"So... has someone stolen your bike yet?"
Urban regeneration in Denmark's 'hard ghettos':
The case of Gellerupparken

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Preface

This project takes a point of departure in the contemporary context of the recently released ghetto plan by the Danish government. With some similarity to Simonsen (2016), it is argued that by referring to marginalized social housing areas as ghettos, the government creates an antagonistic anti-identity to the Danish society. It creates a discursive construction of the ghetto in opposition to the Danish society's identity and precludes the possibility of the so-called ghetto's integration into society (ibid.). The ghetto plan creates an 'us versus them' mentality where the ghetto is seen as a threat to Danish culture and cohesion (ibid.). With some similarity to Larsen (2012), it is argued that the mere choice of defining a social housing area as a ghetto is questionable, since the internationally established definitions of what constitutes a ghetto, does not reflect the Danish social housing areas due to their heterogeneity.

As spatial professionals we find it crucial to unpack the spatial situation of these areas, in order to understand them better while also demonstrating how the current political discourse, and the terms used in it, are unfounded. We have worked with deprived social housing areas in our internships prior to the thesis, and found that many of the potentials of these areas were downplayed in the discourse of them, while their challenges were exacerbated and focused heavily on. We chose Gellerupparken as our case, as the area is five years ahead of other social housing areas targeted by the ghetto plan in terms of regeneration. Gellerupparken has already gone through several development projects and the first projects were finished in the start of 2019, which provided the opportunity to study the possible effects of the regeneration. Gellerupparken was also chosen due to its close proximity, which allowed us to visit the area often for our fieldwork, and to revisit the site easily, if needed be.

We disagree with the government's use of the word 'ghetto' in any form, and are against the ghetto plan and likewise the ghetto list. Albeit disagreeing upon the terms used, the writers of this thesis do not abstain from using them, since the project takes place in an area affected by the ghetto plan and the ghetto list. This necessitates consideration for the terms used about the area. When terms such as 'deprived neighbourhood', 'ghetto', 'hard ghetto', and 'resourceful citizens' are used in this thesis, they will be used as a reference to what the government deems it to be, not what it is de facto. The different terms used to define these areas lack specifications and justification for what makes them a ghetto, as well as a hard ghetto. This will be expanded further upon in chapter three.

Abstract

The revitalization of post-war social housing areas has been the subject of sustained academic and policy interest across Europe and beyond. What is common amongst these areas are experiences of socioeconomic unevenness and as a consequence stigmatization. Attempts to address these effects through redevelopment by spatial practitioners have been shown to exasperated social problems by focusing on solving the symptoms of the socioeconomic unevenness rather than addressing their causes.

In the spring of 2018, the Danish government released an anti-ghettoization policy called 'The ghetto plan' aimed at drastically changing social housing areas referred to as 'parallel societies', which subsequently affects the lives of the residents. The policy expands on the pre-existing ghetto list, which ranks social housing areas as 'deprived neighbourhoods', 'ghettos' and 'hard ghettos', ultimately stigmatizes the area and its residents.

The thesis critically explores the advancement of anti-ghettoization policies in Denmark and the impact that they have on social housing areas, which ultimately facilitate their redevelopment and gentrification. The redevelopment and gentrification causes numerous problems for the residents of these areas. The thesis investigates the experiences of residents affected by the policy construct, in order to identify ways of alleviating challenges imposed upon them through a design strategy.

The focus of the thesis is on the social housing area; Gellerupparken. Literature research, local interviews and local mappings were performed to create a sound basis for identifying challenges and potentials of the area. Social and spatial locally bound challenges were uncovered during the thesis, along with numerous potentials for improving the area. The final design strategy proposes a strategic framework that addresses the most critical challenges, and strengthens the potentials found. The purpose of the framework is for the residents to use it as a lobby document to stimulate an alternative approach to the redevelopment of the area, which can assist strategic actors and decision makers in the short and long-term, by highlighting what the residents deem to be of vital importance. It also serves to put forward suggestions to decision makers, about how more localised and sensitive practices of regeneration could suitably benefit the existing uses and qualities of the area.

Keywords

Gellerupparken, deprived neighbourhood, ghetto, social housing, regeneration, stigmatization, gentrification, displacement, social mixing, temporary, social capital, urban design.

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Introduction

1.1 Context of the study

Urban regeneration projects have be taking place across the world for years, with different underlying philosophies and histories (Johansen & Jensen, 2017). This can be seen across much of the developed world with the dismantling of social housing in the US during the 1980s and 1990s (ibid.) and the urban renewal programs in Holland during the 1990s (Abdou, 2017) as examples. Urban regeneration projects have spread as dreams of a clean and orderly city and have inspired countless political projects (Johansen & Jensen, 2018). The approach to urban regeneration in Denmark have been more extreme than most other places as the state have been able to expend huge resources on targeted problem areas which have been felt by the residents living there (ibid.).

The first hint of anti-ghettoization strategies in Denmark began in 1999 with the first integration act (Johansen & Jensen, 2018), and have been an important part of political discourse ever since. With a change from a centre-left to centre-right government in 2001, the discourse saw a shift from integration towards anti-ghettoization, and the first formulated anti-ghettoization strategies were soon introduced in 2004. At this time the strategies were still in line with the non-discriminatory foundation of Danish policy, with a focus on class indicators (ibid.).

The next larger step came in 2010 when 'the ghetto' came to the forefront in Danish political discussion (Simonsen, 2016). A definition of the word ghetto was created, and a list of 29 'especially deprived' social housing areas were listed based on three criteria; amount of convicted residents, amount of non-western immigrants and descendants and amount of residents without a job or education (Ministry of Transport, Building, and Housing, 2010). These 29 areas were listed as they met at least two of the three criteria. If any social housing area ended up meeting two of these criteria, then they would end up on the list as well.

Over the years the ghetto list changed, both in terms of the areas on the list and in terms of the criteria. Some areas have been removed from the list and some have been added. More criteria were added throughout the years as it is now a total of five. Some of the parameters for the criteria have also been changed. On the evening of the last day of 2017, the prime minister addressed the Danish people through his yearly speech.

He announced that the government had decided that there would be no more ghettos in Denmark by 2030. The government released a 40 page document the following day called 'The ghetto plan', which outlined how the government enforces municipalities and housing associations to physically change the ghettos, mainly through demolitions. And if they refused to do so, or if the required percentage of social family housing by 2030 were not met, then the government would take over and see it through (Regeringen, 2018).

Gellerupparken, was one of the residential areas on the first ghetto list, and has stayed on the list ever since. The requirements of physical changes from the government, by the release of the ghetto plan, did not affect Gellerupparken as much as other social housing areas, as plans for regenerating Gellerupparken were made 11 years before the release of the ghetto plan.

A master plan was created between Brabrand housing association, which owns Gellerupparken, and Aarhus municipality back in 2007. The aim of the master plan is to solve social problems in the community through physical changes (Johansen & Jensen, 2018). These physical changes have entailed demolitions of apartment blocks and constructing new office buildings, single-family housing and infrastructure to open up the area. The master plan was updated in 2011 detailing what apartment blocks would be torn down and specifically what new buildings and infrastructure that would be built.

The demolitions began in 2014 and were finished in 2018. However, when the ghetto plan was released in 2018, the plans for Gellerupparken changed. The original and already executed demolitions were no longer enough for the government, which made it necessary for the housing association to meet the demands of the government. This meant that in May 2019, the housing association were forced to agree upon demolishing nine additional apartment blocks (Aarhus Municipality & Brabrand Boligforening, 2019).

Despite positive developments in Danish social housing areas in the past few years, with the crime rate in deprived social housing areas falling steadily, the anti-ghettoization strategies against these deprived areas have increased even more (Ministry of Transport, Building, and Housing, 2010; 2018; Regeringen, 2018). The experiences of the residents affected by these policies is something that calls for further exploration, and this will be done throughout this thesis.

1.2 Aim and objectives

Research aim:

The research aims to critically explore the advancement of anti-ghettoization policies in Denmark and the impact of state-endorsed stigmatization on deprived social housing areas, which ultimately facilitate their redevelopment and gentrification. It will investigate the experiences of residents affected by the policy construct, in order to identify ways of alleviating challenges imposed upon them by realizing opportunities through design interventions, and to identify alternative ways of redeveloping these areas.

Research objectives:

1. Investigate strategies employed from 1999 until 2019 to create an understanding of the preceding development of the case study area Gellerupparken.

2. Critically assess the contemporary political ghetto plan from 2018 until 2030 of 'ghettos' in order to comprehend the conditions it affords upon the deprived residents of Gellerupparken.

3. Critically examine the different experiences of residents affected by gentrification in the deprived neighbourhood Gellerupparken.

4. Investigate ways of alleviating challenges imposed upon the residents by realizing opportunities through design interventions, aimed at improving the conditions for the current residents while avoiding further consequential stigmatization and gentrification.

5. Investigate alternative strategies to the redevelopment of Gellerupparken, and empower residents and strategic actors of Gellerupparken to lobby decision makers by suggesting more localised and sensitive practices of regeneration that could suitably benefit existing uses and qualities of the area.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The first chapter has introduced the reader to the context of the study, which lead to the research aim of the thesis, and the subsequent research objectives which frames the focus of the thesis. The second chapter presents a literature review of stigmatization, gentrification and social capital to equip the reader with a critical perspective of the current regeneration agenda targeting deprived social housing areas.

The third chapter presents a policy review of the Danish anti-ghettoization policies to understand the aims and motives behind the policies that affect deprived social housing areas and their current regeneration. A case study is then selected based upon the criterias of these policies. The policies are subsequently critiqued based on the literature review.

The fourth chapter presents the case of the study, Gellerupparken, by showcasing its geographical context followed by its history. The context of Gellerupparken today is then presented, to provide an understanding of the area and its community. The chapter ends with a presentation of the master plan for the regeneration of Gellerupparken, followed by what changes has been made in the area and what has yet to come, which is subsequently critiqued on the basis of the literature review.

The fifth chapter presents the methodological framework of the thesis based on the theoretical framework of the literature, the policy review, and the understanding of the case study. The chapter accounts for the different methodological approaches conducted throughout the thesis, in order to critically examine the different experiences of residents affected by gentrification in Gellerupparken, and to investigate ways of alleviating challenges imposed upon them.

The sixth chapter presents the results of the fieldwork. It then uncovers all of the challenges and potentials, found during the fieldwork, which affects the residents and the area. The chapter ends by highlighting and selecting the most critical challenges and potentials, which are unpacked in the following chapter.

The seventh chapter unpacks the most critical challenges and potentials highlighted in the previous chapter. The critical points of these challenges and potentials were then used to create five design parameters for the design proposal of the thesis.

The eight chapter presents the selection of site, the vision and the concept of a proposed design framework. The chapter goes on by presenting the design framework as a proposal for alleviating the critical challenges imposed upon the current residents, by realizing opportunities which subsequently improves the conditions for the current residents, while avoiding further consequential stigmatization and gentrification.

The ninth chapter concludes the thesis by evaluating upon the design framework presented in the previous chapter. This is followed by a conclusion of the study of the thesis. Lastly, limitations of the study are presented followed by recommendations for future research.
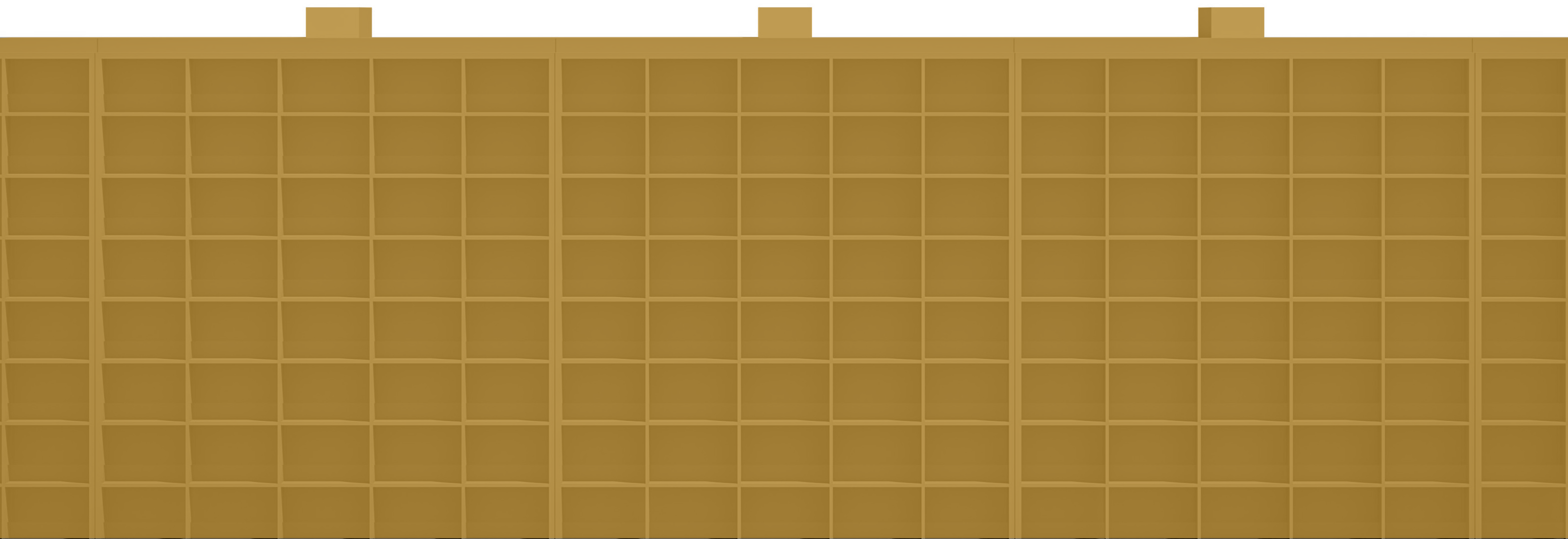
Literature review

Introduction

The review of literature is split across four key sections which include territorial stigmatization, gentrification and displacement, methods of gentrification, community and social capital, followed by a summary and conclusion. These elements were identified in order to develop a broad appreciation of existing research on the topic, as well as to identify how our thesis could contribute to existing knowledge on urban regeneration in deprived social housing areas. In doing so we identify a gap in the empirical study which will be unpacked across the review.

2.1 Territorial stigmatization

This section introduces the concept of territorial stigmatization and its consequential effect on residents of stigmatized neighbourhoods. This is used to highlight the detrimental effects of state-endorsed stigmatization policies and why they occur.

What is it and how does it affect residents?

Deprived social housing areas are affected by what Wacquant (2007) coined as 'territorial stigmatization'. The concept identifies how symbolic denigration of a neighbourhood creates a marginalized place by branding it as a tainted or dysfunctional area, which subsequently brands residents as tainted also (Horgan, 2018).

The exogenous and contextual stigmatization of a neighbourhood taints the residents and outsiders perception and discourse of the area, both socially and spatially. The narratives add a sense of fear and uncertainty about an area, while also contributing to the creation of stereotypical notions of crime, as well as cultural and religious antagonisms (Sernhede, 2011). Residents internalizes the stigmatization upon themselves, which exacerbates notions of poverty, unemployment, ethnicity as more of a problem than they actually are (cited in Larsen, 2018).

State-endorsed territorial stigmatization

Social housing areas have been stigmatized by governments and the media for decades in European countries such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Sweden and Denmark (Kearns et al., 2013; Uitermark & Sakizlioglu, 2014; Sernhede, 2011; Larsen, 2018). News outlets perpetuates the stigmatization with stories focusing on shootings, gangs, drugs, poverty and other negative aspects carried out by a select few.
This induces the negative perception and discrimination of the neighbourhood and its residents in the eyes of the outsiders and the residents living there.

Residents of stigmatized social housing areas are discriminated by denial of insurance, or being forced to pay higher premiums due to living in such an area (Larsen, 2017). They are further stigmatized and discriminated in the search for a job, and are often denied a job if they live in a stigmatized neighbourhood (ibid.). Even some food or postal services do not deliver to the area due to a fear of being attacked or robbed (ibid.).

The Danish government, for example, has been reinforcing the stigmatization of deprived neighbourhoods since 2004 when they created the first official ghetto strategy as an attempt to oppose the increasing ghettoization of certain neighborhoods. The strategy was the beginning of denigrating areas as 'ghettos' when the government listed eight social housing areas as possible 'ghettos'. The strategy was expanded upon in 2010 when the government created the official criteria that define a Danish 'ghetto', while expanding the list of possible 'ghettos' to 29 social housing areas that met these criteria. Every year since then, the government has released a new ghetto list, and expanded on the criterias in 2013, and in 2018 at the release of the ghetto plan. The ghetto plan will be presented in the following chapter.

Depicting or emphasising a neighborhood as deprived, hosting socio-cultural problems and a parallel society threatening the Danish culture, helps the government to justify policies of state-led gentrification in such neighborhoods (Sakizlioglu & Uitermark, 2014; Hochstenbach, 2015). Throughout the years, several policies have been made in an attempt to solve the challenges of immigration and integration with an arguable effectiveness. Gentrification of deprived social housing areas is the latest state-crafting tool (Larsen, 2018, p. 1147), which the government uses in an attempt at solving the current immigration, integration and ghettoization challenges.

The stigmatization does have an arguably positive outcome, as housing associations and municipalities are provided state subsidies and incentives to alleviate the socio-economic problems in the labelled deprived neighborhoods, ghettos and hard ghettos (Jensen, 2019).

To further unpack the results of state-endorsed territorial stigmatization, the following section will elaborate on gentrification and its consequences.

2.2 Gentrification & displacement

This section introduces the concepts of gentrification and displacement, as they are the fundamental issues of this thesis. The section then goes on to explain how the impact of gentrification-induced displacement is perceived by the individual, which clarifies the challenges of studying the effects of it. Following this, some of the consequences of displacement are presented to convey its significance. Lastly, the section shows what type of housing is typically associated with gentrification and why.

What is gentrification and displacement?

Gentrification has been studied for over 50 years, but still it lacks a consensus on how to define it or how to identify gentrified neighbourhoods (Hackworth, 2007; Lees et al., 2008; cited in Barton, 2016). This thesis uses Barton's (2016) definition of gentrification as; the process of raising the socioeconomic status of a neighbourhood through changes to its social character or culture. Gentrification is typically performed through urban renewal, urban revitalization or urban regeneration projects, which is currently the case of the deprived social housing areas in Denmark.

Displacement has many different definitions, as it has changed multiple times over the past decades. This thesis uses the following defintions of displacement based upon the work of Marcuse (1985), which is further expanded upon by Davidson (2008). As table 1 indicates, displacement can be caused by factors such as physical changes, economic changes, and changes of the community.

Type of displacement	Description
Marcuse's (1985) definitions	
Exclusionary displacement	Occurs when a dwelling or housing unit has been gentrified making people, who could previously afford the dwelling, ineligible to live there.
Displacement pressure	Occurs when a household sees its neighbourhood changing and feels the pressure and fear of being displaced.
Davidson's (2008) definitions	
Direct displacement	Occurs when a household is forced to move due to direct actions such as evictions, rent increase or by force.
Community displacement	Occurs when gentrifiers change neighbourhood governance and place identity.
Neighbourhood resource displacement	Occurs when neighbourhood services changes either due to a new composition of residents, or due to new competitive services. The old neighbourhood resources become 'out-of-place'.

Table 1 - Summary of definitions of displacement

The impact and consequences

It is hard to isolate and measure exactly how displacement affects people due to the subjectivity of each individual. The significance of the displacement depends on the individuals' personal characteristics such as personality, mental and physical health, social relations, satisfaction with their dwelling prior to moving, attachment to the area and whether the individual considered moving prior to the displacement (Kearns et al., 2017; Lawson et al., 2015 cited in SBi, 2018, p. 12). Furthermore, the effects of displacement depends on the individual process and how involved the individual person is during the process, how far they have to move, and whether the individual is compensated. The perceived significance of the displacement is more positive if the residents have options to choose between, and whether they have a say in choosing their new home (SBi, 2018, p. 13).

Additionally, Kearns et al. (2017) concludes from their research that relocation cannot be said to be a wholly negative or indeed entirely positive experience for those involved; on its own, it neither made nor wrecked lives (ibid., p. 21).

Despite the difficulty in measuring the effects of displacement, Mehdipanah et al. (2018) found that some of the impacts of the displacement process are short term health effects such as stress caused from the disruptions of their daily routines and their social network.

The review moves on to discuss the types of housing area most commonly associated with these practices as well as the methods used to attempt to solve what are perceived as crucial challenges.

Housing associated with gentrification

The most common type of housing associated with gentrification is social housing built in the post-world war II era. Post-war social housing has been subject to gentrification for decades, either disguised as urban regeneration or as slum clearance.

Social housing neighbourhoods were built in the post second world war era as a response to housing shortages, low quality of housing and unsafe environments in the big cities (Hochstenbach, 2017). These neighbourhoods were built in many european countries from the late 1940s to the late 1980s (ibid). Many countries built these neighbourhoods inspired by utopians views of modernist thinkers such as Le Corbusier. The new neighbourhoods were all created with a connection to nature in mind, while providing safety away from the traffic on the streets, and the dwellings should not lack anything. Most apartments were built with at least one bathroom, a kitchen, multiple rooms and balconies, which were rare at that time.

Despite the improvement in facilities, countless examples across Europe have shown these developments to be riddled with flaws, almost as soon as they were constructed (SBi, 2016). The scale of the neighbourhoods were too large consisting mainly of empty green spaces and parking lots in-between the apartment blocks. The empty spaces lacked designated functions for play and socialization. Many of the areas were poorly lit which afforded crime and anti-social behaviors as well (ibid.).

One of the most often gentrified areas in history is the city district Hulme in Manchester. The first wave of gentrification was slum clearances in the 1960s to change the back-to-back terraced housing from the victorian period (Buttress.net, 2019). The area was completely demolished and replaced with high-rise crescent-shaped buildings made of concrete. They were built with the same modernist thinking as any other post war social housing area during that era; large open green spaces, segregation from traffic and had any function needed in the area. Over time, the area faced social and technical problems and was completely vacated in 1980 (ibid.). The area was completely demolished once again and replaced with more dense housing blocks in 2000. Some of the old infrastructure pattern was reintroduced as well.

This section presented the concepts of gentrification and displacement for the reader to gain an essential understanding of the process that affects residents in deprived social housing areas, which are being gentrified. This was built upon by conveying the types of housing commonly associated with these practices. The section clarified that measuring the effects of displacement is challenging due to how the individual experiences it, as well as the many processes and factors that affect the individual during the displacement process. Despite that, the section included a summary of how displacement can have an impact on the health of the individual.

There are many strategies and policies involved in gentrification, and the following section will focus on the ones most commonly associated with gentrification of deprived social neighbourhoods.

2.3 Methods of gentrification

This section introduces common methods used to gentrify deprived social housing areas. This is followed by a critique of the methods on the basis of international contemporary literature, which elaborates the inefficacy of them and their negative consequences.

How is the act of gentrification carried out?

Generally the process of gentrifying a deprived social housing area in the pursuit of improving it is performed by upgrading infrastructure, creating new urban spaces with attractions, and a new commodified identity of the area, in an attempt to attract the more affluent middle class (Lees, 2008).

The main method used for gentrifying a deprived social housing area is social mixing. It is used when the political goal is to increase the social mix in deprived neighbourhoods, diversifying the composition of it, and the goal is to affect low-income households to move out, displacing them in order to attract more affluent households to replace them (Christensen, 2015). It is assumed that social mixing helps alleviating problems such as unemployment, poor education, crime and stigmatization (Regeringen, 2018; Aarhus Municipality & Brabrand Boligforening, 2011). This will be elaborated further upon in this section.

Social mix is an umbrella term for different types of initiatives and policies aimed at changing the socioeconomic and cultural composition of the neighbourhood. Social mixing can be performed through area-based initiatives that aims to improve the character and safety of the area, in an attempt to appeal to higher-income residents, increasing property values and spurring economic development (August, 2016).

Social mixing is also performed through policies such as flexible let and tenure mixing. Flexible let is used as a method by housing associations to prioritize housing to more affluent citizens (Christensen, 2015). It applies to citizens that have a steady job or who is a student, recent divorcé or elderly (Bbbo.dk, 2019).

Tenure mixing is a key planning strategy used to achieve a socioeconomic mix of residents in an area (Pinkster and Tersteeg, 2016). Tenure mixing is typically performed by converting existing rentable dwellings into privately owned dwellings, or by tearing down the existing dwellings to build new typologies. Tenure mixing is mainly done in an attempt to attract affluent residents to deprived neighbourhoods (ibid.).

Critique of the social mixing methods

It is assumed that affluent newcomers raises the deprived social housing area by acting as role models for the unemployed, for children that are not familiar with parents going to work, and by investing their time and money in the neighbourhood. The main critique of social mixing is that it is based on this set of beliefs of purported trickle-down or spill-over neighbourhood effects from affluent newcomers to less fortunate residents (SBi, 2018), with little evidence to support them (Lees, 2008; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Nonetheless, governments, municipalities and housing associations still strive to create a social mix.

It is worth looking at the critique of not only the foundational basis upon which social mix is justified, but also as a method. Some critique mentions that the focus on neighbourhood effects allows states to address increasing socioeconomic differences without addressing the key institutional arrangements, that are responsible for producing the structural inequalities (Hochstenbach, 2017). The social mixing can be interpret as a symptomatic treatment without actually solving the problems that causes the symptoms in the first place. An example of this is the focus on enticing more affluent citizens to a deprived neighbourhood, instead of focusing on helping the existing deprived residents.

A common critique of area-based initiatives is, that they often contain a hidden gentrification agenda, since upgrades of a social housing area will always attract more high-income residents at the expense of the low-income residents (Own translation, SBi, 2018). Area-based initiatives such as refurbishments are criticized since the improved conditions rarely benefit low-income residents, but clearly benefits other actors such as realtors, politicians, developers and high-income newcomers (August, 2016). As an example, evaluations of past refurbishment projects in Denmark show limited social improvements (Stender & Bech-Danielsen, 2019). The residents might be more satisfied with their surroundings, but that the negative reputation of the area, and its concentration of social problems are not easily changed (ibid.). Furthermore, a study by Christensen (2015) looking at almost two decades (1989-2006) of what influence area-based initiatives had on the social mix in Danish deprived housing areas. Her research concludes that it does not lead to increased social mix measured either as educational mix, employment mix, income mix nor ethnic mix (ibid.). Her research showed that area-based initiatives helped some residents of the deprived housing areas, but that they moved away once they were better off, only to be replaced by a new and less resourceful family, resulting in the same social composition as before (ibid.).

The effects of tenure mixing are debatable as well. As an example, Aarhus Municipality and The Social Housing Common Office concluded, after testing flexible let from 2013 to 2017, that its effect on the social mix of deprived housing areas was either very weak or non-existent (Own translation, Aarhus Kommune & Det Boligsociale Fællessekretariat, 2017). They only saw a minor positive change in the social mix of better-off social housing areas, which begs the question of why they use it. Tenure mixing entails the introduction of new housing typologies at the expense of affordable dwellings, resulting in a diminishing amount of affordable and rentable social housing (Hochstenbach, 2017).

It is assumed by decision makers that mixing different economic classes through tenure mixing would benefit the low-economic status resident (Regeringen.dk, 2018; Aarhus Municipality & Brabrand Boligforening, 2011), but studies show that there is limited interaction between cross-tenure residents in the same housing area, due to different movement patterns and daily rhythm of the individual (Kleinhans, 2004; Wood, 2003; cited in SBi, 2018). Some British studies suggests that mixing types of ownership can increase segregation and isolation of residents, due to newcomers feeling like outsiders, or because they have trouble fitting the values and norms that characterises the social housing area (ibid.). Lees (2008) supports these suggestions by arguing that gentrification-induced social mixing is a misnomer,

since gentrification actually causes social segregation and polarisation. Some studies show that mixing tenures and ownership types in the same housing unit creates conflicts between the residents, due to negative actions or anti-social behaviour affecting the property value of the owners' dwellings (Chaskin & Joseph, 2013; Pinkster and Tersteeg, 2016).

Consequences of social mixing

Gentrification by social mixing leads to numerous consequences for the existing residents of a deprived social housing area. Tenure mixing results in a diminishing amount of affordable dwellings for low-income residents, which in time will cause direct displacement or indirect economic displacement. Area-based initiatives aimed at attracting more affluent residents by changing the place identity of the neighbourhood will cause community displacement and symbolical displacement for the non-prioritized deprived resident (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015).

A significant critique of social mixing and its consequences is, that the gentrification of the neighbourhood does not stop. Górczyńska (2017) state that it is not possible to maintain a social mix due to the continuous social upgrading of the neighbourhood (Górczyńska, 2017). It can be argued that the process of gentrification by social mixing continues until the middle class has taken over the neighbourhood completely, pushing out poorer households (SBi, 2018). Social mixing is a misnomer just like gentrification, as research points to a decreasing social mix and an increasing income polarisation and inequality, increased segregation on the housing market due to the diminishing amount of affordable dwellings, along with the displacement of the low-income class (Christensen, 2015).

This section emphasized how governments, municipalities and housing associations employ social mixing methods despite little to no evidence to support its effectiveness, and sometimes even proving to be counterproductive. Finally, the methods are used in an attempt to create communities by either mixing or replacing typologies and people. The following section aims to create a thorough understanding of why being displaced can be a critical consequence for residents of gentrified neighbourhoods, by exploring what is at stake for the targeted individuals.

2.4 Community & social capital

By being displaced a resident not only loses their home, but also the community they are a part of, along with whatever social capital that have been invested in this area. But what is community and social capital, why is it important and how can it be strengthened? This section will attempt to answer these questions, thereby further explaining the consequences present when deprived areas are gentrified, and offers insight into how communal ties can be naturally grown.

What is a community and why is it important?

A community can have many different definitions and formulations, depending on scale or setting. This thesis focuses on community in relation to a geographically defined area, and defines it as "a group of people living together in the same place…" who share a "… feeling of fellowship with others, as a result of sharing common attitudes, interest and goals." (Pfortmüller, 2017). A group of people who are bound by something they have in common, which in the case of a deprived neighbourhood could be seen as a shared location, faith, nationality, language, and challenges.

The importance of community is hard to quantify, but many scholars have tried to put words to its benefits. Being a part of a community can be seen as vital, and typically enhances the quality of life and the human comfort (The city of 2025, 2013). As Brorby (2019) describes, a proper community is also a commonwealth, a place, a resource and an economy that meets the practical, spiritual and social needs of its members. Communities are created to meet the social and emotional need of local residents through association communities and communities of interest (Romig, 2010).

