning - tillægsbevilling	Aalborg City Council (Minute)	2015
Aalborg Letbane. Kommuneplantillæg H.031 med miljørapport (MV og VVM) (2. forelæggelse)	Aalborg City Council (Minute)	2015
Lokalplan 4-10-101 Boliger, Sønder Tranders	Aalborg Municipality	2015
Aalborg Letbane. Kommuneplantillæg H.031 med miljørapport (MV og VVM) (1. forelæggelse)	Aalborg City Council (Minute)	2015
Etablering af Letbanesekretariat	Aalborg Municipality (Minute)	2015
Aalborg Letbane/Bus Rapid Transit (BRT), fase 2-vurdering. Opsamling på fordebat	Aalborg City Council (Minute)	2014
Fase 2-vurdering af Aalborg Letbane/Bus Rapid Transit (BRT). Fordebat til kommuneplantillæg med VVM-redegørelse og miljøvurdering	Aalborg City Council (Minute)	2014
Udredningsrapport for Aalborg Letbane/BRT	Aalborg Municipality, NT, North Denmark Region	2014
Lokalplan 3-4-102 Vestre Fjordpark Mølholm	Aalborg Municipality	2014
Fysisk vision 2025, Hovedstruktur	Aalborg Municipality	2013
Kommuneplan	Aalborg Municipality	2013
Lokalplan 4-2-109 Trafikkorridor for kollektiv trafik, Grønlandskvarteret	Aalborg Municipality	2012

Table A.2: Documents for document analysis

Document	Author	Year
16-etagers højhus skal skrumpes: Træerne må ikke fældes	Nordjyske	2018
“Køreplan” for +Bus på vej i 13 ugers debat	Nordjyske	2018
Bilister må søge nye veje langs +Bus-rute	Nordjyske	2018
Ny lysregulering på trafikeret vej i Aalborg	Nordjyske	2018
Stadsarkitekt med store forventninger: +Bus er også for nogen som jer	Nordjyske	2018
Letbane droppet: Aalborg sparer 300 mio. kr. på anlæg	Nordjyske	2018
Ny superbus er i hus med økonomien	Nordjyske	2017
Visioner er vigtigere end alder	Nordjyske	2017
Nu skal der fokus på Aalborg’s forsømte midtby	Nordjyske	2017
Nye busser kræver nye regler	Nordjyske	2017

Table A.3: Articles for document analysis

Document	Author	Year
270 millioner til +Bus i Aalborg	TV2 Nord	2017
Byt bolig- og erhvervsbyggeri på toppen af Sohngårdsholmvej	Nordjyske	2016
Lange busser skal sætte gang i den kollektive trafik	TV2 Nord	2016
Opbakning til kæmpe busser i Aalborg	Nordjyske	2016
Stort prisfald på busløsning	Nordjyske	2016
V-ordfører lun på BRT-løsning	Nordjyske	2015
S vil have Aalborg Letbane tilbage på finansloven	Nordjyske	2015
S har letbane med i finansforslag	Nordjyske	2015
Aalborg fortsætter planlægning af letbane	Nordjyske	2015
Letbanen: Det er ikke slut endnu	TV2 Nord	2015
Transportminister: - Det er ikke forskelsbehandling	Nordjyske	2015
Aalborg kører videre med letbane-plan	Nordjyske	2015
Aalborg Letbane slettet af finansloven	Nordjyske	2015
Ønske om grønnere letbane	Nordjyske	2015
Aalborg vinder på ny trafiktælling	Nordjyske	2015
Skeptikere høstede de største klapsalver	Nordjyske	2015
Jo, det bliver en bøvlet tid	Nordjyske	2015
Hov, mister jeg mit hus?	Nordjyske	2015
Tre ting der er værd at vide om letbanen	Nordjyske	2015
Ny lov skal sikre banestøtte	Nordjyske	2015
Stop for flere boliger til unge i to områder	Nordjyske	2015
Det skal være gratis at bruge Limfjordstunnelen	Nordjyske	2014
Aalborgs uslebne kronjuvel	Nordjyske	2014
Visionen vokser i styrke	Nordjyske	2012
Aalborg kan få letbane	Nordjyske	2008
Letbaner kan blive den kollektive trafiks redning	Nordjyske	2008
Aalborg har et grundlæggende problem	Nordjyske	2008

Table A.4: Articles for document analysis

Appendix B

Appendix B lists the three interviewguides devised in connection to each of the main interviews in the project

Interviewguide for Anne Juel Andersen

Tema:	Interview Spørgsmål:	Underspørgsmål:	Kommentarer:
Planlæggerens rolle	Hvad er din rolle i forhold til +Bussen?		
+Bus Projektet	Hvordan vil du beskrive projekt omkring +Bussen i Aalborg?	Hvorfor har I valgt, at +Bussen skal køre fra Vest til Øst?	
+Bus behov	Hvorfor synes I, at Aalborg har brug for en ny mobilitetsløsning, og hvorfor er det +Bussen, der skal være løsningen til netop dette?	Hvordan ser I, at +Bussen vil differentiere sig fra almindelige bybusser, som kører i Aalborg i dag?	
Fordele/ulemper	Hvad ser I som fordelene og ulemperne ved, at +Bussen bliver den trafikale løsning for Aalborg?	Hvad ser I som den største gevinst ved at implementere en +Bus i Aalborg?	Åbent spørgsmål
Sammenhæng mellem transport og byudvikling	Hvilken betydning ser I en transportløsning, i det her tilfælde +Bussen, har for byudviklingen i Aalborg?	Hvad er borgeres og jeres holdning som planlæggere til +Bussen?	
Skiftet fra letbane til +Bus	Hvad var afgørende for jeres oprindelige beslutning, da I besluttede, at en letbane var den bedste løsning for Aalborg?	Var I nogensinde i tvivl om, at I ønskede en +Bus, da letbanen ikke længere var en mulighed?	
	Var I nogensinde i tvivl om, at I ønskede en +Bus, da letbanen ikke længere var en mulighed?	Hvorfor/hvorfor ikke?	
I Liv i centrum har vi læst om jeres vision #MegetMereMidtby for byudviklingen i Aalborg.			

Table B.1: Interviewguide Anne Juel Andersen

Tema:	Interview Spørgsmål:	Underspørgsmål:	Kommentarer:
Storylines	Hvad mener I med dette “motto”? Hvordan skal dette forstås?	Hvorfor ser I et behov for at skabe “meget mere midtby”?	
		Hvilken rolle ser I, at +Bussen skal spille i at skabe “meget mere midtby”?	
	I flere planer for +Bussen beskriver I den som “Byens nye livsnerve” og “+Bus som drivkraft for byudvikling” - Hvad mener I med det?		
	Overordnet set, hvilken historie er det så I gerne vil fortælle omkring +Bussen?		
	Hvorfor arbejder I med at tilegne områder som Vestbyen, Midtbyen osv. med forskellige identiteter i byudviklingen?	Eksempelvis bliver Vestbyen identificeret som “Aalborgs grønne åndehul” eller “på langs og på tværs” i planerne “+Bussens nye livsnerve” og “By- og landskabskortlægning, Aalborg letbane/BRT”	Vestbyen, Midtbyen, Østbyen, universitetssområdet
Kommunikations teori	Hvad har været jeres kommunikative strategi i forhold til promoveringen af +Bussen?		
	Hvordan bruger I værktøjet storytelling i +Bus projektet? Hvorfor?	Hvem henvender jeres storytelling sig til?	
	Hvilken betydning har storytelling haft for +Bus projektet? Og vil have i fremtiden?	Hvilken effekt ser I, at storytelling har haft på aktørerne den henvender sig til?	Spørg både ind til betydningen for processen og resultatet.

Table B.2: Interviewguide Anne Juel Andersen

Tema:	Interview Spørgsmål:	Underspørgsmål:	Kommentarer:
Kommunikations teori	Hvordan ændrede jeres storytelling sig ved skiftet fra letbanen til +Bussen? Har fokuset ændret sig i fortællingen?	Startede I forfra med storytellingen, da +Bussen blev besluttet, eller byggede I videre på den fortælling I allerede havde skabt ift. letbanen?	
		Har I oplevet, at den offentlige holdning har ændret sig efter løsningen blev en +Bus frem for en letbane?	
Storytelling	Hvilken rolle spiller storytelling i planlægningen i Aalborg Kommune generelt?	Hvorfor ser I, at det er et essentielt værktøj/strategi?	
Tidslinje for et nyt transportsystem i Aalborg	Hvordan vil du beskrive processen omkring implementeringen af i første omgang letbanen og dernæst +Bussen?	Hvilke politiske beslutninger har været banebrydende i den kontekst?	Åbent spørgsmål
		Hvor langt er I i processen i dag, hvad er det næste der skal ske?	

Table B.3: Interviewguide Anne Juel Andersen

Interviewguide for Mette Olesen

Tema:	Interview Spørgsmål:	Underspørgsmål:	Kommentarer:
Planlæggerens rolle	Hvad er din rolle i forhold til +Bussen?	Hvad er NT's rolle i +Bus projektet?	(Hvorfor er NT overhovedet en del af projektet?)
+Bus Projektet	Hvordan vil du beskrive projekt omkring +Bussen i Aalborg?	Hvorfor skal +Bussen køre fra Vest til Øst?	
+Bus behov	Hvorfor synes I, at Aalborg har brug for en ny mobilitetsløsning, og hvorfor er det +Bussen, der skal være løsningen til netop dette?	Hvordan ser I, at +Bussen vil differentiere sig fra almindelige bybusser, som kører i Aalborg i dag?	
		Ser I at +Bussen vil komme til at henvende sig til andre borgere end bybusserne gør i dag?	
Fordele/ulemper	Hvad ser I som fordelene og ulemperne ved, at +Bussen bliver den trafikale løsning for Aalborg?	Hvad ser I som den største gevinst ved at implementere en +Bus i Aalborg?	Åbent spørgsmål
Skiftet fra letbane til +Bus	Hvad var afgørende for jeres oprindelige beslutning, da det blev besluttet, at en letbane var den bedste løsning for Aalborg?	(Hvad ser du letbanens svagheder og styrker er ift. +Bussen?)	
	Hvad er jeres holdning til, at Aalborg nu skal have en +Bus, efter letbanen ikke længere er en mulighed?		
Sammenhæng mellem transport og byudvikling	Hvilken betydning ser I en transportløsning, i det her tilfælde +Bussen, har for byudviklingen i Aalborg?		
Storylines	I jeres mobilitetsplan beskriver i +Bussen som "Byens nye livsnerve" - Hvad mener I med det?		
	Overordnet set, hvilken historie er det så I (ved NT) gerne vil fortælle omkring +Bussen?		

Table B.4: Interviewguide Mette Olesen

Tema:	Interview Spørgsmål:	Underspørgsmål:	Kommentarer:
Storytelling	Ud fra hvilke faktorer promoverer I +Bussen?	Hvem henvender promoveringen sig til - eksempelvis det I skriver om +Bussen i jeres mobilitetsplan?	
		Hvordan ændrede promoveringen sig ved skiftet fra letbane til +Bus?	
	Hvad fornemmer du, er den offentlige holdning til +Bussen - både blandt investorer og borgere?		
Tidslinje for et nyt transportsystem i Aalborg	Hvor langt er I i processen i dag, hvad er det næste der skal ske?		

Table B.5: Interviewguide Mette Olesen

Interviewguide for Jens Mogensen

Tema:	Interview Spørgsmål:	Underspørgsmål:	Kommentarer:
Planlæggerens rolle	Hvad er din rolle i forhold til +Bussen?	Hvad er Region Nordjyllands rolle i +Bus projektet, og hvad vil den være i fremtiden?	
		Hvilke projektgrupper er du og regionen en del af?	
+Bus projektet	Hvordan vil du beskrive projekt omkring +Bussen i Aalborg?	Hvorfor er det besluttet, at +Bussen skal køre fra Vest til Øst?	
+Bus behov	Hvorfor synes I, at Aalborg har brug for en ny mobilitetsløsning, og hvorfor er det +Bussen, der skal være løsningen til netop dette?	Hvordan ser I, at +Bussen vil differentiere sig fra almindelige bybusser, som kører i Aalborg i dag?	
	Hvilke udfordringer ser I, at +Bussen skal være med til at imødekomme?		

Table B.6: Interviewguide Jens Mogensen

Tema:	Interview Spørgsmål:	Underspørgsmål:	Kommentarer:
Fordele/ulemper	Hvad ser I som fordelene og ulemperne ved, at +Bussen bliver den trafikale løsning for Aalborg?		Åbent spørgsmål
Skiftet fra letbane til +Bus	Hvad er jeres holdning til, om en +Bus eller en letbane ville være den bedste løsning for Aalborg?	Hvad ser du letbanens svagheder og styrker er ift. +Bussen?	
	Hvordan prioriterede i letbanen i mobilitetsstrategien i forhold til, hvordan i prioriterer +Bussen nu?		
Kommunikations teori	Hvad fornemmer du, at den offentlige holdning er til +Bussen?	Ser du, at den har ændret sig siden løsningen var en letbane?	
		Hvilken effekt ser I, at promoveringen af +Bussen har haft på de aktører den henvender sig til?	
Regionens fremtidige visioner	Hvad er regionens overordnede visioner for at fremme de trafikale forhold i regionen?	Hvordan spiller de overordnede visioner sammen med et projekt som +Bussen?	
Tidslinje for et nyt transportsystem i Aalborg	Hvor langt er I i processen i dag, hvad er det næste der skal ske?		Regions rolle

Table B.7: Interviewguide Jens Mogensen

Appendix C

Appendix C is examples of the coding conducted in the document analysis and interviews

An example of document analysis coding

Who	Context	Name and Date	Themes	+Bus/BRT/light rail
Aalborg Municipality, Politicians in the City Council	Minute from Aalborg City Council meetings	Godkendelse af udpegning af medlemmer til den politiske styregruppe for +BUS-projektet 23/04/2018	Passengers of the +Bus	Da projektet (+Bus) får stor betydning for byens borgere, både under anlæggelsen, og når det sættes i drift, er det vigtigt, at der etableres en politisk styregruppe, som følger projektets fremdrift, har kendskab til relevante politiske problemstillinger og involveres i betydende beslutninger undervejs. (s. 2)
Aalborg Municipality	The local plan is written to designate an area to the trace of the BRT system, and to make sure the BRT system becomes part of a coherent planning of Aalborg.	Lokalplan 1-1-134 BRT-tracé Aalborg - udkast, 20-04-2018	User-friendliness Design	Busserne er op til 25 m lange og kan fragte 150-200 personer ad gangen. Derudover har busserne en ekstra høj komfort og brugervenlighed (s. 5).
			Growth Growth Axis	BRT-forbindelsen skal støtte op om den særdeles positive vækst og udvikling, der er kendetegnende for byen i disse år. Nye bolig- og erhvervsbyggerier - særligt langs med byens vækstakse - betyder, at folk har behov for at blive transporteret hurtigt rundt i byen (s. 5)

Table C.1: Coding for Document Analysis

An example of interview coding

Theme	Storyline	Quote
Urban Development	The +Bus is a generator for urban development	Men så handler det også om at udvikle byen omkring, hvad hedder det, bussen. Så man skaber et kundegrundlag og sørger for, at man kan flytte folk effektive fra A til B (Olesen (02:06))
		By og flow hænger jo tæt sammen (Olesen (02:06))
		Altså der er ligesom de kvadratmeter der er til rådighed, og hvis alle folk, der lige som flytter til, og alle de store udviklingsprojekter, de genererer jo noget mere trafik, hvis alle, hvis alt det trafik skal foregå i privatbil, så har vi et problem (Olesen(02:06))
		F.eks. området ude ved Gigantium, det ligger jo ikke lige inde i Aalborg centrum vel. Men hvis du ved, at der kører noget kollektiv trafik i din baghave, det er jo et aktiv ligeså vel som du ved at der ligger en Fakta lige rundt om hjørnet, eller at der ligger en svømmehal eller at der ligger... (Olesen, 20:44)
		Det er den her med byens livsnerve, altså vi snakker også hovednettet en af vores (Olesen, (23:58))
		Det er jo det samme vi vil. Det er stadig byens livsnerve (Olesen, (25:33))