The importance of community also relates to the potential of achieving common goals. Strong communities with the same challenges, can bond together by solving a neighbourhood related problem together, by creating new goals and influencing public spaces. If done right, the community can create and promote change, as well as strengthen the quality of life in the city

(The City of 2025, 2013). As some communities are built over a long time, others can appear and disappear quickly. The think tank 'The City of 2025' (ibid.) argues for both types of community being equally important. By having both you can bring more value, experience and stability to the neighbourhood as they compliment each other (Ibid.).

Beyond the feeling of being moved away from a home, a community is something we miss when lost because it leads to a lack of security (Bauman, 2002). Baumann argues that this is an element that is essential to a happy life, and something that is harder than ever to achieve (ibid.). He further argues that a life outside of the community will be deemed risky, scary and unsatisfactory (ibid.) This is not to say that one's ties to a community is completely severed because of a change of location, but as communities are created through communalities (Pfortmüller, 2017), the loss of the common living situation and the increased geographical distance, damages one's connection greatly.

Strengthening communities with social capital

A way of strengthening a community is to increase its social capital. Despite social capital being a challenged term, this thesis uses Romig's definition:

"A term referring to a set of associations among people, including social networks and associated norms, that have effect on the productivity of a community in forming social bonds, by analyzing types of social networks, the level of civic participation, and the trust embedded in communities, one can measure a communities level of success" (Romig, 2010)

Social capital consists of two subcategories; bridging social capital, and bonding social capital (ibid.). Osborne, Baldwin and Thomsen (2016) expands on this concept and adds a third type of social capital; linking social capital. This is further explained in table 2 below:

	Nature of linkages	Type of stakeholders	Boundaries	Place and territory	Scale
Bonding	Horizontal linkages of people with similar socio-economic backgrounds	Residents, family, neighbours	Within a bounded geographic area	Strong place identification	Micro: community
Bridging	Horizontal linkages to people with different socioeconomic backgrounds	Residents, outsiders, local organizations and businesses, colleagues	Outside of the area	Outside but near the community	Meso: sub-regional or municipal
Linking	Vertical linkages to institutions and decision makers	Community, government, institutions, organizations	The regional, national and international boundaries	Outside, distant from the community	Macro: National or international

Table 2 - The three types of social capital and its five categories (Osborne, Baldwin and Thomsen, 2016)

By increasing bonding social capital, one strengthens both trust and relations between members of a shared social identity (Christensen, 2017). This is relevant to the context of the thesis, as it can refer to residents of deprived neighbourhoods with similar socioeconomic backgrounds, which defines much of the current residents in areas targeted by urban regeneration. Bridging social capital, which creates more distant ties and brings together people from different socio-demographic situations (ibid.), is relevant when considering the future of deprived neighbourhoods, as social mixing policies are being implemented. Studies of social capital in these areas, for example in Denmark, show that northern European residents residing in such neighbourhoods mainly interact with people living outside of the area (Laursen and Espvall, 2014). Creating bridging social capital must not be confused with social mixing policies, as the former seeks to create and strengthen social cohesion between different socioeconomic groups, as opposed to creating social cohesion through a purported trickle-down effect of being in the proximity of more affluent residents (SBi, 2018). Studies of such effects have been studied for decades, of which Chamboredon and Lemaire (1970) state that spatial proximity does not necessarily reduce social distance (cited in, Stender & Bech-Danielsen, 2019).
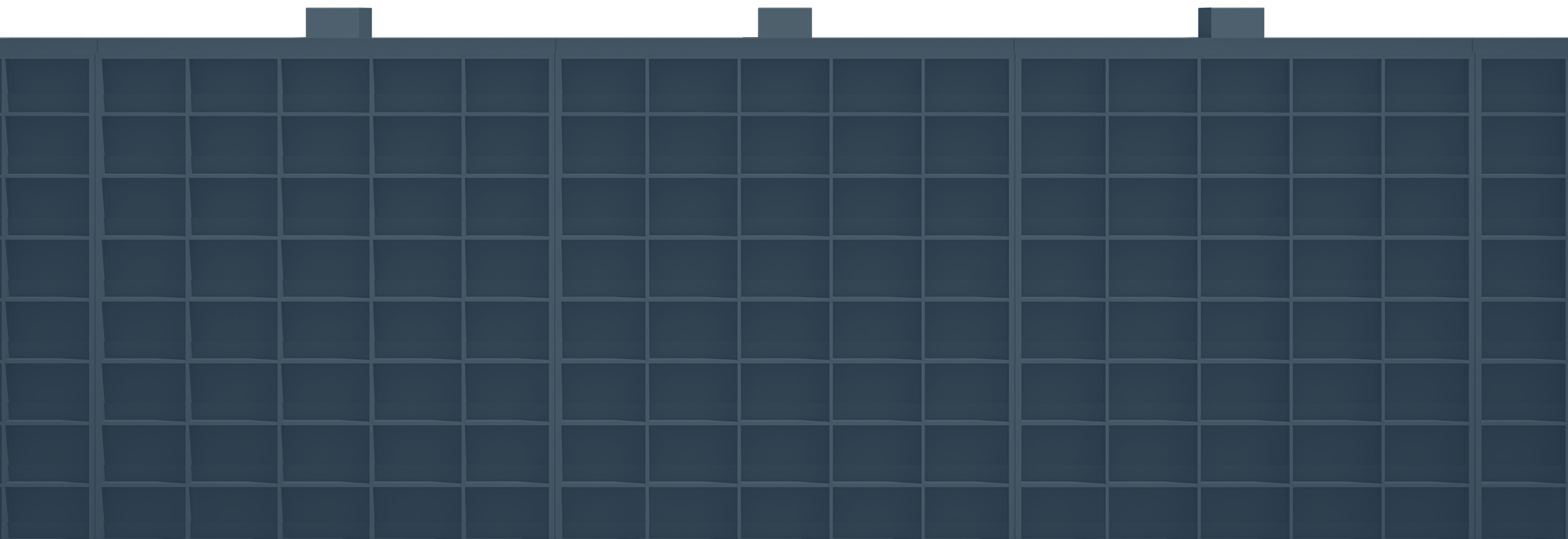
The concept of social capital is often a crucial point in the debates of community development and social cohesion, in relation to regeneration projects of deprived neighbourhoods. Citizen engagement, social interactions and associational activities are critical aspects that needs to be focused on to increase social capital (Laursen and Espvall, 2014). These aspects are important in strengthening communities, which is relevant in the context of deprived neighbourhoods, as research shows that if social capital is increased, it will lead to a decrease in social problems and improve the community's ability to deal with the challenges of the area's regeneration (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008).

On a more personal level, strong social capital have been linked with upward social mobility. Lin (1999) argues that this can be explained with four elements. The first element is access to information, by providing an individual with access to useful information about opportunities they were not aware of. The second element is influence. Social ties might help influence stakeholders who for example play a critical role in gaining access to the labour market. Third, social credentials gained might be seen as certification, opening new doors for the individual. The fourth element is a reinforcement of identity and recognition. This can provide emotional support and public acknowledgement (Ibid.).

There are many factors to consider when trying to create a framework that can help facilitate the strengthening of social capital. Trust is a key element in this development, and one that must be established in a safe and familiar place before challenging cultural and physical boundaries (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008). Time is another important factor, as research from a Danish context show that the longer a resident have been staying in a neighbourhood, the stronger bonding social capital becomes (Laursen & Espvall, 2014). Furthermore, fostering of social inclusion and community development can in turn assist in building high levels of positive social capital (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008).

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter revealed that deprived neighbourhoods are branded by territorial stigmatization, which the residents subsequently interalizes. The stigmatization of these areas affords the governments the possibility of targeting them with regeneration projects, which ultimately gentrifies the area and displaces some of its residents.

The review showed that decision makers are gentrifying areas with social mixing methods, despite their lack of provable effects, with the aim of changing the look and residential composition of the areas. This is achieved by demolishing existing housing units and introducing new housing typologies and functions aimed towards new affluent residents. This is performed at the expense of existing low-income residents being either physically or symbolically displaced. While the strategies might increase the physical conditions and character of the areas, they cannot solve the social problems that they face.

Furthermore, the disruption of communities has consequences for both the displaced resident and the community that the resident were a part of, when community ties are severed. This results in a loss of social capital for the area. The review highlighted the importance of community ties and social capital, and emphasizes a focus on strengthening existing bonds, instead of replacing them with new ones.

The purpose of the thesis is to explore the advancement of anti-ghettoization policies in Denmark and the impact of state-endorsed stigmatization on deprived social housing areas, which ultimately facilitate their redevelopment and gentrification. We will explore the effects of these policies and their subsequent gentrification in the Danish context, which by comparison to other international accounts of the phenomenon, remains somewhat limited. In doing so, we will focus on how a specific case study area compares with the outcomes of the review to identify alternative ways of redeveloping these areas. This necessitates studying and understanding the current anti-ghettoization policies that affect Danish deprived social housing areas in order to study their effects, which the following chapter will do.

Policy review

Introduction

The literature review showed the implications of stigmatization, gentrification, displacement and social mixing, and how it makes little sense to perform any of these as a means to an end. The purpose of this chapter is to show how despite the available literature, the Danish government, municipalities and housing associations proceed with it.

Social housing areas, have been targeted by national and municipal policies for decades that still affects them today. Policies that affected social housing areas in the past will be presented in the next chapter, as this chapter will focus on the latest policy from 2018 called the ghetto plan. Prior to the ghetto plan, the ghetto list will be presented, as it is the basis for the ghetto plan.

A policy review is necessary in order to understand the aims and motives behind the ghetto plan, and how it affects social housing areas and facilitates their current regeneration. The policy review uses the critical perspective gained from the literature review, in order to study and critique the policies.

3.1 The ghetto list 2010-2030

As mentioned in the literature review, the Danish government created the ghetto list in 2010 which branded social housing areas as 'deprived', 'ghettos' and 'hard ghettos'. These terms, or specific categories of social housing, are based on five criteria that has been changed throughout the years, with a new change to it in 2018 at the release of the ghetto plan.
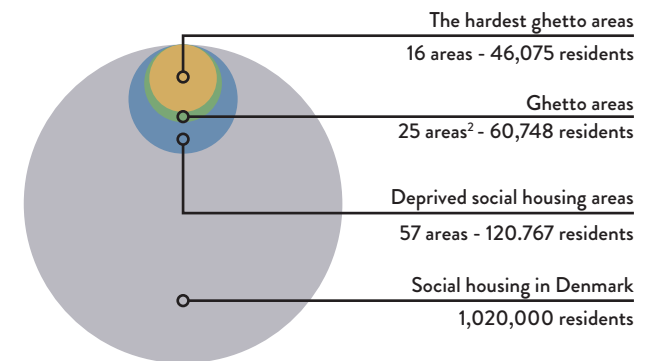
The criteria used for these categories are (Regeringen, 2018);

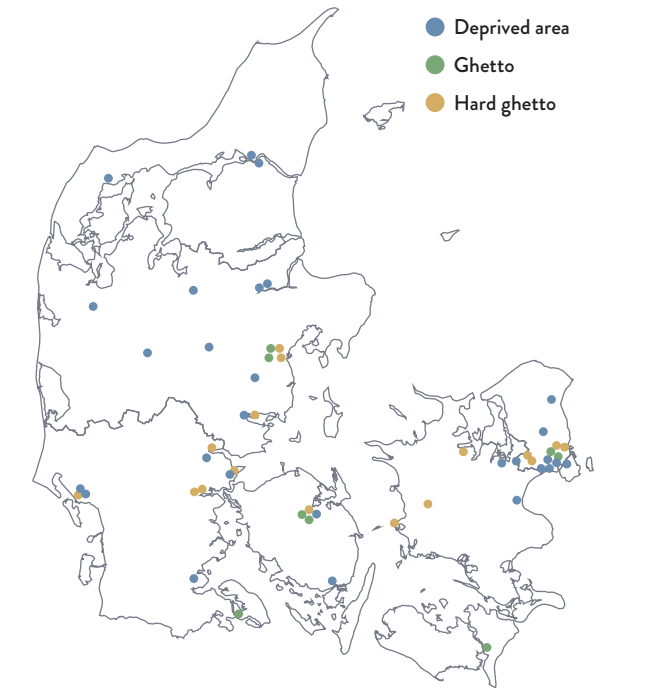| 1	The area must not consist of more than 50% of immigrants and descendant from non-western countries.
2	The area must not consist of more than 40% of the residents, between the age of 18 to 64 years old, without a connection to the labour market or education.
3	The area must not consist of more than 2,7% of the residents, that have been convicted for committing a criminal offense, specifically breaking the penal law, the weapons law or the law of euphoric drugs.
4	The area must not consist of more than 60% of the residents, between the age of 30 to 59 years old, that solely have a primary school education.[1]
5	The average gross income of residents between the age of 15 to 64 years old, is less than 55% of the average gross income for the same group in the region.

Table 3 - The five criteria of the ghetto list 2018 (ibid.).

If a social housing area meets two of the five criterias, then the area is deemed as a deprived area. If a social housing area meets two of the three criteria concerning; non-western origin, percentage of convicted, and unemployment, then the area is categorized as a ghetto. Another option is if the percentage of non-western residents is above 60%. A hard ghetto is simply a ghetto that has been on the ghetto list for more than four years. This implies that the only factor that deems an area as the worst category possible, is the amount of time that the area has been on the list. Ghettos and hard ghettos are also defined as deprived social housing areas, as they meet at least two of the five criteria.

As shown by illustration 1, as of 2018, there lives 1.02 million citizens in social housing in Denmark, which means that approximately every fifth citizen lives in a social housing area. 120,767 (11,83%) of these citizens live in 57 different deprived social housing areas. Roughly half of these citizens live in one of the 25 ghettos, as their neighbourhood meets two of the five criteria. 16 of the 25 ghettos have been on the ghetto list for more than four years, which mean that they are deemed a hard ghetto. Almost three-fourths of the residents living in a ghetto, lives in a hard ghetto. The locations of these areas are shown on illustration 2.

Ill. 1 - Diagram showing the share of the areas (Regeringen, 2018)

The hardest ghetto areas
16 areas - 46,075 residents

Ghetto areas
25 areas[2] - 60,748 residents

Deprived social housing areas
57 areas - 120.767 residents

Social housing in Denmark
1,020,000 residents

- ● Deprived area
- ● Ghetto
- ● Hard ghetto

Ill. 2 - Map showing locations of the areas (Regeringen, 2018)[3]

---

[1] The percentage was changed from 50% to 60% in 2018 without any indication of why.

[2] The diagram is from the ghetto plan released in January 2018, based on the data from the ghetto list made in December 2017. The list shows 21 ghettos, not 25.

[3] The map is from the ghetto plan which states there are 25 ghettos, despite there being only 21. There are however only shown 24 on the map. Four are indicated in Aarhus, but there are only three on the ghetto list.

Selecting a case study

As previously mentioned, the aim of the thesis is to critically explore the advancement of anti-ghettoization policies in Denmark, and the impact of state-endorsed stigmatization on social housing areas, which ultimately facilitate their redevelopment and gentrification. In doing so we are particular interested in the most extreme variations of these areas as these represent the locations in most critical need of redevelopment.

Areas that meet all five of the criteria featured in Table 3 are defined as the areas requiring critical redevelopment. Four areas fall into this category. The area in most critical need of redevelopment selected based on the following three criteria:

1. The area has to meet all five criteria featured in Table 3.

2. The area's population size.

3. Advancement of a redevelopment strategy.

Two of the four ghettos meeting the five criteria are small areas, with one of them being just about 2.000 residents and just barely meeting all five criteria. The second small area has 1.088 residents, which means that the area needs 88 less residents to be removed from the ghetto list. Neither of these two areas are chosen as the case of this thesis, as they are not as critical compared to the other two on the list of ghettos meeting the five criteria.

The two other areas are significantly larger both in size and amount of residents, and have been on the ghetto list since it was created in 2010 (Ministry of Transport, Building, and Housing, 2010). They are Vollsmose and Gellerupparken. Vollsmose spans 200 hectares and has 7.763 residents (Ministry of Transport, Building, and Housing, 2018). Gellerupparken spans 58,9 hectares and has 5.614 residents (ibid.), which makes the Gellerupparken the most populated area in relation to its size.

The major factor that decides which area was selected as the case of the thesis, is the amount of progress the area has made in terms of regeneration.

The housing association which owns Vollsmose began planning their regeneration in response to the requirements set by the ghetto plan when it was released in 2018. Gellerupparken already had a master plan for regenerating the area back in 2011, and has seen significant changes since the regeneration began in 2014.

Gellerupparken is five years ahead of any other social housing regeneration project, which ultimately made Gellerupparken the perfect case study of this thesis. It is not only affected by anti-ghettoization policies, state-endorsed stigmatization and redevelopment, but parts of its regeneration are finished, which means that the impact of it could be studied. Gellerupparken and its master plan will be explained further in the following chapter.

3.2 The ghetto plan 2018-2030

In 2018 the Danish government revealed their new plan to fight the further development of more ghettos by decreeing, that there would be no ghettos in Denmark by 2030. The government argued that too many immigrants from non-western countries do not participate, and are not connected enough in the Danish society. This argument was based on a study showing that roughly 15% of all non-western families have multiple indicators, that they live 'relatively isolated' from the remaining society:

"The typical family lives in a social housing area, where a lot of the residents have a non-western background. At least one adult in the family has been passive in the last four out of five years, in terms of staying on the labour market. And if the family has children, then they are in a day care institution or school, where a lot of the children have a similar non-western background." (Regeringen, 2018)

The government justifies the ghetto plan due to these social housing areas consisting of; many residents without any education, high amount of unemployment, and a lack of Danish language skills. The government deems these to be the main issues of the deprived social housing areas, ghettos and hardest ghettos.

According to the government, immigrants have created parallel societies within Denmark. The primary goal of the Ghettoplan is the dismantling of these parallel societies. To achieve this, the plan focuses on four main strategies (Regeringen, 2018);

1	Physical demolition and conversion of deprived social housing areas.
2	More hands-on control of who gets to live in these deprived neighbourhoods.
3	Increased police presence and higher penalties to help the police and increase safety.
4	A good start of life for children and young adults.

Table 4 - The four main strategies of the ghetto plan (ibid.).

1: Physical demolitions and conversions

The plan details extensive physical changes and preventive measures of deprived social housing areas, as the plan seeks to phase ghettos out of the Danish society. The strategy entails a reduction in the percentage of social family housing and diversifying the types of dwellings with a mix of owner-occupied housing and private ownership housing. The government wants to change the social mix by increasing the sales of social housing by private investors that buy the existing housing or build new private housing in the ghetto areas. The targeted demolitions are meant to open up the area to the surrounding society, while creating new building plots for new developments (ibid.).

The hardest ghettos are required to reduce the percentage of social family housing to a maximum of 40% before 2030, if they want to keep receiving financial support from the Danish social housing sector. The housing associations that own and manage these areas, had six months to deliver a development plan to the government, after the ghetto plan was released, outlining how they were planning to reach this goal. If the housing association refuses to decommission their dwellings, or do not succeed in doing so before 2030, then the government will intervene and take

over the housing association. The residents will be relocated but will be offered a new dwelling in an area with better conditions for integration.

The laws today dictates that the tenancy can be terminated when the rental agreement is settled, when the property is being demolished, when the property is being rebuilt, or if the tenant has disregarded the social housing area's customs and order. The government wishes to change these laws so that the tenancy can be terminated if the housing association wishes to sell the social family housing instead of letting it. However, the government states that there should be given a fitting warning ahead of time for the tenant, and that the tenant is provided with moving aid.

2: More control of who gets to live in the area

The Danish government want to stop further migration of socio-economically disadvantaged citizens to deprived social housing areas, and are implementing a series of different policies to prevent this, along with incentives to encourage integration among those already residing in these areas.

The government demands that municipalities are not allowed to assign citizens, who need housing, to deprived social housing areas, if one member of the household has received the following benefits within the previous six months; integration benefits, education benefits, social security, early retirement benefits, unemployment support or sick pay.

According to the government, flexible let of dwellings has shown a positive effect on the resident composition in cities where there is a certain pressure on the housing market and waiting lists for social housing. To capitalise on this, the government demands that it should be obligatory for the municipalities and housing associations to do flexible let.

The government demands that citizens that have a 'solid' relation to the job market, are studying, in an apprenticeship or have been self-sufficient in the past six months, are pushed forward in the queue to a dwelling. Areas such as Gellerupparken are targeted specifically, by the government causing people who move to one of the 16 hard ghettos, to receive less financial support than if they moved to other areas. The ghetto plan will deny any citizen receiving integration benefits from moving to any of the hard ghettos.

Monetary incentives will be given to the municipalities that succeed with the integration initiative, with an increase of funds for what the government considers good practice, and a decrease in funding for what they consider bad practice (ibid.).

3: Increased police and penalties

According to the government, studies show that crime in deprived social housing areas increase the insecurity of the residents to a higher degree than in the rest of Denmark. They further elaborate that this insecurity pushed more affluent residents away, and makes it harder to attract new affluent residents.

To fight this they propose longer sentences for crimes committed in certain areas. Sometimes the sentence might be doubled if committed within these areas. Furthermore, it is suggested to refuse convicted criminals dwellings in deprived social housing areas.

4: A good start for children and young people

The government introduces obligatory day-care offers that are meant to improve children's Danish language skills before starting school. The day-care facilities will be structured in a way where no more than three out of ten children comes from deprived social housing areas. Furthermore, children must pass language tests before being allowed to start primary school.

Schools are incentivised to do so by sanctioning schools that produce poor results.
There is suggested an increased parental responsibility through several measures. One measure will cut the child support benefits, should the child of a household not show up to school, or be absent during tests or exams. Religious reconditioning trips are suggested to be criminalized, along with larger penalties for domestic violence. There will be made an effort to identify at-risk children at an earlier age. If a public employee neglect their obligation of notifying the authorities, if any child is neglected or deprived, then they will be fined or imprisoned up to four months (ibid).

3.3 Critique of the ghetto plan
Physical restructuring
Social consequences
The displacement of the current residents is not regarded as a worrying prospect in the ghetto plan. Even though moving help will be provided, and the residents will be offered a new dwelling, there is no focus on the community displacement, and the severing of community ties (see chapter 2.4).

It is also questionable how government claims that the displaced residents will be moved to an area with better conditions for integration. Social housing areas such as Gellerupparken have local services and social workers, that help the residents with their daily struggles, which doubtedly exist in the more affluent areas. It is worrying, that these residents will likely be placed in an area with residents doing better than the displaced residents, making them outsiders and more segregated in their new community. Beyond the residents losing their homes, studies show that the loss for socioeconomically disadvantaged residents leaving a poor neighbourhood, is greater than the gain from living in a more affluent one (Lees, 2008).

Questionable approaches to displacing residents
The process of relocating the residents is already met with a lot of critique from the media and the residents in the case of Mjøl-nerparken, where the housing association started this process in April (Arbejderen.dk, 2019). Housing associations, such as Bo-vita that owns Mjølnerparken, have started offering moving aid for residents that want to move but do not have the money to do so, in order to avoid 'unnecessary displacements'. The housing association sent out a letter to all the residents in Mjølnerparken, saying that they would not have to displace many residents, if enough residents would volunteer to move (ibid.).

The letter was seen as a threat by the residents, which extorts them to 'voluntarily' move. Because if they do not 'volunteer' themselves, then the housing association would draw random names of residents that would have to move. This is dumbfounding as a random draw will likely move the affluent residents living in the area, which the housing association wants to keep (ibid.).

Targeting newly renovated areas
The ghetto plan does not take other factors into account, when defining the areas that need to perform physical restructuring. There are housing associations and municipalities that have spent millions on renovating certain ghettos, which might need to be demolished if they stay on the list for four years. One of these areas is Korsløkkeparken. Odense Municipality, which Korsløkkeparken is a part of, has spent 1.5 billion DKK on renovating the social housing area over the past few years (Thrane, Flyvbjerg and Mikaelsen, 2019). The area is defined as a ghetto and if it is not off the ghetto list before December 2021, then the municipality and the housing association will have to convert 60% of the dwellings into new typologies or tear them down (ibid.).

Hands-on control
Discrimination and segregation
Denying citizens residence in certain areas due to their origin can be read as an approach towards segregation, which clearly discriminates against immigrants.

Lacking proof of effects
The government's focus on obligatory tenure mixing is questionable at best, as municipalities such as Aarhus, have stated that their tenure mixing showed very little results, and that these results only affected better-off social housing areas (see section 2.3).

Increasing difficulty finding affordable housing
Apartments in Gellerupparken are significantly cheaper than the surrounding neighbourhoods, which allows citizens who earn less to afford a large and affordable apartment. However, they are deterred in doing so if they receive any kind of government support, as they would receive less financial support, which would make the cheap apartment more expensive. This can be seen as a form of exclusionary displacement (see Table 1 in section 2.2).

Incentives and sanctions
The monetary incentives to gentrify the social housing areas will make housing associations and municipalities push this agenda, as they have something to gain from it. And if they do not gentrify it, then the government will do it themselves or decrease their funding, which leaves them without any choice.

Police and penalties
To increase punishment of offenders in a certain area differently from those in others can be argued to be against the declaration, as people are no longer equal before the law, but are treated differently based on their residence or scene of crime. This can further be argued to work against the equal rights principle that supposedly is an integral part of the Danish society. Studies of Gellerupparken, which targeted by this strategy, shows an antagonistic relationship between inhabitants and the police as a representation of the state (Johansen & Jensen, 2017), and it can be argued that this policy could further reinforce this antagonism.

A good start of life for children
The strategies performed, to keep the percentage of non-western children in a school less than 30%, creates difficulties in areas with a large percentage of non-western children. They are required to attend different schools across the city or even the municipality, just so they do not spend too much time with children that are not 'danish'. This will presumably cost the municipalities a lot of money transporting these children to all parts of their municipality. Additionally, it would presumably deter children of the same neighbourhood to create any local bonds, as they will not meet in school, where they spend the majority of their time.

3.4 Conclusion
This chapter showed how despite the literature review stating the consequences of stigmatization, gentrification-induced displacement and social mixing, the Danish government enforces all of this with the ghetto plan.

The chapter introduced the ghetto list in order to understand the basis of the ghetto plan, and to understand what defines a deprived social housing area, a ghetto and a hard ghetto. It was supplemented with a description of how many people live in them.

Following this, the case study of the thesis was selected based on its size, the time it has spent on the ghetto list, it meeting all five criteria and due to it being redeveloped for the past five years.

The ghetto plans aim, motives and strategies were then presented, in order to understand how they affect social housing areas and their residents. It explained that the government will enforce these changes, no matter if the municipalities or housing associations object, as they will take over these institutions if they do not comply. This explains why the municipalities and housing associations comply with the ghetto plan despite it resulting in tearing down large parts of their dwellings. This was supplemented with a critique of the strategies. It is clear that the ghetto plan bases a lot of its justification and strategies on concepts such as social mixing, tenure mixing and displacing of deprived residents. The literature review disputes this, stating; none of these approaches justify the means to their end as they have very little tangible proof of working, whether in an international context or in a Danish context.

The literature review provided the reader with the understanding of regeneration and its consequences, and the policy review provided the understanding of how it happens in the Danish context. The case study has been selected in order to study the effects of regeneration in one of the hardest ghettos in Denmark.

The following chapter will present the case study of Gellerupparken, through its past, present and future changes. The subsequent chapter will present the methodologies that were used to study the case.
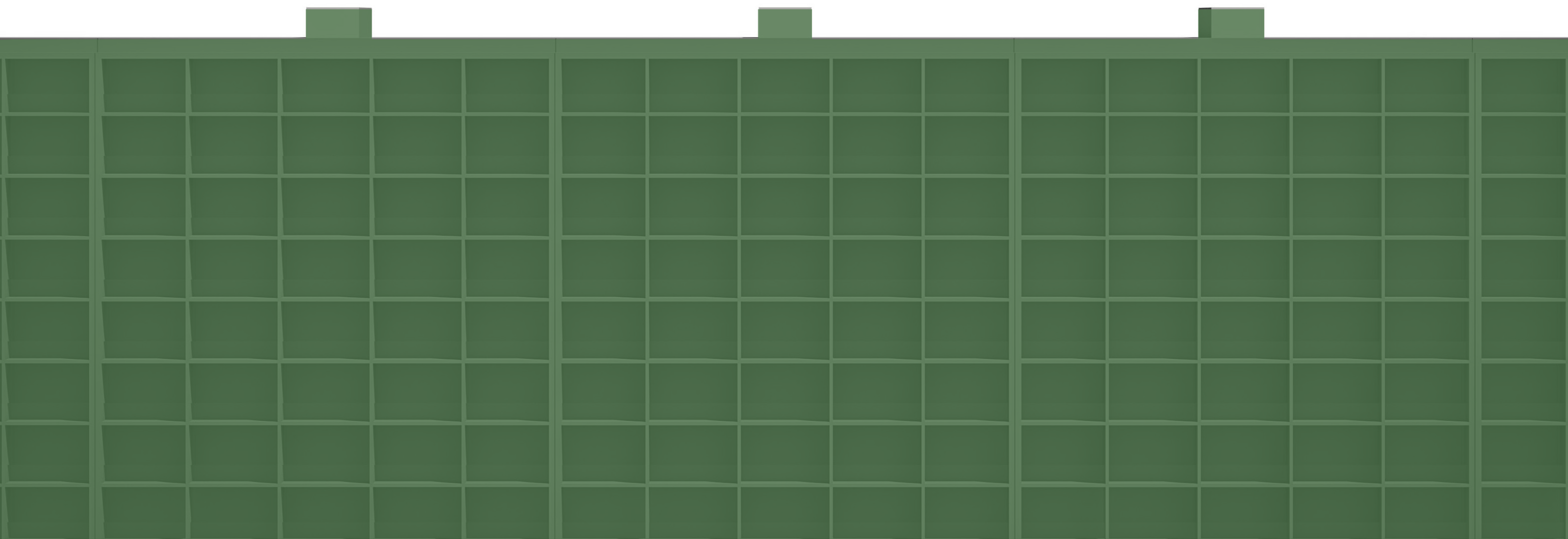
Gellerupparken

Introduction

This chapter aims to present Gellerupparken as the case study of this thesis. First and foremost, the chapter presents Gellerupparken in the context of Aarhus municipality, and of its encompassing context.

The chapter continues by presenting the history of Gellerupparken and how it has evolves from its inception until today. The current composition of Gellerupparken is then presented along with the activity of the area.