Table C.2: Coding for Interview

Appendix D

Appendix D contains a scheme with the themes, the storylines within them, and the quotes supporting them

Theme	Storyline	Quote
Urban Transition	The establishment of the +Bus is not just a transportation project but a part of the transition from an industrial to a knowledge city	Ønsket om at etablere en letbane i Aalborg skal ikke ses som et transportprojekt alene, men som et vigtigt led i Aalborgs samlede bystrategi og omstilling fra industriby til vidensby [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 6]
		Projektet for en letbane eller BRT rummer en række udfordringer i bæredygtighedssammenhæng, som kræver fokus i den videre udvikling af projektet. Ved at arbejde bevidst med disse kan projektet understøtte Aalborgs forandring [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c, p. 14]
Growth	The +Bus is a physical manifestation of the growth axis	BRT-forbindelsen styrker vækstaksen og sammenbinder vigtige destinationer i byen [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 5]
	The +Bus is a profitable investment and supports the growth in proximate urban areas	BRT-forbindelsen skal støtte op om den særdeles positive vækst og udvikling, der er kendetegnende for byen i disse år [Aalborg Municipality, 2018f, p. 5]
	The alignment from Vestbyen to the Super Hospital is the most favourable solution as it creates the best potential for growth	+BUS bevæger sig gennem byen fra vest til øst og skaber sammenhæng mellem de enkelte bydele [Aalborg Municipality, 2016a,p. 6]

Table D.1: Storylines with supporting quotes within themes

Theme	Storyline	Quote
Public Transportation	Aalborg City needs the +Bus as a traffic-related backbone to solve their traffic-related challenges	En del af de trafikale udfordringer i Aalborg skal løses ved etableringen af et nyt BRT system, i Aalborg døbt en +BUS rute, fra de tætbeboede kvarterer i Aalborg Vest, over centrum og den kollektive trafiks knudepunkt ved station og busterminal, til det nye universitetshospital i Øst [Nordjyllandstrafikselskab, 2017, p. 11]
	The +Bus will, through improved capacity, service, and frequency, increase the level of public transportation	Med +BUS får den kollektive trafik prioritet gennem byen, og derved bliver det muligt at opnå kortere rejsetider og en bedre regularitet [Nordjyllandstrafikselskab, 2017, p. 27]
	The +Bus will improve accessibility for vulnerable road users	Tilgængeligheden til kollektiv trafik vil yderligere øges med den kommende +Bus-forbindelse [Aalborg Municipality, 2018b, p. 10]
	The +Bus project will support Aalborg as a city and promote it as a centre of excellence in the North Denmark Region	+BUS er et ambitiøst projekt, som skal løfte Aalborg som by og som kraftcenter i Region Nordjylland [Aalborg Municipality, 2017, p. 4]
	The +Bus will entail a growth in passengers and expand the target group for public transportation	Det [+Bus] kommer til at betyde helt vildt meget for byen. Både fordi det får folk til at tage bussen mere, og man kommer hurtigere frem, siger borgmesteren [Nord, 2017]
Sustainability	The +Bus will provide a decongested route for public transportation in Aalborg and will reduce the citizens need for car traffic	Letbane/BRT løsningen skal fremme bæredygtige transportformer på de korte rejser i byens centrale korridorer og medvirke til at behovet for at bruge bilen i byen minimeres [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c, p. 14]
	The establishment of the +Bus will reduce the need for parking spaces	I området anvendes en lav parkeringsnorm, idet området har en særdeles god kollektiv trafikforsyning, som vil øges med den kommende +Bus [Aalborg Municipality, 2018b, p. 39]
	The +Bus will be the backbone of sustainable development in Aalborg City	Formålet med dette kommuneplantillæg er at skabe plangrundlaget for en BRT-forbindelse, at understøtte en grøn og bæredygtig byudvikling omkring BRT-forbindelsen [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 5]
	The +Bus will both entail and support the goal of urban densification	Letbane/BRT løsningen skal understøtte en byudvikling, der skaber fortætning og samlokalisering af byens funktioner [Aalborg Municipality, 2014c, p. 14]

Table D.2: Storylines with supporting quotes within themes

Theme	Storyline	Quote
Urban Development	The +Bus is a driving force of urban development	Udover at løse en åbenlys mobilitetsudfordring forventes +BUS også at have et byudviklingsmæssigt potentiale i Aalborg [Nordjyllandstrafiksekskab, 2017, p. 27] [Aalborg Municipality, 2018c, p. 5]
	The +Bus will connect important areas in Aalborg City and improve the coherence of the city	Aalborg Letbane vil binde byen bedre sammen og sikre direkte kollektiv transport til det nye sygehus i Aalborg øst, Aalborg Universitet og andre institutioner, som i dag er hårdt plaget af trængsel og parkeringsproblemer [TV2 Nord, 2015]
	The +Bus will help forge new identities for Aalborg City and its constituent cityscape	Intentionen er, at de forskellige delstrækninger på BRT-bustracéet skal have hver deres identitet med udgangspunkt i strækningernes særlige potentialer [Aalborg Municipality, 2016d, p. 22]

Table D.3: Storylines with supporting quotes within themes

Appendix E

Appendix E contains the interview transcription with municipal planner Anne Juel Andersen, 22/03/2018 (originally Danish)

A: Anne Juel Andersen

I, II: Interviewers.

I (00:05): Vi går igennem lidt forskellige temaer ift. projektet, også ift. storylines, som vi også ved gennem din Phd, at du ved rimeligt meget om, og storytelling osv. omkring det. Ja. Så vil vi egentligt først lige høre lidt om din rolle i det her projekt omkring +Bussen, hvad den er?

A (00:22): +Bussen det er jo et kollektiv trafikprojekt, sådan kan man sige det, om at skabe et alternativ til letbanen, altså en højklasse forbindelse i en trafikeret rute, og det er så mellem vestbyen og universitetshospitalet. Og det vil vi jo gerne som by, den investering vil vi jo gerne udnytte som drivkraft for byudvikling. Man kan også sige, at byudvikling og højklasse kollektiv trafik, det er sådan to ting, er understøtter hinanden. Altså vækstaksen, og fortætningsønsket og bæredygtighedsønsket, er fundstændigt tætbundet op på mobilitet og højklasse kollektiv forbindelse. og når vi så har den her tekniske struktur, som den jo er, den bliver lagt ned over byen, så er det der strukturen møder byen, og jeg er så projektleder for planlægningsdelen. Vi har faktisk en organisation for +busprojektet. Det er en rimelig kompleks organisation. Der kommer en politisk styregruppe, der er en administrativ styregruppe, som går på tværs af både regionen og forskellige forvaltninger, og der er det egentligt +Bus sekretariatet, der sidder og varetager anlægsprojektet. Men så ved siden af anlægsprojektet, så er der planlægningsprojektet, og så er der et drift projekt. Og så har vi en koordinering mellem de tre, hvor det så er planlægning, anlæg og drift, det er tre ting der skal tænkes sammen. Vi skal skabe et system, vi skal ikke bare skabe et projekt, og så må vi se, hvordan det virker osv. Vi skal skabe systemet sådan at den drift, der bliver regnet med, den også afstemmes allerede nu med den planlægning vi arbejder med. Altså hvad er det vi vil med byens rum, hvordan skal det fungere, når man er kollektiv trafik bruger, hvordan skal man opleve stationerne og hvordan skal man opleve byrummene? Det er i virkeligheden meget tæt forbundet, altså driften og planlægningen er meget tæt forbundet. Og jeg tror vi tænker det meget som et system, vi prøver at skabe et system som tilgodeser de her ting med selvfølgelig ... Altså selve ordet BRT, det rummer jo nogle krav til effektivitet og komfort. Altså det med jeg ikke om jeres projekt ... Jeg ved egentligt ikke helt hvad det er i studerer, det kunne være, at jeg lige skulle høre det?

II (03:05): Altså vi læser på Urban planning and Management, vi har også haft dig ude en del gange

A (03:11): Godt, det er også bare fordi jeg tænkte, om I i virkeligheden var humanister,

og om det var noget andet jeg skulle fokusere på.

I (03:18): Det er helt perfekt

A (03:22): Så der er det her med trafik. Det skal være en hurtig frekvens, høj effektivitet, tre døre mindst man går ud og ind af, og korte standsningstider osv. Alt det der skal jo fungere, men vi skal jo også have en ... Man kan sige, det kører man faktisk meget med i Sydamerika, men der har man så ikke byen integreret, det har vores system jo. Altså man kan sige jo, hvis man har en helt anden bystruktur end vores, hvor det handler om at køre lynhurtigt og lyn effektivt på nogle strækninger, så kan det være at man vil køre på motorvej undervejs, men det vi gør her, det er jo sådan at vi kører det ind igennem midtbyen, så de stationer der er, dem lægger vi ved nogle knudepunkter, hvor vi forventer, at man sagtens kan gå en halv kilometer for at komme hen til +Bussen, så det er også nogle ... Nogle steder er det nogle eksisterende bymæssige knudepunkter, andre steder er det nogle steder, hvor der er potential til noget fortætning og nogle kommende bymæssige knudepunkter. Og Gigantium er f.eks et eksempel på det. Pontoppidanstræde er også et eksempel på det, og Danalien er også et fortætningsområde. Og sådan er der mange af stationerne, der er. Fordi vi udbygger og fortætter omkring vækstaksen, så bliver det. Hvad var det nu spørgsmålet var?

I (04:50): Det var din rolle i det her projekt?

A (04:52): Jamen det er at være projektleder for den her planlægning der foregår. Det er ikke mig der laver ... Lige nu her til den 1. juni, der kommer vi ud med forslag til lokalplan for hele strækningen, og forslag til kommuneplanretningslinjer for hele zonen omkring +Bussen. Det vil sige, hvor vi lægger en halv kilometer til ... Tegner cirkler på en halv kilometer rundt om alle stationerne, og den store pølse der kommer der, zone for +Bussen, der har vi et kommuneplanforslag, altså forslag til nogle retningslinjer, hvor vi kommer ind på principper for planlægning, principper for byudvikling, principper for parkering, principper for forbindelser, altså stiforbindelser, hvordan det er man skal kunne komme til og fra de her områder. Så der lægger vi en debat ud, så der kommer vi ud... Så når I spørger hvad min rolle er, så er jeg egentlig også projektleder for det, altså for den planlægningsproces, men også ... Man kan sige, i den her fase, når man er i planlægningsfasen, så småt begyndt at projektere nogle dele af det, men i planlægningsfasen, der er jeg på en måde ansvarlig for det. Og i de senere faser, der kommer jeg så ind som planlægger og bidrager, lige så vel som anlægsfolk kommer ind og bidrager i planlægningsfasen med viden, så vi har nogle faser, hvor vi har nogle ansvarlige, og så kan man være bidragsyder i de senere faser. Vi er også ved at lave en ny projektmodel. Der er egentligt også en god logik i det, altså at man har ansvar for nogle delasppekter af projektet. Så det vil sige, at det er planlægningen, hvor jeg så er med i koordineringen på tværs, på den der koordinering, jeg startede med at sige, med drift, anlæg og planlægning og projektleder for at den planlægning vi laver, den hænger sammen med det servicedesign, det udbud der skal til at lave, og så de byrum, der skal udvikles. Vi vil jo også gerne forbedre, bruge +Busprojektet ... Nogen steder, der er det simpelthen en følge af at gennemføre projektet at der er nogle byrum der skal ændres. På Kennedy Plads, der kommer vi til at ændre så meget, at det er lokalplanpligtigt, og vi er ved at få udviklet en ny vision for Kennedy Plads. Og der er en anden del, der sidder og har projektledelsen af Kennedy Plads, men andre byrum, som måske er mindre, der er det lige som mig, der skal holde sammen på det der sker. Så det er koordinering og projektledelse. Og der kan også komme andre byrum der skal... Vestbyen Station kan

måske også blive en byrum der skal fornyes, Haraldslund; et byrum der skal fornyes. Men så er det ... Nu slutter jeg snart ... Anlægsprojektet, det rummer den lange strækning, og nogle mindre, altså nogle stationer. Så kan der være nogle byrum, der ligger op til, som vi også godt kunne tænkes os at forny. Og så må vi have diskussionen om budgetmidler til det. Hvad dækker anlægsprojektet, og hvad nogle ekstra midler, og hvordan kan vi så få det passer sammen med kommunens budget. Det tror jeg også at vi kommer til at (-) med.

I (08:15): Ja. Nu har du også været inde på selve projektet, hvad det går ud på. Så vil vi egentligt høre, hvorfor I synes her i kommunen, at I har brug for den her mobilitetsløsning, som s er den her +Bus, og hvorfor det netop skal være den her +Bus?

A (08:30): Altså vi har en (.) En af grundene, som jo ikke er uvæsentligt er, at vi jo har en helt masse mennesker der skal fragtes med bus, og lige nu, der kører de i myldretiden med to minutters drift, alligevel kan vi ikke transportere de mennesker der skal især mellem Kennedy Plads og universitetet om morgenen. Det er sådan helt konkret, hold da op, vi mangler effektivitet i det kollektive system. Men det er også et mål, når vi tænker mobilitet i fremtiden, så er det et mål, at få en bæredygtig mobilitet, et mål at mindst trængsel, og til det brug er vi nødt til at prioritere kollektiv trafik, for ellers ... Hvis det hele bryder sammen, så man jo heller ikke køre med kollektiv trafik, så sidder busserne fast i nogle bilkøer. Så det er egentligt ideen at reservere et spor til den kollektive trafik, og så få noget ... Der bliver jo ikke færre biler, men hvis vi kan rykke en del af trafikvæksten over, en stor del af trafikvæksten over i kollektiv trafik så kan vi måske holde biltrafikken på det samme niveau, så det vil blive meget mere effektivt, hvis man ser det ift. tal. Så det er jo det. Og så derudover, så er det jo at vi vil... Vi ser jo mobilitet og byudvikling som to fuldstændige sammenbundne størrelser, så det er jo vigtigt, at man kan bevæge sig, det er vigtigt, at man hurtigt kan komme til universitetet, hvis det er der der foregår noget, så man ikke skal tænke over, om man gider at cykle op af Sohngaardholmsbakken, men at byen kommer til at hænge tættere sammen, at man mindsker (.) Altså vi mener egentligt at den skal forbinde byen bedre.

I (10:29): Og det mener du ikke bybusserne gør i dag, eller hvordan? Det er mere sådan, hvordan det differentiere sig fra det.

A (10:34): Man kan jo godt tage en bybus i dag, og det er der vi kommer ind. Og der kommer vi jo nok til jeres emne, nemlig storytelling. Fordi man kan jo godt sætte sig ind i en bus i dag, men det vi mener, for at få flere til at bruge den kollektive trafik, så er det faktisk vigtigt at den også bliver attraktiv. At det bliver et attraktive alternativ, som ikke kun er for dem der ingen penge har, eller dem der ikke kan køre bil, men altså at det faktisk bare er et attraktivt alternativ, som er logisk og nemt at tage, og man bliver sat af lige ved hoveddøren, uanset om man skal i Gigantium eller i Haraldslund eller Nytorv. Altså nogle af de regionale funktioner eller bymæssige funktioner. Alle de her 23 stationer, de stanser jo ved noget der er relevant for mange, ikke alle, men nogle områder er lokale byområder, andre har et eller andet. Så det er noget med at gøre det effektivt og samtidigt gøre det lækkert.

II (11:33): Ser I, at det er en anden gruppe, som +Bussen vil henvende sig til ift. den kollektive trafik?

A (11:35): Det er en øget gruppe, ikke en anden. Det er jo selvfølgelig også for studerende og dem der ikke har penge og dem der ikke kan køre bil. Det er også for mange flere. Vi vil gerne have at pendler pladsen uden for motorvejen kun er en

samkørselsplads, hvor man kører ud for så at køre på arbejde et eller andet sted, men at det bliver en park-and-ride plads, hvor man kommer fra Hadsund, og skal arbejde i midtbyen, og så er det oplagt lige at stille bilen og så tage bussen, for så kommer man direkte derhen. Så det er jo også en måde at få effektiviseret og få gjort mobiliteten mere bæredygtigt, så det er jo en anden gruppe end dem der bruger kollektiv trafik i dag. Så vi vil gerne øge målgruppen.

I (12:24): Nu snakker du omkring det her med, at det skal være attraktivt osv, men hvad ser du ellers der vil være fordelene ved +Bussen?

A (12:32): Øhm. (.) Jamen altså, der er jo nogen.. Jeg synes, at vi har ... Altså der er faktisk nogle der bliver chokeret over når de hører at bussen er 24 meter lang, og tænker hvilket skrummel af en bus, der skal til at køre i de smalle gader i byen, men den er faktisk ikke bredere end de busser der kører i forvejen, den er bare lidt længere. Og så kommer der også til at køre lidt færre af dem, fordi at 2 minutsdrift, det er ikke noget... Man kan som regel godt vente 3 eller 4 minutter på en bus, så det vil jo stadig være en frekvens, i hvert fald i myldretiden, som er meget hurtig, og så udenfor myldretiden, så vil det være hvert 7,5 minut eller måske 10 minutter i mellem, så det vil stadig være sådan, at man ikke behøves at sætte sig ind i køreplanen. Men nu spørger du hvad ulemperne kan være. Det ved jeg faktisk ikke helt, jeg tror jeg er blevet helt hjernevasket.

II (13:31): Hvad hvis man skal veje det op ift. løsningen med en letbane?

A (13:32): Jamen løsningen med en letbane, altså der kan man sige, der hvor busløsningen taber, og grunden til de ikke ret gerne vil have busser i København og Aarhus, jamen det er jo fordi at de tænker, at letbanen er mere attraktiv, fordi det er et tog. Altså fordi at det bare er mere sejt, at tage toget, at den har sådan en anden effekt, en attraktion i sig selv. Et tog kan køre på grøn, et grønt tracé, altså man kan lave sådan et spor af græs, som er lækkert. Det kan vi jo ikke, vi kører på noget hårdt. Men siden vi er gået over til den løsning i stedet for letbanen, så er der virkelig også nogle fordele ved den, fordi man slipper for de der køreledninger og man slipper for at lægge alle ledninger om på forhånd, hvilket er voldsomt dyrt. Og man (.) Det koster en fjerdedel, så det betyder også, at man er tættere på en etape 2 end man ville være, hvis det var en letbane, så det er jo fordelene, og det vi så prøver på, og det der er vores store arbejde og det gerne vil, og storytelling, og kommunikation og alt det der, det er jo egentligt at sige, hvis nu vi faktisk har de samme visioner, som vi havde ved letbanen, mon så ikke det også kan lade sig gøre ved en bus? Kunne kan ikke gøre en bus smart og sej og attraktiv, ligesom en letbane. Og det er sådan set vores det der er vores ambition, at den skal også... Men har jo også gjort det andre steder, men ikke ret mange steder, fordi det har tit været sådan, og det har også været sådan lidt en tendens til det, at når man så har den her løsning, og så kan man sige, hvis den sådan virkelig skal opnå alle de her fordele, så skal signalanlæggene jo rettes til ift. den ikke skal stands, den øvrige trafik skal jo holdes væk. Og det kan der jo så være nogle der tænker "arh." Når det nu bare er en bus, den kan jo bare køre en anden vej, eller den kan jo bare vente. Og så mister man jo sådan set nogle af de fordele, som der var ved den. Så vi prøver jo faktisk at se om vi ikke kan komme igennem med at holde rimeligt fast i de fleste af elementerne i BRT.

I (16:00): Så da i så ikke fik letbanen, var I så ikke i tvivl om, at det var en +Bus i ønskede i steder for?

A (16:05): Altså der gik jo lige nogle uger, hvor alle bare gik og hang med skuffen. Og så ret hurtigt, så kom den løsning frem på banen. Så er det så Aalborg der skal vise, at

det kan man også godt. Tage den der opgav på sig, så skal vi vise, at vi godt kan alligevel. Altså vi skal nok gøre det her projekt lige så fedt som hvis vi havde fået en letbane. Så kom der sådan en, som passer rigtig godt med Aalborgs identitet, og lyst til at være dem der handler, at vi skal nok... Vi har ikke så mange penge, men vi skal nok ... Ej, det ved jeg ikke. Men det er i hvert fald sådan jeg tænker det meget, og også borgmesteren, han var også hurtig ude at sige, for mange steder i verdenen, så bliver BRT jo brugt til en mellemløsning indtil man har råd til en letbane. Og han var hurtig til at sige: "Nix, vi skal ikke gå og hænge, vi skal ikke gå og snøfte, og tigge bede om noget andet, hvor vi så gør det her halvt, vi skal gå efter det her helt, og nu går vi efter den her løsning". I letbane sammenhæng, der har man jo det man kalder en skinne effekt, og det er jo (.)

I (17:27): Var det også af det der var afgørende for at i første omgang valgte letbanen?

A (17:32): Ja, og der kan man så sige, jamen det er jo ikke sådan et faktaark, med så gangen man bare med 1, et eller andet, det er faktisk sådan noget Mette Olesen, hvis I kender hende, som jeg også har lavet PhD med, som nu arbejder ved NT, det var det hendes PhD handlede om, det handlede faktisk om systemet. Nu prøver vi så at designe systemet, så vi kan få mest muligt effekt, uanset om det er gummihjul eller skinner.

I (18:01): Okay. Så vil vi gerne snakke lidt omkring det her med byudvikling, som du også selv har været lidt inde på. Det hænger meget tæt sammen med det her med mobilitetsprojekt, og vi har været inde og læse om den her strategi om "Liv i Centrum", hvor i også skriver, at I gerne vil have, eller har en vision om, at få meget mere midtby og byudvikling, og så vil vi egentligt høre lidt omkring den her storylines, hvad i mener med det her motto, hvordan det skal forstås, at I gerne vil have meget mere midtby?

A (18:30): Jamen det er jo... Altså (.) Det er jo nogle af de kvaliteter, som midtbystrategien fokuserer på. Den fokuserer på, jeg ved ikke om jeg citerer dem rigtigt, men altså kultur, handelsliv, det grønne, boliger, og en femte og mobilitet. Og alt det er jo noget vi gerne, at bliver midtbyen, som jo bare rummer en del af +Bussen ikke. Kører igennem midtbyen. Det er jo, nogle ting der bliver mere af. Det er jo faktisk et forsøg. Midtbystrategien skal gå på at styrke midtbyen som attraktion, som regionalt mål, og som bymæssigt centrum. At der er faktisk først fortættes i midtbyen, men ikke forstået på den måde, at der bygges højhuse i bispensgade, men forstået på den måde, at det gør vi jo alt afhængigt af steder, kontekst, altså i Østerhavn, bygges højt, der bygges højt nogle steder på nogle tomter, og til gengæld andre steder, hvor vi holder fast i strukturen, men hvor vi fortæller med byliv, prøver at få noget byliv til at hænge bedre sammen. Hvis i kigger på, hvis i har kigget i det der midtby materiale, så har i måske set de der illustrationer, hvordan nogle af gangbevægelserne ender ud i ingenting. Og Budolfiplads er et forsøg på at få noget rundgang i bevægelsesmønstret. Og det er jo noget af det man gerne vil understøtte. Altså gangforbindelser og en kollektiv trafik, som er nem at bruge, det er jo både +Bus, og bybusserne. Prøve at tænke det lidt om, så det bliver nemt og overskueligt at bruge.

I (20:25): Ja, for det er netop vores næste spørgsmål. Hvilken rolle spiller i den her her "Meget mere midtby"?

A (20:30): Jamen den spiller jo i hvert fald.. Midtstrategien og +Bus projektet, de kører hele tiden og skuer op og ned af hinanden, altså ikke på nogen dårlig måde, altså hele tiden koordinering. Nu kører den f.eks. ned til Stjernepladsen, hvor vi kommer til at ændre forløbet på Boulevarden. Og det støder op til Nytorv, som vi regner med at skal omdannes. Hele Nytorv, i virkeligheden helt ud til Nordkraft, men i første etape det er

hen til Slotsgade. Altså Nytorv foran Salling, og hen til Gabelsplads. Og det har jo betydning .. Det kommer til at ske samtidigt.. Hvordan Nytorv skal ombygges, det har jo at gøre med det byrum, vi skal have ved den station, vi skal have der hedder Nytorv, der ligger ved den pølsevogn der er. Det sted.. Der støder de to planer og projekter sammen. Ikke forstået på den måde, at man ikke godt godt kan renovere Nytorv helt for sig, og vi kan også godt lave en +Bus helt fra sig, men vi skal selvfølgelig have det til at spille sammen. Så de støder sammen. Der er også nogle.. Altså +Bussen har nogle konsekvenser for bybusserne eller resten af bybusserne, og +Bussen, det forhold mellem der hele tiden skal hele tiden skal tænkes ind i det, og det har konsekvenser for om, skal der køre busser på Nytorv, eller skal der ikke køre busser på Nytorv, det er vi ved at finde ud af nu, og det skal besluttet inden sommerferien. Så hvad skal man sige? Kennedy Plads er jo også en del af midtbyen, og den forventer vi skal ombygges, af måske flere etaper, men vi lægger i hvert fald op til en helt anden betydning i fremtiden på Kennedy Plads.

II (22:13): Er det både byrumsmæssigt og kollektiv trafikmæssigt, at den skal have en ny funktion?

A (22:19): Ja, fordi måden vi gerne vil, nu sidder jeg og fortæller om den måde vi sidder og arbejder på, det er jo ikke sendt til politikerne endnu, men det kommer her til foråret, det er, at vi gerne vil køre.. Hvis vi kom kørende her af Boulevarden, så i stedet for at køre rundt, hvis banegården ligger her, så kører man jo rundt, "du du dut". Så vil vi gerne have den der vej rund.

II (22:34): Altså tværs henover?

A (22:34): Tværs hen over, og det er jo en fuldstændig omdannelsen af kredsens og pladsens struktur, så det arbejder vi med, og så er der lidt når man gør noget, så skal man hele tiden... Så tænker vi hele tiden med projektet, skal vi prøve at få det til at blive til mere. Prøve at kombinere flere formål i det samme projekt. Sådan at vi ikke bare løser den kollektive trafik, vi løser også byrummet, vi løser sammenhængen mellem Kildeparken, og banegården og Kennedy Plads' måde at sammenbinde hele midtbyen på som et knudepunkt, som i dag på en måde ligger, selvom man har Kennedy Plads og alt de der regionale busser, så ligger det sådan lidt afsidigt ift. midtbyen og det kommer jo ikke til at ligge anderledes, af at vi gør det her, men der kan godt blive nogle andre forbindelser og styrke nogle forbindelser i byen med det her. Og vi kan styrke nogle byrum ikke mindst, og så skabe nogle mere attraktive byrum. Der er også nogle nye investorer på banen, og der er nogle forskellige.. Altså Nykredit har solgt deres bygning, så der ligger nogle nye muligheder.

II (24:07): Hvor er det den ligger henne?

A (24:08): Den ligger på østsiden af pladsen, den ligger.

I (24:18): Altså i forlængelse med hotellet?

II (24:20): Ja, det må være den gamle der, ja, ja, okay. Selvfølgelig.

A (24:26): Så der er mulighed for at nogle nye aktører på pladsen, og så kan man sige, at det har også været et problem med de udsatte, de sidder jo ligesom midt i det hele og skræmmer mange væk. Der er mange der er utrygge ved det, og der opstår tumult ved det en gang imellem. Og vi skal også tænke de udsatte ind, men det skal jo helst være på en måde, hvor andre også kan være det. Så det er også et projekt, som jeg laver sammen med socialforvaltningen, eller familie og beskæftigelsesforvaltningen hedder de. Og det er noget med, hvad er det nu det skal hedde? Det har heddet hellesteder, det kan godt

være, at det skal hedde noget andet, men det er i hvert fald en eller anden ide om at lave midlertidig eller permanent nogle måder, nogle steder de kan gå hen og være. De skal jo ikke være.. De vil jo også godt være i sammenhæng med nogle byrum, hvor der er andre mennesker, men de skal jo ikke nødvendigvis være lige midt i, de må gerne være i kanten... De kan godt lide at være i kanten af der hvor der sker noget. Så de er en del af noget, men også kan løbe væk når der kommer nogle og vil have penge, fordi man skylder penge.

I (25:34): I flere af jeres planer, der har i også beskrevet som den her: "byens nye livsnerve" og "+bus som drivkraft for byudvikling". Du er også lidt inde på det, men kan du forklare, hvad i sådan mener med de her stories i laver.

A (25:48): Altså vi har jo snakket meget om det ift. investorer, at vi har jo, når jeg siger vi, så er det nok meget stadsarkitekten, Peder Baltzer, det er politikerne ift. nu har man jo lige været i Mipim, den der ejendomsmægler, ejendomsmesse, ejendomsinvesteringsmesse i Cannes, som borgmesteren, Peder Baltzer, direktøren og nogle andre har været nede til. Og der fortæller man jo om Aalborg, vi fortætter og vi bygger og vi gør dit og vi gør dat og det går rigtig godt, og så tiltrækker man jo investorer, så det er faktisk en måde også at tiltrække investorer på. Og den har man jo kørt med lige siden det var en letbane. Og der kan man jo sige, noget af det der var, noget man konstantere det er at de altså ikke er hoppet fra da det ikke var en letbane alligevel, altså nogle af den der synes, det lyder spændende, det tror vi på. Vi tror Aalborg har et potentiale, her vil vi gerne investere, der kommer en letbane "juhuu". Så kommer og siger, at det bliver ikke det alligevel, nu kommer der noget andet, men de har holdt ved. Altså så derfor kan vi sige, at tilsyneladende så (.) det virker til at investorerne tror at vi mener det så meget, at vi ikke bare lige pludselig hopper ud af det igen. Det er selvfølgelig lidt den der skinne effekt, at man kan ikke ... I virkeligheden er skinneeffekten jo egentligt der fordi ... Attraktionen ved letbanen er jo, at den er så dyr, at den ikke kan flyttes. Og det er ikke helt så dyrt, så det kan godt flyttes. Men alligevel, når vi fortæller, og arbejder så massivt med løsningen, så er det heller ikke noget der bare lige bliver flyttet. Alting koster en fjerdedel, men det er trods alt en kvart.. en halv milliard. Så det er jo ikke ingenting, det er en struktur i byen, som også har betydning.

I (27:40): Så hvad er det så for en historie, som i fortæller om +Bussen?

A (27:46): Jamen den historie der bliver fortalt, det er sådan noget med, at vi tænker byudvikling og mobilitet sammen, og vi skal have mulighed for... Det er jo en tæt by langs med den her akse, og der skal jo skabes muligheder for både grønne kvaliteter, og det er næsten helt tosset, jeg har næsten lige lyst til at vise jer nogle af de figurer vi lige er ved at lave, fordi det er jo egentligt lige præcist det vi vil. Det er bare lige én figur som jeg vil vise jer. Vi binder tingene sammen, det er både mobiliteten, vækstaksen med boligbyggeri, det er nogle grønne kvaliteter, og det er nogle bevægelsesmønstre, vi binder sammen på den her måde. Det er måske i virkeligheden den historie, som vi fortæller. (.) To sek [Anne leder efter en illustration på hendes computer]

I (28:46): Men det er så også den historie som investorerne så også har taget til sig ift. letbanen, som måske var lidt anderledes?

A (28:54): Nej, det er den samme historie. Jamen altså, forskellen på de to historier er, at nu vælger vi den her løsning, det er så en bus, men den kan det sammen. Altså teknologien er det samme, men det vi hele tiden gerne vil, det er at det skal kunne det samme.

II (29:12): Har I skulle fortælle en ny historie ud fra de skift der har været. Man kan jo sige, til at starte med, der var det jo letbanen der blev præsenteret som den bedste løsning, og som vi læser jeres, og du umiddelbart også siger nu, Nu er +Bussen den bedste løsning for Aalborg, har der skulle været en historie for at få folk med på den her løsning?