The chapter goes on to present the master plan for the development of Gellerupparken, followed by what changes has been made in the area until today, which is subsequently critiqued based on the outcomes of the literature and policy review.
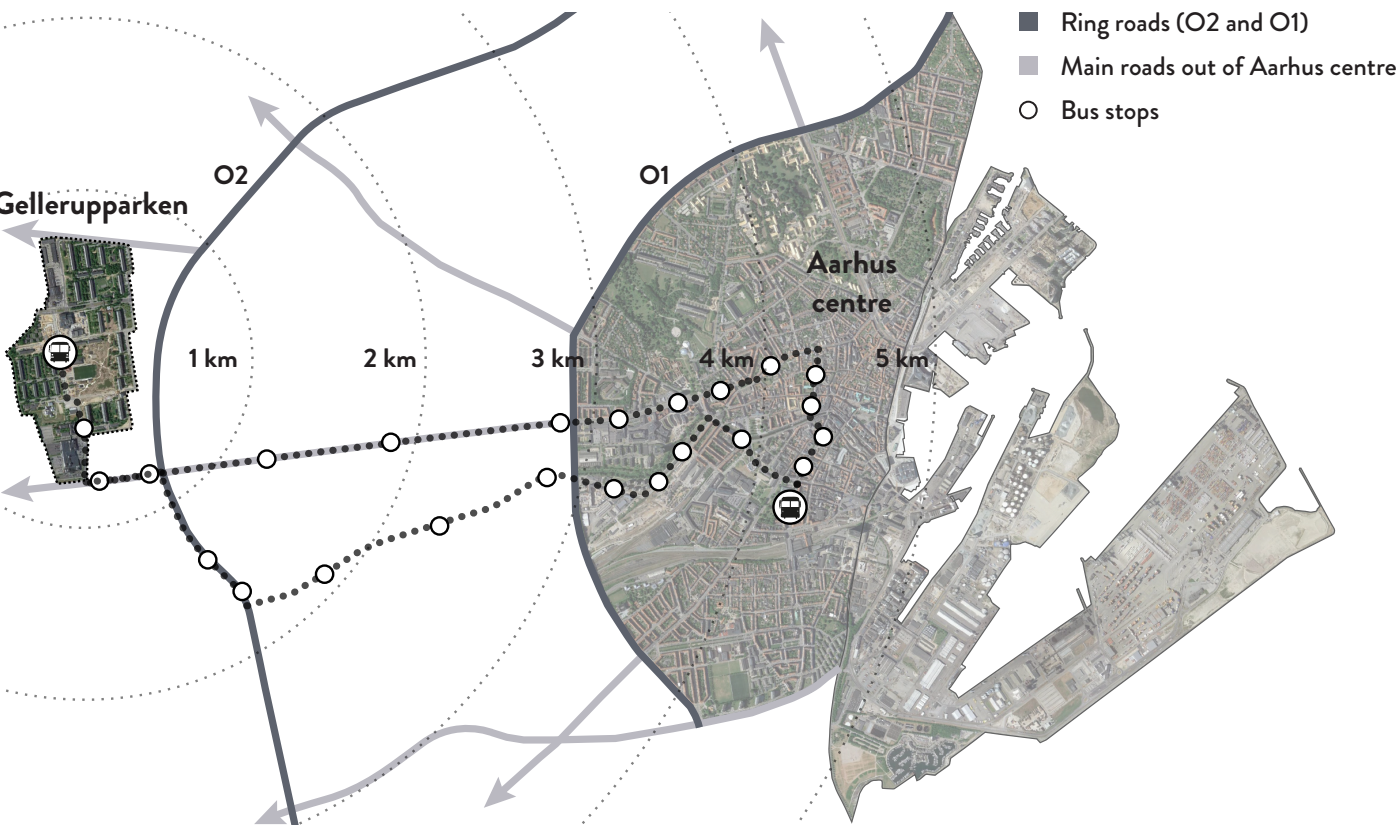
4.1 Geographical context

Gellerupparken and Toveshøj are situated in Brabrand, one of the 24 districts of Aarhus municipality. Gellerupparken and Toveshøj are a part of the greater neighbourhood called Gellerup, which additionally consists of Skovgårdsparken and Søvangen.

The definition of what parts of the neighbourhood constitutes Gellerupparken varies, as some see Toveshøj as a part of Gellerupparken, some see Skovgårdsparken as a part of Gellerupparken, and some see Gellerupparken as a single entity. A further elaboration of the perception of boundaries in the area will be presented in section 6.4.

Gellerupparken and Toveshøj will be mentioned as 'Gellerupparken' throughout the rest of the report.

As shown on illustration 3, Gellerupparken is situated four kilometers away from the centre of Aarhus, and is well connected to it with main road south of the area, as well as being close to the outer O2 ring road, which affords a connection to other main roads towards the centre. There are currently three busses from Gellerupparken to Aarhus centre, where one of them drives through Gellerupparken. The average travel time from Gellerupparken to Aarhus central station is 21 minutes by bus or bicycle, and 13 minutes in car depending on the traffic.

Ring roads (O2 and O1)
Main roads out of Aarhus centre
Bus stops

O2   O1

Gellerupparken

Aarhus centre

1 km   2 km   3 km   4 km   5 km

III. 3 - Connections between Gellerupparken and Aarhus centre

28

Toveshøj
31 hectares

Gellerupparken
58,9 hectares

Skovsgårdsparken
20 hectares

Søvangen
17 hectares

Year: 2018

4.2 The history of Gellerupparken

By looking at the development of Gellerupparken through the lens of the theoretical framework and political agenda, the history of Gellerupparken is contextualized in a specific way. It clarifies motives and strategies present in the development of Gellerupparken, showing parables to phenomenons discussed in the previous chapter concerning stigmatization, gentrification, displacement and social mix. This section also serves to provide a greater understanding of how previous policies and political agendas steered the trajectory of Gellerupparken towards what it is today.

Ill. 5 - Construction of the culture center (Arkiv.dk, 2019)

Ill. 4 - Gellerupparken in 1971 (Arkiv.dk, 2019)

The inception of Gellerupparken

The construction of Gellerupparken was in response to the post-war population boom occurring in many of Denmark's major cities. It was initially conceived in 1968, led by the Brabrand Housing Association (BBBO) and was built as a high-scale residential project. It was planned to attract young middle-class families and upper working-class residents. When the first 1824 apartments was finished in 1972, it attracted loads of interest, and the apartments sold very well. It grew and became the largest housing project in Denmark comprised of 2400 dwellings. However, things changed drastically as the global oil crisis hit in 1973. Suddenly the development posed a fiscal threat to Danish social housing, and the housing association faced a financial crisis (Johansen & Jensen, 2017).

The large flats were relatively expensive, and suddenly the housing association were left with hundreds of vacant apartment. Brabrand Housing Association needed to adapt to survive which meant that rents had to be lowered, and in several of the apartments, rooms were walled off and sold as smaller units. The residential projects became popular as social housing among welfare recipients moving out of the city centre in the 1970's and 1980's. Simultaneously, and especially after 1980, there were a huge influx in refugees and the NGO in charge of integration recommended Gellerupparken for cheap accommodations (ibid.).


Ill. 6 - Gellerupcentret (City Vest) in 1974 (Arkiv.dk, 2019)

This was also exacerbated by the family gathering policies implemented in 1972, placing demands of what constituted a fitting resident for families. This was further specified in 1973 with a demand that there could not be more than two people per living space, that each room could only be populated by one person, or a married couple without children, and that families with children needed to have their own private kitchen and bathroom.

This demand limited the housing options for a lot of people, immigrants families included, as most of the available apartments that met these requirements, were mainly located in new social housing dwellings built in suburbs, such as Gellerupparken (Børresen, 2002).
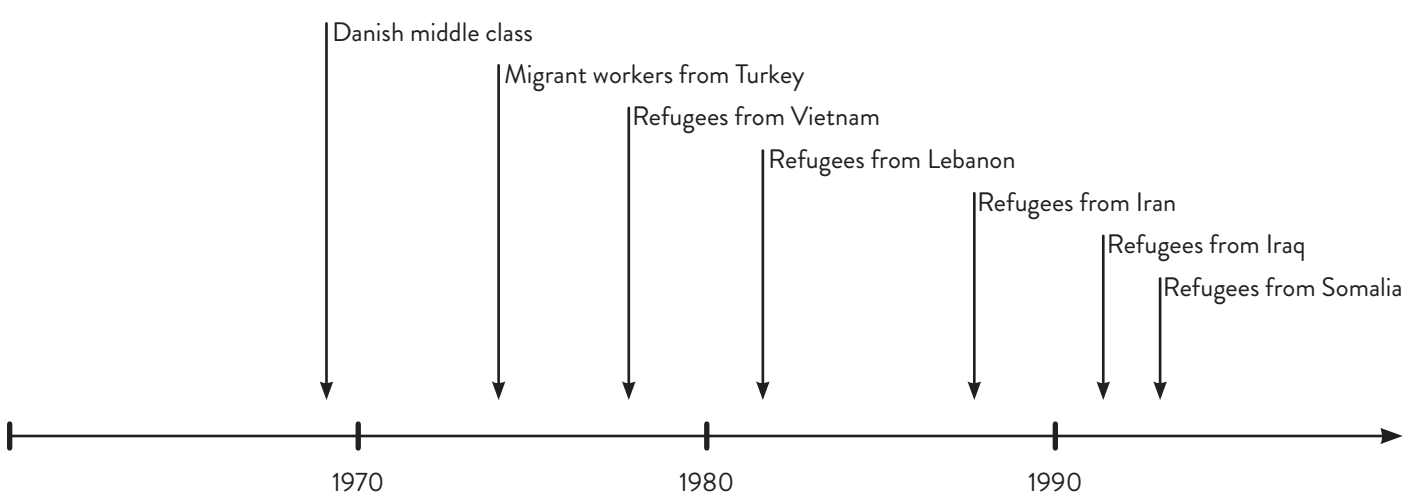
Ill. 7 - Timeline of people from war-struck countries moving to Denmark and subsequently Gellerupparken (Danmarkshistorien.dk, 2019)

Fiscal reliability

The National Dispersal Policy was in effect from 1986 to 1997, and resulted in immigrants being placed in urban centres with cheap accommodation. 90% of all immigrants in Denmark were provided with housing under this policy. By 2008 over half the population in the district of Brabrand were immigrants, and about 90% of these lived in Gellerupparken itself (Johansen & Jensen, 2017).

The fiscal burden caused by the growing immigrant population became a topic in the early 1990's as the mayor of Aarhus complained that the burden caused by immigrants were being unevenly distributed among the Danish municipalities. These complaints led to the passing of the first integration act, which gave power to the Danish Immigration service to dictate the distributions of migrants with annual negotiations with the municipalities. Even though this did not affect the ethnic composition of places like Gellerupparken, this was to change in the following years, as the discussion of immigration moved from a fiscal concern to a social concern (Johansen & Jensen, 2017).

Ill. 9 - Bazaar in the streets in 1990 (Arkiv.dk, 2019)

Social concern

In september 1993 the governmental city committee was tasked with mapping the largest problems facing Danish municipalities. Immigration ranked fifth on the list of problems, but in the subsequent plan to combat the problems, immigrants received a lot of focus, and was mentioned in 20 of the plans 30 points of action, with a focus on a series of integrating efforts (Børresen, 2002). Places like Gellerupparken was beginning to be viewed as an emergency in their own right and a threat to the Danish social cohesion. The integration act of 1999 moved the responsibility for integration to the municipalities. Integration had for a long time been an issue in Gellerupparken, and the issues would only grow in the years to come and a number of new welfare institutions were created. The neighbourhood struggled, with 61,6% of its welfare recipients lacking any connection to the labour market, and Gellerupparken was officially the poorest neighbourhood in Denmark (Jonasen & Jensen, 2017).

Ill. 8 - Gellerupparken in 1990 (Arkiv.dk, 2019)

Anti-ghettoization

The problems would not subside, and in 2004 the government introduced its first anti-ghettoization strategy. The amendment allowed local housing associations and the municipal housing administration to reserve a number of apartments for specific citizens, and to refuse intake of more residents on welfare subsidies (Regeringen, 2004). This came with a host of other anti-ghetto initiatives, such as moving children to different schools to achieve a mix of 25% bilingual children in each classroom (Johansen & Jensen, 2017). In 2008 Nordgårdskolen, the school in Gellerup, and the only school in the country with exclusively bilingual children was closed, citing both decreasing number of students and the overweight of bilingual children as causes (Dyberg, 2007).

In 2007 the first spacial anti-ghettoization strategy of Gellerupparken was introduced as a master plan for the area, which aimed to "solve the social problems in the community" (Aarhus municipality & Brabrand Housing Association, 2007). It was implemented two years later in 2009 and aimed to create social change by changing the urban landscape. This entailed future demolitions of existing apartment blocks and the construction of new office buildings, single-family housing, trading centers and streets. These gentrification efforts intensified the perception of the disadvantaged residents in Gellerupparken as fiscal, social and cultural burdens.

In order to address the increasing issues, the authorities employed a range of extraordinary measures. These included evictions, further demolitions, dispersing children to different schools, and an increased police presence in the area. The measures were justified by the government and municipalities, as they meant that the severity of the situation necessitated extreme action. Sometimes the reasons were ideological, but often it was caused by extraordinary events such as arsonry attacks (Johansen & Jensen, 2017).

These events helped justify the gentrification and displacement for both the state and many Danish citizens, and furthered the perceived threat on the moral, cultural and social order of Danish society, which these types of communities imposed. The public face of these problems became the young Arab man, associated with crime, gangs and violence. Recently this intensified further when the association got entangled with the image of the young Arab and muslim man in the risk-zone of radicalization (ibid.).

Ill. 10 - Nordgårdskolen being demolished (Pedersen, 2013)

Ill. 11 - A housing block being demolished (Gunvald, 2018)

Ill. 12 - Riots in Gellerupparken (Szlavik, 2006)

4.3 Gellerupparken today
Demographics

As of January 1st 2018 Gellerupparken houses roughly 5615 residents combined (Ministry of Transport, Building, and Housing, 2018). Aarhus Municipality states that there lives 6006 residents in deprived social housing dwellings in Brabrand in the first quarter of 2019, which includes Gellerupparken, Toveshøj and Skovgårdsparken (Aarhus Municipality, 2019). 52% of the residents are men and 48% of them are women (ibid.).

There lives 18514 citizens in the district of Brabrand-Gellerup, which means that Gellerupparken combined makes up 30,3% of the citizens in the district (ibid.).

The ethnic composition of Gellerupparken is:

Migrants from non-western countries	2354 residents (39,2%)
Descendants of migrants from non-western countries	2049 residents (34,1%)
Danish origin	1175 residents (19,5%)
Migrants from western countries	353 residents (6%)
Unknown	50 residents (0,8%)
Descendants of migrants from western countries	25 residents (0,4%)

Table 5 - Statistics of the ethnic composition (Aarhus Municipality, 2019)

This statistic paints a slight picture of the cultural mix which makes up Gellerupparken. The local co-operative of associations (Samvirket) states that there are roughly 80 different nationalities in the area (Samvirket.dk, 2019). This diversity of nationalities denotes cultural differences in terms of norms, religions and languages, which makes the area a complex entity to comprehend.

As previously mentioned, migrants moved to Denmark and subsequently Gellerupparken from war-torn countries, which presumably have affected the migrants in either physical or psychological ways. This affects their life and creates challenges for the person as well as their family.

Samvirket states, that in 2016 there were 54% of the residents between the age of 18-64 who were outside of the job market (ibid.). 35,5% of these residents (1285) received health contingent state support, and 17% (616) received social security (ibid.). 15% of the residents in the same age range received state education grants (ibid.). This means that 67,5% of the residents received some sort of state support in 2016.

The ghetto list of 2018 states that 47,5% of the residents in the working age of 15 to 64 have a job, but that they earn 53,5% less each year than the average person in the same age range in the same region (Ministry of Transport, Building, and Housing, 2018).

According to the ghetto list of 2018, 83,6% of the residents in Gellerupparken have no additional education beyond primary school (ibid.). This might denote one reason why residents with jobs in the area earn less than half of the average person in the region.

0 to 5 years old	467 residents (8%)
6 to 15 years old	1045 residents (17%)
16 to 17 years old	300 residents (5%)
18 to 29 years old	1336 residents (22%)
30 to 66 years old	2462 residents (41%)
67+ years old	396 residents (7%)

Table 6 - Statistics of the age composition (Aarhus Municipality, 2019)

Gellerupparken consists of mainly adults in the age range of 18 to 66 years old, which makes up 63% of the residents. 30% of the residents in the area are in the age range of 0 to 17 years old. The last 7% of the residents are elderly.

The community of Gellerupparken

As previously mentioned, Gellerupparken houses many people from many different nationalities and age groups. The residents of Gellerupparken have always focused heavily on associations and community life ever since the area was developed. Community is still a very important aspect of Gellerupparken as it consists of more than 50 associations (Gellerup.nu, 2019). These associations vary in size and activities, some are small consisting of a few members and some have more than 200 members (ibid.). Some of the associations revolve around a sport, a hobby, a nationality, a religion or even a gender. To name a few; a swimming association, a climbing association, role model associations, volunteering associations, a palestinian food culture association and an elderly association.

The majority of the associations are a part of the local co-operative called Samvirket, which meet every quarter to discuss the life of the associations and the current challenges they face, and offers they have for the residents in the area.

The active spaces of Gellerupparken

Despite the vast size Gellerupparken, there are however only very few active places within it. This is mainly due to the fact, that the majority of Gellerupparken is housing and residual space, which is elaborated further upon in section 7.2. There are currently only ten spaces in the area that facilitate specific kinds of activities. There is the primary school in Toveshøj (1) where the children go to school. Bazaar Vest (2), which is one of the main attractions of Gellerupparken and one of the most lively places when it is open. Right across the street from the bazaar is the new municipal building named 'Blixen', which houses 1000 municipal workplaces from different departments of the municipality. Further south of Blixen is the entrepreneur building named 'The Gazelle Farm' (3) which houses multiple local collaborative start-ups, and the temporary E&P house (4) which is an information center for locals and tourists, who are curious about the development of the area.

Next to these two temporary buildings is the old swimming facility (5), which has been a popular center of activity ever since it was built in the 1970s. The swimming facility also houses the climbing association. Next to the swimming facility is the new astroturf soccer field (6) as a main attraction of the large new park which continues up through Toveshøj, and down to the intersection further south. The park consists of playgrounds, a few association buildings for the soccer club, a pavilion and a lake.

East of the park, at the edge of Gellerupparken, is Globus1 (7) which is a mixed-use building consisting of a sports hall and a kindergarten. West of the park is two day care centres and a large kindergarten (8). Just south of these is the local church, elderly center, library and co-operative office spaces (9).

Last, but not least, is City Vest (10). An enormous shopping centre built in the early 1970s which attracts a lot of shoppers both from Gellerupparken and the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Ill. 13 - Photograph of Gellerupparken with accentuated activity spaces (Brabrand Boligforening, 2018)

4.4 The master plan of Gellerupparken (2011-2030)

As previously mentioned, Gellerupparken became a high priority early on in its existence by the Danish government considering their continuing problems. The debate revolved around the physical segregation from Aarhus, on the account of the infrastructure and architecture, as well as its social functionality. To fight these problems, massive changes were planned in a master plan. The following section is a summary of this master plan. The master plan was developed by Aarhus municipality and Brabrand housing association. Its main purpose of the master plan was to open up the area to the surrounding neighbourhood, and to create a cohesion between Gellerupparken and the city of Aarhus. The plan also aimed for Gellerupparken to reach the same social and economical standard as the rest of Aarhus municipality. It became the most expensive renewal plan in Danish history and will be implemented from 2011 to 2030 (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017). The master plan consists of the following four main strategies:

1. Improved infrastructure is planned to reconnect the area with Aarhus city. The new road network should also divide Gellerupparken into four smaller quarters, each with its own identity to make navigating through the area easier. At one point, a part of a residential building will be demolished to create a gateway through it. This is done to create a symbolic picture of how the barrier around the area is now being broken through (ibid.)

2. Adding new functions to Gellerupparken, both along the rim of the area, but also in its centre. One of the largest functions that is built during this master plan is a multi-functional municipal office building, which houses 1000 municipal employees. Another main function being built during the master plan is a new sports- and culture campus. The plan is to further fill the area with a primary school and several office buildings with stores, restaurants and cafes (ibid.).

3. Creating new ownership- and housing types. This is done to attract new residents to the area and to keep socioeconomically affluent residents. Demolitions will be performed to make room for a new youth city, and dense low-rise residential buildings are planned to add architectural variation to the area. Gellerupparken as a whole has been planned for more privately owned apartments and less rental, both in construction of new buildings, as well as conversion of existing ones. The plan is also to decrease the percentage of social family housing in Gellerupparken from 90% to 30% by 2030 (ibid.)

4. Massive changes done to the existing public spaces in Gellerupparken. These public spaces were prior to the plan dominated by dense vegetation which obstructed view lines, which some residents claim have attributed to a lowered sense of security in the area. To alleviate this, much of the vegetation will be removed to improve sight lines. A city park stretching through the area will be established. A variation in vegetation is implemented to make it simpler to navigate through the park (ibid.).

Changes over time

Gellerupparken has changed a lot since the first steps of the master plan began in 2011. The housing association started moving tenants living in semi vacant in order to empty out the housing block, by moving the tenants into another available dwelling in the area. The first demolition began in the fall of 2014 of an housing block, and many more buildings, such as more housing blocks and day care centres followed suit in order for the Karen Blixens Boulevard to be developed. The old road in the south eastern area was changed from a linear path, that afforded speeding, to a road that shifts in front of the eastern housing blocks. The road to the school in Toveshøj was changed as well in similar fashion, while additionally being extend on the western side of Toveshøj to create a loop and to allow easier access to the school and the day care centres nearby. The last demolition began in 2018 when a housing block was cut through to create an opening to the area.

After the main roads and the boulevard was developed, the development of the area shifted to the buildings. A temporary building created by shipping containers was built on the boulevard in 2015. The building, named Instant City, was a mixture of the currently existing information center, the entrepreneur facility, a café and street food. It was meant to indicate the future life of Gellerupparken with a focus on innovation, design, food culture and community. The entrepreneur facility was later built in 2017. The enormous park in the middle of Gellerupparken began in 2014 and is aimed to be completely finished in June 2019. The long development period entailed that the residents had no park to use for those five years. The park was unofficially opened in the summer of 2018 when the housing association moved roughly 2000 trees to the park. The municipal building and its parking garage were ready to use in February 2019. The housing blocks in the south eastern area were available to tenants in April 2019.

There are currently five live construction sites in Gellerupparken which consists of; housing in the south eastern area, finishing up the extension of the park in Toveshøj and south of the park, student housing across from the municipal building, and a mixed-use office and dwelling project south of the municipal building.

The demolitions that were initially planned to bring the percentage of social family housing down to 30% are now completed. However, Aarhus municipality demanded additional demolitions, and that the newly built housing do not count towards evening out the share of housing typologies in Gellerupparken. In 2018, the municipality asked the Ministry of Housing for permission to enforce additional demolitions, by creating a new municipal plan (Bbbo.dk, 2019). This would undermine the authority that the housing association has. This meant that no matter whether the housing association agreed upon additional demolitions, it would be performed anyhow (ibid.). On May 6th 2019 an agreement was made deciding which housing blocks were supposed to be demolished.

The agreement entails the demolishment of seven housing blocks consisting of a total of 400 apartments in Gellerupparken from 2021 to 2022, and 200 apartments in Toveshøj.
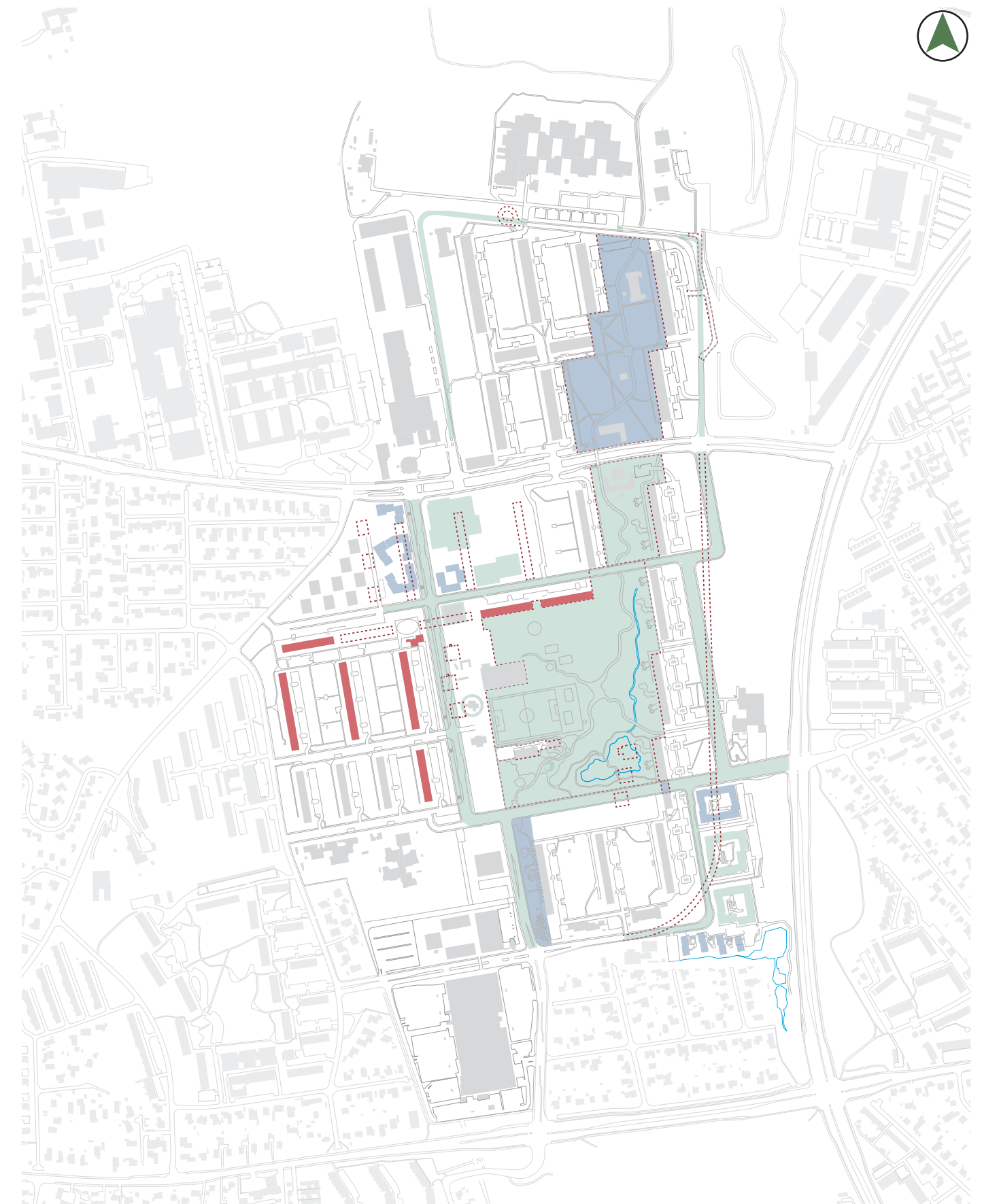
Ill. 14 - Map of changes performed since the master plan began and future demolitions

[ ] Performed demolitions (2014-2018)　　■ Live developments (Until 2020)

■ Finished developments (May 2019)　　■ Planned demolitions (2021-2022 & 2024)

Development plan for Gellerupparken 2018–2030

In 2018 the housing association updated their master plan with a new development plan, as the vision of the original plan had changed since 2011 due to the release of the ghetto plan (Brabrand Boligforening, 2018).

The main changes made in the development plan are; numbers of expected residents in the area by 2030, number of demolitions and new dwellings built, and a major focus on building a primary school in the area (ibid.).

The housing association sees the primary school as the main attractor to attract one of main target groups that can contribute to the social capital and commit themselves to the area; families with young children (ibid.).

The updated vision

The updated vision depicts Gellerupparken in three phases at different time periods; 2023, 2027 and 2030. The following phases are direct translations of the housing associations vision (ibid.).

The aim of the first phase is to create a variation in the housing typologies. Towards 2023 housing blocks in Gellerupparken will be demolished, and new townhouses will be built both in Gellerupparken and outside of Toveshøj. In 2023 City Vest has expanded and now consists of a cinema.

The aim of the second phase is to facilitate activities and business in Gellerupparken. Towards 2027 housing blocks in Toveshøj has been demolished to make way for additional townhouses to mix the typology of the area. Gellerupparken has begun to see the effects of the physical changes now that the area is no longer dominated by the previous tall housing block typology. The newly renovated housing blocks are now seen as beautiful sculptures that frame and relates to the outstanding park. The changes entails new dwellings with a higher rent, which creates a mixed composition of residents, an increased social capital, but also an increased purchasing power, which strengthens the basis for City Vest, the bazaar and other commercial activities. A new business quarter has been built in the eastern part of Gellerupparken.

The most important result of this phase is the sports and culture campus, which is essential for the branding of the new Gellerupparken. The boulevard has also changed, as it is now framed by significant buildings with a great diversity of offers such as dentists, fitness centers, shops, cafés, workplaces and more.

In 2030, the third phase, Gellerupparken is now a center for all of Aarhus West thanks to its shopping centre, cinema, theater with experimenting repertoire, a diverse sports and health facility, different cultural offers, and world bath and wellness center which has become one of the largest tourist attractions of Aarhus. The business life is flourishing thanks to a great focus on entrepreneurs and synergies with the existing businesses in Brabrand. Gellerupparken is also very well connected to the rest of Aarhus thanks to the effective light rail that runs down the boulevard. The primary school (marked yellow on illustration 15) is another major institution in Gellerupparken.
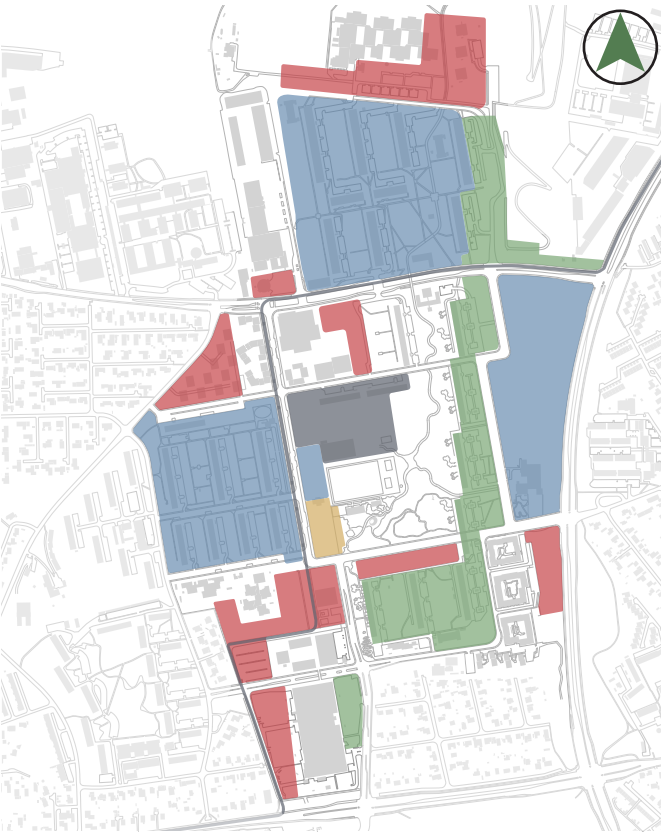
Ill. 15 - Map showing the phases of the vision

■ Area changed by 2023   ■ Unspecified changes by 2030
■ Area changed by 2027   ■ New primary school by 2030
■ Area changed by 2030

The unspecified changes

As shown on the map above, a lot of areas are marked with red. These areas are supposedly finished by 2030, but are lacking an indication of when the development of them will begin. These areas entail demolishing parts of the existing school and the daycare facilities next to it, in order to create additional housing next to and in front of the school. The parking area in front of the bazaar will become an attractive square with markets. Additional office buildings will be built next to the municipal building, and there will be built more student housing on the other side of it.

The red areas south of the park are all supposedly new housing quarters with parking garages, and shopping facilities. This signifies that the southern part of Gellerupparken is not the prioritized that much, and that these areas will remain vacant for years to come.

Critique of the master plan

Attracting rather than helping

As in the case of Mjølnerparken in Copenhagen; destruction of the physical borders surrounding the social housing area might literally open up Gellerupparken, but the stigmatization of Gellerupparken can still sustain mental borders, which are harder to break. Easier access and spatial proximity does not necessarily reduce social distance (Stender & Bech-Danielsen, 2019). The creators of the master plan assumes that physically opening of the area will change the image of the area, by symbolically opening it up, allowing outsiders into the area. It is used as a tactic for creating bridging and linking social capital by enticing people to Gellerupparken through several attractions. The bazaar, municipal building and the sports campus are meant to connect Gellerupparken with the rest of Aarhus and the municipality. The new combined world bath and wellness center is meant to put Gellerupparken on the world map and attract 600.000 visitors each year, or 1.643 visitors each day. The aim is to create linking and bridging social capital, bringing new people to visit the area, rather than strengthening the bonding social capital.

The master plan clearly signals that the municipality and the housing association bets on the affluent newcomers, and that they will improve the area and the statistics in order to remove Gellerupparken from the ghetto list. However, this seems unlikely as research shows that residential conflicts can occur when different socioeconomic classes are mixed in addition to the tenure mix (see section 2.3).

The conversion of social family housing into private ownership is implemented as a way to achieve a tenure mix, as an attempt of creating a social mix; this has the opposite effect and contributes to a decreasing social mix and increasing segregation on the housing market (see section 2.3 - critique. It is worrying that the master plan focuses on attracting affluent residents, rather than focusing on creating workplaces that can get the residents into the job market.

Employment in the area

New commercial buildings are built to introduce commercial activity to the area (Bech-Danielsen & Christensen, 2017). If the idea is to improve the percentage of employed residents in the area, then it is important that the commercial offers are tailored to the residents of Gellerupparken. It should give the locals a chance to establish themselves on the job market, which is one of the most important issues in the ghetto plan (Regeringen, 2018).

The statistics show that only 16,4% of the residents have an education beyond primary school (Ministry of Transport, Building, and Housing, 2018). Workplaces that require highly educated labourers, will to a great extend attract outsiders, and do little to help the current residents without a job. The municipal building that supposedly brings 1000 workplaces to the area is likely to employ outsiders, or simply just move the already employed outsiders to the area.

Security

Opening an area, increasing visibility and adding street light is something that might work well to increase both a sense of se-

curity and might lead to a reduction in crime in the area. Street lighting is linked to a better use of public space by residents, and studies show that it works as an affordable way to reduce crime in an area (Xu et al., 2018).

Symptomatic focus

The plan aims to reach the same social and economical standard as Aarhus. This seems like a goal that will be very hard to achieve with the current residents, which makes it clear that the plan is not to achieve it with the current composition of residents, but with new and more affluent residents. The plan is to facelift Gellerupparken and create a new attractive image, rather than improving the conditions for the current residents or strengthening its current potentials. This mirrors the aim of the ghetto plan and typical social mixing, which attempts to fix the symptoms of the problems rather than solving the problems themselves.

Development plan

The new agreement between the housing association and Aarhus municipality, which entails 600 apartments being torn down, will result in direct displacement of the residents, community displacement and neighbourhood resource displacement (see section 2.2). It is not yet certain, whether the housing association is allowed to rehouse the residents within the area (Aarhus Municipality and Brabrand Boligforening, 2019), but even if they were allowed to, then it is doubtful that the residents could afford the new types of housing.

The residents are guaranteed rehousing to a new dwelling at the maximum price of 800 DKK per m2 each year, which is slightly cheaper than the apartments in Gellerupparken (ibid.). The Municipality is supposed to find 600 dwellings for these residents within the available social housing market, consisting of all housing associations dwellings (Jensen, 2019). There are 1036 social housing dwellings in the municipality, that equal the size and price of the ones in Gellerupparken (Aarhusbolig.dk, 2019). However, it is unlikely that enough of these dwellings are available once the residents have to move out.

Changes over a long period of time

The biggest thing to come out of the master plan is that the area is constantly changing over 19 years without any breaks to reflect upon and evaluate the developments and the process. Likewise, there is very little consideration made towards the rapid changes and how the area is supposed to function during this process. The constant changes all over the area makes Gellerupparken a liminal space, something between what it used to be and what it will become, ultimately creating a lack of activities, identity and designated purpose. The facilities built over time have not been thought to work on their own but in relation to their context, but

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented Gellerupparken as the case study of this thesis. It gives an account of its strategic location in relation to Aarhus and its encompassing neighbourhood. Furthermore it gives an account of the historical development of the area, and how the political focus and its subsequent policies has intensified. The chapter also gives an account of the demographic composition of the area. The combination of these accounts highlight that the area has a specific identity and quality.

However, the master plan, the development plan and the new political agreement reflects neither this identity nor quality. The plans focuses on the strategic location to Aarhus, and that the area has both a bazaar and a shopping centre, while ignoring its latent community potentials. They focus only on the socioeconomic problems of the area, and how the area can be taken off the ghetto list, thanks to the pressure of the ghetto plan requiring it to be finished by 2030. The plans and the political agreement focus on removing the socio-economic problems from the area by displacing the troubled residents, and replacing them with people not faced by these problems (see section 2.3).

By identifying problems, the existing characteristics and potentials are missed, which the thesis recognizes as important and therefore needs to research them further. To accomplish this methods needed to be developed to further to explore Gellerupparken, its characteristics, challenges and potentials, which will be presented in the next chapter.

Methodology
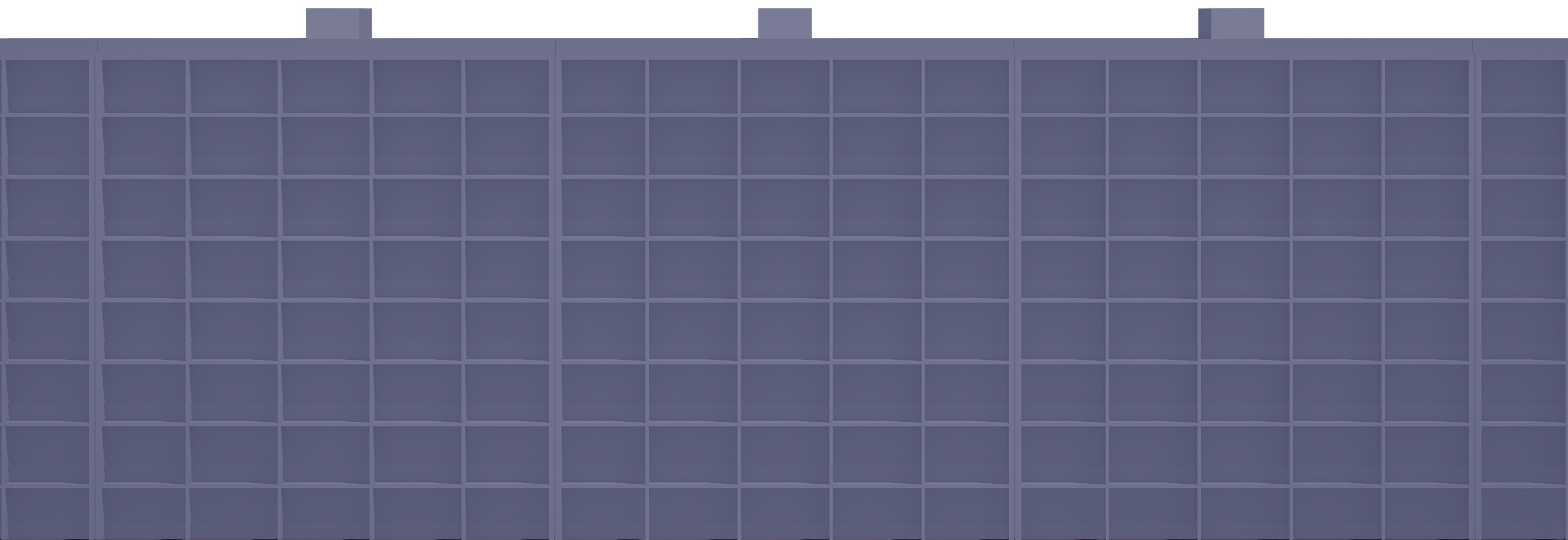
Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the methods that were used to study the experiences of residents affected by the policy construct, and to identify ways of alleviating challenges imposed upon them by realizing opportunities through design strategies, in the case study area Gellerupparken.

The methods used throughout the thesis are divided into three phases. The first phase was the fieldwork that focused on gathering empirical findings of the site and its residents in-situ.

The second phase was the analysis of the empirical findings from the fieldwork. The empirical findings in the shape of notes, mappings and audio recordings from the fieldwork were organized and synthesized.

The third phase was using the empirical findings and the synthesized knowledge to identify ways of alleviating the challenges found through the fieldwork and analyses by realizing opportunities through design interventions.

5.1 Phase 1: Fieldwork

Defining stakeholders

Prior to the fieldwork, stakeholders had to be defined. The primary stakeholders in the thesis were the local stakeholders, due to the thesis aiming at exploring the experiences of the residents in Gellerupparken and their daily lives. This excludes focusing on the municipality in the fieldwork, as the aim is to understand how it is to live in the area, not how the municipality governs the area.

The aim was to achieve a slight demographic mix of interviewees and participants for our talks, walks and mappings. However, this was challenging due to the amount of time available for the thesis and the fieldwork. It was also challenging getting in touch with different types of local stakeholders, as some residents do not speak Danish or English. Further reflections of the methodological approach can be found in the conclusion of the thesis.

In addition to the residents, community stakeholders were interviewed, as they were crucial to understand the community life of Gellerupparken. The community stakeholders are the lifeblood of the community that help facilitate different associations and help other residents.

Furthermore, we saw a necessity for interviewing the decision makers of Gellerupparken, which constitutes both the area committee as well as planners from the housing association (BBBO). The area committee is chosen by the residents of the area, and their role is to attend to the interests of the residents and the area. The area committee are residents that know the challenges and potentials of the area, which means that when the housing association makes a decision about servicing the area, then they will not only take the technicians or administrations point of view into account. The planners of BBBO are the professional planners that have developed the master plan of the area, and oversees its development, which makes them crucial to interview.

Table 7 below shows the six people that were interviewed, how long they have lived there, and their affiliation to Gellerupparken. The majority of the interviewees are all long time residents, and one of them being one of the first residents to move in. The project manager that was interviewed during the fieldwork, one of the people who decide what happens to Gellerupparken, neither lives in the area or is a part of any local civic association. It indicates a disconnect to the area they manage and plan the future for. This emphasizes the need for the local representatives in the supervisory board of the housing association.

Name of the interviewee	Title	Local stakeholder	Decision maker	Civic association
Abdinasir	Chairman of Gellerupparken	Resident for 22 years	Works for the residents with BBBO	Member of the local co-operative
Chadi	Information officer and advocate	Resident for 33 years	-	Member of the local co-operative
Elsebeth	News editor at local paper & activist	Resident for 15 years	-	Almen modstand and local paper
Helle	Advocate of Gellerupparken	Resident for 46 years	-	Chairwoman, treasurer and member of everything
Inga	One of the first to move to Gellerupparken	Resident for 50 years	-	Member of elderly community center
René	Projet manager at BBBO	-	Develops areas and sells them to investors	-

Table 7 - Overview of the interviews from the fieldwork

Interviews

Socially marginalized areas are typically inhabited by many hard to reach groups, and to come in contact with these, the thesis seeks to use snowball sampling (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). Simply put, snowball sampling is a technique used to find and come in contact with stakeholders. One interviewee points the researcher to the next interviewee who points the researcher to a third and so on (ibid.)

Snowball sampling is an informal method to a target population and offers practical advantages when trying to get explorative, qualitative and descriptive data. It is mainly used to conduct qualitative research through interviews (Atkinson & Flint, 2001). The method was very valuable in situations where there was a need for a degree of trust or familiarity to initiate contact. Techniques such as chain referral was used to create trust within a group of local and community stakeholders, through the help of the insiders (Ibid.). This also helped us getting in contact with stakeholders that we were not aware of.

The thesis deals with human affairs and actions, and in those cases, interviews are an essential source of collecting empirics. Well-conducted and well-informed interviews can provide important insight into the affairs and activities of people, as well as provide shortcuts to help identify other valuable sources of information (Yin, 2014). It is important to understand that interviewees responses can be subject to bias, poor recall and poor or inaccurate articulation. Because of this, it is important for the thesis credibility to corroborate interview data with information from other sources such as reports, articles, policies, literature and other people's statements (ibid.). This is less important when dealing with personal views on a subject, but is important when discussing provable facts or if the interviewee claims to speak for others (Ibid.).

A central and important part of an interview is the planning, the focus must be on three things (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2015):

- **Why** - Clarify the purpose of the interview
- **What** - Acquiring advance knowledge of the subject to be investigated
- **How** - Obtaining knowledge about different interviewing theories and analytical techniques to be able to decide which method to use to get the anticipated results.

The main interviewing method used during the fieldwork was semi-structured interviews, where the relationship between interviewer and interviewee, unlike in structured interviews, is not entirely scripted (Yin, 2010). Semi-structured interviews are chosen to make better use of the knowledge potentials that can be gained by dialogues where interviewer have more leeway to follow up angles deemed important by the interviewee (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2015).

When conducting a semi-structured interview with open-ended questions it is important to both satisfy the needs of the line of inquiry, as well as putting forth friendly and non-threatening questions (Yin, 2014). The questions need to be carefully worded to appear naive about the topic and allow the interviewee to provide fresh comments on the topic, instead of leading questions mainly targeted to corroborate previous biases held by the interviewer (ibid.).

Participatory observations and 'go-alongs'

Participatory observations and go-alongs were performed during the fieldwork in order to explore of the experiences of the residents in Gellerupparken, and how they perceive their neighbourhood and engage with it. It is a part of ethnography with its central aim of understanding another way of life from the native point of view.

In participatory observation, the researcher is the main research instrument for collecting data (Yin, 2010). The researcher becomes a part of the field in which he studies while observing it at the same time. This requires the researcher to be aware of his potential biases and idiosyncrasies (ibid.). It necessitates the researcher to reflect upon his actions and words, as they have an impact on the results of the study, although some aspects such as race or ethnicity is outside the researchers control (ibid.).

Spradley (1980) argued that participation could be examined as five types that range in terms of involvement with the stakeholders and the site. They are:

Degree of involvement	Type of participation
High	Complete
	Active
	Moderate
Low	Passive
No involvement	Non-participation

Table 8 - The different degrees of participation (Spradley, 1980)

The fieldwork consisted of eleven visits to Gellerupparken averaging eight hours per visit. Most of the participation activities performed during these visits were; observing the stakeholders (15 observation activities), walking with them (four go-alongs), having them fill out maps (23 stakeholder mappings) and interviewing them (six interviews). The fieldwork performed in this thesis was done with a slightly moderate degree of involvement. It was not entirely moderate, as that degree of participation entails keeping a balance between being an insider and an outsider, between participation and observation (ibid.).

Go-alongs are a hybrid methodological approach between participant observation and interviewing where the researchers accompany the stakeholders in their 'natural' outings. The researchers ask questions, listens and observes to explore how the stakeholders experience and interact with their physical and social environment in their everyday routines (Kusenbach, 2003). These everyday routines and their natural occurence are challenged when researchers joins the stakeholder on the go-along (ibid.). It will never be a natural walk, but it allows the researcher to get an insight into the stakeholders experiences and interactions with the area that is being studied. It helps the researchers

understanding how individuals conceptualise their neighbourhood, when they are allowed to share their view of the area, and show other people its potentials or challenges (Clark & Emmel, 2010).

It help the researchers understanding of how the stakeholders think about and articulate their neighbourhood, and how they help creating their neighbourhood through socio-spatial practices (ibid.). This is very pertinent since this thesis focuses on the experiences of the residents in Gellerupparken, and how they perceive their neighbourhood and engage with it.

Stakeholder mapping

Mapping precipitates the possibility of revealing and realizing hidden potentials and assets of an area (Corner, 1999), that only the locals know of. Mapping with locals affords an insight into their connection to their area in the different ways they use it, when they use it and why they use it. It was therefore crucial to map the area with the locals, as the aim of the fieldwork was to understand the locals, their area and the challenges they face. A total of 23 maps where collected during the ten visits to the case study area.

A mapping exercise was performed during the fieldwork with the interviewees and residents that were encountered, and willing to participate. The mapping exercise consisted of a local being asked several questions about Gellerupparken and themselves, that they would have to draw on an aerial photograph of the area.

First and foremost, the locals were asked where they lived, in order to later sense what parts of the area was used, and where the people who used it was from. The second question asked what they perceived the boundary of Gellerupparken to be, in order to try and understand what they deemed as a part of their neighbourhood. The third question asked what parts of the area that the locals used, in order to understand what parts of the area is active and less active. The fourth question asked what activities they do in the area at night, or where they would go if they wanted to do something at night. This gave an insight into how the area functions in the evenings after City Vest and the bazaar has closed. Lastly, the locals were asked if there were any parts of the area that they would prefer not to be in at any given time. This was asked in an attempt to understand what parts of the area were troubled or in need of improvements, but not one local person could name such a part of the area.

The mapping was conducted as an ongoing process throughout the fieldwork process. Just as the interviews, the aim of the mapping was to get a slightly mixed demographic representation of the participants. This was attempted by putting effort into speaking to and mapping with different age groups, ethnicities and genders. Since Gellerupparken is an enormous housing area, it was decided that the mappings would be done in different locations of the area, in an attempt to receive a wide array of different answers to the mapping questions.

5.2 Phase 2: Analysis
Synthesizing empirical data

The empirical data gathered from the fieldwork was compiled together in the qualitative data analysis program NVivo. The audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed, as text is easier to code than audio. Once transcribed and compiled, the different data was disassembled by coding it with different themes. Some themes were defined from the beginning of the coding, and additional themes presented themselves while transcribing and coding the interviews. After the empirical data was coded it was then categorized into major themes to reassemble, interpret and synthesize the empirical data.

The mappings that the locals filled out during the fieldwork were compiled and redrawn in Illustrator, as a lot of the maps were drawn with different colors or patterns for each question. This made the mappings more uniform and easier to interpret. The mappings were layered on top of each other with a low opacity, in order for the assembled boundaries, potentials, and activities to be realized.

Throughout the process of synthesizing the empirical findings numerous challenges and potentials were revealed. The challenges were discussed in relation to their thematic context and their significance, which created three main themes; social challenges, spatial challenges, and infrastructural challenges. The challenges were not exclusive to one theme as some of them were both affecting Gellerupparken and its residents socially, spatially and the infrastructure. The challenges and potentials were evaluated in terms of their criticality, whether they responded to the aim and objectives of the thesis, and if they were possible to alleviate or strengthen.

The most critical challenges and potentials were analysed further to understand their effect on Gellerupparken and its residents, which subsequently revealed the most critical points of the challenges. These critical points succinctly described the critical challenges, and suggested ways of either alleviating or strengthening them through a design proposal.

5.3 Phase 3: Design
Using empirical findings as basis for the design

The suggestions from the critical points were used to create the design parameters for the design proposal of the thesis. The design parameters were used to create the vision and helped delimit the selection of site for the design proposal. Several design workshops were held to explore the selection of the site, the implementation of the design proposal, and the functionality of it. In the end a design framework was created, aiming to respond to the most critical challenges and potentials. This design framework was developed to be able to assist strategic actors and decision makers by highlighting what residents deemed as most important. The design framework was created in the form of suggestions of changes and functions in strategic areas that could help improve the Gellerupparken on a short and long-term basis. It was also created as a lobbying document to assist local stakeholders to stimulate an alternative approach to the redevelopment of the area.

5.4 Conclusion

The outcomes of the literature review, and the policy review, were combined with the methodological approaches providing the ability to study the area in empirical details.

This chapter presented the methodological approaches used to gather empirical findings and study the experiences of residents affected by the policy construct, in the case study area Gellerupparken.

The methodological approaches were used throughout three different phases of the thesis; fieldwork, analysis, and design. The first phase, fieldwork, described what stakeholders were selected for the study and why. It then described how the stakeholders were interviewed, and how the interviews were performed. Following this the section described how the participation observation was performed during the field visit with observations, go-alongs and stakeholder mappings.

The second phase described how the empirical findings from the fieldwork were analysed and synthesized to uncover the challenges that the residents experience, but also the many potentials of the community and the area. These challenges and potentials were analysed further to understand their effect, which subsequently revealed the critical points needed to be alleviated or strengthened.

The third phase described how the critical points were used to create the design parameters for the design proposal. They were used as the foundation for the vision and helped delimit the selection of site. Throughout the third phase design workshops were held to explore the functionality, location and implementation of the design proposal.

The following chapter will uncover the empirical findings from the fieldwork and highlight the most critical findings. The subsequent chapter will unpack these critical findings and use them to formulate the design parameters for the design proposal of the thesis.

Chapter
06

Fieldwork:
Uncovering challenges and potentials
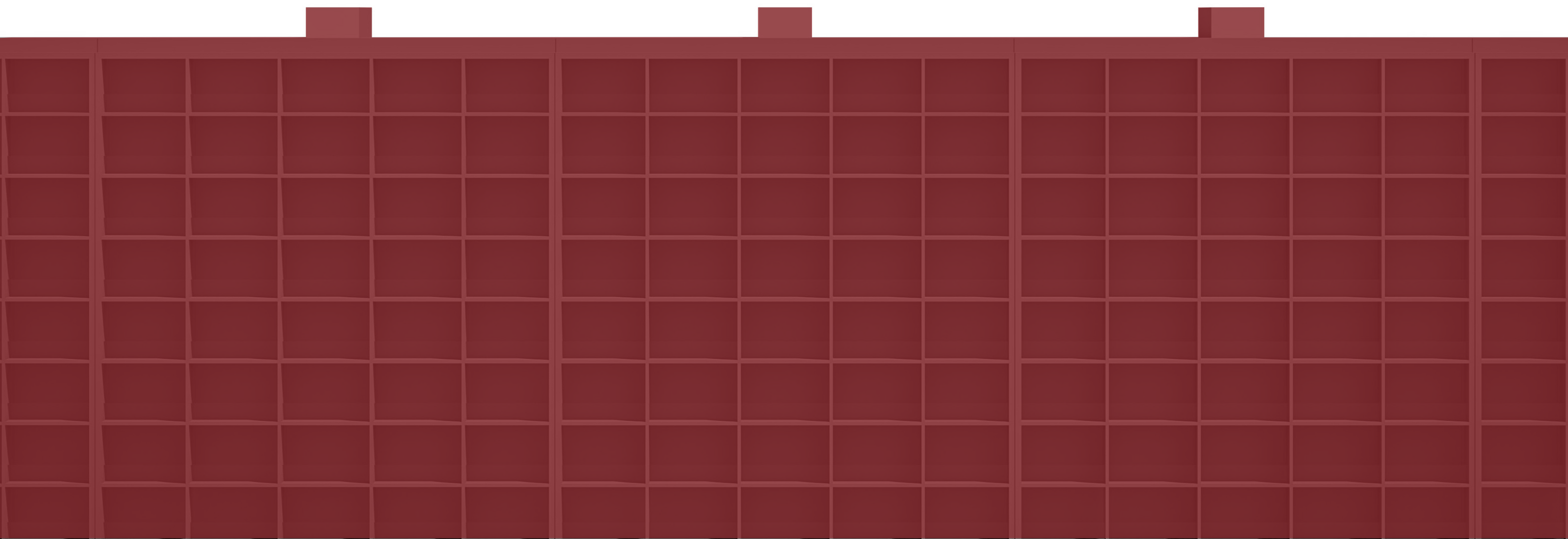
Introduction

This chapter will start with introducing a summary of the results from the fieldwork, before delving into the challenges and potentials that were uncovered during the fieldwork in Gellerupparken.

The challenges that were uncovered range in size and severity, from issues on a neighbourhood scale, to challenges imposed by the highest body of government. The challenges are categorized into two categories: social challenges, and spatial challenges.

The social challenges will focus on the experience of the residents and the different challenges they face. Some of these challenges were imposed on them through legislations, while others were more personal challenges based on personal problems or a lack of opportunities.

The spatial challenges will focus on the boundaries of Gellerupparken, the scale of the area and the lack of activities. Further challenges caused by the developments in the area are then presented.

After the challenges have been presented, the chapter will then present the potentials that were uncovered during the fieldwork. The potentials are both social and spatial, relating to the geography and functions of Gellerupparken, along with the potentials that the community provides.

After the challenges and potentials have all been uncovered, the most critical ones will be highlighted, and unpacked further in the following chapter.

6.1 Interviews & observations

Interviews and talks with local stakeholders, community stakeholders and decision makers attributed greatly to creating an understanding of the challenges facing the area. The conversation primarily revolved around social challenges that the residents of Gellerupparken face, with a focus on how they were influenced by the ghetto plan and the master plan.

The ghetto plan was unpopular amongst local and community stakeholders. They pointed out how the policy contributed to enhancing social problems and introducing new ones. The only positive mention of it was by the planner at the housing association, as it helped provide funding to complete the plans for the area.

The stakeholders shared more varied opinions about the master plan. Generally, the local stakeholders did not have a full picture of the planned changes and were fairly neutral on the subject of the master plan. Some stakeholders were hopeful of it, while others shared more pessimistic opinions of it. The community stakeholders were fairly disillusioned by the plan, feeling very positively towards the original plan. They mentioned that they felt excluded from the most recent decisions and had strong negative opinions of it. The decision makers were optimistic about the plans that are going to change Gellerupparken.

Large social challenges such as gentrification, displacement and stigmatization were an important topic throughout the talks, where points were made linking these issues to continued negative publicity as well as the current development in the area.

The community factor emerged as strong in Gellerupparken, where the active involvement of certain citizens have been and important presence throughout the areas history. Suggestions were made to implement improvements to Gellerupparken in several ways.

Gender representation of the interviewees	
Men	Women
3	3

Table 8 - Gender representation of the interviewees

Type	Amount of activities
Site visit	11
Observation activities	15
Go-alongs	4
Residential mapping	23
Interviews	6

Table 9 - Summary showing the amount of activities performed during fieldwork
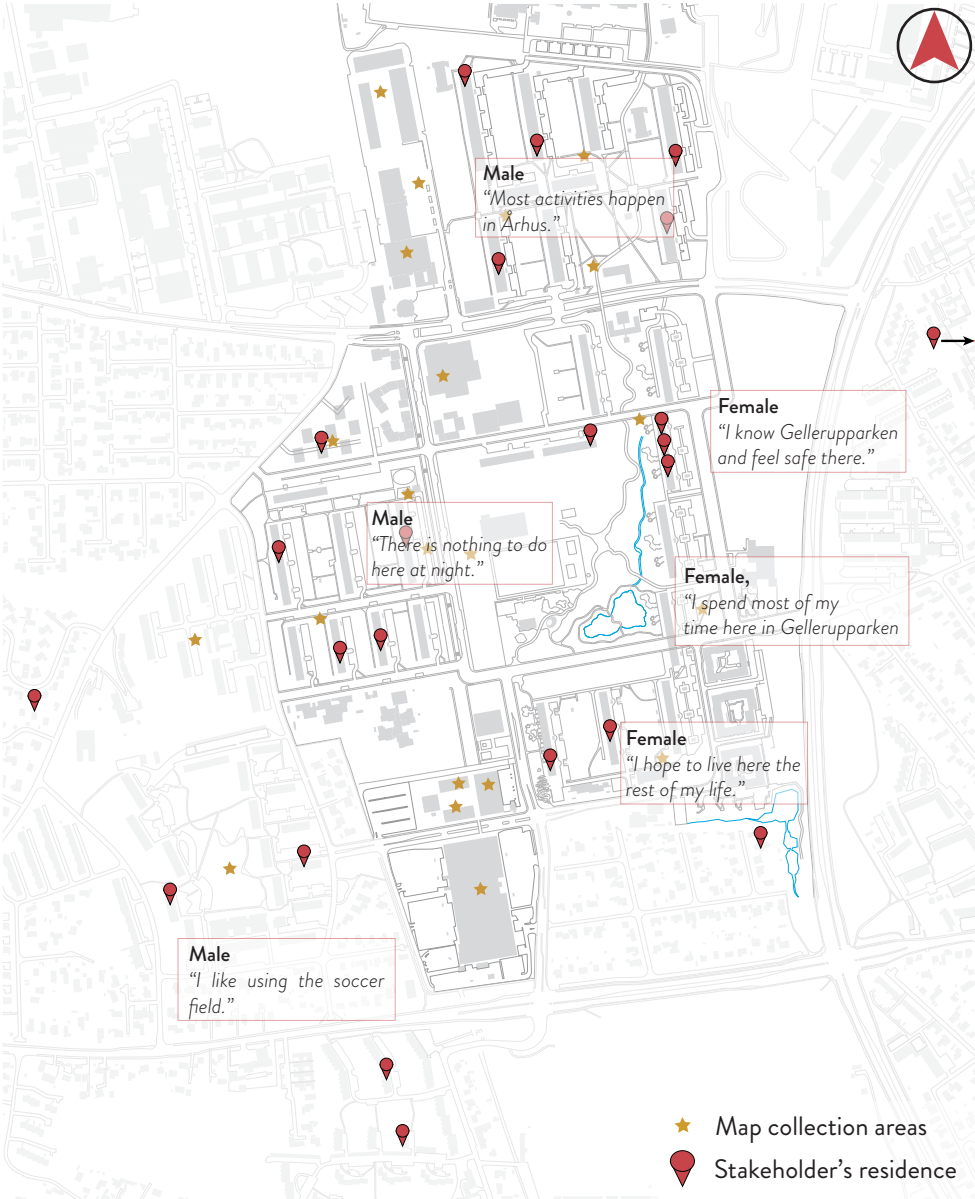
6.2 Stakeholder mapping

The answers from the mappings varied by the persons age, ethnicity and where they lived. There biggest difference in the mapping was the contrast of the people considering themselves as being from Gellerupparken, and those that considered themselves from being from outside of Gellerupparken. This contrast was shown when asked to make boundaries, as well and placing activities on the map.