A (29:28): Nej, det har været nemt, fordi modstanden gik meget på, synes jo det var håbløst at vi skulle bruge så mange penge på [leder stadig efter dokumentet på hendes computer] på (.). Altså det har været nemt at forklare, at vi vælger vælger en løsning først, og så har vi fjernet en. (.) Men så er vi jo ærlige og siger vi fik desværre ikke den her, og så gør vi noget andet. Undskyld, det er fordi jeg sidder her ...

I+II (30:06): Det er helt fint

Pause (30:06-30:17)

A (30:07): Nå den har jeg faktisk ikke... Så tager jeg den her fra. Der.

Pause (30:09-30:50)

A (30:50): Jeg har COWI arkitekter til at hjælpe os. VI er jo sådan set ved at skabe den her fortælling, som vi skal ud og kommunikere når vi skal ud og holde borgermøder og kommunikere til borgerne, altså at byen har forandret sig, og vi er blevet en storby, men vi skal have bygget nogle flere kvaliteter ind i den. Vi har vækstaksen, vi har mobiliteten, og så har vi den her +Buszone, som går fra Vestbyen, hvor der er måske et kerneområde, og vi har nogle grønne, altså vi har den gamle golfbane osv. og vi har universitetet her, så der er ligesom nogle kerneområder i både midtby og Vestby og Østby og campus. Men vi binder det sammen som en perlekæde. Og den her er også vigtig, det er også de grønne elementer der bliver bundet sammen i byen, Selvom vi fortætter, det er jo kunsten at fortætter samtidig med vi styrker de grønne kvaliteter. Det prøver vi jo på, forstået på den måde, vi har jo den gamle golfbane, selvom vi fortæller i kanten af den, så er det jo nemt at stå af +Bussen og gå igennem parken. Så det er det der med bymæssighed og det grønne vi arbejder med. Så det er sådan set ... I spørger ind til lige præcis det vi prøver på.

I (32:28) Så, vi vil egentligt også gerne bare snakke lidt om den her kommunikationsstrategi, som du også selv kommer ind på. Det er i form af storytelling, eller hvordan I ligesom prøver...

A (32:38): Altså vi har lige ansat en kommunikationsmedarbejder, og det er lige.. Vi er ved at forhandle løn, så vi kan ikke sige, hvem det er, men skal starte 1. maj, og vedkommendes første opgave bliver at udvikle en kommunikationsstrategi. Og det vi tænker er, at vi skal gøre mange ting. I først omgang får vi den her planlægningsproces, hvor vi skal rigtig meget kommunikere ift. det planmæssige. Senere hen bliver opgaverne jo nogle andre. På et tidspunkt kommer der en masse vejarbejde, hvor vi skal fortælle, "det er fordi vi gør sådan, sådan sådan". Der bliver nogle omkørsler, der skal vi forklare, hvad det er vi vil gøre. Der er en masse der brokker sig på facebook, og man skal have fundet ud af hvordan kommunikerer vi om det, og det skal den her person hjælpe os med. Så det ved vi godt bliver en enorm stor opgave. Og det kommer til at vare 4 år, så det er jo.. Og der bliver nogle perioder, hvor centrale gader, sandsynligvis Jyllandsgade vil være måske gravet op i rigtig lang tid. Så det skaber jo altid.. Det er klart, der går man ind og generer folk, helt vildt. Og der skal man så forklare, hvorfor er der vi gør det, og hvad er det vi får ud af det? Man fjerner nogle kvaliteter, fordi man fælder måske nogle træer, og sådan. Vi tilføjer nogle kvaliteter, og det er det vi prøver at få defineret og få fortalt.

I (34:05): Så hvordan vil du sige, at I bruger det her værktøj storytelling i lige præcis +Bus projektet.

A (34:10): Der synes jeg vi bruger det fuldstændig. Altså det er faktisk meget det, som det kommer til at handle om. Forstået på den måde, det er jo ikke en historie vi finder på, det er jo noget med at strukturerer. Folk gider jo ikke læse en eller anden rapport, det er jo et eller andet med, at den information, det er jo et eller andet med at vælge ud, hvornår er det vi er nødt til at være tekniske og præcise. Og det er der jo nogle gange man er det, og så er det man er. Men hvis man snakker med borgere, så er det jo ikke det man skal være, men man skal selvfølgelig være korrekte, men så er det jo set ift. det perspektiv de modtagere nu har. Det er nok (.). Det er nok ret banalt ift kommunikation. Vi er jo nødt til.. Vi ved godt, at det er et.. Uanset, om den så kun er en fjerdedel så dyr som letbanen, så er det jo mange penge og vi skal jo selvfølgelig forklare hvorfor vi skal bruge så mange penge. Altså hvad er det man får for det. Altså man skal have den her.. Hvad er det, det er noget nyt i byen, at vi prøver at binde tingene sådan sammen. Det skal være så komfortabelt og det skal være så nemt at bruge, at det skal være til gavn for folk. Og så er der nogen der siger: "Jeg kører sgu aldrig i bus, jeg har min bil, og nu kan jeg ikke komme rundt om hjørnet fordi i lukker den vej". Og det er klart... Nej, det er også rigtigt, og der bliver vi så også nødt til at fortælle, at vi er nødt til at have en balance i det. Vi vil gerne fremme den kollektive trafik, og så er der nogle konsekvenser for måske noget parkering og nogle biler, som er ærgerligt for dem der har bil, men tilgængelig så får man jo byrum, som gerne skulle være til glæde for alle. Det er jo ikke alle der interesserer sig for sådan nogle ting, det er jo ikke alle der bruger det. Vi ved godt, at det ikke er alle der bruger og kører i netop bus. Men det kunne forhåbentligt være noget som man gør en gang imellem. Så der er sådan en masse problemstillinger med det der kommunikation. Det skal vi til at arbejde med.

I (36:05): Så storytelling kommer til at have en stor betydning for jer i det her +Bus projekt?

A (36:10): Det tror jeg helt sikkert det gør.

I (36:11): Tror du det er mere, altså nu siger du historien ikke har ændret sig jo, men tror du at storytelling har fået mere betydning, end hvis det ikke havde været her det skift?

A (36:18): Ej, det havde godt nok været nødvendigt alligevel. Altså fordi (.). Det tror jeg i det hele taget, at det er nødvendigt når man planlægger. Det er jo en måde et konkretisere en vision, det med at fortælle historier, det er jo (.). Det er en måde at få ... Det er jo nærmest en fortælling der binder nogle situationer sammen i årsag og virkning. Og hvis man ikke gør det, og bare taler om tingene, som nogle adskilte historier, så er det jo ikke nemt at forstå. Vi er jo som mennesker egentligt struktureret, at vi godt kan lide, at have en historie. Altså jeg har jo også været med til at lave havnefront, der fortalte vi også en historie, det var "Byen har vandt bagsiden til fjorden, nu skal vi have fjorden til at vende ind imod byen". Og man kan også godt bare sige, jamen vi laver et byrum der, og vi laver et byrum der, vi laver en sti der, men det er jo ikke... På en eller anden måde der er historiefortælling jo med til at forklare visionen, som jeg ser det. Og det tror jeg, at man er nødt til for at gøre sig forståelig, hvorfor er det... Det gør man jo også når man sælger et hus, så siger man jo ikke bare der er gule mursten, og det er fra 36, men man siger: "Prøv at se en udsigt" og hvordan det hænger sammen, hvordan man kan bevæge sig rundt om. Så det er jo sådan almindeligt. Man kan godt sige, at vi nok er blevet mere

bevidst om, at det er det vi gør, ift. hvordan det tidligere har været. Hvor man måske nok også har gjort det, men mere ubevidst.

I (38:08): Helt generelt for kommunen, så er det et værktøj, som spiller en stor rolle?

A (38:12): Det vil jeg sige det er. I vores planlægning når vi skal forklare tiltag osv. Hvorfor er det at man gerne vil det ene og det andet, og i vores visionsarbejde især.

II (38:23): Hvem er det i forsøger at nå ud til igennem Jeres storytelling?

A (38:28): Jamen det er jo borgere, og det er også politikere. Det er jo i virkeligheden... Men det er lidt lige som om, når man bruger det ord, så .. Der ligger lidt i det, at det er bare noget man finder på. Og det er egentligt... Det er jo lige så meget noget med at knytte nogle ting sammen, og forklare hvorfor det er, altså hvordan noget hænger sammen i en sammenhæng.

II (38:55): Og retfærdiggøre de valg man tager ift. helheden.

A (38:56): Ja, det er jo en måde at (.) sætte det i perspektiv på. Og der hvor man kan sige, at man gør noget, som man finder på, det er måske i sin .. Det tror jeg også at kommunikatører og journalister gør, altså man lægger en vinkel ind over. Man kunne også lægge nogle andre vinkel ind over det. Så det er der man... Der kan man jo manipulere. Reklamer, det er jo hele tiden, jamen var det lige derfor, og har det produkt virkelig de egenskaber, de fortæller en historie ikke også. Man kan også sige, det gør vi også, men vi er jo kommune, så vi er jo forpligtet på, at vi skal kunne gåes efter i eDoc og i alting, og vi skal kunne dokumentere alting og forklare hvordan.. hvorfor nogle korrespondancer der har været med hvem, og alt det der. Så vi skal selvfølgelig. Vi skal jo også arbejde for helheden, vi skal arbejde for ikke kun dem der bor i Vestbyen, men også dem der kommer og bruger Vestbyen eller dem der er ligeglade. Vi skal varetage helhedens interesser. Det er vi jo forpligtet til.

I (40:09): Ja, har vi lige lidt omkring processen. Vi vil høre om du vil beskrive den her proces omkring implementeringen fra første omgang letbanen til +Bussen og måske nogle af de banebrydende politiske beslutninger der har været i den kontekst?

A (40:26): Jamen jeg tror kun der er indtil nu én eneste politisk beslutning og det var, at så satser vi på det.

II (40:34): +Bussen?

A (40:35): Ja. Det er (.) Der er vi lidt bagefter. Det må vi nok lidt erkende. Den politiske... Vi har selvfølgelig borgmesteren og vi har vores udvalgsformænd i de udvalg; vores udvalg, By- og Landskabsforvaltningen, og så Sundhed og Kultur, som har kollektiv trafik, de politikere har jo været involveret, men vi har jo ikke... Hvis vi skal... By- og Landskabsudvalget, de skal for første gang se noget materiale den 5. april. Altså noget af det her material. Og så en gang senere i april, så kommer der et byråds temamøde, hvor at hele byrådet kommer til og have en gennemgang af både trafiksystemerne, og de her visioner og den kollektive trafikplanlægning og økonomien. Og så kommer de politiske beslutninger, de kommer i forbindelse med de planer, som skal behandles, og det skal de i maj, der skal de igennem udvalget og byrådet, og så skal de offentliggøres 1. juni, og der kommer jo politiske beslutninger. Men indtil nu, der har der jo ikke... Der har der været meget lidt. Altså fordi så gik der jo fuldstændig valgkamp i det, så tænkte vi: det er bedre at få det nye byråd... Det er bare så ... Hvordan skal jeg sige det. Vi ønsker jo ikke at holde noget som helst tilbage for nogen som helst, og det kunne vi slet ikke finde på. Men det er når der er valgkamp, så er det bare rigtig rigtig svært at komme med sådan nogen komplekse problemstillinger. For så vil man pille ud, lige præcis det der passer i

ens.. Det går bare i alle retninger. Det er her er jo noget med, at der er en vision, og der er nogle konsekvenser, som kan være negative for nogen, og det er præcis det vi arbejder med nu. Derfor var det simpelthen ikke muligt at komme ud med... Og så blev det altså besluttet på det tidspunkt, sidste sommer, forår måske. Nu arbejder vi videre, og så tager vi det nye byråd, og hvis de siger nej til det hele, så er det jo ærgerligt. Men altså indtil nu har man jo sagt ja til at gennemføre projektet, men hvordan? Det er jo så det næste. Hvad er det for nogle nærmere forhold omkring det, som man kommer til at binde sig til. Så der er ikke så mange banebrydende beslutninger. Altså vi har jo en beslutning fra staten om at bevilge de 250 millioner.

I (43:18): Jamen det var egentligt også bare om hvor langt i er nu, også i processen og sådan noget? og den administrative struktur var du også inde på i starten, så. Jeg tror vi er tæt på at være der.

II (43:32): Sådan den offentligt holdning, fornemmer I blandt borgere at den har ændret sig, fra at det hed en letbane til en +Bus i dag?

A (43:39): Jeg fornemmer, at den har ændret sig, til det mere positive. VI har gjort det, at vi har, måske i har set den, den bus der lige nu holder ude ved Haraldslund. Det er et sådan første forsøg på noget kommunikation inden vi var kommet så langt for at prøve trods alt at vise lidt, og have lidt inde i midtbydebatten, og den har stået på Kennedy Plads også. Og der har vi jo informeret lidt, og der har vi jo egentligt kunne gå rundt og se, at der er mange der går og kigger på de her ting, og der er også mange der læser, der er også nogle der skriver selvfølgelig, i avisen, på Facebook og sådan noget. Altså en del af kommunikationsstrategien, som skal til at bygges op det er, at projektet, skal have sin egen facebook-side, og så kommer der jo automatisk en reaktion. Altså der er stadig nogle der synes, at den skulle have kørt en helt anden vej, eller den skulle have været på en anden måde. Der er jo kritikere, men jeg har mest hørt positivt. Jeg tror meget af kritikken vidner faktisk om, at vi ikke er nået i ud med information altså f.eks. hvis man tror, at der kommer sådan en stor bus, så bliver det et larmende monster. Ja, vi skal jo have støjen ned ift. de eksisterende busser, der bliver jo færre af dem. Der er en hel masse kommunikation, som følger med, som skal fortælles.

I (45:12): Så kendskabet er ikke lige så stort til +Bussen som til letbanen.

A (45:17): Det ved jeg ikke. Nej. Jeg tror da ikke kendskabet er særligt stort. Altså der er jo nogen der går op i det og opsøger det, og meget information er selvfølgelig tilgængeligt, men der er også rigtig mange, de fleste de ser det når det kommer, for man kan jo ikke gå op i alting.

II (45:31): De ser det når skovlen kommer i jorden.

A (45:31): Så går det op for dem, når det kommer tæt på.

II (45:31): Så nåede vi alligevel alle vores spørgsmål.

Appendix F

Appendix F contains the interview transcription with project planner, NT, Mette Olesen, 13/04/2018 (originally Danish)

M: Mette Olesen

I, II: Interviewers.

I (00:00): Som vi også har skrevet til dig, så skriver vi jo speciale om +Bussen

M (00:05): Ja spændende

I (00:06): Med fokus på hele det her byudvikling i forbindelse med +Bussen og hvilken historiefortælling der ligesom bliver skabt. Og så har vi så haft snakket med Anne Juel fra kommunen, og vi har snakket med Jens Mogensen fra Regionen og så vil vi også gerne snakke med dig, for at høre NTs vinkel på det. Så ja. Så det første vi egentligt gerne vil høre dig om, det er sådan hvad din rolle er ift. +Bussen?

M (00:37): Jamen, jeg sidder som NTs projektleder på det her projekt, kan man sige. Vi er jo nogle parter i projektet. Aalborg kommune har jo en kæmpe stor del, som er anlægsprojektet, og få lavet hele vejen, byrummet rundt omkring. Og vi har så ansvaret for driften, kollektiv trafik i Aalborg Kommune. Det er sådan lidt specielt. Inde ved NT, der har vi jo nogle planlæggere, der sidder og planlægger, hvordan ruterne skal køre. Og for alle andre kommuner end Aalborg kommune, så er de planlæggere her ved os, men i Aalborg der sidder planlæggerne så i kommunen, som vi så arbejder tæt sammen med. Det er Jan Øhlenslæger og Morten Jensen, som sidder ovre i den anden forvaltning end den hvor Anne sidder i. Så de er også en part af projektet, og jeg er også. Og vi sidder så sammen med dem og koordinerer, og sørger for at vi får et godt anlægsprojekt, der passer sammen med de busser vi nu engang vil have ud at køre, og det hele selvfølgelig spiller som det skal på alle de parametre, både ift. driften og byrummene osv. Så jeg er vores koordinerende projektleder ift. det. Ja.

I (01:38): Okay.