In spite of some differences, the results showed a lot of overlap overall, and especially when it came to points of interest and activity. This served to highlight both the areas that are important for the residents, while at the same time revealing how other areas were lacking in activities. It also help in showing which functions that were important in Gellerupparken, as well as which functions were lacking.

Type of stakeholder	Role	Amount
Local stakeholder	Resident	17
Community stakeholder	Civic association	5
Decision maker	Manages the area	1
Total		23

Table 11 - Summary of stakeholder mappings

Age	Male	Female
15-25	5	1
25-35	3	1
35-45	3	3
45-55	2	2
55-65	-	2
65-75+	2	2
Total	14	9

Table 10 - Age and gender representation of the stakeholders

Male
"Most activities happen in Århus."

Female
"I know Gellerupparken and feel safe there."

Male
"There is nothing to do here at night."

Female,
"I spend most of my time here in Gellerupparken

Female
"I hope to live here the rest of my life."

Male
"I like using the soccer field."

★ Map collection areas
📍 Stakeholder's residence

Ill. 16 - Locations of stakeholder mapping and the stakeholders residence

Boundaries

Boundary mapping helped paint a picture of what the locals of the area considered as Gellerupparken. This helped narrow down the area and gave some insight into the place, drawing borders that were different from those defined by the master plan, the ghettoplan or a typical search result on Google maps. People living on the edges of our initial understanding of what constitutes Gellerupparken, did not include their own area within the boundary. They would also often exclude city vest, a shopping centre that most people in the area frequented. City Vest was included within the boundaries drawn by the people considering themselves as being from Gellerupparken.

Points of interest

This showed a concentration of activity placed to the north and south borders of Gellerupparken. Specifically in City Vest and the bazaar. There were different points of interest scattered around, but those two areas were the two main hot-spots. Other points of interest were the indoor swimming facility, the sports facility, the library and more.

Activity during the day

This showed a concentration of activity from people all over Gellerupparken in the new park, and on the football field. Aside from that, people marked the outdoor areas close to their own apartment complex. This was repeated when asking where people liked to bring their kids. Either close to home, where they could keep an eye on them, to the football field or the new park.

Activity during the night

Our mapping showed us that there was a distinct lack of night-time activity available in the area, and more people answered that they spent their time in Aarhus city centre in the evenings than in Gellerupparken. When mapping, no two people pointed out the same area as a space for night-time activity.

Safety

Based on preconceived notions, there was made an effort to uncover areas where residents felt unsafe, where they would not want to spend time in Gellerupparken. This was a fruitless effort, as no one pointed out any specific areas. Participants said that there might be areas where they did not spend a lot of time, but that was due to the lack of activities available, and not related to safety. Biking down the boulevard was mentioned as an unsafe activity, because of the lack of bike lanes, and reckless drivers.

▬ Percieved boundary
● Points of interest (times marked)
Day-time activity
Night-time activity
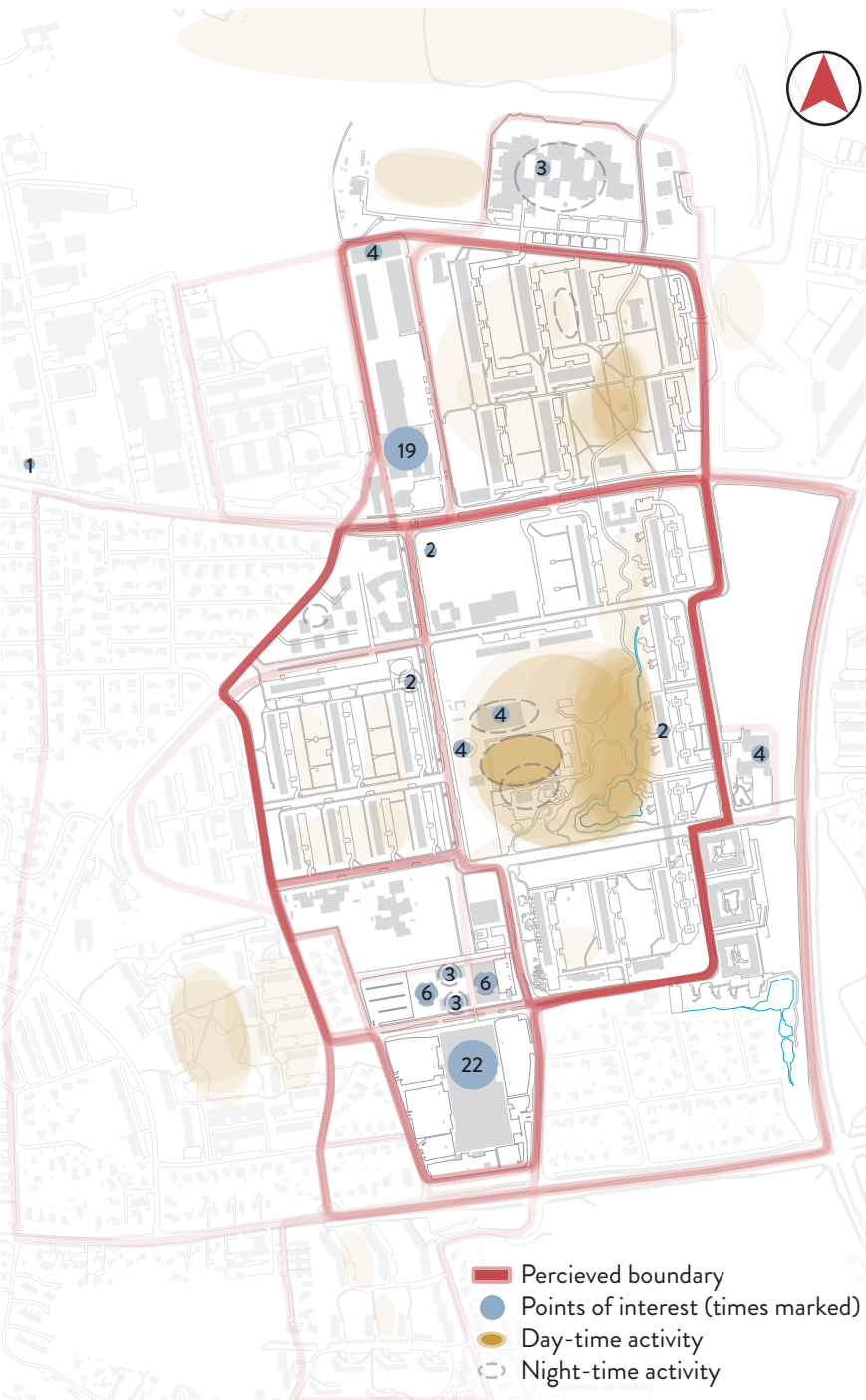
Ill. 17 - Fieldwork mapping

6.3 Social challenges
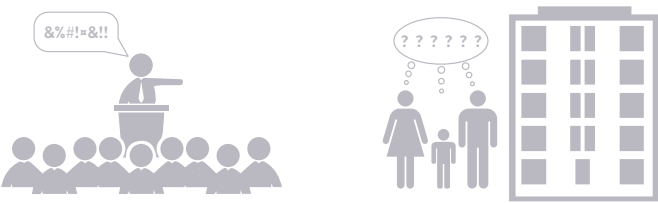
Stigmatization

Ill. 18 - Stigmatization

The residents of Gellerupparken have been stigmatized for many years by receiving bad publicity from the media and politicians, both local and national. Interviews have highlighted a feeling of being targeted unfairly.

"You feel like Gellerup is a target. Everyone is a scapegoat for the politicians and every form of media." - Abdinasir

"I had some friends at a point, that didn't dare come and visit me here because they had heard that it was so awful to live here. I had to walk one of my friends up to the bus stop and wait with her there because she didn't dare to stand alone. There is nothing happening here, why are they so afraid?" - Elsebeth

"I mean, a ghetto is something you see abroad, where people are gunned down on the street each day. Where there are robberies and god knows what. That is not at all what Gellerupparken is."- Elsebeth

As the quotes signify, the continued negative publicity has hurt the area's reputation to the point where it has deterred possible future residents. This has been exacerbated by the ghetto plan (see section 3.3).

Harmful policies

Ill. 19 - Harmful policies

The ghetto plan is seen as unfair to many residents, as it seeks to paint the entirety of Gellerupparken with the same brush, and the residents are disagreeing in the characterization that is being made.

"The new ghetto plan that came, it says that we are living in a parallel society. And I try to tell them that, no we aren't!" - Chadi

"You can change work, education and crime, but you can't change your ethnicity. And the plan lists this as one of the criterias that should be considered when deciding if the area should be on the ghetto list or not. That is discriminatory and racist." - Abdinasir

While residents understand the focus on social problems in Gellerupparken, they are puzzled by the focus on ethnicity. This understandably feels unfair to them as this is something out of

their control. Ethnicity cannot be changed with the current residents, and can only be altered by new residents moving in and old residents moving out.

"In the middle of 2018 or the beginning of 2017, we had realized the plan orginial plan from 2011. We had, in reality, completed the physical changes. And we had started to renovate the first apartment buildings. (...) Those demolitions would be extremely hard to get passed through the resident democracy if we didn´t have some tools that told us that there had to be made a larger change (The ghetto plan)." - Rene

The ghetto plan laid the framework for further demolitions in the area that would otherwise be very hard to implement. This caused new problems for the residents, but benefited the housing association as they could change the area more than previously imagined.

Displacement of residents and associations

Ill. 20 - Displaced residents

There is fear among some residents of whether they will lose their homes and social network, as was suggested by (Mehdipanah et al., 2018). The planned demolishments (see section 4.4 - development plan) will cause direct displacement and raises a question of where these residents will be moved to. This question was asked to Brabrand Housing association to receive some clarity.

"The political part of Aarhus Municipality, in collaboration with an umbrella organization of all the housing associations in Aarhus, makes a deal about the 1000 apartments that are being torn down. They think that they can find dwellings for these people in the greater social housing mass owned across all the associations. (...) But honestly, I actually don't believe, unfortunately, that the municipality has thought through what they are going to do about the people." - René

This means that the residents will be spread out across all of the municipality. The plan seems unfair and wrong from the residents perspective, as they are removed from their community and home.

"It's as if nobody thinks it's wrong to displace so many people and tearing down so many buildings? I really don't get it." - Helle

"The thing is, if you are unemployed and have poor Danish language skills, and you don't really have an education, then I don't know how much it helps to move people away to other areas. Then they will just sit out there!" - Elsebeth

And the problems also relate to many of the associations in Gellerupparken, who have been directly displaced due to demolitions.

"Right now the associations are homeless! They should have strengthened the association life even more. I'm treasurer of about five associations and I think that they aren't provided enough help. I've been a part of them for eight years and you can see that they haven't been supported enough to be strong associations " - Helle

A breakdown in communication
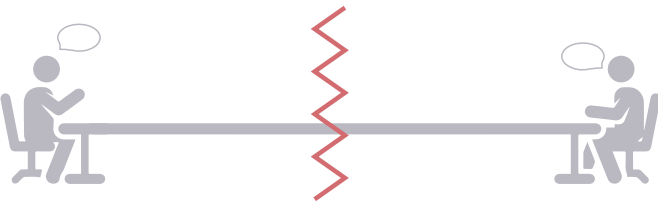
Ill. 21 - A breakdown in communication

The interviewees expressed a breakdown in communication between the local and community stakeholders and the decision makers. This has caused the previously positive view of the area's future plans to deteriorate.

"Right now I don't really know... At the moment I am really pessimistic about it because I don't really feel like I am a part of it anymore. Now there are just someone making decision above our head, and that's that. (...) They used to come out here to ask us; 'Do you have any suggestions for how to handle this, or how we should proceed with this?'." - Elsebeth

"Now it has all gone wrong. The contractors removed a playground without permission! And when I asked them who moved it, the housing association says 'Well, it's the construction company', and when you ask the construction company: 'Who have told you to remove this playground?' they say 'Well, it said so in our plan'. Then I ask: 'What plan? Who agreed on this plan?'. They then told me that they agreed on it themselves."- Abdinasir

"The planning department in the housing association all come from the private sector, they have no idea of working with a supervisory board of residents. They actually find it annoying that the supervisory board can focus on one certain thing, and then a new board is selected by the residents, and then the board wants to do something different. But come on, that's how it is to work with a supervisory board of residents!" - Abdinasir

"Back in 2008 we did a lot of citizen participation at Globus1, where we walked on huge maps drawing what we wished for the area. We made two of these events, which was then worked further upon. (...) They (the mayor's office) agreed to create a political steering committee, and that the locals should be a part of the negotiations of the development every year. Last year however, the mayor suddenly didn't want to meet with us anymore, despite the steering committee being a part of the plan." - Helle

The communication is a crucial part of the planning and development process, especially due to the complexity of the project. There are many layers and channels of communication between the locals, the associations, the supervisory board of residents, the housing association, contractors and the municipality. All of these layers and channels clearly complicates the regeneration project.

It is worrying that things such as the removal of a playground can happen, when the communication slips. Luckily, if was only a playground that could be installed again, however it is but a small example of the mishaps that can happen in a process such as this.

Doubling of residents and social mix clash
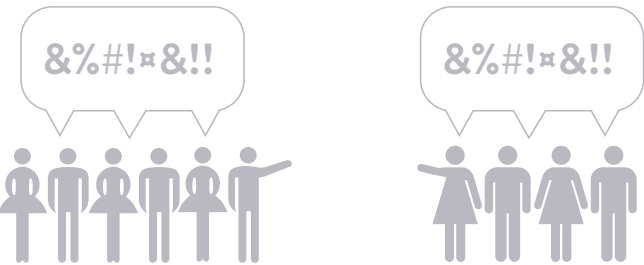
Ill. 22 - Doubling of residents and social mix clash

The new master plan aims to double the amount of residents in Gellerupparken by 2030 (see section 4.4). 600 existing families will be directly displaced from the area by 2026, in an attempt to change the typologies of the area, and to reduce the amount of non-western residents and socioeconomically disadvantaged in the area. The aim of the master plan is that the majority of the new residents in Gellerupparken will be of Danish descent and a higher economic standing than the current residents. There are some worries that this will result in intra-neighbourhood conflicts with the current residents, creating a social mix clash.

"There will be large conflicts. The people that are moving into the area, don't necessarily have an understanding of the kind of background and problems the people living here now are struggling with, and why they are ill-mannered. (...) I fear a situation that will result in people renting and then moving away as soon as they figure out that they have neighbours who can't behave themselves." - Abdinasir.

"I'm a part of the new television series '180 days in Gellerupparken', where four or five families have to live here for six months. One of the families lives in the newly renovated building on the ground floor, but their neighbours living on the third and fourth floor throw trash out the window, down on their doormat. They told me; 'Nasir it's okay! We're collecting all the trash, and then we will give it back to them once we have gathered enough and say 'This belongs to you!'. Haha! I told them that they'll have to get a security guard with them when they do." - Abdinasir

"It's the Danes that don't participate! They don't leave their apartment. They're secluded! I have been knocking on so many doors and asked them; 'Hey would you like to come to this event? Are you interested in being a part of the area committee?' and so on. They know nothing of what is going on or about the associations." - Abdinasir

These quotes are consistent with the literature stating that social mixing can create conflicts between old and new residents (see section 2.3). Likewise, the idea that these new residents will move to the area, and then befriend and socially lift the other residents, seems unlikely.

Furthermore, there is currently an adjustment period between the municipal employees that commute to Gellerupparken every day, and the residents living in the area. The pedestrian paths on the boulevard and the locals parking spots in front of their housing blocks have been used as parking spots by the employees.

"I overheard some employees talking together the other day, when some of their coworkers visited the new building. They talked about how they were settling in the new building and one visitor asked 'So... have someone stolen your bike yet?'" - Helle

Personal problems

The residents of the area are often struggling with severe personal problems. PTSD is a common disorder in Gellerupparken, as many of the residents are refugees from war-torn countries (see section 4.2).

"What also affects this area a lot is that almost a third of of families have a PTSD diagnosis. (...) I wrote reports about it and some of my coworkers created some videos about it as well, to help these people. The people with PTSD feel invalidated you know? And then there's secondary traumatisation where a lot of kids are affected by it, you know? We talk a lot about the Danes who return from war, and that they need help. But what about these people that came from war as well with a lot of mental baggage?" - Helle

"And it's really gone off the rails in the past few years with the economic disadvantages put upon them as well. It's not easy for them." - Helle

According to Helle, this is a problem that have been ramping up, and has become worse as time has passed, with different economical challenges placed on top of this.

Unemployment

Ill. 23 - Unemployment

Unemployment numbers in Gellerupparken are still very high seen in Danish context (see section 4.3), and job creation is one of the biggest wishes for the residents living there. Most of the area's residents lack higher education, which means there is a lack of workplaces that fit their skills.

"Something that would make me want to jump out of my chair in joy is, if someone from the municipality comes and says; 'Okay, we have created 100 jobs, and they will be given to people from Gellerupparken and Toveshøj.'"
- Chadi

"Our wish was for there to be created a change and a development by creating employment opportunities for the residents. And then we were told there would be 1000 workplaces here, just not to the residents." - Abdinasir.

"The gazelle farm had made a contract with a coffee company from Aalborg, that would come and run the café. And I stopped that, because it is not okay to use projects, meant for the local area and to lift the locals, and then you find outsiders! There happens a bit too many favours between the decision makers, contractors and outsiders, which is why I say that they have misunderstood the aim of the master plan. It is supposed to life the area!" - Abdinasir

Residents do not feel like the current plan have done enough to help with the unemployment problem. There is an acknowledgement that there have been created new workplaces in Gellerupparken, but these are in large part poorly suited to the skillsets of the majority of the residents.

Lack of ownership

The community stakeholders and decision makers pointed to a lack of ownership as a big problem in Gellerupparken, highlighting this as a reason for high amounts of vandalism and littering in the area.

"If we were closer to the neighbours, it would hurt a bit more when he, or my son, or myself threw trash off the balcony. At the moment, people don't care that much, because they think that the housing association or the municipality will come clean it up. There needs to be more introspection, where you can feel the consequences of such actions. (...) A sense of ownership and responsibility, I believe, is an incredible tool to improve the area."
- René

"There aren't enough people that speak up. If someone places a pizza box on the stairs, who will then say; 'Who put this here?'. Not many, as most people focus on their own lives and just walks away." - Abdinasir.

The lack of ownership is believed to lead to an indifference when it comes to the state of Gellerupparken and one of the causes for the excessive littering that have been such an annoyance for the residents. It is likely that the litter of building materials from all the construction sites in the area aggravates the littering.

"We are going to deny the new sports campus tender. Why should we need such a large common house when only half of us will be left? We have tried to build this common house since 2005, but then the master plan came and we had to wait for that to be finished. It suggested this 'house of associations', which I saw a need for back in 1986 where the associations had no place to be! It was planned to be finished in 2011. Then it was supposed to be finished in 2014, then in 2017, then 2019 and now it says it should be finished in 2020! Honestly, I don't think that the common house will ever be built." - Helle

As Helle pointed out in the quote above, the lack of ownership also affects the associations and the community life in Gellerupparken. It indicates that the associations have lost faith in facilities being built for them, and that the current proposition from the master plan, does not reflect their needs. This is one of multiple examples of how a social challenge manifests itself in the area spatially.

Another example is the indifference towards the area and neighbours due to lack of ownerships. It is clear to see with the littering, which is possibly aggravated by the construction litter and debris spread across the area (1 & 2). The clash between the residents and 'the outsiders' shows clearly in the incorrect use of the area by the employees, which was created for the residents to use (3 & 4). It also showed itself the day before the fieldwork began as two masked men drove by the municipal building and smashed 47 windows with an axe (5).

The clash between old and new residents also presented itself during the fieldwork as a new Danish family with a baby had moved to the area not that long ago. The father asked for help, during the co-operative quarterly meeting, to create a demonstration against the speeding residents that run a red light and make the area unsafe (6).

The following section will uncover the spatial challenges found during the fieldwork.
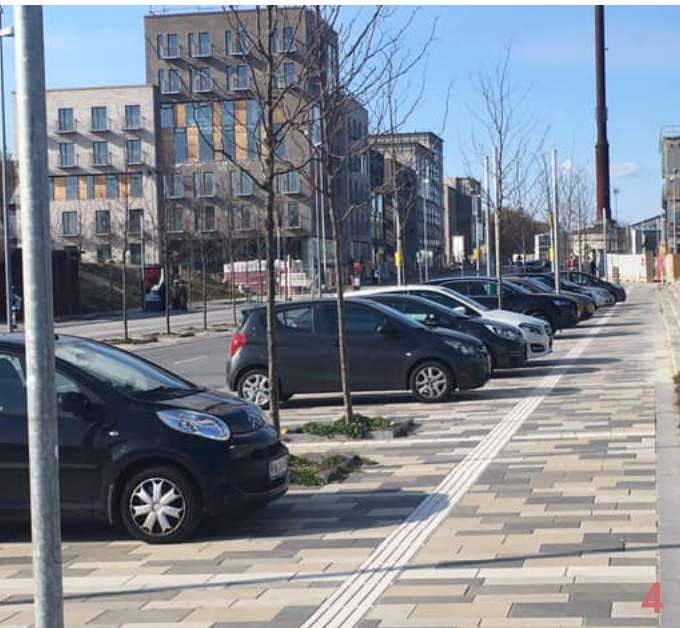
Ill. 24 - Images from Gellerupparken - See illustration list for more details

# 6.4 Spatial challenges
The boundaries of Gellerupparken

The fieldwork revealed that it is relatively hard to comprehend the boundaries for Gellerupparken. The understanding of the area depends on the perception of different actors, and how they explain these boundaries. Illustration 25 shows the three different perceptive boundaries of Gellerupparken, based on the stakeholder mapping, what the ghetto plan deems to it be, what the master plan focuses on, and what Google Maps indicates. The illustration is meant to be chaotic in order to reflect the difficulty of defining the area, and knowing what part of the area is affected by the master plan or the ghetto plan.

The stakeholder mapping (see section 6.2) showed how the boundaries for Gellerupparken are perceived. However, the mappings do not precisely clarify the boundaries for Gellerupparken, but the heatmap does indicate certain commonalities. The scale of the area likely correlates with the uncertainty of the boundaries.

The municipality does not specifically define the boundaries of Gellerupparken, however, it does exclude some of the new developments from the master plan. The municipality works together with the Ministry of Housing to decrease the amount of social family housing in the ghettos of Aarhus. They use the ghetto plan to enforce this decision to exclude these new developments. The new housing blocks built in the southeastern part of the area, or the new youth city built across from the municipal building, do not count towards evening out the percentage of social family housing. The municipality focuses their new demolition agenda on the old eight and four storey buildings in Gellerupparken and Toveshøj. It is hereby possible to draw the boundary that the municipality, and Ministry of Housing, deems to be Gellerupparken. This boundary is marked with blue on the adjacent illustration. It clearly shows the municipality and the government targeting the remaining existing housing blocks, by stating that the share of social family housing within this boundary has to be at maximum 30%.

The golden line specifies the boundary that was set for the master plan in 2011, which was defined by the housing association and Aarhus Municipality. The boundary includes Gellerupparken, Toveshøj, the newly developed housing areas, and the future development sites (Brabrand Boligforening, 2018). The boundary of the master plan shows, that it was possible to reach the 30% share of social family housing in the area, by building on all the vacant sites.

Last but not least, Google Maps was used in this thesis at first to explore the area prior to the fieldwork. According to Google Maps, Gellerupparken consists of Skovgårdsparken and the adjacent single-family housing near Skovgårdsparken and City Vest. It does not indicate that the vacant sites north east is a part of the area, or that Toveshøj is a part of Gellerupparken. This further distorts the perception of what areas are a part of Gellerupparken.
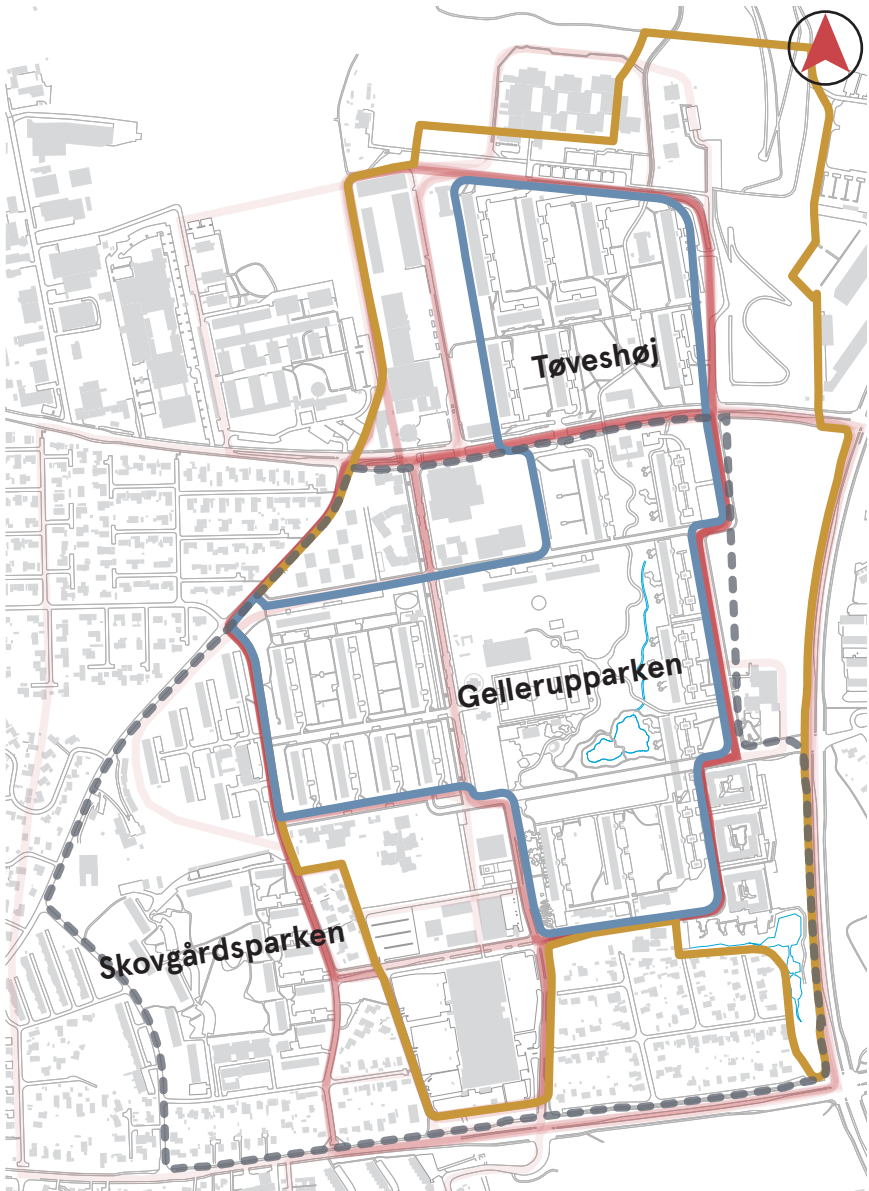
Ill. 25 - The boundaries of Gellerupparken

Stakeholder mapping | Master plan
The municipality | Google Maps

The scale of the area

Gellerupparken is a huge social housing area that stretches 1400 meters from the end of the bazaar in Toveshøj to the southern entrance of City Vest. At its widest stretch, the area spans 600 meters from the western edge just before Skovgårdsparken to the eastern edge of the area in front of Globus1. The area affected by the master plan spans 97 hectares. This vastness presents a considerable challenge when planning for Gellerupparken in regards to tying the area together into a cohesive whole.

"It is almost as if there are fractions between one side of the road and the other side. That is how big the area is. It differs what people want and why in the different areas. The size also affects how often you use the different public functions." - René

The vastness of the area meant, when the area was conceived of, that every housing block would need their own facilities. Every housing block received playgrounds, parking lots, bicycle sheds and more. It turned out, that when all these blocks had the same functions, then they became monotone and people were not as attached to the functions or the housing block. This is why the master plan focuses on creating specific identities for specific quarters of the area, which also helps breaking down the scale of Gellerupparken.

Lack of activity

Except from a few specific hotspots, the stakeholder mapping of the area revealed a lack of activity in the area, particularly along the boulevard. This results in a large amount of inactive space in Gellerupparken and presents a challenge of how to activate the space. Additionally, it creates a challenge of selecting where possible activation of these inactive spaces should be performed.

"If I want to have fun or do something in the evenings I travel to Aarhus." - Female resident, 20-25 years old.

According to a few local stakeholders, a proper offer of activities after 6 pm cannot be found in Gellerupparke, which leads many of the locals to spend their evenings inside their own home or in Aarhus.

"I just hope we don't get another sleepy town. That is my worry..." - René

The decision maker we interviewed indicated his worries towards Gellerupparken becoming a sleepy town as it used to be before the master plan began. It is interesting how the decision maker does not sense that the area is already 'sleepy' due to the lack of activity in the area.

The stakeholder mapping revealed that the majority of the functions of Gellerupparken were scattered across the area. The functions were marked on the map as points of interest. The majority of the stakeholders marked City Vest, the library and more in the south, and the bazaar and the school in the north. Only a few indicated functions in-between, which shows a lack of activity in the center, and a lack of activities that connect the bazaar and City Vest.