M (01:38): Og så har jeg jo en baggrund, det ved du måske også fra Kristian af, at jeg har skrevet PhD om letbaner og har arbejdet med de ting i sidder og arbejder med netop også. Så måske jeg kommer til at svare lidt med mine to roller, med mine to kasketter, PhD Mette og NT Mette.

I (01:55): Jamen, det er helt fint. Ja, men så vil vi egentligt også bare høre, hvordan du vil beskrive hele det her projekt omkring +Bussen i Aalborg?

M (02:06): +Bussen, det er selvfølgelig et transportprojekt, men det er også meget mere end det. Det er et projekt der handler om et, at transportere rigtig store mennesker fra A til B, rigtig store mængder af mennesker og ikke rigtig store mennesker fra A til B. Og ergo så ligger det +Bus tracé jo hvor det gør. Altså det ligger jo der hvor de primære transportåre ligger i byen, og vi i dag har den kollektive trafik også. Der ligger linje 2

også, som er den helt store. Så det handler det om. Men så handler det også om at udvikle byen omkring, hvad hedder det, bussen. Så man skaber et kundegrundlag og sørger for, at man kan flytte folk effektive fra A til B. Problemet, og det ved vi jo også alle sammen, hvis man bor ude i en forstad, så ligger bebyggelsen meget spredt, og det er ikke særligt nemt at lave noget særligt effektivt kollektiv trafik sådan et sted, hvis det er sådan noget [rute bound] noget. Og det man gerne vil her, det er ligesom, at by og transport. By og flow hænger jo tæt sammen, og hvis vi sørger for at lave en god tæt korridor, hvor mange af de her aktiviteter som folk skal til i deres hverdag, så er det også lettere at betjene med noget kollektiv trafik, som bare spiller. Lidt lige som s-tog tankenovre i København, som man siger. Den her med tæt integration mellem byplanlægning og transportanlæg. Så det er også meget det +Bus projektet er et udtryk for, fordi der er kamp om pladsen i Aalborg centrum. Altså der er ligesom de kvadratmeter der er til rådighed, og hvis alle folk, der lige som flytter til, og alle de store udviklingsprojekter, de genererer jo noget mere trafik, hvis alle, hvis alt det trafik skal foregå i privatbil, så har vi et problem. Fordi det er der ikke plads til. Der er ikke plads til vi skal parkere alle de biler inde i Aalborg centrum.

I (03:51): Men hvorfor er det så lige den rute, som der er nu, som kører fra Vest til Øst, som I tænker at det er der +Bussen skal køre?

M (03:59): Men det er det heller ikke kun, altså det er ... Man starter jo med sådan noget. Det er jo en etape 1. Etape 2 er jo også tegnet, det er jo en øst-vestgående forbindelse, men vi har også nogle store ruter der går nord-syd. Faktisk det der ligner lidt rute 1 i dag. Og der snakker man jo også om kigge på en etape 2, men det ved i også, når I er planlægningsstuderende, sådan nogle ting, de tager tid. Og man starter et sted, og der er bestemt også visioner. De visioner blev faktisk tegnet allerede tilbage i 12, eller hvornår pokker man gik i gang. Jeg kan ikke engang huske det længere. Jeg var selv med, men det er ved at være så lang tid siden. Foranalysen, hvis I ser inde på hjemmesiden for Aalborg Kommunen, der ligger alle de der dokumenter. Der tegnede man jo allerede sådan nogle pølser for, hvor er det en etape 2 den kan være henne? Men det er jo en vision det her, og det er det jo både i Aarhus og ovre i Ring 3, ovre i København, der er den letbane der forbinder de fem fingre der er i fingerplanen. Det er jo også en etape, som bygger videre på noget eksisterende. Så det er bestemt ikke kun linje 2, for jeg vil sige for hele projektets synsvinkel, så handler det her om at opgradere linje 2 og gøre den til noget ekstra lange busser, fordi der er et ekstra stort behov, men den handler bestemt også om at opgradere de øvrige kollektive net. Og derfor kan man sige sådan rent praktisk. Vi udbyder jo.. Jeg ved ikke om I er inde i hvordan sådan et trafikelskab fungerer?

I (05:17): Jo, lidt.

M (05:18): Det er sådan, at trafikelskaberne de udbyder jo noget drift. Altså man laver nogle planer for hvor skal busserne køre henne osv, hvorfor nogle ruter? Og så laver man et udbud, hvor operatørerne kan byde ind. Og de to operatører vi har i Aalborg centrum, det er Arriva og Keolis. De kører nogle ruter. Som man siger, vi har alt, der er kørsel, og nu skal vi have nogle der kommer og kører en. Og man kan sige, det udbud, der er for +Bussen, altså den rute og de nye ting der skal ind og ske der, det er sammentænkt med hele udbuddet for Aalborg by, så det er alle bybusser, der er i spil, sammen. For det handler jo ikke om at lave en linje 2, som bare er maks, der er fuld knald på den, og så rester, det rasler bare rundt. Overhovedet ikke. Det her, det er en

strategi for at begynde at opgradere det samlede kollektive trafiksystem. For det er jo sådan, at folk de skal nogen gange køre på linje 2, men nogle gange, der skal de også altså... Altså hele deres hverdagsliv, det er jo ikke indrettet omkring linje 2, vel? Men også omkring alle de andre ruter. Men helhedstanken og hele systemfokusset er bare enormt vigtigt. Det er noget af det de er blevet lidt ramt af i Aarhus Letbane. De har også haft fokus på det her, men du ved, så rammer virkeligheden og så pludselig, så bliver man nødt til at skære ned på nogen andre ruter, fordi driften på linje, altså på letbane linjen, den blev dyrere end man havde regnet med, og så bliver man nødt til at skære ned nogle andre steder. Og det er jo ikke meningen, at de andre ruter skal lide under en +Bus, det skal jo være med til at løfte et samlet system.

I (06:44): Så kunne det lige så godt have været fra nord til syd man havde taget først?

M (06:49): Nej fordi det var jo ikke der de største passagerstrømme var. Altså, man kan sige hele det her med, at der kommer et universitetshospital ude i NAU, og NAU hedder det nye universitetshospital Aalborg, mærkelig forkortelse, men det var helt klart fordi der kommer et kæmpe transportbehov ud til det. Og man siger sådan at folk ændrer vaner når de ændrer kontekst, og når folk pludseligt skal flytte en arbejdsplads der ud, så er det bare død pinligt vigtigt, at der er noget godt kollektiv trafik der ud fra starten af. For hvis folk pludseligt begyndte at arbejde derude, og den eneste måde de kan komme der ud på, det er i bil, så er det meget svært at ændre den adfærd efterfølgende. Så det er meget meget vigtigt, at når man udflytter en kæmpe central funktion, hvor der også er en masse folk der er afhængige af at komme derud med kollektiv trafik, at det så bare spiller fra starten af. Derfor er det også meget tæt koordineret fra starten af, at +Bussen skal åbne når Nau åbner. Og det er på linje 2, der er allerfleste passagerer, og logisk nok, er det der man starter med at opgradere. Så det handler egentligt ikke om at prioriterer noget over andet, men at kigge på, hvor er det, at de store destinationer er.

I (07:50): Nu snakker du også selv omkring behovet for den her nye mobilitetsløsning, men hvorfor er det, at det er +Bussen der skal være løsningen til netop dette behov?

M (08:01): I forhold til hvad tænker du på? Du tænker på, om det skulle være cykler eller biler eller hvad?

I (08:08): Mere bare, hvad det er en +Bus kan gøre for at kunne løse den her problematik?

M (08:13): Jamen, det den kan gøre ift. en almindelig bus, det er, at den skaber noget mere kapacitet. Kollektiv trafik de får jo subsidier, eller hvad man siger. De bliver jo betalt eller støttet af kommunen. Kommunen betaler jo mere end det de egentlig får i indtægter. Ikke lige på de store linjer selvfølgelig. De er ret rentable. Men det der koster det er jo også chauffører, der sidder bag rattet, og hvis alle busser er stopfyldte i dem der hedder 13-7'er, altså almindelige størrelse busser, så har man behov for nogle busser der er længere, der har noget mere kapacitet, og det er jo hele visionen. Det handler om at kunne give noget mere kapacitet, altså sørge for at vi har nok plads til at folk kan være der. Det handler også om det serviceniveau man ønsker at tilbyde. Det er jo heller ikke særligt attraktivt at køre med noget kollektivt trafik, hvor du står som sild i en tønne, og står lige... Hvor du står klods op af dine medpassagerer. Man vil gerne have en stor bus, hvor man også i flexarealerne, altså der hvor man kan tage, hvad hedder det, flexarealerne det er lige ved udgangen. At man har plads til at man kan tage en cykel med, eller at der nok plads sådan at når der står nummer 3 passager med en barnevogn, og der er 2 i forvejen, så kører bussen forbi dig. Det er sådan inde i byen der er helt

centralt. Så det handler rigtig meget om kapaciteten, det er derfor man vælger en +Bus. Altså sørge for at man har nok plads. Og det var jo også derfor man snakkede om en letbane, for +Bussen har en... Altså på sådan en kapacitetskurve, så ligger den jo også lidt lavere end en letbane, en letbane har jo endnu mere kapacitet, men omvendt i Aalborg, så giver det jo ingen mening at bygge en metro ift. hvor dyrt det er, og hvor omfattende det er, og hvor mange mennesker der er. Så det er afvejningen i mellem hvad er efterspørgslen ift. hvor mange passagerer er der, og hvad er det så for et system der lever op til det. Og der er man så endt på +Bussen i Aalborg, fordi der var nogle politikere der ikke troede på, at letbaner, det er den måde man skal gøre det på. og det er jo den der ideologiske diskussion, om man tror på gummihjul, eller man tror på kollektiv trafik. Og gummihjul, det er....

I (10:10): Så det er specielt det med kapaciteten du vil sige der differentierer sig fra de bybusser der allerede kører nu?

M (10:16): Ja, helt sikkert, det er jo for at få mere kapacitet, det er for at få flere folk tragtet også, og sådan rent økonomisk, for når det er så stramt, så kører på 2'eren på spidstimerne, så kører linje 2 jo lige i røven af hinanden hele tiden fordi at der simpelthen skal være nok busser til at fragte alle de mennesker der skal ud på universitetet, så ja, det handler rigtig meget om kapacitet. Og så handler det selvfølgelig også om serviceniveauet, og et produkt man gerne vil tilbyde, for når der er mange passagerer, så er det også vigtigt, at folk de ikke føler, at det så giver en dårlig komfort, fordi man aldrig kan få en siddeplads eller man står som sild i en tønde og det er jo ikke særligt attraktivt for den kollektive trafik, hvis man føler, at det er sådan et produkt, hvor man næsten ikke kan få plads inde. Så det handler også rigtig meget om at give et godt produkt, som er attraktivt at bruge, helt sikkert.

I (11:07): Ser i så, at den her +Bus den så vil komme til at henvende sig til andre borgere end f.eks. bybusserne gør i dag?

M (11:16): Ja altså det er jo det der er håbet ikke også. Det er jo der man altid har snakket om at skinnefaktoren har eksisteret, det der med, at skinner det appellerer til et andet segment og det er jo både blevet be- og afkræftet af forskellige forskere, og jeg har også selv lavet et review af folk der har kigget på det der. Men det man gerne vil opnå med +Bussen, det er sådan set at lave det der image, altså vise, nu opdaterer vi faktisk. En ting er kapaciteten noget andet det er... Når jeg siger kapacitet, så fænger det også tæt sammen med frekvens, altså hvor ofte kører den? Altså hvis du er under 10 minutter, så føler folk ikke, at de er nødt til at kigge i en køreplan, hvis der kører en bus hvert 10. minut. Det der med, at du føler hele tiden, at den kommer. Det er også derfor når man er i en storby f.eks. så søger man... Jeg søger automatisk hen til metroen fordi der ved jeg... Jeg skal bare finde ud af hvor den kører fra, for jeg ved at den kører hele tiden. Men jeg er jo meget meget ramt, hvis jeg så kommer så går der en halv time til den næste metro kørte, så havde jeg i hvert fald haft nogle udfordringer. Det handler det også om. Og ja, formentlig så vil det da appellere til nogle andre også den der urbane målgruppe, som man ser, at der flytter mange af til byen. Altså unge børnefamilier, jamen som ikke nødvendigvis gider at være afhængig af to biler, fordi de har valgt at bo inde i midtbyen. Altså jeg kan sige, at jeg selv... Det kan jeg jo ikke sidde at konkludere på, men mig og min familie, vi har valgt at bosætte os i Aalborg Vestby. Vi har købt et hus derude, fordi at vi ikke gider at være afhængige af to biler. Jeg vil helst egentligt kunne cykle til ting og det er jo meget den målgruppe. Også ældre der flytter til byen. De der nye livsformer

der kommer i byen, de stiller bare krav om en anden måde at transportere sig på.

I (13:02): Nu er du inde på forskellige fordele ved +Bussen både ift. kapacitet og frekvens. Ser du nogle ulemper, at det er +Bussen der bliver løsningen for Aalborg?

M (13:13): Nogle ulemper ved det? Øhm (.)

I (13:19): Du må også gerne sige nej hvis det er.

M (13:21): Øhm. Jamen man kan sige, et af de helt store sværds slag der er nu, det er jo også igen det her med det politiske. Skinnefaktoren det er jo sådan et rent teoretisk begreb, men det er jo et meget politisk begreb med skinnefaktor fordi: Det var jeg selv ramt af, da jeg skrev min pdh, der skulle jeg også... Der ville jeg egentligt også have undersøgt nogle +Busser eller BRT systemer, som man kalder det rundt om i Europa, og sammenligne dem med letbaner. Problemet var bare at der var ikke nogle. Fordi de steder, hvor man politisk havde valgt at lave en lang bus i stedet for, der havde man slet ikke lavet det samme system. Der havde man sådan set bare taget en bus, og sat ind på nogle eksisterende veje. Men havde ikke lavet det her dedikeret tracé ligesom en letbane, den kører jo på skinner, og ergo så bliver den jo nødt til at køre der, og så bliver andre jo nødt til at vige for den. Så jeg synes det bliver rigtig spændende politisk og se om de holder fast politikerne. Om de holder fast så man siger, at man på nogle strækning bliver nødt til at nedlægge nogle parkeringspladser og begrænse noget biltrafik osv osv osv. Og der var man nødt til at gøre det med letbanen ift. sikkerhedsgodkendelsen og sådan noget. Der ved du jo alt om, hvad der skete i Aarhus, et kæmpe apparat at få sikkerhedsgodkendt en letbane, for den kører jo under jernbaneregler, det kræver rigtig meget. Og der kan man bare ikke have biler der ligger og krydser tracet hele tiden. Det er ikke det samme der kræves når man etablerer en bus, og det er jo rigtig godt, fordi det gør det mindre risikofyldt at skulle lave en risikogodkendelse. Men det kan også gøre det lettere for politikerne lige at lempe hist og pist og sige, vi behøver ikke at lukke den der vej, og vi behøver heller ikke lige at nedlægge de der parkeringspladser osv. Det bliver rigtig spændende at se, om de kan holde fast i det. Men umiddelbart, så ser det ud til at vi har et enigt byråd som ser ud til at stå sammen om den her vision. Men de her små detaljer der gør, at du får det her højklasesystem, det kan hurtigt blive smadret ved, at der politisk er lidt led ved at skulle nedlægge parkeringspladser. Og det er jo igen fordi, det her det er nok et teknisk... Jeg tror hvis man... Hvis vi ikke ligesom havde noget politisk at skulle forholde os til, så tror jeg der er mange embedsmænd der ville sige hvordan og hvorledes. Os planlægger vi ved jo godt, at vi har en masse erfaring omkring hvordan og hvorledes er det at man lavet et optimalt system. Så er der bare en politisk virkelighed og nogle borgere der også har nogle behov, som måder det, og det er jo også udfordrende. Og når man så har et system, der er mere fleksibelt, så er det også lettere at lave om på det, hvorimod, hvis man har et system der er mere rigtigt som en letbane, der kan man ikke bare nødvendigvis gå ind og pille ved det. Du kan ikke gå ind og sige, så må folk godt svinge venstre om indover nogle letbaneskinner, fordi det kan give en masse ulykker, så derfor har det system og den teknologi du sætter ind, den har en betydning. Det er ikke ligegyldigt, om det er en letbane eller en +Bus på nogle forskellige parametre. I teorien omkring hvad den ville kunne, så kan man sige, hvis du har et kapacitetsbehov om du skulle gå op i en letbane, har du brug for lige at have nogle lidt længere vogne eller ej, men ift. at få lavet et højklasesystem, så kan det godt betyde noget om det er en +Bus eller en letbane.

II (16:20): Må jeg lige spørge, ift. den her fleksibilitet, som der så ligger i +Bussen, ift.

letbanen, ser du så det som hovedsageligt en negativ ting for løsningen ift. en letbane?

M (16:30): Nej det er ikke hovedsagelig en negativ ting, det er en både og, for der er også mange positive ting ved det. Det er jo meget meget positivt ved anlægsprojektet f.eks. når man skal grave hele den her meget centrale strækning op, så kan man jo sagtens stadig væk... Altså en bus kan jo køre udenom, så det giver en masse muligheder på en masse hvor det er meget mere positivt, at det er en bus. Og så er der nogle parametre, at det er negativt, at det er en bus, så man kan ikke se det sort/hvid. Det vil jeg også sige, den diskussion, den er jeg også selv blevet skudt meget i skoen på i min phd, fordi folk troede at jeg var jubeloptimist omkring letbanen, og det er jeg bestemt ikke. Jeg har det sådan lidt i en letbane eller en af mine gamle kollegaer ved COWI har faktisk skrevet en fin artikel. Han skriver at "letbanen er blot et værktøj" og det er jo bare så rigtigt. Det her det handler om hvad er det for en by vi vil have, hvad er det for nogle ting vi skal løse med det her? Og så har du kigget der ned i din værktøjskasse, der ligger nogle cykler, der ligger nogle busser, der ligger nogle letbaner måske. Og så må man jo kigge på, hvad der er vigtigt. Altså hvad passer til det behov og det vi skal klare ved det her. Og der er fordele og ulemper ved de forskellige værktøjer. En sav, den er god, hvis vi skal save et bræt over, men hvis du skal slå et søm i, så er den ikke særlig smart vel? Præcis sådan billedligt, det er bare sådan med... Apropos jeres snak om storytelling, den er meget sådan at "busser kan altid det samme som letbaner og omvendt med letbaner". Så det er ikke så sort/hvid det der.

I (17:52): Så jeres holdning til at Aalborg nu skal have en +Bus i stedet for en letbane, det er ikke, at det er noget negativt?

M (18:00): Nej bestemt ikke. Det kan bestemt blive rigtigt positivt. Altså det handler jo bare om at få aktiveret den +Bus på samme måde som man ville have aktiveret den letbane. Så det giver... Letbanen, den gav nogle muligheder og nogle begrænsninger, og nu står vi en ny situation. Det vigtigste er, at hele visionen omkring det... og nu er det i jo også snakker om storytelling, det er at det er et byudviklingsprojekt. Hele visionen omkring det, det er den samme. Fordi jeg har også en del eksempler i min PdH fra USA, hvor man har lavet letbaner, og de har ikke rigtig haft nogle passagerer, men det er fordi derovre, der har det været rene transportprojekter, hvor man har sagt, "jamen det er også dumt og gå ind og pille i den centrale dele af byen. Det koster en masse penge, og genererer en masse folk, så nu laver vi den et sted, hvor den generer mindst muligt". Det der sker ved det, det er jo, at så kører den jo et sted hvor ingen efterspørger den ikke også. Vi har også nogle meget aktive debattører her, der er en der hedder Torben Andersen, som har nogle fine synspunkter omkring man kan bruge Grønlandsbanen i stedet for, der er jo skinner ude. Men det handler jo ikke om at der er skinner. Grønlandsbanen ligger jo et sted, hvor den ikke løser et problem. Det er jo ikke bare fordi det handler om, at nu skal der laves nogle skinner. Det handler om, at nu skal der understøttes noget byudvikling, og hvis Grønlandsbanen ikke ligger hvor der er noget byudvikling, så har vi jo et problem, ikke også. Men det bliver bare tit sådan. Altså det er så sjovt det her. Der er simpelthen sådan nogle skarpe fronter. Og det er sådan lidt, at man skal lidt erkende sig til: "er du til letbaner, eller er du ikke til letbaner?". Den kører jeg ikke ind på, og det gør vi bestemt heller ikke her ved NT. Vi synes letbanen var et fedt projekt, og vi synes også at +Bussen kan blive et fedt projekt. Helt sikkert. Og det gode er, at ovre i Aalborg... Lige den sidste detalje. Det gode er, at jeg tror at fordelene i Aalborg er, at det er født som et letbaneprojekt, hvor ambitionsniveauet har været vi går

all in, ergo har Aalborg og hele.. De har jo hele anlægget og hele planlægningsdel med. Der er de jo super aktive. Nu har du selv snakket med Anne Juel, hun er jo super aktiv i det her arbejde, og hele visionsarbejdet om at skabe gode byrum omkring letbane og sådan noget. Hvis ikke det havde været født som et letbaneprojekt, så tror jeg ikke på samme måde, at de havde grebet ind på den. Hvis det havde startet med at være et BRT der havde foregået mere ovre i trafik og veje, sammen med NT, så havde det været mere et driftsprojekt, der handler om at optimere noget drift. Jeg har også selv beskrevet det i min PhD, det her med, "er det et byudviklingsprojekt eller er det et transportprojekt?" Der er meget forskel på det. Og der er meget forskel hvor det bor sådan organisatorisk fordi folk tænker forskelligt.

I (20:30): Nu kommer du også selv ind på byudvikling, altså hvilken ser I, at den her transportløsning har for byudviklingen, for Aalborg Kommune har jo en klar strategi for det, men hvordan ser i den betydning ved NT?

M (20:44): Ja men altså det har da en kæmpe stor betydning også ift. at gøre den kollektive rentabel. Altså så er det jo så vigtigt, at der er et passagergrundlag. Altså det har da en kæmpe betydning for byudviklingen, at den kollektive trafik og byudviklingen tænkes sammen, det giver jo kun mening, at det er sådan det fungerer. Det har en kæmpe værdi. Og så vil jeg sige, muligheden for også at brande nogle bydele, tilbyde de her livsforme jeg snakker om, nogle andre alternativer. F.eks. området ude ved Gigantium, det ligger jo ikke lige inde i Aalborg centrum vel. Men hvis du ved, at der kører noget kollektiv trafik i din baghave, det er jo et aktiv ligeså vel som du ved at der ligger en Fakta lige rundt om hjørnet, eller at der ligger en svømmehal eller at der ligger... Det er den der, hvad er det for en livsform du er? Nogle folk de vil ikke være tæt på alle ting. De vil gerne være på landet, og fred være med det. Og så er det jo nogle andre kvaliteter. Folk der gerne vil bo i byen. Det er jo fordi man gerne vil kultur og der vil man også gerne have muligheden for at komme rundt til ting. Så det tiltrækker måske en ny målgruppe at gøre det muligt ikke nødvendigvis, så skulle man være meget idealistisk i Danmark, hvis man ikke har en bil, men i hvert fald have muligheden for i højere grad at leve uden at have bil nummer to eller i højere grad at kunne vælge, at man ikke gider at køre i sin bil hele tiden.

I (21:56): Så når I også beskriver den her +Bus som byens nye livsnerve i jeres mobilitetsplan, er det så også nogle af de ting, i tænker på?

M (22:04): Ja helt sikkert. Helt sikkert. Bestemt. Vi tænker jo rigtig meget... Vi arbejder jo hele tiden hvad er det for nogle segmenter der er vores kunder og sådan noget. Det arbejder vi jo meget aktivt på, også at finde ud af hvordan er det vi kan sørge for at der er produkter til segmenter, som vi ikke har inde i dag? Altså vi har noget, man kan sige, der er tvangskunder, og så er der nogle af de der kunder der sådan aktivt tilvælger os. Og tvangskunder det lyder forkert, for det er jo super vigtige kundegrupper for os, altså alle unge mennesker der skal til uddannelsesinstitutioner, for den vil vi bestemt ikke negligere. Men vi vil jo også rigtig gerne sikre, at folk der ikke kun gør det af tvang også bruger den kollektive trafik, men gør det fordi de synes at det giver mening, og at de også er en del af den her bæredygtige dagsorden, om at man ikke altid skal ligge og fedte rundt alene i sin bil, og gør det fordi det er den nemmeste måde at komme ind til byen på. Så vi arbejder rigtig meget med de her segmenter og vi, i vores mobilitetsplan, der arbejder vi jo også rigtig meget med at øge udbudet af det man kalder kollektiv trafik. Vi siger, at kollektiv, det handler også om delebiler, det handler

om delecykler, det handler om at give folk mulighed for at bruge det transportmiddel der giver mening til den situation de nu står i. Og det vi ved, at er at delebilister f.eks. de er også hyppige brugere af den kollektiv trafik, og det er de formentligt fordi de har brug for lidt bil en gang imellem. Og hvis vi ligesom kan hjælpe dem med at komme fra A til B uden at skulle købe deres egen bil på flere forskellige måder, så er vi jo kommet langt. Så er vi jo... Vi udbyder jo busser osv, men vi er her jo for at sikre, at folk kan komme fra A til B. Det er sådan det der er hele vores mantra i vores mobilitetsplan. Det er den nye der så bryder op med siloerne, og siger "hvorfor er vi her egentligt?". Vi er her for at sikre, at folk kan komme ikke, det er ligesom en social ydelse også. Og så også give folk muligheden for det. Man kan ligesom give folk muligheden for at leve uden en bil.

I (23:47): Nu er det så lige lidt tilbage til hvordan i så hvordan beskriver +Bussen, hvis man sådan overordnet set skal se på det, hvad er det så for en historie i ved NT gerne vil fortælle omkring den her +Bus?

M (23:58): Jamen det er jo den samme, som de ovre ved Aalborg Kommune. Det er den her med byens livsnerve, altså vi snakker også hovednettet en af vores. Apropos. Det er det vi kalder for hovednettet i Nordjylland, der er +Bussen jo en del af det. Det er der hvor vi har de store rejsestrømme, og du kan også finde det i vores mobilitetsplan. Altså der ved hvor du ved, at du kan gå ud, og så ved du, at der i hvert fald kører én bus i timen. Og det er jo også ift. bosætning. Det er jo faktisk vores måde at brede letbane, skinnefaktor, byudviklingskonceptet videre ud. F.eks. i Hjørring ikke også, der er det rart at vide, når du køber et hus. Bor jeg lige i nærheden af noget kollektiv trafik der bliver nedlagt i morgen, eller bor jeg ved siden af hovednettet, hvor jeg ved at der kører noget hver eneste time. Det er jo en kæmpe faktor, når folk vælger hvor de skal bosætte sig henne. Så i vores storytelling så er +Bussen også en del af hovednettet. Så det handler om hvordan... Vi har jo lige overtaget regionalstogsdriften her i Nordjylland, de blå tog fra DSB, og det er jo også en måde at styrke hovednetværket på. Vi er udvider mængden af afgang, så der kører jo flere afgang end der gjorde før for de samme penge for at sikre at folk netop... Det er jo fint nok, hvis du kan bruge toget til og fra arbejde, men så når klokken bliver 19, og du gerne vil en tur ind til Aalborg og have et glas vin, så kører der ikke flere tog, så er dit hverdagsliv jo overhovedet ikke dækket ind. Så bliver du jo nødt til at have et alternativ, og ofte en bil, for overhovedet at kunne få dit liv til at hænge sammen. Og vi ved fra erfaringsmæssigt, at når folk har købt den der bil eller bil nummer to, så er de ikke kunde ved os længere.

I (25:22): Det var lige igen tilbage til det med skiftet også det fra +Bus, undskyld fra letbane til +Bus, vil du sige, at historien fra jeres side har ændret sig i form af det skift?

M (25:33): Overhovedet ikke. Det er præcis den samme historie. Og det er det virkelig. Og måske endnu mere med fokus på at lykkes med alle de her letbane visioner, som man havde dengang det var en letbane. For man kan sige, visionerne falder jo ikke ved at der er skiftet teknologi. Det er jo det der er det centrale, og det er det der er det vigtige. Så nej, det har vi faktisk gjort meget ud af, i hele gruppen, at visionsniveauet er det sammen. Det er jo det samme vi vil. Det er stadig byens livsnerve. Det er jo ikke sådan, at nu er det slet ikke byens livsnerve mere. bestemt ikke. Det er jo næsten blevet endnu mere vigtigt, at vi holder fast i den vision. Så jeg tror faktisk nærmest, at man er gået mere all in for at arbejde for alle de her ting. Og så ser mulighederne i, at man måske, kan gøre noget mere for nogle billigere penge, og sådan nogle ting. Der er ogs meget bevågenhed på projektet, fordi det bliver det rigtig første rigtige BRT system kan man

sige, i Danmark.

I (26:28): Hvordan fornemmer du, at den offentlige holdning så er til hele det her projekt omkring +Bussen, både investorer og borgere?

M (26:38): Jamen det Anne hun... Altså det er jo Annes gebet, det har hun jo også sagt til jer. Det er, at der ikke er noget der tyder på, at der er nogle investorerne der er hoppet fra pga det. Det er svært at sige, hvorfor er det så? Er det pga. at det er født i en letbanevision, eller er det fordi at de kan mærke... Jeg tror det handler mest af alt om, at investorerne kan mærke at visionen er præcis den samme, og jeg tror faktisk...

+Bussen den ligger jo i det der hedder vækstaksen i Aalborg Kommune. Jeg jeg tror faktisk, at visionen om vækstaksen, den har været så stærkt meldt ud, at det er lige så stærkt, som at der kommer en +Bus. +Bussen bliver så bare den fysiske manifestation af vækstaksen, kan man sige. Så jeg tror at.. Jeg fornemmer ikke... Jeg vil så sige, at vi jo fordi vi har ligget i sådan et vaccum, vi havde jo en kæmpe inddragelsesproces, det ved jeg ikke om i lige nåede at være nede i Budolfihus dengang vi havde VVM om letbanen?

II (27:26): Jo lige hurtigt.

M (27:26): Ja, der var der sådan en kæmpe udstilling, og altså det var faktisk en ret stor indsats vi gjorde derfor at oplyse borgerne. Jeg tror... Det der skal ske nu, det er at nu er der blevet ansat en kommunikationsansvarlig for +Bus, som skal ud og snakke med borgere og fortælle at der kommer en +Bus. Mange borgere ved ikke, at der er sket et skift, de ved bare, at letbanen ikke kommer og jeg tror at mange ikke tror at der kommer noget andet i stedet for. Så der er en kæmpe kommunikationsopgave der. Men jeg kan sige blandt vores chauffører, som også er vigtig her ved os, de er meget begejstret for det, og de var også meget begejstret for letbanen, så det har ikke ændret sig. De er begejstret for at man gør noget for den kollektive trafik. Men ude blandt borgerne, der tror jeg bare mange borgere ved ikke hvad der sker.

II (28:09): Igen, det er så lidt et kommune-spørgsmål, men tænker du, at hvad hedder sådan noget, at kommunikationen bliver lige så vigtig, som vi egentlig har kunnet fornemme at den har været ift. letbanen, fordi der var jo ikke nogen, der ikke vidste at Aalborg skulle have en letbane?