Ill. 26 - The scale of the area

Points of interest
Daytime activity
Night-time activity
Low activity area
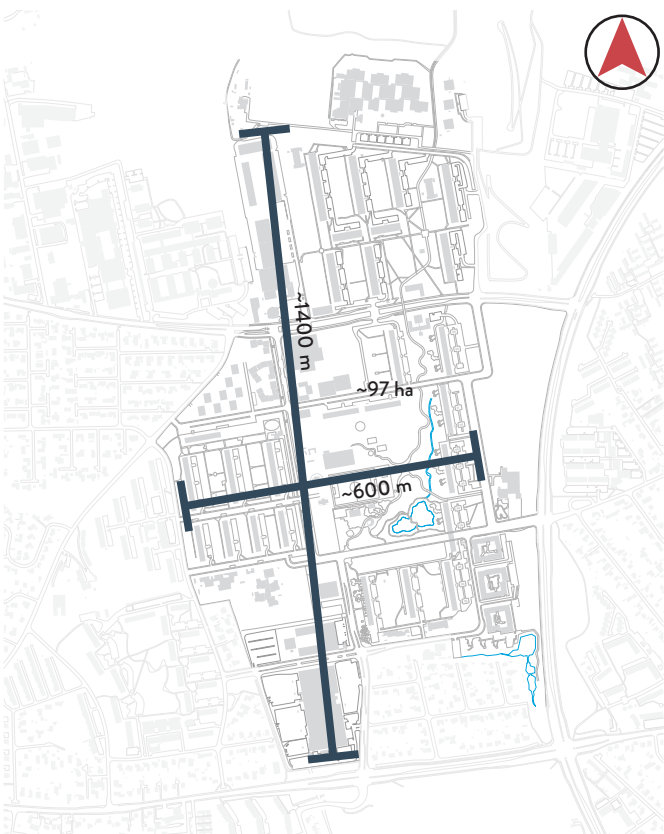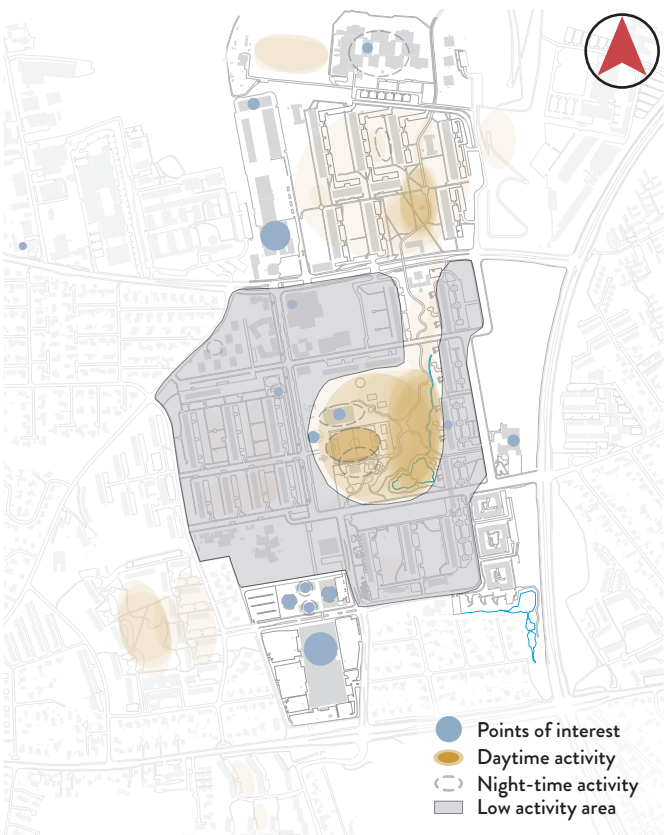
Ill. 27 - A lack of activity

Developments

The large scale development of Gellerupparken has entailed that the area have been under construction since 2014.

"Some people have been living on a construction site for the past 4 years.(...) If we had done the same project in Aalborg there would have been a storm of complaints." - René

There are challenges related to living near or in a construction sites that affects the residents of Gellerupparken. Large parts of the area are either closed off due to constructions or demolitions.

"...We have been living with construction noise for 5-7 years!" - Elsebeth

Developments have negative side effects such as noise from the construction, shaking when foundational pillars are pushed into the ground at the beginning of a construction, or the litter from building materials that fly everywhere.

Other parts of the area are vacant, which creates different type of problems. These vacant areas are residual space left after the demolishments of the old existing buildings in Gellerupparken. These vacant areas makes Gellerupparken feel empty and inactive by expanding the view of the area, making it seem much bigger. These problems will persist for the next 11.5 years until all the demolitions and developments have finished.

Transport infrastructure

The quarterly co-operative meeting that was attended during the fieldwork focused on traffic related issues in Gellerupparken.

The agenda of the meeting was to discuss solutions to alleviate the challenges created by traffic in the area. The police pointed out that speeding was the main issue facing Gellerupparken today. Many of the by members of the co-operative agreed with this being a critical problem, and aimed their worries towards the present representatives of the housing association. The members of the co-operative then contributed with ideas of how they could help this problem.

The majority of the members at the meeting point towards the boulevard, the main traffic artery, as the area affected most by the traffic issues.

It became clear during the fieldwork, that the boulevard and its traffic create problems for the residents, which separates the area.

Now that the challenges, that were uncovered, have been presented, it is time to present the potentials of Gellerupparken.

Ill. 28 - Developments on the boulevard

Ill. 29 - Construction at the gate

Ill. 30 - The middle of the boulevard

Ill. 31 - Vacant spaces dominates Gellerupparken

6.5 Potentials
A multicultural and active community

The greatest potential of Gellerupparken is the highly active community, with strong social capital, made up by the dozens of associations in the area.

"If you look at the participation of social activities that were held in 2017, you would think that there probably aren't other places with that many active residents! There's people that truly participate and come out of their concrete apartments." - Abdinasir

"There were 1400 residents that participated when we arranged a trip to the amusement park Djurs Sommerland! There were 800 participants when we arranged a summer party. Every time we arrange a winter party, Shrovetide, midsummer or the like, then there are 150-200 participants every time!"
- Abdinasir

In addition to an active community, the community is also very multicultural, with residents of orgins from all over the world (see section 4.3). This is something that makes Gellerupparken special which certain residents value highly.

"One of the great thing about Gellerup, is that it is so multi-cultural. You meet so many diverse people and you get to know them. If this was to turn into a completely white district, then I don't think it would be that fun to live here anymore. Then maybe I would have to move as well." - Elsebeth

It was clear during the quarterly co-operative meeting that the associations of Gellerupparken is the heart and driving force of the area. More than a eighty people participated, from dozens of different associations, and discussed the traffic issues and shared their current projects. The members asked for help creating posters, inviting people to their events, and other simple inquiries and were met with a lot of volunteers willing to help.

In 2011, The Danish Center for Social Housing Development revealed that there were 4500 volunteers involved in their local social work activities, which is almost ten times the amount of hired social workers in deprived housing areas (Avlund, 2019). The center states that seven out of ten activities would never have happened, if they were not supported by the local volunteers (ibid.). It is certain that without the volunteers in the associations, then the social life of Gellerupparken would deteriorate considerably.

Resourceful residents

The master plan has highlighted the importance of attracting resourceful residents to the area. However, Danish research shows that it is a challenge to keep the resourceful residents in the deprived social housing area (Christensen, 2015a). The master plan and the ghetto plan focuses on resourceful residents in terms of financial stability and income. There are however more ways of being resourceful. The way a resourceful resident will be defined forward in this thesis is not based on their income, but rather based on their ability to contribute to the community that they are a part of.

"... And when you are looking at resourceful people, we are looking at those that have steady employment. Resources can also be other things and I feel like we tend to forget that. People have resources in other ways, right? You could be unemployed, but still, do a lot of things for your local community. You could do volunteer work and raise your kids so they can get through their lives well. I think that also should count as being resourceful." - Elsebeth

These people have been an important resource for the community development in Gellerupparken, and will continue to be so in the future, if they are not displaced. They are much of the reason why the Gellerupparken shows to have strong bridging and bonding social capital. The fieldwork provided an insight into the work being done in Gellerupparken by different volunteers and initiative takers like Helle, Elsebeth and Abdinasir. They all spend their free time with associations working for Gellerupparken and its people. Other volunteers such as the members of the church invites residents to a free café every Wednesday, and helps them with their bills or translating letters from the municipality. These are well known residents that people can turn to with their problems and can be trusted to help them.

Ill. 32 - Residents in Djurs sommerland (Skræppebladet.dk, 2019)

Ill. 33 - Picture from the quarterly meeting (Samvirket, 2019)

Connection to Aarhus with light rail / BRT

As previously mentioned, Gellerupparken is situated four kilometers from Aarhus city centre. Aarhus is Denmark's second largest city with 336.000 inhabitants. A light rail or bus rapid transit (BRT) connection between Aarhus and Brabrand which will go through the middle of Gellerupparken. It is not definite yet if it will be a light rail or a BRT, but regardless it will still further link Gellerupparken closer to Aarhus city centre.

This proposal affords a greater conenction between the cities making it easier for residents to travel to Aarhus, and for the citizens of Aarhus to travel to Gellerupparken. The proposal is meant to bring a lot more people into Gellerupparken to work, shop or take part in the cultural facilities it has to offer.

Nature and recreation to the north and south

On the northern border of Toveshøj is Holmstrup field, a 45 hectares large outdoor area popular for walks. Almost two kilometers south of Gellerupparken is Brabrand lake, a 154 hectares large lake with popular biking and running routes. These vast recreational areas serves as a break from the montone outdoor recreational areas inside of Gellerupparken.

Existing activity in Gellerupparken

There are certain areas and functions which are very popular and important for the residents. During the fieldwork, most participants pointed out the shopping center City Vest to the south and the bazaar to the north, as areas of high value and as important resources for the area. These two commercial facilities have functions that are essential for the residents daily lives, such as shopping opportunities, spaces to meet friends and family, work places and places to eat. The new park in Gellerupparken was also pointed out as an important activity zone for the residents, both for play and transit.
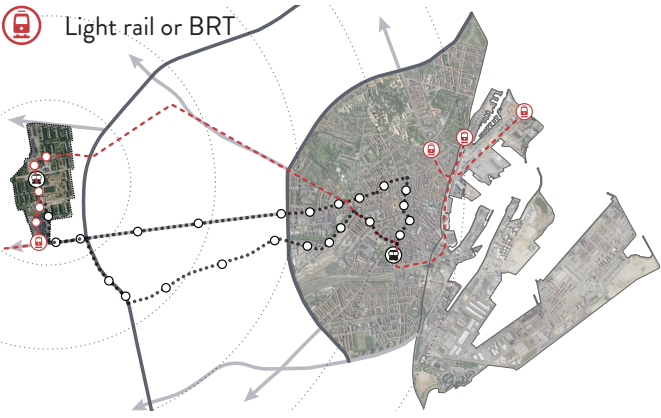
🚊 Light rail or BRT

Ill. 34 - Connections to Aarhus and possible light rail or BRT system

3 km   2 km   1 km

12 min
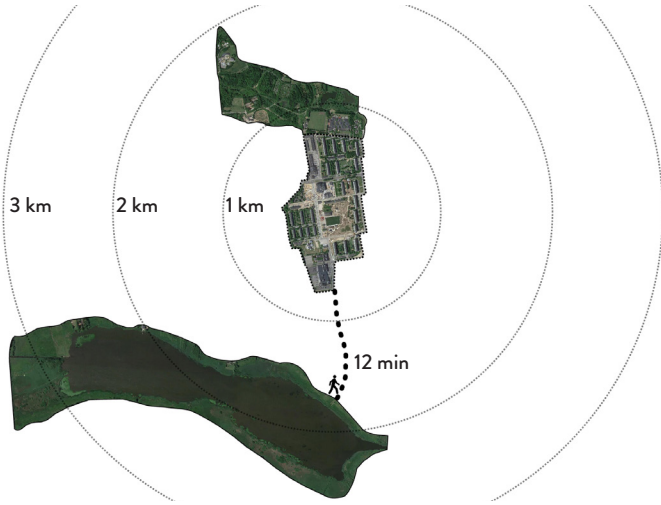
Ill. 35 - Nature potentials north and south of Gellerupparken

○ Points of interest
● Daytime activity
○ Night-time activity
⋯ Activity hub
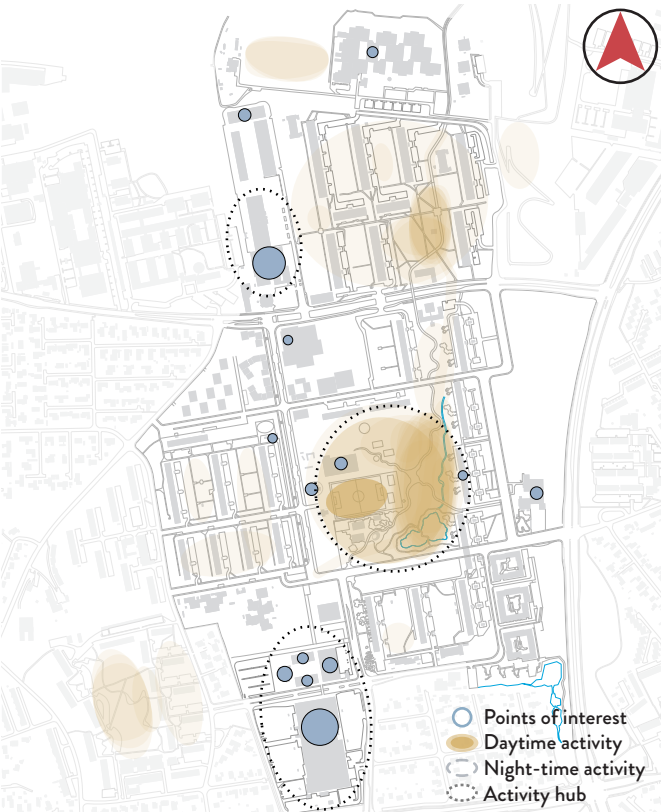
Ill. 36 - Existing activity in Gellerupparken

6.6 Fieldwork conclusion
Critical social challenges

The purpose of the this chapter was to present the results of the interviews, observations and stakeholder mapping and then to present the different challenges and potentials that were uncovered during the fieldwork.

Gellerupparken's challenges are varied and plentiful. Obstacles imposed from policies and developments have had a major impact on the residents lives and will, in the future as plans continue to move forward, have a large impact on the residents that are left in Gellerupparken after the future demolitions.

The majority of the social challenges, which the residents are affected by, cannot be alleviated or solved by this thesis, and will therefore not be focused on. The most critical social challenges of specifically this thesis, found during the fieldwork, are unemployment and lack of ownership. Both of these social challenges also affects the area spatially, which can be alleviated to some extend through a design proposal. This does not mean that some of the other social challenges are not critical, they are however not as relevant in relation to the aim and objectives of the thesis.

Critical spatial challenges

The majority of the spatial challenges that were uncovered are deemed critical in this thesis. The vast scale and emptyness of the area, partially caused by the vacant and residual spaces due to developments, creates an inactive area. The lack of activities in the area, specifically between its two main functions of the area, is a crucial challenge as well. All of these critical spatial challenges can be worked with to meet the aim and objectives of the thesis, and to alleviate the critical social challenges.

Critical potentials

Despite the many critical challenges uncovered in the fieldwork, many critical potentials were also found. The fieldwork revealed an area filled with associations and resourceful residents that spend a great deal of their time and effort on being a part of their community, helping it function and grow. These are critical potentials that are worth strengthening, in order to make the community flourish. However, the needs of the community and their resourceful residents must be unpacked, in order to understand how to strengthen them.

The following chapter will unpack the selected critical challenges and potentials highlighted in Table 12 in order to better understand their criticality and possible solutions, for the purpose of alleviating the challenges and strengthening the potentials. The subsequent chapter will present the design proposal corresponding to this.

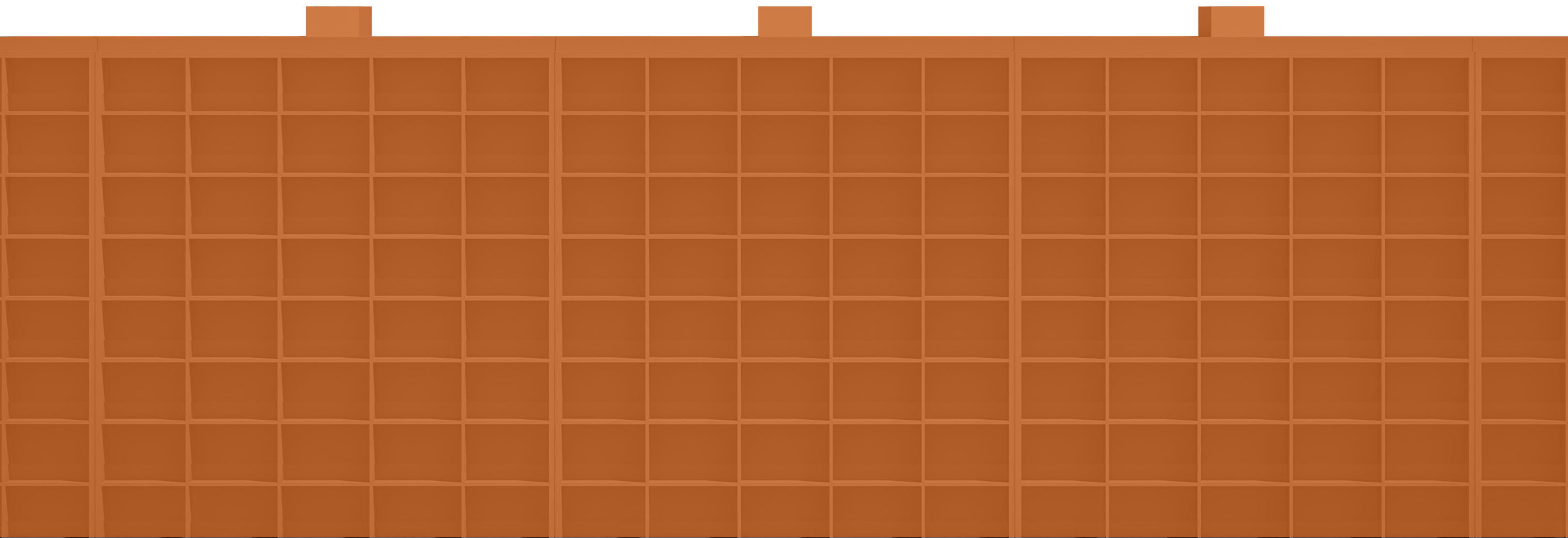| Social challenges |
|---|
| Stigmatization |
| Harmful policies |
| Displacement of residents and associations |
| A breakdown in communication |
| Doubling of residents and social mix clash |
| Personal problems |
| Unemployment |
| Lack of ownership |

Spatial challenges
Boundarires of Gellerupparken
Scale of the area
Lack of activity
Developments
Transport infrastructure

Potentials
A multicultural and active community
Resourceful residents
Connection to Aarhus with light rail / BRT
Nature and recreation to the north and south
Existing activity in Gellerupparken

Table 12 - Summary of all the challenges and potentials, with the most critical ones highlighted.

Chapter
07

Analysis:
Unpacking challenges and potentials

Introduction

This chapter will focus on unpacking the most critical challenges and potentials that were found during the fieldwork in Gellerupparken relating to the aim and objectives of the thesis.

The chapter is not organized into three different parts like the previous chapter. This chapter is organized into four sections, each unpacking multiple challenges and potentials. At the end of each section, the most critical points are summarized, which will subsequently be discussed in the conclusion of the chapter, and ultimately used to create the design parameters for the design proposal of the thesis.

The first section unpacks the critical challenges and potentials concerning unemployment, lack of ownership and lack of spaces for associations.

The second section unpacks the critical challenges and potentials concerning the lack of activity in the area due to the scale of the area and vacant spaces.

The third section unpacks the critical challenges and potentials concerning the infrastructure of Gellerupparken, focusing mainly on the boulevard.

The fourth and last section, before the conclusion, unpacks the developments in Gellerupparken and how they affect the area and its residents.

Lastly, the conclusion of the chapter summarizes and discusses the most critical points from the unpackings, which are then presented in the design parameters for the design proposal of the thesis.

7.1 Unpacking community factors
Unemployment

In 2016-20, 52.5% of the residents between the age of 15 and 64 in Gellerupparken are unemployed, which is the third highest of all the areas on the ghetto list (Transport-. Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2018). It is only slightly behind number one, Ellekonebakken, with 53.7% (ibid.). This can be seen in close correlation with the area consisting of residents with little education, which states that 83.6% of the inhabitants only have a primary school education. This percentage is the highest out of all the areas on the ghetto list (Ibid.).

As mentioned in section 4.4, the master plan have introduced new offices to the area meant for the municipality. However, as the statistics indicate, these are not the types of workplaces that are needed in Gellerupparken in order to have an effect on the unemployment statistics. A representative from Café Europa, the new café in the new municipal building, informed during the quarterly meeting that they had employed eight local resident (Jacobsen, 2019), and saw it as a huge success. This is a very small amount of workplaces considering that the municipality promised a thousand new workplaces to the area. It is clear that the municipality did not mean to create a thousand new workplaces for the residents.

Unemployment is a critical issue for the residents. On top of the low education a significant share of residents also struggle with particular issues related to mental health, language barriers and cultural differences that makes entering the Danish labour market especially challenging. It is clear that there is a need for workplaces in general and specifically for these types of residents.

Lack of ownership

As indicated in the previous chapter, the lack of ownership in the area, according to the stakeholders, causes anti-social behaviors such as littering and vandalism. This is presumably because the area is public housing, which means that the residents own nothing of the area. The residents do not see the area as theirs, but rather as the property of the housing association. Some stakeholders indicated that the new developments are not meant for them, and that they subsequently do not relate to it.

"The ghetto plan that has been implemented, its developments are perhaps not aimed to the residents that live there now. Because they will be forced to move, so it will be people from outside that can benefit from it." - Elsebeth

Previous initiatives have been made towards increasing ownership in Gellerupparken. It showed some great positive results in alleviating challenges related to vandalism.

"We used to have a vandalism account of over 1.5 million DKK, and now that is down to about 300.000! And that is because we have created ownership for the residents, with an early initiative, giving their kids jobs. Vandalism in Gellerupparken is mostly done by kids who are bored and just walking around with nothing to do. (...) We've got graduation parties and the largest education fair in Aarhus! (...) These are the things that make a difference." - Abdinasir

Residential area	Unemployment %
Ellekonebakken	53,7%
Sundparken	52,7%
Gellerupparken/Toveshøj	**52,5%**
Vollsmose	52,5%
Lindholm	48,9%

Table 13 Unemployment statistics from the ghetto list (Transport-. Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2018)

Residential area	Max 9th grade education %
Gellerupparken/Toveshøj	**83,6%**
Tåstrupgård	83,5%
Stengårdsvej	81,2%
Sundparken	80,1%
Vollsmose	78,8%

Table 14 Education statistics from the ghetto list (Transport-. Bygnings- og Boligministeriet, 2018)

Ill. 38 - Flyer for the education fair in 2016 (Bechsgaard, 2016)

Critical potentials of the community

As mentioned in section 6.5, the resourceful residents participating in the community and associations of Gellerupparken are one of its greatest potentials. They participate in numerous associations, helps increase social capital in the area and create the strong community that Gellerupparken consists of. There are currently more than 50 active associations creating a wide range of offers such as sports associations, culture associations, women's associations, art associations, religious associations and more.

Unfortunately the associations and their activities are challenged due to the changes and transformations in the area. This has led to lots of these associations becoming homeless. This means that it is difficult for many of these associations to continue their activities, and to remain a resource for the community, as they have nowhere to meet or facilitate these activities. Illustration 39 shows spaces, which some of the associations currently use for their activities.

At the top of the area is the school which some associations use in the evenings for sports activities. There are six spaces that some associations use in the center of the area, which is the social work house, the E&P information house, the swimming hall and the climbing facilities, and three small one-floor buildings that house two childrens associations and the soccer club.

East of the park is the local Gellerup Museum which some of the associations use for meetings or game nights. Further east is the sports facility Globus1 which some sports associations use for practice and matches. The last and largest area on the map are three buildings that houses the community support centre for the elderly, the international café and the library. These spaces are used for meetings, late-night dinners and other activities.

These ten spaces cannot house the more than 50 associations in the area. The available spaces are limited even further, as some of the spaces are exclusively for a single association such as the soccer club house, the swimming facility and the climbing facilities.

"Well, I'm looking forward to a new common house, because at the moment we don't not have a place to be and have meetings, associations meetings etc. The association house closed down a few years ago."
- Elsebeth

"Right now, the associations are homeless! They should have strengthened the association life even more. (...) It (the house of associations) was planned to be finished in 2011. Then in 2014, then in 2017, then 2019 and now it says 2020! Honestly, I don't think that the common house will ever be built. " - Helle

Summary

The critical points made from this section are, that the area needs facilities for the associations in order to strengthen their greatest potential; community life. It will also help create ownership of the area, as the associations create activities and involves the residents. The ownership of the area can also be increased by creating workplaces in the area aimed to employ the residents, which will also help alleviate the issue of unemployment.
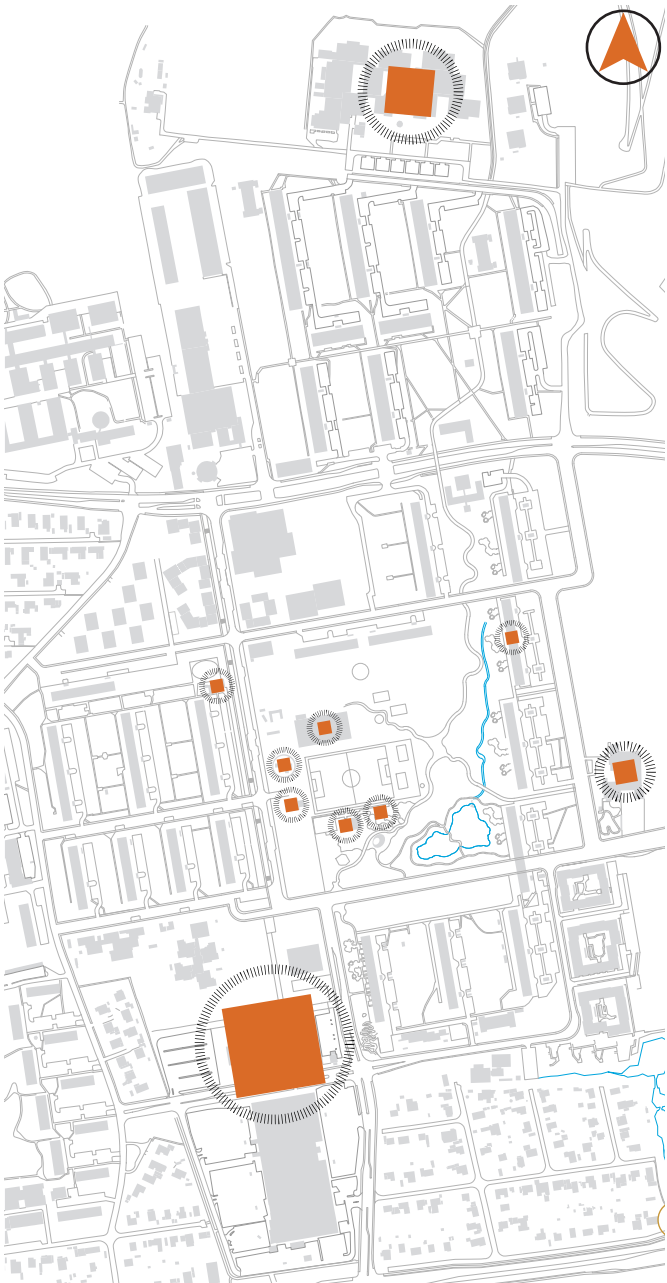
Ill. 39 - Map of spaces that the associations use

■ Spaces that the associations currently use

7.2 Unpacking the lack of activity

A lack of night-time activity

The data collected from the stakeholder mapping indicated a significant lack of activites during the evening and night. Further analysis of facilities in the area, and when they close during the day confirms the lack. Most of the facilities in the area close at 6 pm such as the bazaar and City Vest, which are the main facilities in the area.

Illustration 40 on the right shows the facilities that are active in the evenings. What is open after 6 pm is mainly the school, the church and the elder center. A few other facilities such as the social work house, the swimming hall and the climbing facility are occasionally open in the evening if there is any event. The soccer field and its subsequent club house are occasionally active during the evenings when the local soccer club trains in the evenings or if there is a match.

The significant lack of facilities open after 6 pm and activities happening in the evenings means that the majority of the area is inactive more than half of the day, resulting in an empty area.

"If I want to have fun or do something in the evenings I travel to Aarhus."
- Female resident, 20-25 years old.

"I think, there is a lack of activities for the young people (...). So, there is this contact place, where the young people can establish contact with, but it closes around 9 in the evening. There are sports facilities, but there are not so many, for example it is only soccer that they can play." - Elsebeth

It is clear that facilities that are active in the evenings are needed in the area. If facilities are created to create life during the evenings, then they could additionally afford more workplaces. A few stakeholders mentioned that the majority of the anti-social behaviours happen outdoors during the evenings and at night, partly due to a lack of things to do in the evenings. Facilities that create activities during the evenings could possibly help keep young people out of trouble.

Ill. 40 - Mapped spaces for evening activities

● Space for evening activity
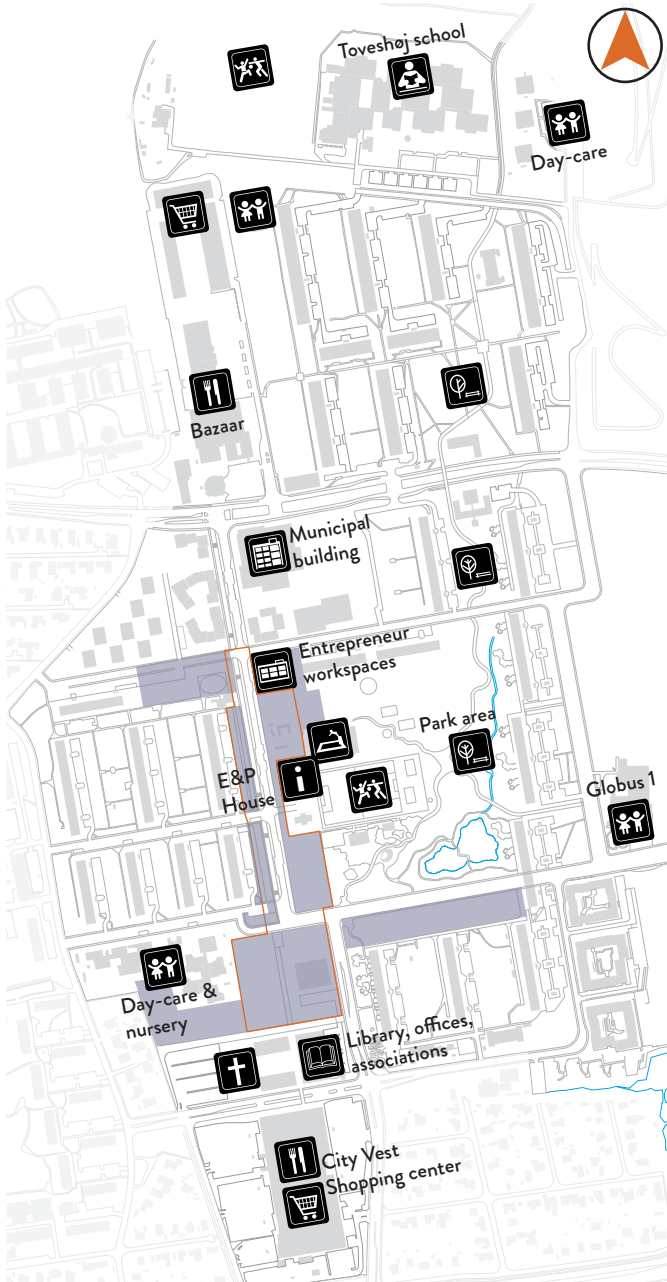
A lack of functions in the centre

Aside from the lack of activities during the evenings there is an additional lack of functions in the centre, irregardless of their opening hours. Illustration 41 to the right shows that all the functions in Gellerupparken. The purple areas on the illustration show the vacant sites adjacent to the boulevard. The orange outline indicates the empty stretch between the main attractors.

As previously mentioned, the bazaar and City Vest are the main attractors in the area for the residents as well as visitors. In between those two main attractors is the municipal building, the entrepreneur workspace building, the E&P information center, and lastly the library. An issue with these functions is that they are spread across the whole area, which creates difficulties in connecting the area and its activities.

The housing association and the municipality planned for this stretch between the main attractors to be the main artery of the area. The boulevard was made to facilitate a lot of activity from different facilities built alongside it, creating an active centre in the heart of Gellerupparken. These buildings are however not yet built which leaves the area empty and inactive.

It is clear that functions are needed in the centre to strengthen this connection. In order for these functions to improve the connection, functions would have to be created south of the center, between the functions in the centre and the already established facilities such as the library and the church.

"So, if I had to do something, I would have earmarked a lump in the middle of everything for something which isn't a shopping center as such, but more than just culture and leisure activities that could support and be a part of the library. Besides that, it should provide jobs, because I may be worried that housing is easiest to develop and sell. And I'm worried that we don't have 'ice in the stomach' to insist on something else a little more mixed. Because it affords other possibilities for dynamics over a week, over a year. The employees inhabit the rooms during the day in a different way" - René

Ill. 41 - Functions in Gellerupparken

▬ Vacant sites in the centre

— Empty stretch in the centre

The scale of the area and residual spaces

The residual spaces of the area, which refers to the unused or leftover spaces, makes Gellerupparken feel empty. There are different types of residual spaces in Gellerupparken. The first type of residual space are the empty spaces in-between the housing blocks as seen on illustration 43. The second type of residual space is the large park which spans 300 meters at its widest stretch. The scale of the park and the adjacent housing blocks are indicated on illustration 42 below. The third type of residual space are the vacant sites that are a product of demolitions and are now waiting to be built upon, which are indicated on illustration 44 along with the typologies and the park. The illustration shows that a large part of the centre, and the eastern side of Gellerupparken consists of vacant sites. There are more type 2 neighbourhoods instead in the area, as they are smaller and house half the amount of residents as the type 1 neighbourhoods do. There are also less type 1 neighbourhoods as five of these housing blocks have been torn down.

Housing blocks and in-between spaces

Gellerupparken mainly consists of four and eight storey housing blocks. There are seven apartment blocks of eight storeys, and the remaining blocks are four storeys tall. An area such as Gellerupparken with buildings predominantly between four and eight stories can be considered a high-rise urban scale, which contratsts the surrounding neighbourhoods of low single family housings. Gellerupparken consists of one type of housing blocks, which varies only slightly in length and width. The four storey blocks are 15 meters wide and 88 to 125 meters long. The eight storey blocks are 13 meters wide and 125 meters long. These housing blocks make up two typologies which recurs throughout the area. Illustration 44 on the right exemplifies the scale and space in-between the housing blocks.

The in-between spaces varies in length from 51 to 84 meters in relation to the height of the buildings. A fourth of the space consists of parking spaces and stairs leading to the entrance of the buildings. The rest of the space are plateaus of landscape with a few threes, paths and a small playground.

The park and its vast span

Despite Gellerupparken's huge green outdoor areas, it is largely devoid of human activity resulting in a feeling of isolation. Even though the park area has a few functions such as playgrounds and urban gyms, it is still difficult to create a private or semi-private feeling, as the majority of the park are bare sloping hills with trees scattered randomly. The thought behind this was, that a clear view of the park would create safety as people could watch what goes on in the park. However, it resulted in an excessively open park where the users feel that they are being watched.

Type 1

84 meters

125 meters

Type 2

51 meters

88 meters
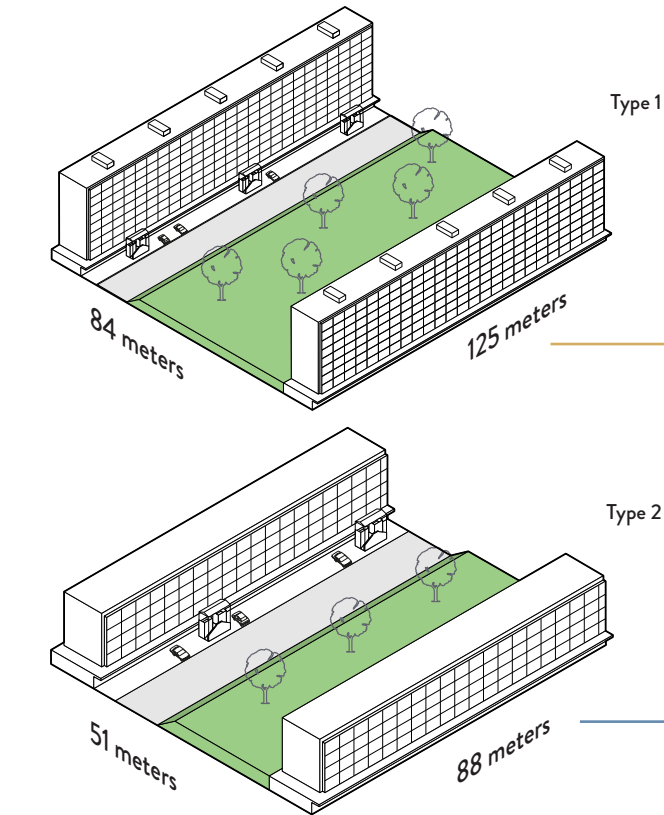
Ill. 43 - Axonometric diagrams of the two neighbourhood typologies

From one facade in the park, to the adjacent facade on the other side of the park is a distance of 380m which is exemplified on illustration 42.
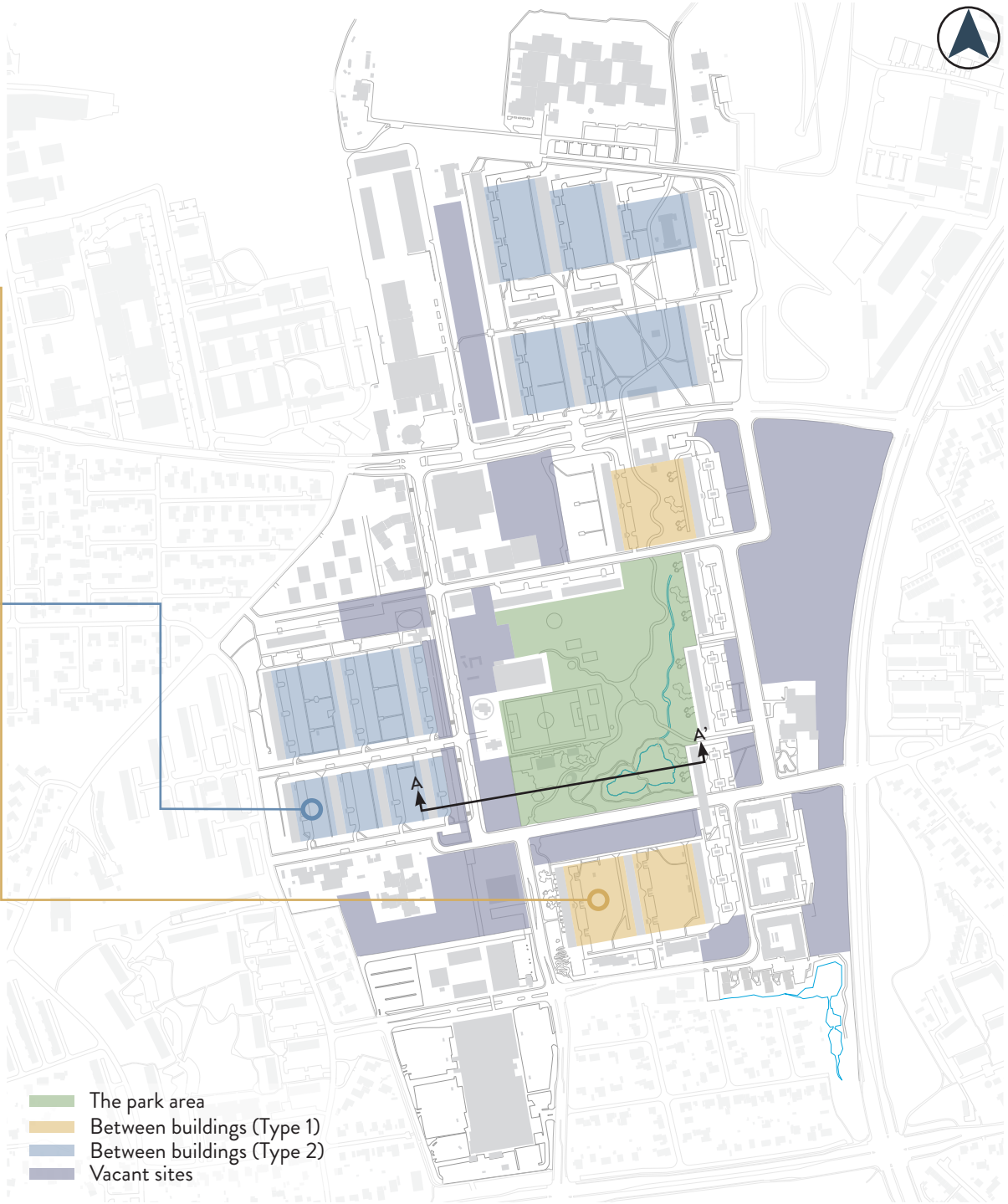
Vacant sites

Illustration 44 on the right shows that the vacant and residual spaces dominates the centre of the neighbourhood. The majority of these vacant sites are situated in the center of the area along the boulevard and the road south of the park. These vacant sites enhances the perceived divide of the area that the infrastructure creates. It also creates inactive spaces at the center of the area.
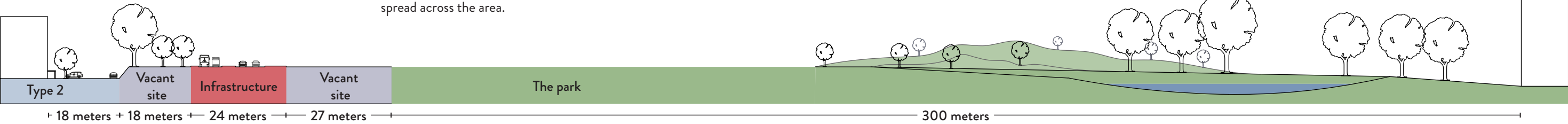
It is clear that these residual spaces create significant issues in the area. The most critical of these residual spaces is the vacant sites, as they contain no functions and afford no use.

Summary

The critical points made from this section are, that the area needs facilities and activities created in the centre of the area, which are open during the evenings. These facilities can possibly help create more workplaces in the area for the residents. It will also help improve the connection between the main attractors, while helping centralise the activity in the area, instead of it being spread across the area.

- 🟩 The park area
- 🟨 Between buildings (Type 1)
- 🟦 Between buildings (Type 2)
- 🟪 Vacant sites

Ill. 44 - Overview of vacant sites, housing typologies and the park.

Type 2	Vacant site	Infrastructure	Vacant site	The park

18 meters + 18 meters + 24 meters + 27 meters + 300 meters

Ill. 42 - Section A, The center of the area showing its scale [1:1000]

7.3 Unpacking infrastructural challenges

Transport infrastructure

As seen on illustration 45 to the right, Gellerupparken is framed by two secondary roads; Edwin Rahrs vej to the north and Silke-borgvej to the south. These two roads connect to the outer rin-groad Åby Ringvej which encompasses the Aarhus and its outer neighbourhoods. Additionally the ring road leads to the highway. The ring road and Silkeborgvej are the main roads connecting Gellerupparken to Aarhus centre.

The infrastructure of Gellerupparken has been radically changed by opening up the area and creating two new local streets which connects to Åby Ringvej and the secondary roads. The main infrastructural change in the area is Karen Blixens Boulevard, a boulevard serving as a main artery of traffic. The boulevard allows traffic to travel through the area, which was previously impossible as no roads intersected it. The second new local street is Trille Lucassens gade which passes through one of the existing housing blocks, which reinforces the ability to drive through the area. The boulevard is constructed with wide sidewalks on both sides, a shared two lane street for cyclists and vehicles. Illustration 47 shows a part of the boulevard.

A median strip separates this lane from the double bus lane on the other side. The median strip serves as a buffer zone for pedestrians, and consists of bus stops and side parking. Trees are planted along the medina strip and the boulevard to mimic a typical boulevard.

The double bus lane has been built to serve as the path for the future light rail or BRT system. The space needed for the cables for either of these transport methods is already built underneath the double bus lane. This allows the municipality to just break the pavement and lay down the cables. The path can be seen on illustration 45 as a dashed line. The path consists of five stops; one before the municipal building and the bazaar, one in front of the municipal building, one in the middle of the boulevard, one past the boulevard and one west of City Vest.

Reckless driving

During the fieldwork, one of the objectives were to observe, analyse, and understand the infrastructure of Gellerupparken. Through interviews with local and community stakeholders, and by participating in the quarterly meeting, the uncomfortable situations related to the traffic problems were uncovered. Both the residents and the local authority addressed problems of speeding, residents driving without a license, residents running red lights, and a lack of attention to the bicyclists on the boulevard. This was also witnessed first hand during the many of the visits to the area.

Illustration 46 shows a common situation that was witnessed several times a day during the fieldwork, both from the sidewalk and from being overtaken. Some drivers do not want to wait for a green light and will overtake several cars and even busses in order to get to where they need to be. Witnessing these actions have lead to residents feeling insecure on the road.
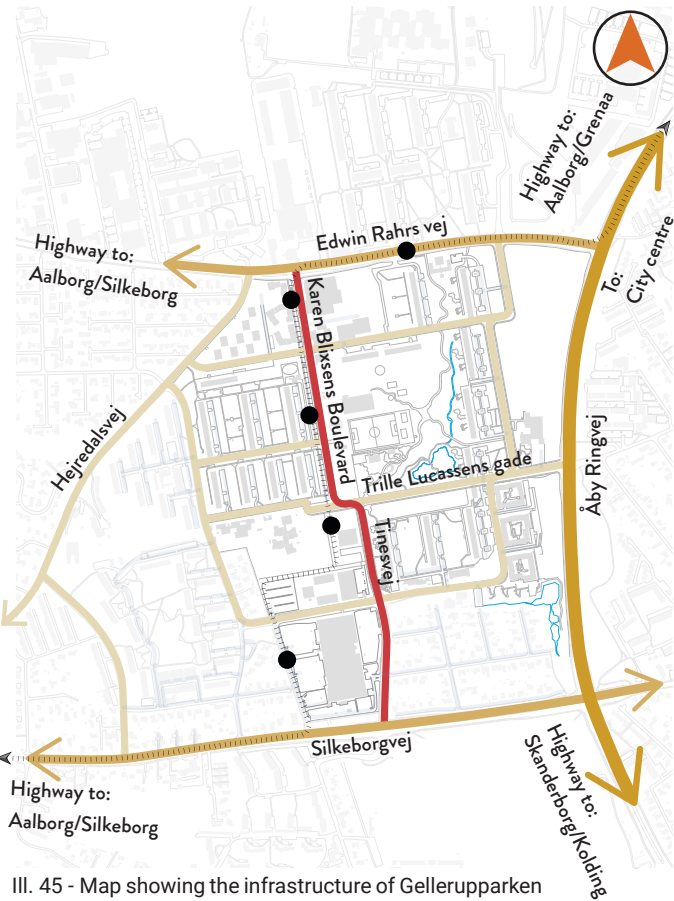
Ill. 45 - Map showing the infrastructure of Gellerupparken

- ▬ Ring road
- ▬ Secondary roads
- ▬ Local streets
- ▬ Main local street
- ⋯⋯ Light rail / BRT
- ● Stops (Aarhus Municipality, 2014)
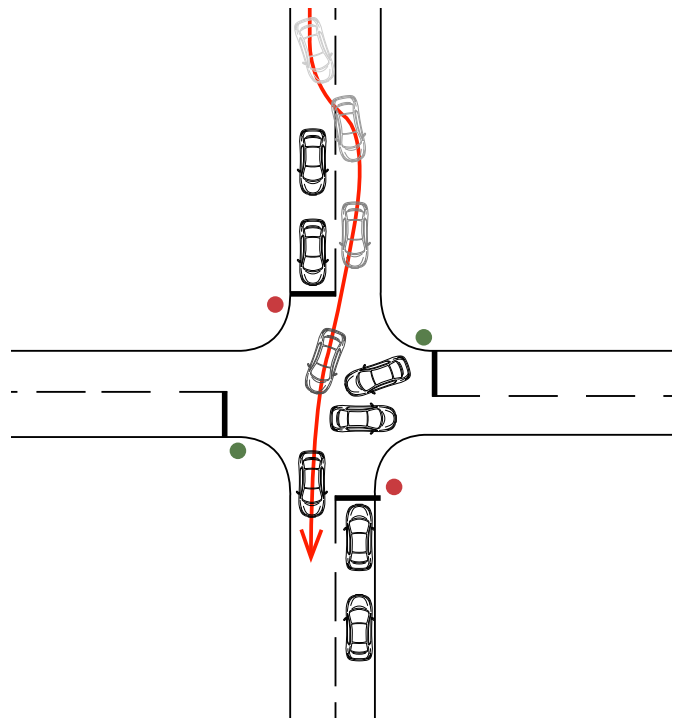
Ill. 46 - Diagram showing a car running a red light

Lack of bike lanes

Illustration 47 on the right demonstrates a clear lack of bike path on the boulevard marked with an orange dashed line. The street is 6,5 meters wide and has to accommodate for two lanes of cars and cyclists. This makes it very difficult for people with a bike to feel secure, both due to the limited space available on the street, and due to the speeding cars. Several stakeholders and members of the co-operative mentioned that they completely avoid riding their bike on the boulevard as a result of this.

The representatives of the planning department of the municipality, who were present at the co-operative meeting, claimed that there was no bike lane, since the boulevard was meant for the traffic and city life of 2030. This claim caused a lot of confusion as to what that meant. The representatives continued stating that there is space for the cyclists on the street, but they are not the priority in 2030. This indicates that they are neither the priority today.

"I thought that Aarhus (municipality) wanted to become the number one city of cycling in Denmark and they would like to be, right? And then there is no bike path on the wide boulevard. (...) I always try to cycle over on one of the other streets, because there is a bike lane on it." - Elsebeth

Furthermore, the intersections on the boulevard are ineffective. The southern intersection on the boulevard lacks a sensible crossing flow for cyclists. Each intersection on the boulevard is raised just before the pedestrian crossings, which serves as a speed limiting hurdle. The hurdles do not seem to work as the majority of the drivers, that was witnessed during the fieldwork visits, waited for a green light on top of the pedestrian crossings. One time a car went flying a bit above the ground, whenever the driver reached an intersection. The raised surfaces are not enough to properly slow down the cars as the bumps are small and the distance between each intersection allows for cars to speed up.

Summary

The critical points made from this section are, that the area faces serious issues of speeding and overtakings, which makes the streets unsafe for cyclists. There is a clear need for an intervention that increases the safety on the street, allowing cyclists to ride their bike without worrying about their safety. The intervention needs to prevent the drivers from speeding in-between the intersections. Furthermore it needs to emphasize the crossings to counteract vehicles stopping on them.
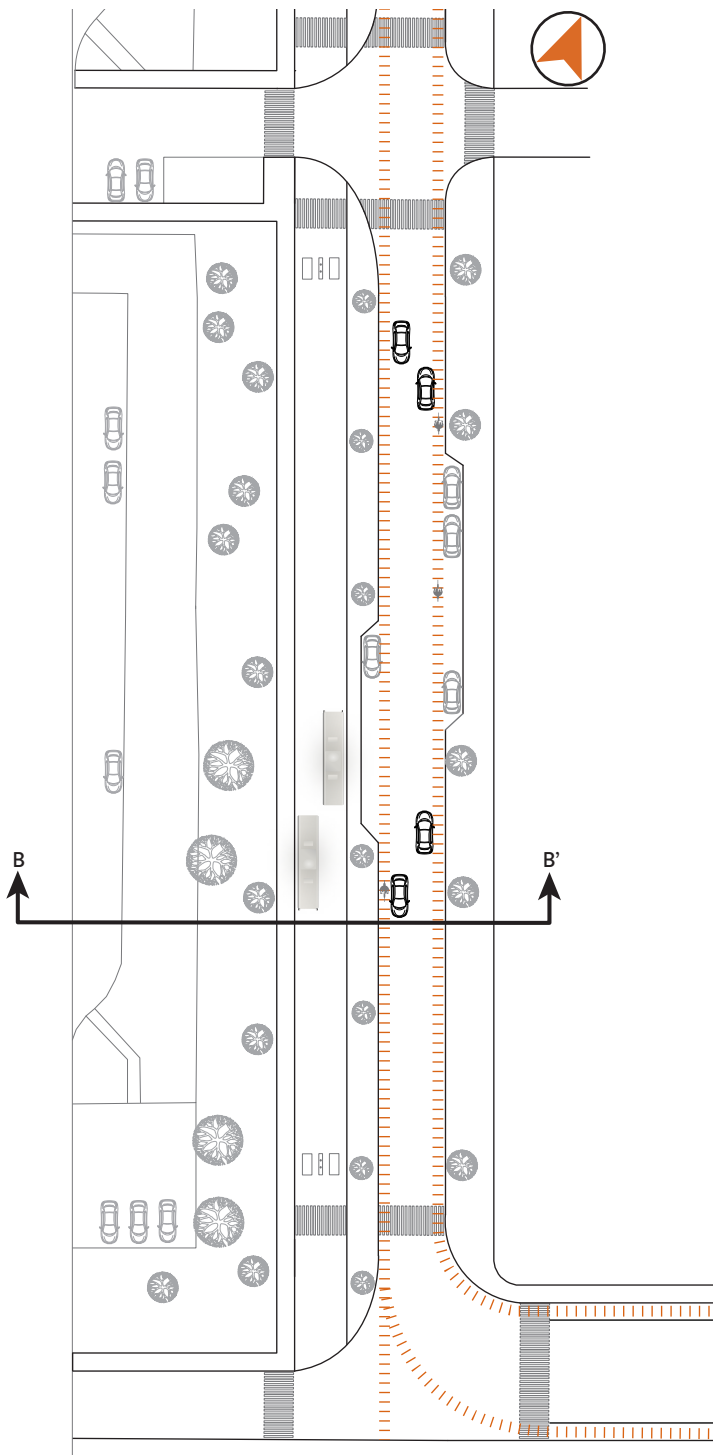
Ill. 47 - Diagram in plan view showing the boulevard [1:1000]

⊔⊔⊔⊔⊔⊔ Lack of bike lane
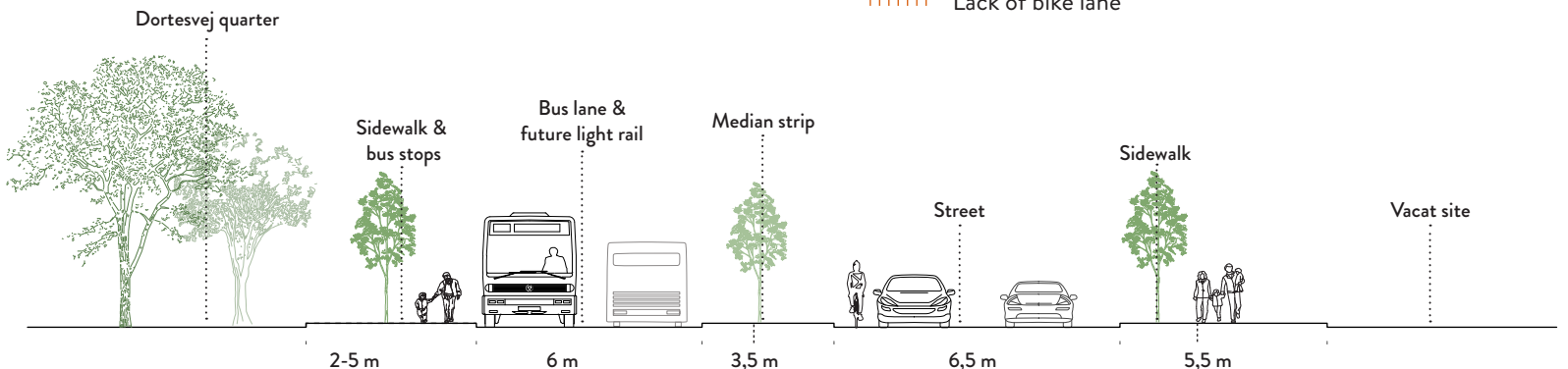
Ill. 48 - Section B, The boulevard [1:200]

7.4 Unpacking developments

Constant changes

Developments have dominated the physical spaces of Gellerup-parken since the demolitions began in 2014, and they will continue to do so until the master plan is finished in 2030.

Illustration 49 on the right shows the areas that are planned to be changed by a certain year. This map is based on the vision of the area from the development plan in section 4.4. It is not certain when the developments of these areas are finished, however the housing association and the municipality has to meet the criteria of lowering the percentage of the social family housing before 2030. Whether they are able to stay on track and finish by 2030 is uncertain. The park was supposed to be finished in the summer of 2018 but it is still being worked upon.

However, what is certain is that Gellerupparken is constantly changing. There are currently seven live construction sites in Gellerupparken and there will be seven more from 2021 to 2024 (see illustration 14 in section 4.4).

The green areas marked on illustration 49 shows that these areas will have to be changed by 2023, which signifies that the developments will begin in the next few years as well. These developments entail new housing typologies built on vacant spaces on the outer edge of Gellerupparken.

The blue areas has to be changed by 2027, which entails changing Toveshøj, building a business quarter to the east, building the sports campus at the boulevard and build a new housing area west of the sports campus. The housing area, also called the Dortesvej quarter, will be mostly demolished from 2021 to 2022, leaving only three of the original housing blocks.

The grey area in the centre of the area has to be changed by 2030. It entails the development of the primary school, the world bath and wellness center as an addition to the sports campus, making it a sports and culture campus. The area currently consists of vacant spaces, the temporary entrepreneur workspaces, the swimming facility and the climbing facility, two four storey housing blocks and a significant part of the new park. The first housing block will be demolished in 2021 and the second one in 2024.

The red areas on illustration 49 do currently not have any plans for what will be built but that it is finished by 2030. The majority of these areas are vacant spaces, which will remain empty for a long time.

Vacant spaces

The many development and constant changes might make it seem as if the area is full of activity. However this is not the case. The constant changes makes the area a liminal space until the developments are completed. The head of the planning department in the housing association said that the school would take five years to build, which signifies no development of the area for the next five years, if it is supposed to be follow the vision and be functional by 2030. Presumably, it will take roughly the same amount of time to build the enormous world bath, and to build
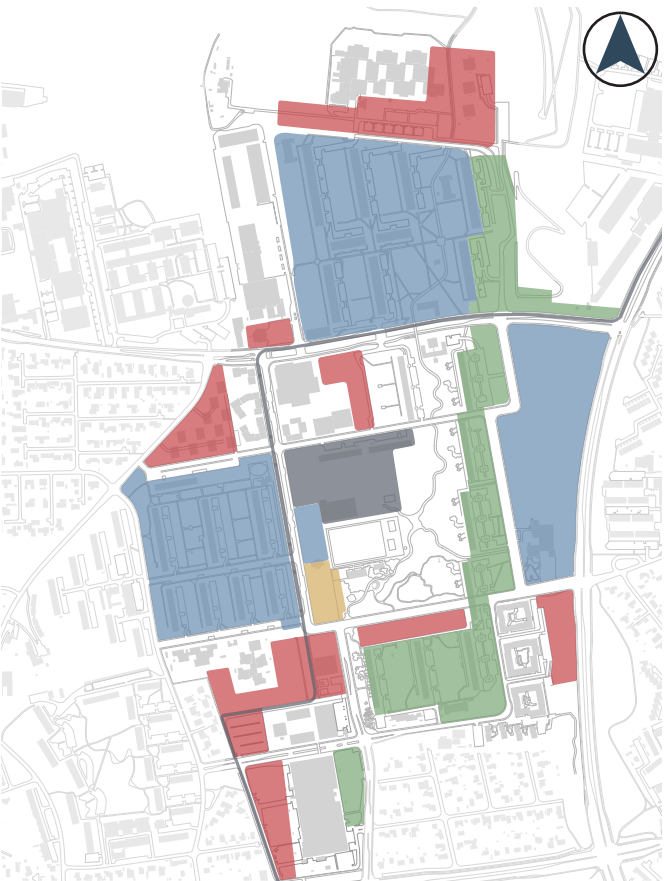
Ill. 49 - Map showing the phases of the vision

- 🟩 Area changed by 2023
- 🟦 Area changed by 2027
- ⬛ Area changed by 2030
- 🟥 Unspecified changes by 2030
- 🟨 New primary school by 2030

the sports campus. The sports campus will take several years to build, and it is currently only in its tender phase, which signifies that the area will not be built upon for the next few years.

Summary

The critical points made from this section are, that the area is constantly changing with future demolitions and developments, however it still leaves certain areas vacant. All of the developments of the master plan focuses on Gellerupparken in 2030, but none of the developments focuses on the area now, leaving the area in a 11.5 year period of constant changes. The majority of the vacant spaces along the boulevard will remain empty for the presumably next five years until the major developments have begun. This entails that the boulevard, the main artery that supposedly connects the area and attracts residents and visitors, will be affected by construction sites on each side from 2024 to 2030.