M (28:19): Det er præcis lige så vigtigt, og igen den bliver nok nærmest vigtigere. Og der bliver også allerede talt om nu, hvad er det man kan gøre, for at komme ud og vise borgerne ud i byrummet, at der kommer en +Bus. Altså det eneste der er lige nu, det er jo den der mug-up der står nede ved Haraldslund. Men der kommer meget mere af det. De har også... Vi har sørget for at søge en masse penge ind til kommunikation i bevilling fra Trafikstyrelsen, fordi at det er bare så afgørende. Folk skal vide hvad der foregår. Og vi snakker også omkring det her med, hvad skal den hedde. Nu hedder den +Bussen, det er bare en projekttitel, måske det faktisk er noget man burde lægge op til borgerne, hvad skal den hedde? Vi arbejder ved NT, med noget der hedder... Vi vil jo gerne lave et servicedesign sådan at det bliver enkelt og let at for folk at forholde sig til +Bussen. Rent visuelt hvordan skal den se ud osv. Samarbejde med Aalborg Kommune ikke, men også i forhold til, hvordan vores andre busser ser ud. Sådan at man får sådan en helhedstanke, sådan man kan se og genkende alle, og at det bliver let at bruge. Det er ikke sådan du skal stå og tænke: "Den her bus, den er så blå, betyder det så, at jeg ikke kan bruge den samme billet i den der er rød eller?" Men det er bare... Men der skal bare så få ting til før folk giver op. Men jeg vil sige, at kommunikation er næsten endnu mere vigtigt end den var før.

I (29:35): Men I arbejder så også tæt sammen med Aalborg Kommune omkring den kommunikation eller hvordan?

M (29:39): Ja, det gør vi. Det gør vi. Vi arbejder generelt tæt sammen med dem om det hele, fordi vi har sådan rent organisatorisk sådan nogle koordineringsgruppe. Vi har både en styringsgruppe, hvor der sidder nogle direktør-hoveder med, og der er også en politisk styregruppe, hvor vi også har repræsentation fra vores bestyrelsesformand Nuuradiin, som jo også, ja. Så på alle niveauer arbejder vi tæt sammen både i praksis, jeg arbejder tæt sammen med Anne og Jesper, som er Aalborg Kommune, og Jan, det gør jeg jo på daglig base, snakker jeg med dem. Og det gør de jo også oppe i de øvre lag, så jo det er bestemt et projekt vi arbejder tæt sammen om.

I (30:18): Så har vi lige et sidste spørgsmål, det er egentlig bare lidt omkring, hvor langt I ved NT er i processen i dag, og hvad er det næste der skal ske med hensyn til +Bussen?

M (30:28): Jamen ved os... Det der ligger på vores bord lige nu, det er vi er ved at få fundet ud af hvad er det for nogle busser der skal ud at køre, det er jo en kæmpe del, fordi det er jo ret spændende, hvordan de visuelt skal se ud, hvad skal de kunne og hvad for nogle... Det er jo sådan, at man gerne vil have noget der er grønt og driftsikkert, logisk nok. Og grønt, der er jo så mange teknologier der er i spil lige nu, men det er jo også vigtigt, at det er driftsikkert. Det dur jo ikke, at det er noget nogen lige har opfundet, og så bryder det sammen hvert 5. minut. Det dur jo ikke, det kan vi jo ikke... Så det er rigtig spændende lige nu. Nu står vi overfor at få afdækket, hvad er det egentligt på markedet materielt, hvad er det for nogle busser, kan de køre på el? Hvor lange kan de være, hvis de skal køre på el osv osv osv? Så det er virkelig en spændende opgave. Og der arbejder vi jo rigtig tæt sammen med Aalborg Kommune, fordi vi skal også have nogle busser, der passer sammen med det tracé de laver, sådan at det hele bare spiller maks. Det gode ved, eller det med letbanen det var, at når man lavet nogle så køber man logisk set tit en transportpakke, hvor tog og skinner bliver leveret på en gang. Så er det igen nærmest endnu mere vigtigt at vi får arbejdet sammen og får koordineret. Og det er jo også tæt samarbejde med Aalborg Kommune. Så her hen over sommeren, der er vi ved at få afdækket, hvad er det egentligt for nogle busser der er derude, og hvad er det for nogle operatører. De skal jo købe de her busser og drive dem. Hvem kunne tænke sig at byde ind. Vi kunne jo rigtig godt tænke os, at der er mange der har interesse i det her, så vi får nogle fede busser, og får en god ny operatør indover. Så udbuddet der er i 19. Så i starten af 19, der udbyder man alle de her bybusser, og så går der jo... Ja, det er både +Busser og bybusser, og man kan sige, ift. det her med det grønne, det her med, hvad er det for nogle drivmidler er det, man skal køre på, så kigger man også rigtig meget på: Jamen en ting er, at +Bussen har en grøn profil, men vi vil jo rigtig gerne lave en god samlet miljøperformance for alle bybusser, så det er også i det udbud på, hvad kunne man egentlig gøre ift at gøre de mindre og kortere busser grønne? For dem til at køre på el osv. Igen for at tænke det sammen, det hele spiller jo sammen. Så det er den store opgave der står ved os lige nu kan man sige. Omdannelse af J.F. Kennedys Plads er vi jo også aktører i. Jamen alt der er relevant ovre ved Aalborg. Deres er nok meget anlægsprojektet, og vores er meget busserne, men vi er jo begge to interesseret, for de har jo indflydelse på hinanden det her.

I (33:00): Jamen jeg tror faktisk også det var det vi havde.

M (33:04): Ja, ja, men det var godt.

Appendix G

Appendix G contains the interview transcription with traffic planner Jens Mogensen from North Denmark Region, 12/04/2018 interview transcription (originally Danish)

J: Jens Mogensen

I, II: Interviewers.

J (00:03): Så synes jeg, at I skal præsentere jer selv, og det I laver, og hvad det er for et projekt, I er i gang med at lave.

I (00:09): Altså, jeg er Monica, og det her er Line, og vi er specialestuderende nu, og vi læser på den uddannelse der hedder “Urban Planning and Management”, hvor vi, med hver vores baggrund har valgt at specialisere os indenfor byplanlægning. Det vi så har valgt at skrive projekt om, det er med udgangspunkt i +Bus projektet, det er vores case for projektet, så vil vi rigtig gerne ind og undersøge hvordan, det var også det vi skrev til dig, den historiefortælling omkring +Bussen, hvad kan den gøre for Aalborg som by, og den byforståelse der skal skabes, og den rolle +Bussen vil spille ift. det i fremtiden.

J (01:00): Hvad er det for en indgangsvinkel, jeg skal lige være helt sikker. Tænker du på om +Bussen kan trække en udvikling eller om fortællingen af udviklingen kan trække en +Bus?

I (01:13): Den anden vej, den fortællingen af +Bussen, i hvilket omfang går den ind og påvirker det bybillede vi har i dag. I hvilket omfang kan den [fortællingen] gøre noget for investorer, for at tiltrække sådan set også borgere osv. Fordi man får lagt en værdi til den her +Bus, som noget udover det daglige busnetværk der findes i dag.

J (01:38): Set fra mit synspunkt, hvor jeg sidder og planlægger infrastruktur og kollektiv trafik strukturer, der har fortællingen jo næsten været det modsatte. Det har været et argument for +Bussen, at den har kunne trække en udvikling i bybilledet.

I (01:52): Lige præcis. Men ja, det er lidt den her forståelse af hvad +Bussen kommer til at kunne gøre for Aalborg by og regionen i et større perspektiv, som vi meget gerne vil ind og kigge nærmere på. Det er udgangspunktet for det, og så vil vi gerne snakke med nogle forskellige mennesker for at forstå ... Nu har vi snakket med Anne Juel inde fra kommunen, nu dig, og så skal vi snakke med Mette Olesen i morgen, for at få nogle forskellige perspektiver på det.

J (02:24): Altså det her +Bus projekt, det er jo mest et Aalborg projekt, da det er lokal trafik i Aalborg, og derfor er det Aalborg der har fat i den lange ende af torvet. Set fra regionens synspunkt, så er vi interesseret i +Bus projektet fordi vi vil sikre en god kollektiv trafikbetjening af det nye supersygehus, som vi bygger ude i enden, som endestation af +Buslinjen. Vores valg var om vi skulle til at lægge nogle af de regionale linjer om, til at betjene det nye supersygehus, eller hvordan vi får lavet en god betjening af det. Og som et alternativ til det, har vi kunnet se, at vi har kunne gå ind i det her

projekt, og så lave en god forbindelse fra busterminalen, og stationen, for folk der kommer udefra, og på den måde en hurtig og direkte forbindelse ud til sygehuset. Derfor ser vi det som et regionalt kollektiv projekt også, og det er derfor vi er med finansierer på det også. Hele fortællingen om, at en +Bus også kan trække byudvikling, det er mere en fortælling, som er kommet fra Aalborg Kommune, som vi har betragtet som et faktum, noget de kommer og siger. Det er ikke noget vi selv har analyseret, og været inde at se på. Det har heller ikke været en argument for regionen, for at gå ind i det, kan man sige. Regionen er selvfølgelig altid interesseret i at skabe erhvervsudvikling og udvikling generelt af hele regionen, men det er meget Aalborg Kommune der har det her fokus med at få udviklet Aalborg. Den der banan i gennem byen langs vækst korridoren i gennem Aalborg. Så det har egentligt mere været en af de forudsætninger der lå i det for os, og så det så også giver en udvikling i Aalborg, det er så godt for Aalborg Kommune.

I (03:55) Så hvad siger du, regionens rolle i hele det her +Bus projekt er?

J (04:00): Helt praktisk har vi jo deltaget i noget af forarbejdet og det politiske forarbejde og dialogen i forhold til ministeriet og dem der skal være med til finansieringen i det. VI har så også, som nummer 2, har vi indgået i planlægningsarbejdet og egentligt meget konkret i linjeføringen og udformningen af den osv. og deltaget i en arbejdsgruppe der. Og i en styregruppe der så har siddet og styret hele projektet også. Og som den tredje del af det, fordi vi har en interesse i at få en god betjening af vores supersygehus, og fordi vi forventer, at en god +Bus kan gøre, at vi ikke er nødt til at udvide på andre områder, så vi er medfinansierende i +Bussen også. Det ligger ikke helt klart i hvilket omfang, men vi har givet tilsagn. Dengang vi snakkede letbane, da var det 50 millioner til etableringen af infrastrukturen, vi ville give. Her i +Bus projektet, der er omkostningerne jo helt anderledes, så der forventer vi at det bliver omkring 15 millioner, som vi kommer til at give. I sin grundlæggende form, så er det som tilskud til at få etableret systemet. Det kan godt ske, at det af sådan bogføringsmæssige årsager, at det måske bliver ændret til at det måske er et løbende driftstilskud eller sådan noget. Det er faktisk ikke helt afklaret endnu. Men økonomisk, så er vi med på cirka 15 millioner til +Bus systemet, fordi det giver os nogle tilsvarende besparelser andre steder i systemet. Og det skal også siges, at det tracé der bliver ind igennem byen, i det omfang det ville kunne benyttes af regionalbusser, der vil det kunne give en bedre fremkommelighed for regionalbusserne. De minutter, de vil spare på regionaltrafikken er en fordel for kunderne, men det er også en økonomisk besparelse.

I (05:37): Hvordan ser du, at det hænger sammen med at det kan spare minutter på den regionale?

J (05:41): Det er jo fordi at der kommer tracé hele vejen ind igennem, og hvis regionalbusserne kan køre i det tracé, så er fremkommeligheden bedre end hvis de skal køre sammen med privatbilerne.

I (05:50): Helt sikkert. Kan vi helt overordnet få dig til at beskrive +Bus projektet?

J (05:58): Ja. +Bus projektet det er en hurtig kollektiv trafikforbindelse igennem Aalborg, som går fra nogle meget tæt befolkede områder ude i Vestbyen, hvor der også bor en helt del studerende, og andre typer der har brug for kollektiv trafik, så kører den igennem centrum, hvor der er meget handel, og mange andre rejsemål, og især i centrum der er der jo både busterminalen og stationen, hvor vi kobler op på resten af den kollektive trafik, og så kører den ud igennem Øgadekvarteret, hvor der også er tæt beboet og dermed behov for meget kollektiv trafik fra, og så kommer den ud i området her, i

Østbyen, hvor vi har universitetet, hvor regionshuset, hvor vi har supersygehuset, og en række andre arbejdspladser, så der er mange der skal transporteres i den her retning alligevel, faktisk rigtig mange folk der skal transporteres i den her akse. Det kan vi jo se på busbetjeningen nu, at det kniber meget med at få indsat nok busser, og på et eller andet tidspunkt er det ikke længere rationelt at indsætte flere busser i hælene af hinanden, så må man indsætte nogle større busser ind, og hvis man skulle blive ved med bare at sætte flere af de 13,7 meter busser ind, som vi gør i øjeblikket, så vil det også øge trængslen. Her skaber vi så noget der kører i eget tracé, det vil sige, vi får noget, som kan komme hurtigt frem. Det betyder også, at vi kan få en større kapacitet på, så dem der bruger det, kan få en kortere køretid ved det egent tracé, og bedre fremkommelighed, og vi kan få en bedre kapacitet på det også. Man kan så sige: "vil det så ikke gå ud over privatbilisterne på strækningen?" Jo, det vil det jo nok, og i den samfundsøkonomiske beregning der er lavet omkring det, der er det blevet beregnet som det har trukket ned på det på rentabiliteten af systemet, at der er nogle der får nogle længere køretider. Men faktisk, så er det jo også noget af det man ville opnå. Man vil jo opnå at få bilerne ud af byen, og så få nogle flere over i kollektiv trafik, så man kan også se det som et middel i stedet for. Det er både en del i trængsel, men det er også en del i den der miljømæssige del, med at få flyttet nogle flere over på rigtige transportformer end privatbilerne. Derfor var letbanen jo oplagt, fordi den kørte på el, om vi så kan få en +Bus der også kører på el, det må vi så se. Det kan godt ske, at vi lige er et par år for tidligt ude, til at det kan lade sig gøre, men det ville være det optimale, hvis man kunne få det. Under alle omstændigheder, så har byrådet jo bestemt at det skal være en grøn løsning der skal køre kører.

I (08:24): ift. at valget ligger fra Væddeløbsbanen og ud til det kommende Supersygehus, hvorfor er det lige præcis den strækning der er valgt at køre på.

J (08:34): Jamen, det synes jeg, at jeg har fortalt lidt. Det er jo fordi du har den tætte bebyggelse ude i Vestbyen, hvor der bor mange. Selvfølgelig kunne Aalborg Kommune have valgt andre akser, at lave det på, og på et eller andet tidspunkt, der bliver der nok også nogle andre +Busser, som kører i andre retninger, det kunne jeg da forestille mig. Det der har været det centrale for regionen, det er den forbindelse fra centrum med busterminalen og så togstationen, og så ud til sygehuset. Hvis den strækning ikke havde været med, så havde vi heller ikke været så meget interesseret i at være med, eller så havde vi ikke været med i projektet formentligt. Strækningen fra midtbyen, og så ud vestpå, det er mest Aalborg Kommunes valg, der siger at det er Vestbyen i stedet for at køre over Limfjordsbroen og så op til Nørresundby. Selvfølgelig hænger det så også lidt sammen med infrastrukturen, udover at det er det rigtige valg at køre Vestbyen, hvis man så skulle betjene Nørresund, så ville det muligvis kræve at man tog det ene spor på Limfjordsbroen i begge retninger, og det kan man ikke gøre i øjeblikket, før vi får den tredje Limfjordsforbindelse.

I (09:29): Ift. Aalborg har brug for en ny mobilitetsløsning, hvad er din holdning så til, at løsningen bliver en +Bus?

J (09:40): Jamen det skal jeg ikke lægge skjul på, det har jeg faktisk sagt det meste af tiden, hvis det kun er som en transportmaskine, så vil letbanen være for dyr en løsning. Men jeg synes det var et godt valg fordi det trækker en del af det der byudvikling, som I snakker om, altså letbanen vil trække den byudvikling. Det kan man jo se fra andre byer. Måske er det en lille smule irrationelt fordi bustransport kan være lige så godt, men der er

en eller anden skinneeffekt, der giver en udvikling på den måde. Det hænger muligvis sammen med, at når man etablerer en letbane, så ved man også at den ligger der, og den bliver liggende, for den bliver ikke sådan lige flyttet frem og tilbage osv. Men som transportmodel, så er den dyr. Når man så vælger +Bussen som løsning i stedet for, så får man en løsning hvor man kan så samme kapacitet, for en meget mindre investering. Og du kan måske ovenikøbet et bedre system ved at du kan køre med måske lidt mindre enheder og så køre en hyppigere drift, og det er jo nok for publikummet bedre med meget hyppig drift end de store enheder. Så trafikmæssigt set så er det et godt valg. Nu er der så mange der går og siger, at den vil have samme effekt som en letbane, men det tror jeg er fordi man tilpasser argumenterne til virkeligheden i stedet for. Hvis det er virkeligheden, så kunne man jo have gået efter en +Bus fra starten af i stedet for.

I (11:18): Hvad ser du så ... Nu kommer letbanen med skinneeffekten, hvad ser du, at +Bussen kan klare ift. de almindelige bybusser vi har i dag. Altså er det en større bus der kører med større passagemængder.

J (11:31): Ja, og så kører den hurtigere frem. Det der er det centrale i det her, det er i høj grad om Aalborg Kommunes politikere tør at holde fast i konceptet. For hvis du laver en letbane, så skal der lægges skinner, det er der ikke så meget tvivl om, så skal man også få nogle af bilerne væk fra tracé for at man kan køre der og så får du den hurtige transport frem og tilbage. Man kan gøre nøjagtigt det samme med +Busser, men skal bare være villig til at holde fast i det. Det vil sige, at politikerne skal være villige til at holde fast at man laver et tracé, hvor der kun kører de her +Busser i, og at bilerne dermed får de gener nu en gang får. Hvis man holder fast i det, så kan man lave nogle busser, som kører lige så hurtigt som letbanen ville have gjort, og kunne man så de her 24 meters busser, så har de alligevel en meget større kapacitet end man ser på almindelige busser. Eller for den sags skyld, så kunne man også gå ned på 18 meter busser, og så sætte nogle flere busser ind, så man får en mere hyppig frekvens. Men det hænger meget sammen med, om man tør holde fast i konceptet og sige, at vi skal prioritere den kollektive trafik overfor nogle andre transportformer.

I (12:32): Hvor meget af ruten kommer bussen egentligt til at køre i selvstændige baner?

J (12:38): Det hænger netop sammen med, hvad politikernes mod er, vil jeg sige. Nu hvor letbanen skulle køre i eget tracé næsten hele vejen, så snakker man allerede nu om, at I dele af Vestbyen, der kommer den til at køre i blandet trafik sammen med privatbilerne, mere end hvad letbanen ville have gjort. Men i hvert fald fra centrum, den gamle middelalderby, og så helt ud til universitetshospitalet, der vil den køre i eget tracé.

II (13:05) Så det er sådan den største differentiering, det er det her med at den får sit eget tracé. Der er ikke så meget teknisk ellers?

J (13:12): Nej, fordi jeg synes, når den har sit eget tracé, så har den fremkommeligheden, og så har du også rejsehastigheden som bliver mindre. Hvis du er uden for myldretiden, så får du bare, i anførselstegn, en lavere rejsehastighed, det gør du selvfølgelig ikke, rejsehastigheden bliver større, men transporttiden bliver mindre. Hvis det er uden for myldretiden, så får du bare en lidt kortere transporttid. Hvis det er i myldretiden, så slipper du for alle de situationer, hvor busserne går helt i stå og du pludselig får en meget lang transporttid, fordi du har hele tiden det flow igennem. Og det med, at man kan være sikker på, at man kan komme hurtigt frem, det mener jeg altså er til så stor nytte for passagererne, det vil trække flere passagerer til, det vil give en god transportløsning. Så er der sådan nogle miljø ting, som vi har været inde på, som at den

kommer over på el eller andre, så ville det også være at foretrække frem for diesel. Nu er de dieselbusser som vi kører med her i Aalborg faktisk ret rent, hvis man kigger på, hvordan udviklingen har været de sidste 15 år, så er det jo en meget meget marginal del af udledningen der er tilbage i busserne, men der er stadigvæk udledning, og der er stadigvæk CO₂ udledning primært. Og kan man på en eller anden måde komme ud over partikeludledningen og CO₂ udledningen ved at anvende nogle andre typer køretøjer, så er det helt klart også en fordel.

II (14:33): Tror du også at en grøn løsning er med til at tiltrække passagerer?

J (14:36): Jeg tror, hvis du spørger passagererne om de foretrækker en grøn løsning eller ej, så vil de helt klart sige, at de foretrækker en grøn løsning. Når de så står og skal hjemmefra, så vil de tage den bus eller det transportmiddel der passer bedst i den givne situation. Der er ikke nogle der sælger deres bil for at køre med en grøn bus i stedet.

I (14:55): Også i forhold til netop det, hvad fornemmer du, at den offentlige holdning er til at vi i Aalborg skal have en +Bus? Er det noget i har en fornemmelse omkring?

J (15:05): Det er nok også mere Aalborg Kommune der skal snakke om det, men det kommer an på hvad tidsrum i projektet du er. Jeg tror når du er tidligt i projektforløbet, så synes folk det er meget spændende, at vi skal til at have sådan noget, og så vil der altid være nogle skeptikere der siger, "jamen skal vi virkelig bruge penge på kollektiv trafik, og så mange penge på sådan noget?" og det er en stor investering og sådan noget. Og ja, det er en stor investering, det er i det hele taget en stor investering at drive et samfund. Sådan er det i den første fase. Når man så kommer ind i implementeringsfasen, hvor der bliver vejarbejde, og folk i lange perioder skal køre omveje fordi vejen er gravet op, eller fordi de opdager "jamen, hov, nu kan jeg ikke dreje til venstre her, nu skal jeg til at dreje til højre og for eftertiden", så vil de blive lidt irriteret over det. Og er måske også når den så bliver sat i drift, at de ser hvad konsekvenserne er og at den ligger i vejen der. Så tror jeg så også, når der så er gået egentligt ret få år, måske to år eller noget tilsvarende, det er jo en kort periode når man snakker kollektiv trafik, når der er gået sådan en periode der, så har folk vænnet sig til at det er den måde man kører rundt i byen på, og så vil de se det som en stor styrke, at vi har en hurtig forbindelse frem og tilbage. Hvis du så spørger sådan bredt ud i byen, så vil svarene jo være efter om man har brug for den eller ej. Den der bor i Hasseris og kører i bil i den anden retning, de vil jo indifferente, men jeg kunne godt forestille mig, at dem der bor ude i Vestbyen og går på universitetet f.eks. de synes det er perfekt at kunne springe på derude, og så være ude på universitetet ret kort tid derefter.

I (16:39): Hvad med ift. skiftet fra letbanen til +Bussen, både borger mæssigt, men også investorer? Har i oplevet, at der har været en skiftende holdning?

J (16:52): Der er det igen Aalborg Kommune, du skal snakke med om det. Det synes jeg helt klart. Men der er jo sket det, hvis man kigger på det sådan lidt ude fra, at man har italesat den der letbane som den nye løsning for Aalborg, der nu giver de her udviklingsmuligheder og meget mere end den nuværende busbetjening gør. Og så er der selvfølgelig problemet, når man skal til at lave en avanceret busbetjening, så skal man ligesom bakke lidt tilbage fra de holdninger, og der har man jo set, at der har været nogle der har været rigtig hurtig til at skifte og set lyset i at køre +Bus. Det er lidt det der med, "hvis man ikke kan få den man elsker, så må man elske den man får". Og jeg vil også sige, at det bliver en god løsning vi får i Aalborg. Det er ikke en letbane, men det er en god løsning. Og så spurgte du efter ... var det borgere også?

I (17:36): ja

J (17:38): Det har måske ikke været så meget fremme i borgernes bevidsthed, for de har ikke rigtig kunne se, hvad er der for nogle fordele ved letbanen, de har ikke prøvet det endnu. Og nu snakker folk ikke længere om letbane, nu snakker for i stedet om +Bus. Det har ikke været tæt nok på borgerne, til at det har medført nogen reaktioner, synes jeg.

I (17:57): Det er måske også svært, det her med den tekniske løsning, om de egentligt har en holdning til om det ene eller det andet er bedst for dem.

J (18:02): Præcis.

I (18:03): Så i forhold til jeres overordnede visioner omkring den trafikale fremkommelighed i regionen, hvordan ser du at +Bussen spiller ind ift. den? Nu har vi snakket en del om det her til at starte med. Ser I at, hvis vi nu lige skal snakke letbane/+Bus igen, ser I så at +Bussen ift til trafikale fremkommelighed ift. regionen, som letbanen ville kunne gøre?

J (18:35): Jamen, det tror jeg. Vi har kortlagt fremkommeligheden i regionen her for nyligt i et større projekt, og det viser sig, at det eneste sted, hvor der sådan rigtigt er fremkommelighedsproblemer det er jo på det overordnede vejnet i Aalborg i centrum af Aalborg, og så er det på motorvejsstrækningerne omkring Aalborg og især i tunlen. Og lige præcis inde i Aalborg der ville sådan et +Busprojekt være med til at lette noget af trafikpresset. Jeg ved så ikke om det er et formål i sig selv at lette trafikpresset, det var også det vi snakkede før, det er måske også et formål, egentligt at få skiftet nogle overfra biler til kollektiv trafik. Men jeg mener helt klart, at +Bussystemet vil kunne løfte opgaven fra centrum og ud til universitetet og fra universitetet og ud til universitetshospitalet, og den har den fordel, at den er mere skalerbar end letbanesystemet er, fordi man kan ikke sådan bare lige købe nyt letbanetog. Hvis det her bliver en rigtig stor succes, så er det ikke så bugt mæssigt at købe 3 eller 4 +Busser mere som kan sættes ind på strækningen.

I (19:42): Så der er en styrke i den fleksibilitet der ligger i +Busprojektet?

J (19:46): Jamen det synes jeg faktisk på fleksibiliteten. Du ved godt, alting er balancer her i livet, men på fleksibiliteten synes jeg det er en fordel. Det vi har snakket om tidligere med at kunne øge frekvensen, og du kan også indsætte flere, altså generelt set, hvis kapacitetsbehovet bliver større. Det giver en fleksibilitet, som ville have blevet svær at få ved letbanen. Omvendt i en eller anden teoretisk situation, hvor Aalborg pludselig mangler mange penge, eller et eller andet, så ville det også kunne være en mulighed at nedlægge systemet, eller skalerer systemet meget ned igen. Det ville være meget sværere i et letbanesystem, hvor skinnerne ligger der og togene er kørt, og ikke rigtig kan bruges til andet. Busserne er forholdsvis billige ift. letbanetog, og skal de ikke anvendes, så kan de sælges til et andet sted, og kan de ikke sælges, så kan de skrottes. Når du først har købt nogle letbanetog, så skal nu også køre når de først står der. Så sikkerheden for en fortsat drift er måske større i et letbane- end i et +Bussystem. Men jeg vil sige, med den udvikling i trængsel og miljøproblemer som der er i øjeblikket, så er det overhovedet ikke et scenarie, som jeg synes er relevant.

I (20:56): Vi er faktisk ved at nå til det sidste spørgsmål allerede. Hvor er I henne i processen i dag, og hvad er det næste der skal ske?

J (21:04): Jamen, prøv at snakke med Aalborg Kommune igen.

I (21:09): Men så I jeres perspektiv, for jer i Regionen?

J (21:11): Jamen for os, så er vi nået så langt, at vi har været med i detailplanlægningen om hvordan det skal gennemføres derude, og vi er nået frem til et resultat, som vi er rigtig godt tilfredse med. Omkring finansieringen, der har vi jo næsten aftalen med Aalborg Kommune på plads, og rent budgetmæssigt, der har vi afsat penge til at være med i medfinansieringen af det, så for os at se, så er det egentligt mest et spørgsmål om at få det implementeret. Og selvfølgelig vil vi gerne være med i implementeringen også, og måske smide nogle kommentar ind om, hvad vi synes kunne være en god teknisk løsning på f.eks. drivmidlerne, men egentligt er det Aalborg Kommune der skal have implementeret noget, og have noget ud at køre nu. Der kan så lige være noget konkret omkring noget ude på sygehuset, hvor der jo skal anlægges et tracé derude og vi skal være sikre på hvordan betjeningen skal være, så vi har en løbende dialog der. Men på resten af banen, der synes vi egentligt, at nu må vi gå over i en implementeringsfase.

I (22:05): Nu, lige på baggrund af det du siger nu, i forhold til den gruppe, som man tænker, at +Bussen, altså den gruppe af borgere, man tænker +Bussen vil henvende sig til, ser du den ændrer sig efter man får implementeret en +Bus i forhold til det bybussystem, som vi har i dag?

J (22:21): Nej, men jeg ser, at det ændrer sig i forhold til, at vi får implementeret et supersygehus. For der vil pludseligt komme rigtig mange patienter som skal der ud, og der kommer også rigtig meget personale. Det er jo altså... Tag det lige med forbehold, men jeg mener det er omkring 6000 eller sådan noget, alene i personale der kommer til at arbejde, og kommer til at få et eller andet transportbehov, og hvis 20 % af den bruger kollektiv trafik, og 10 % af den skal fra centrum og ud, så er der mange der skal flyttes.

I (22:48): Så det er mere en en forøgelse af mængden af passagerer i stedet for det er en ny gruppe af passagerer der forventes at bruge det her transportsystem?

J (22:56): I hvert fald, så bliver det et behov fra nogle nye passager grupper, som vi ikke har set tidligere i forbindelse med udbygningen af sygehuset. Og det vil jo være generelt. Når vi udbygger hele området herude, hvis der kommer private erhvervsvirksomheder, og hvad der i øvrigt sker, så vil grundlaget, og dermed behovet jo stige. Og hvis man bor ude i Vestbyen eller et andet sted, forholdsvis tæt på den her akse, så vil man jo lækkert, at kunne tage sådan en direkte system igennem byen i stedet for at skulle køre i bil. Bilhastigheden fra Hasseris og herud ligger på niveau med cykel (-). Hvis du så har en bus i eget tracé, så vil det kunne gøres en hel del hurtigere. Så ved jeg i øvrigt ikke hvad du mener med andre målgrupper, om vi begynder at få nogle gamle mennesker ind, der ikke har været der tidligere? Den slags effekter, tror jeg ikke der vil være, så forskelligt er det heller ikke fra et bussystem, og det ville en letbane heller ikke have været.

I (23:52): Man kan sige, som 2'eren kører i dag f.eks. der ser man jo et hav af studerende og unge mennesker der skal fragtes til universitetet, og jeg kunne sådan ret antagelsesmæssigt antage at der var nogle der blev skræmt lidt væk af at skulle ud og køre i morgentrafikken med så mange unge mennesker, hvis man f.eks. er dårligt gående, eller noget i den stil, eller man synes det er utiltrækkende at man ved at man skal stå op i en bus, fordi man ved at den er så overfyldt. Om +Bussen vil kunne være med til at skabe et andet grundlag, en anden attraktivitet for nogle andre grupper, som nødvendigvis ikke skal have den billigste løsning hver gang, som de studerende måske har en tendens til at hoppe med på?

J (24:26): Øhm. Som det er i øjeblikket nu, så har du ret i, at der er rigtig mange studerende, der skal den vej, og det betyder, at der er rigtig mange af busserne der er

meget fyldte. Da Aalborg Kommune har været rigtig gode til at sætte flere og flere busser ind, er det 20 afgangene der er på 2'eren i den der spidstime om morgenen, det er jo helt vildt ikke også. Hvis man ikke havde kunnet klare at følge med kapaciteten, så tror jeg godt du kunne have ret i, så var der måske nogle ældre mennesker, der ville have valgt at rejse senere på dagen, når der var bedre plads i systemet. Så hvis vi forudsætter et scenarie, hvor Aalborg Kommune, hvor Aalborg Kommune ikke havde været i stand til at sætte her, men skiftet over til et +Bussystem med meget plads i, så kunne det godt tænkes, at de ville komme tilbage igen. Men i det omfang kommunen er i stand til at sætte dubleringsbusser nok ind, sådan at trængslen ikke gør, at man bliver sprunget over mange gange, jeg ved godt at det kan ske, at der er en enkelt bus der kører forbi, ikke også, men det skal ikke være kutyme at man bliver sprunget over, for så finder folk andre rejsemuligheder. Så jeg tror ikke der er ret meget der.

I (25:29) Men jeg tror sådan set, at vi har været igennem, det var fornemt. Det var rart lige at få nogle ord på det hele.

II (25:35): Og fra en lidt anden vinkel, så det er super.