It is clear that there is a need for activating the vacant spaces along the boulevard. However, since most of the future developments on these spaces will begin in about five years, the activation of these vacant spaces will have to accommodate for this. Likewise, the activation of these spaces need to be adaptable as the future developments begin in different years.

7.5 Analytical conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to unpack the most critical challenges and potentials that were found during the fieldwork in Gellerupparken relating to the aim and objectives of the thesis.

Throughout the chapter several critical points have been summarized at the ending of each section. These critical points were:

1. There is a clear need for workplaces for the residents.

2. The area needs facilities for the associations in order to strengthen the community life. which can increase ownership and create workplaces in the area to alleviate the issue of unemployment.

3. The area needs facilities and activities in the centre of the area, and they need to be open in the evenings. The facilities can help create more workplaces, and improve the connection between the main attractors of the area, while helping centralise the activity in the area.

4. The infrastructure faces serious traffic issues making it unsafe for cyclists and pedestrians. An intervention is needed to increase the safety on the street by preventing reckless driving, and to emphasize the crossings meant for the pedestrians.

5. The master plan focuses on how Gellerupparken will function in 2030, but not how it will function until then, leaving the area in a 11.5 year period of constant changes. The area is constantly changing while at the same time remaining empty at the centre of the area for the next five years. The vacant spaces in the centre needs activation, however the activation needs to be adaptable to the developments of the area.

One of the objectives of the thesis were to investigate ways of alleviating challenges imposed upon the residents by realizing opportunities through design interventions, which aims at improving the conditions for the current residents while avoiding further consequential stigmatization and gentrification.

The fieldwork of the thesis uncovered these challenges and opportunities, and the analysis unpacked the most critical ones to further understand their effect, and subsequently alleviate or strengthen them.

All of these critical points suggests different interventions that focuses on improving the conditions for the residents and the community here and now, rather than 2030. It suggests realizing and strengthening existing opportunities rather than gentrifying the area, which possibly can help counteract some of the gentrification and stigmatization of Gellerupparken. This is comparable to Laursen and Espvall (2014) who emphasize citizen engagement, social interactions and associational activities as critical aspects to increase social capital of an area. Furthermore it compares to Skinner, Zakus & Cowell (2008) stating that increased social capital will lead to a decrease in social problems, and improve the community's ability to deal with the challenges of the area's regeneration. Furthermore it compares to Lin (1999) who

suggests that an increase of social capital can help create upward social mobility through four elements, which emphasizes that improved social ties can help provide people with employment opportunities.

These critical points and their suggested interventions were used as the design parameters for the design proposal of the thesis. The design parameters are presented on the following page.

7.6 Design parameters

1. Create a framework for upward social mobility

To improve the conditions for the residents of Gellerupparken, there needs to implemented functions that can facilitate upward social mobility. There needs to be created employment opportunities for the residents. Furthermore, the associations need facilities in order to strengthen the community life, and to increase both the bonding and bridging social capital of the area.

### 2. Increase residents' ownership

The design proposal of the thesis needs to be made for the residents of Gellerupparken. It should meet the needs of the current residents, which currently is a need for ownership. The design has to enable the residents to make it their own.

3. Activate vacant central spaces

The design proposal of the thesis needs to activate the vacant spaces of Gellerupparken and create life in the coming years, not just in 2030. The facilities needs to expand the activities into the evening and help facilitate activities during the evenings in Gellerupparken. The spaces that need to be activated are mainly in the centre along the boulevard.

4. Secure transport infrastructure
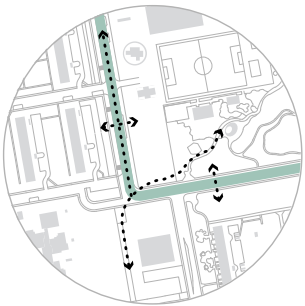
The central parts of Gellerupparken are separated by the boulevard, which disconnects the area. The design proposal of the thesis needs to create a better cohesive area, while also increasing traffic safety, preventing reckless driving and emphasizing crossings meant for the pedestrians.
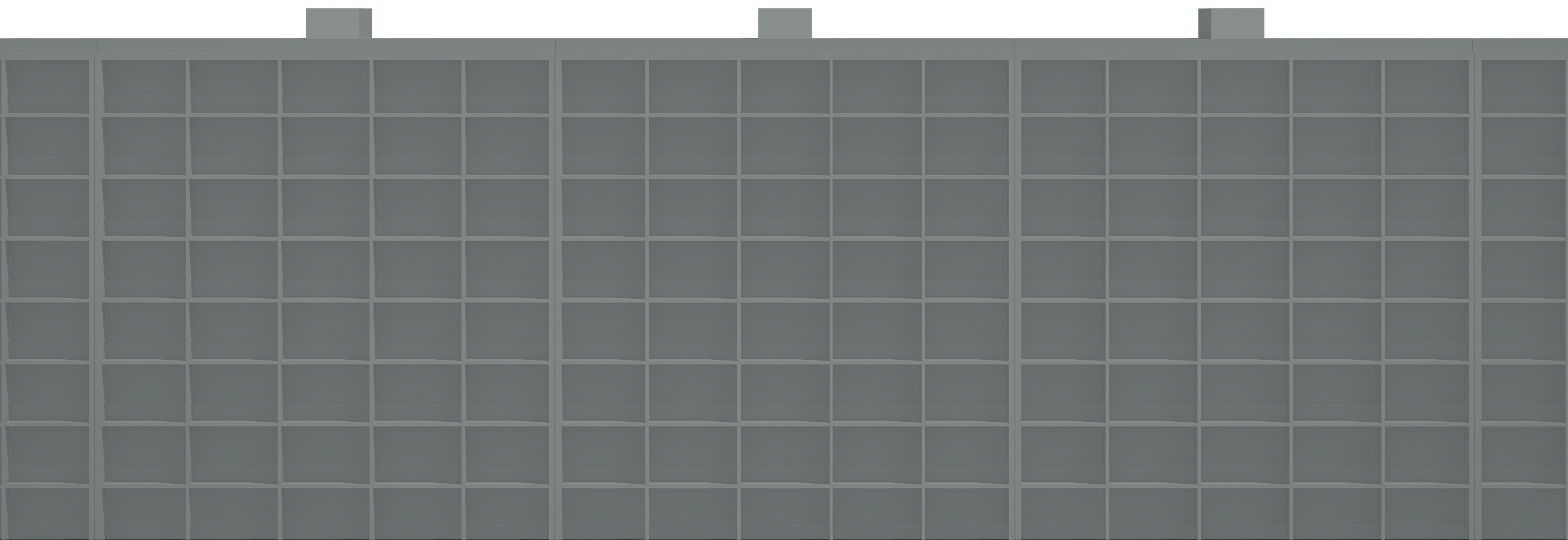
5. Adapt to changes

The constantly changing environment in Gellerupparken necessitates an adaptable design. The adaptability calls for temporary structures, which affords the possibility of testing the proof of concept for functions developed in Gellerupparken, which can adapt as the needs for the functions change.

Design framework

Introduction

This chapter will present a design framework detailing suggestions for the future development of Gellerupparken.

With the design parameters in hand, the chapter will start by choosing a site for the design interventions. As mentioned in section 7.2, the scale of Gellerupparken creates a challenge. The area will therefore be narrowed down to a site with a size that is manageable given the time and resources at hand. The chosen site will be based on where a design intervention is deemed to be the most needed in relation to the design parameters.

After the site is introduced the vision for the site is then conveyed. To achieve the vision of the framework, the critical challenges in Gellerupparken must be alleviated by realizing the opportunities in the area. The vacant spaces in Gellerupparken presents an opportunity to implement new changes and thereby work towards realizing the areas potential. The concept is based on the five design parameters created through literature review, policy review and a thorough analysis of the area. The concept will be unfolded step by step through how the different design parameters can be achieved, by presenting the overarching strategies created to achieve the vision of what Gellerupparken could be in the future. This will be followed by an overarching implementation framework.

The design framework will be presented next. This is divided into three phases. These will be outlined one by one and help to further elaborate the details of the proposal. Different design interventions will be detailed by explaining their intended functions, as well as their placement.

Additionally, the proposed design framework is intended to serve as a lobby document for residents to stimulate an alternative approach to the redevelopment of Gellerupparken, which can assist strategic actors and decision makers in the short and long-term by highlighting what the residents deem to be of vital importance.
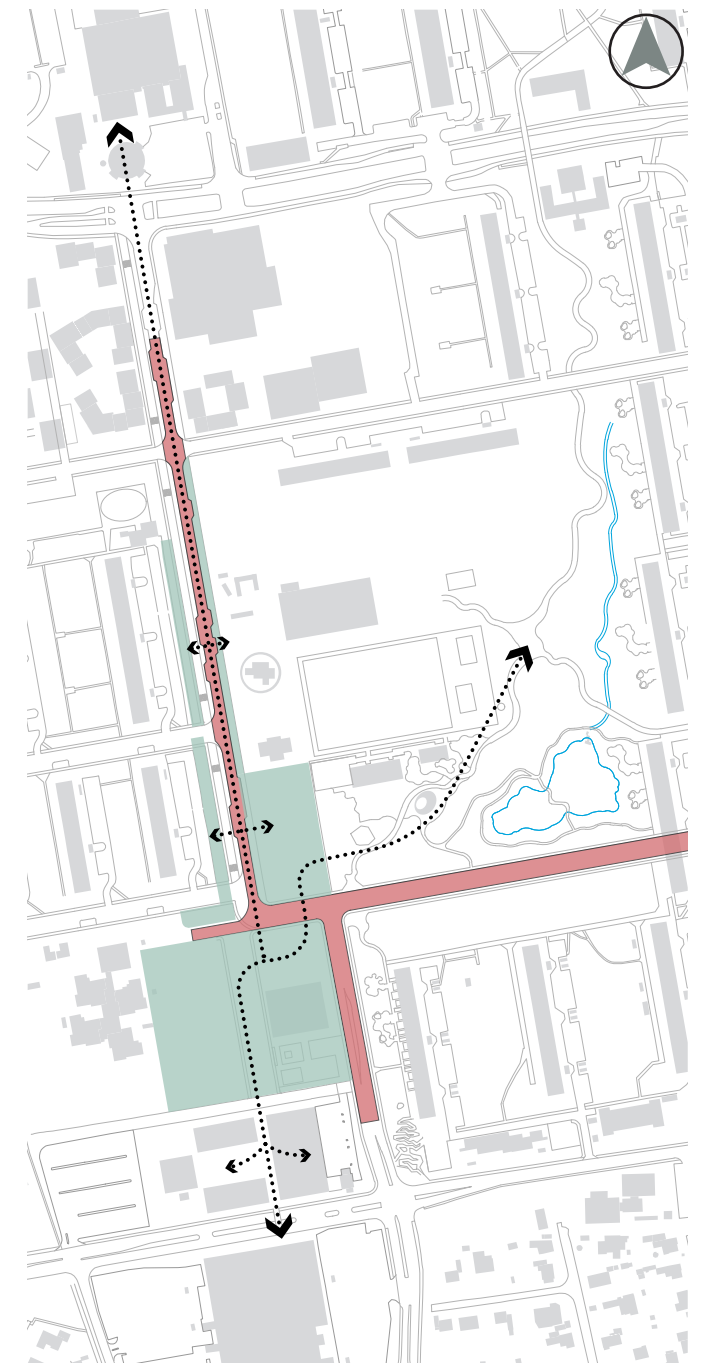
8.1 Site selection

The selected site of the design framework has to incorporate the design parameters that concerns the physical space of Gellerupparken.

The boundaries of the site are not simply defined, as the site needs to be adaptable to the changes of the area. The area marked with light green on illustration 51 shows the areas that are a part of the site which is suggested to be activated. The red marking indicates the parts of the infrastructure that are suggested to be improved.

The green areas are chosen as they are vacant spaces in the centre of Gellerupparken, without any designated purpose or functions, and will remain as such for years to come. The long time vacancy of such large areas in the centre of Gellerupparken necessitates activation in order to create a better cohesion of the area.

Existing paths from the major functions of the area; the park, and from the bazaar to City Vest, goes through the site. This affords the possibility of strengthening them and creating a greater cohesion of the area, by activating and connecting the vacant spaces. The areas can also improve the connection between the area near City Vest, by activating the adjacent spaces.

All of these connections reach across the main streets, whose traffic creates barriers and divides the area. To create a cohesive site, these barriers need to be softened so pedestrians, cyclists and drivers can cross them safely. The suggested site therefore consists of the main streets, as new proposed safety measures and pedestrian crossings could be installed on the them to decrease the speed of drivers, subsequently increasing the safety for the pedestrians and cyclists.

Ill. 51 - Selection of site

■ Vacant sites to activate

■ Infrastructure that needs improved safety

┄┄┄> Create better cohesion and connections

8.2 Vision

Ill. 52 - Conceptual visualisation of the vision

The vision for the design framework of this thesis is, that it can help some of the residents in Gellerupparken and be a positive example of how urban design can help increase upward social mobility. The thesis has showed that despite the many challenges that one of the 'hardest ghettos' face, it also has many potentials. The design framework intends to alleviate some of the most critical challenges found in this thesis, while strengthening the potentials of the area and its residents, ultimately empowering them. It intends to do so by providing the physical framework that allows the associations, the residents and subsequently the area to evolve. Lastly, the vision imagines that the empowered area and its people will be able to change the discourse of it, and hopefully be of inspiration for other deprived social housing areas.

8.3 Concept

1. Creating a framework for upward social mobility

Employing residents

Because of the severity of the unemployment problems in Gellerupparken correlating with the low education numbers (see section 7.1) the framework proposes interventions to help with unemployment issue with a long-term perspective.

This would be done with the introduction of an incubator facility helping the residents through education, and further along encouraging and facilitating new local business enterprises.
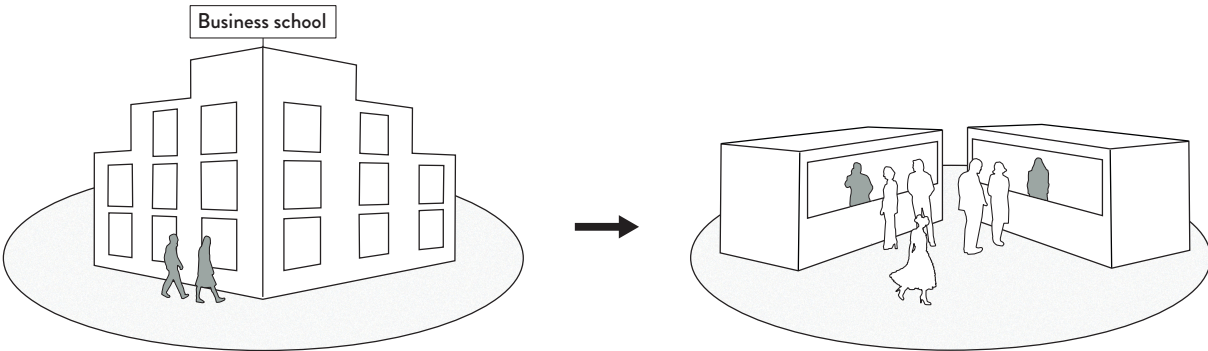

Ill. 53 - Employing residents

Facilities for associations

The association life is one of the biggest potentials Gellerupparken have to further strengthen the community, however as mentioned in section 7.1, they are currently homeless. To properly realize this potential, the framework proposes housing for the association life. The vision is for these associations to continue to grow, and be an even larger resource to the community now and in the future.
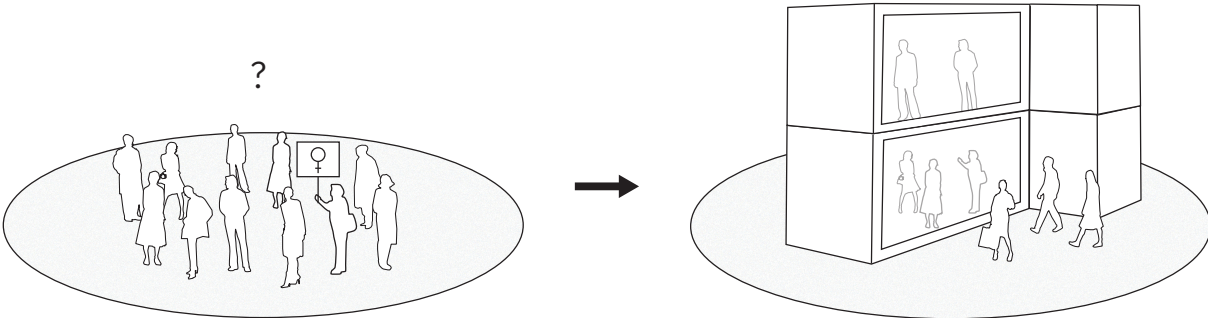
Ill. 54 - Housing associations

Strengthening social capital

To further strengthen communal ties, the framework proposes functions that would facilitate the strengthening of bonding and bridging social capital (see section 2.4). Sport has shown to be a useful tool in various ways to build social capital and foster community development (Skinner, Zakus & Cowell, 2008). This inclusion would therefore be one of the tools used for strengthening social capital. All of this could work towards creating a framework for upward social mobility.
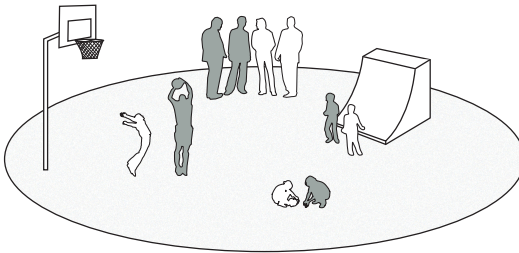

Ill. 55 - Strengthening social capital

2. Increase resdeints' ownership

Include residents in the development process

The opportunity to start the work towards increasing ownership in Gellerupparken, already presents itself as early as in the implementation process of the framework. The framework proposes that the first step towards this should be to involve Gellerupparken's residents in the development process of the interventions. This would work towards two goals at once. First it would aim towards creating ownership, and secondly it also serves to target the unemployment problems by introducing residents to the Danish labour market, and giving them experience that can be valuable when applying for a permanent job.
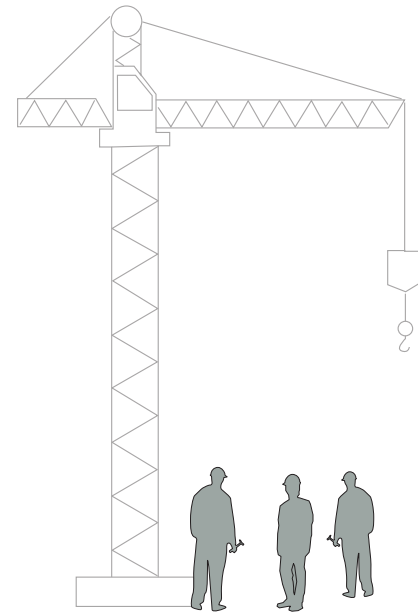

Ill. 56 - Include residents in the development process

Encourage local art

Artworks by earlier residents are already adorning the facades of the large apartment blocks. Practices such as this would allow the residents to increase the ownership of the area they live in, which has been limited in the new developments of the master plan.

The framework proposes to allow the residents to adorn the new interventions of the framework. The purpose of this practice is to create an area that reflects the current murals, and the current demographic of Gellerupparken, by encouraging the current residents to adorn the new interventions. The purpose of the art is to create a connection between the old and the new, and create a more personal connection to the public space in Gellerupparken where residents feel a stronger sense of belonging.
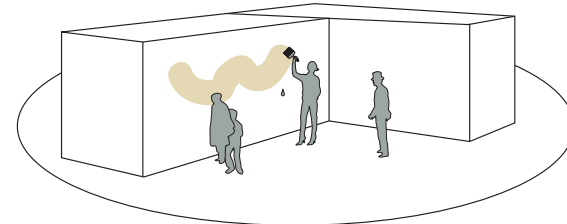

Ill. 57 - Encourage local art

3. Activate vacant central spaces

Activating vacant central spaces

The vacant spaces in the center of Gellerupparken presents a great opportunity for new development. The framework proposes to target these vacant spaces in an effort to create activity in the centre of Gellerupparken.

This would be a mix of large scale interventions to activate the large vacant areas, as well as small scale interventions, targeting the route from north to south. The small scale interventions are made to create a greater cohesion in Gellerupparken and strengthening the routes between the major functions, the bazaar and City Vest.
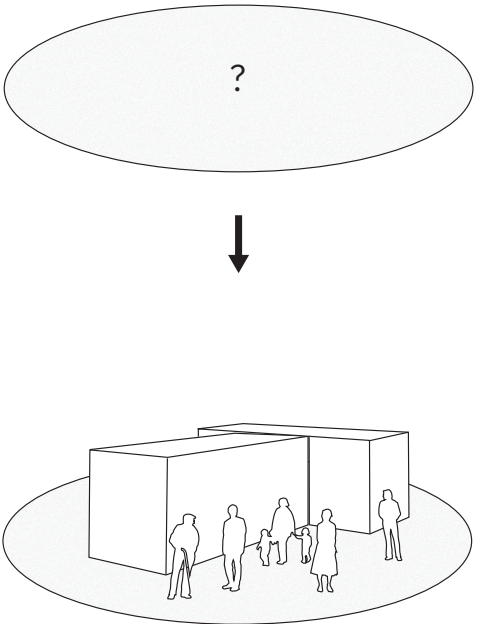

Ill. 58 - Activate vacant central spaces

Creating night-time activities

The current offer of activities in Gellerupparken during the evening and night are very limited (see section 7.2). The extension of the activity window is therefore important, and the framework proposes to do so by introducing several facilities affording activities past 6 pm.

This would create a more lively area during evenings. The framework aims to increase the feeling of safety after dark in Gellerupparken, as well as introducing it as an alternative to activities in Aarhus for the residents.


6 pm

9 pm
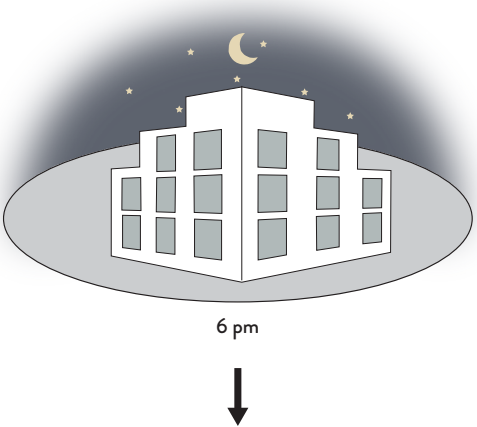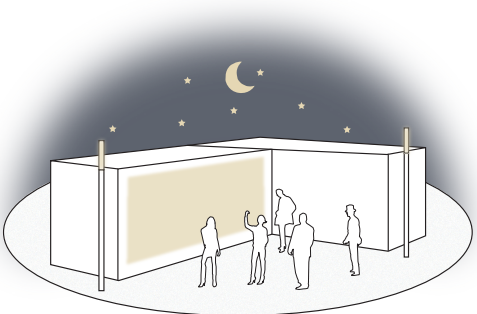
Ill. 59 - Creating night-time activities

4. Secure transport infrastructure

Secure transport infrastructure

The current street network in Gellerupparken serves to open the area up to the rest of Aarhus. The wide streets and increased traffic have a negative effect on the soft pedestrians in Gellerupparken (see section 7.3). The safety of pedestrians and cyclist needs to be increased. To do this, the framework proposes infrastructural changes to the street network through two different interventions. The first intervention lowers traffic speed through the area and integrates cyclists more safely on the street. The second intervention separates the cyclists and the vehicles with dedicated bike lanes, in order for cyclist to have their own space. It is envisioned that these two measures can increase the safety to a point where cyclists feel safe when traversing Gellerupparken.
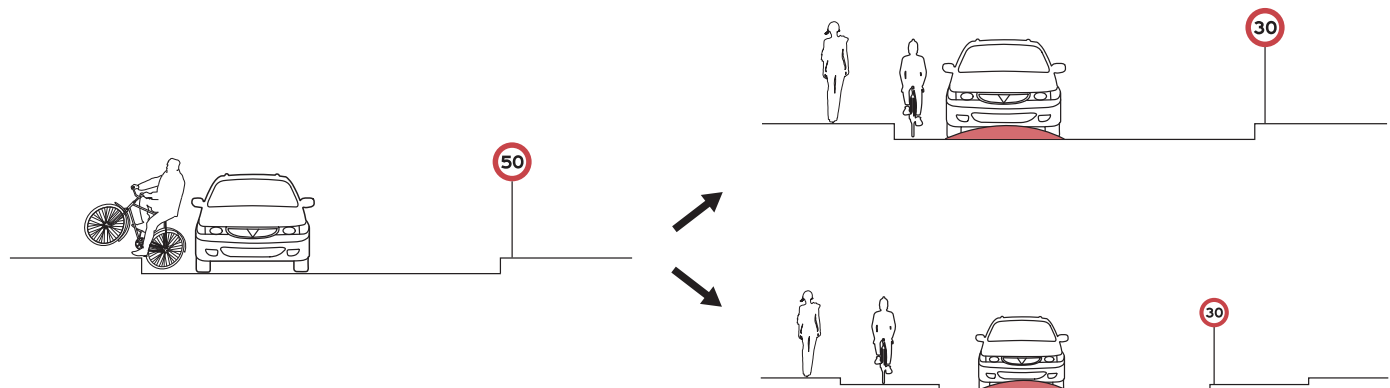

Ill. 60 - Secure transport infrastructre

Improving crossings

In addition to the issues on the streets, the wide streets also impedes the flow of pedestrians through Gellerupparken. The framework therefore proposes to improve the crossing of the streets at the intersections. This serves to further increase safety for cyclist and pedestrians, and also to improve the connections in Gellerupparken. The framework envision that by improving crossings it will help strengthening the flows through Gellerupparken. By doing this the framework seeks to improve the cohesion in Gellerupparken by improving connection between and through the different activities that the area offers.
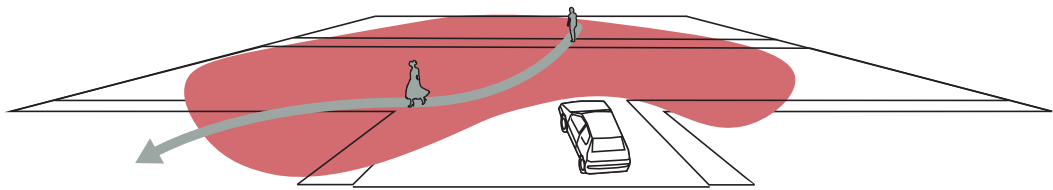

Ill. 61 - Improving crossings

5. Adapt to changes

Adapt to changes

All of the vacant spaces in Gellerupparken are already planned for new developments in the future. Some of the areas will be developed soon while others are yet uncertain of when their development will begin. The area west of the boulevard is planned to be demolished in 2021, but will remain vacant until then (Brabrand Boligforening, 2019). These areas are located in the centre of Gellerupparken along the main traffic artery, and is therefore in need of being activated until demolitions and subsequent developments start. To achieve this the framework proposes temporary interventions that can afford activity until development start, and then be able to be moved to another part of the site to serve its purpose of activation elsewhere (see illustration 63).
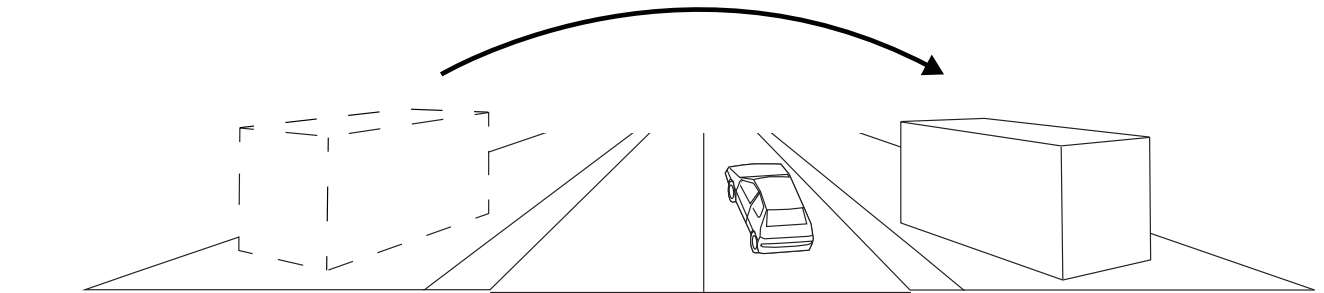

Ill. 62 - Adapt to changes

Testing proof of concept

The implementation of temporary interventions affords experimentation in Gellerupparken, and serves as a way of testing proof of concept. As an example, this could be done by introducing an intervention that could afford some type of activity. If it is not a success, then it create the possibility for the introduction of a different intervention. If this is successful, the framework affords the possibility of expanding the intervention, and the possibility of allowing it to be a more permanent feature in Gellerupparken (see illustration 63).
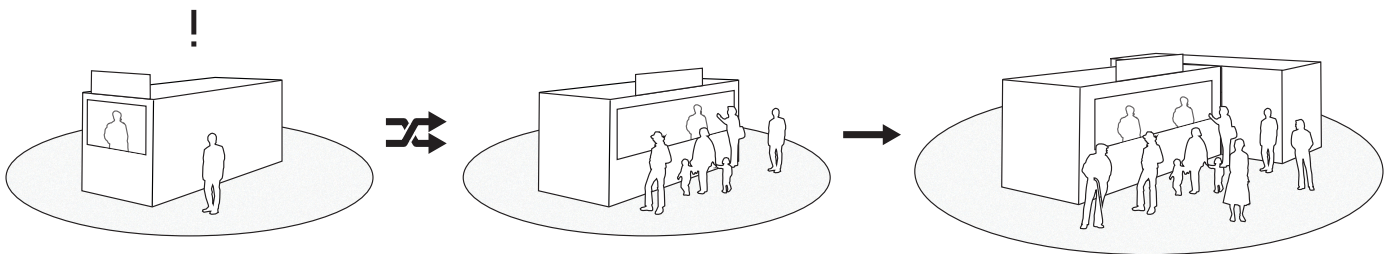
Ill. 63 - Testing proof of concept

Expand with time

The framework proposes that some of the most critical interventions should be implemented in the early stages of the development, however they would require temporary activation until they are developed. An example of this would be the associations that would be placed in temporary facilities at the start of the development, and are then moved into more permanent facilities later on (see illustration 64). The implementation process will further be explained on the next page.
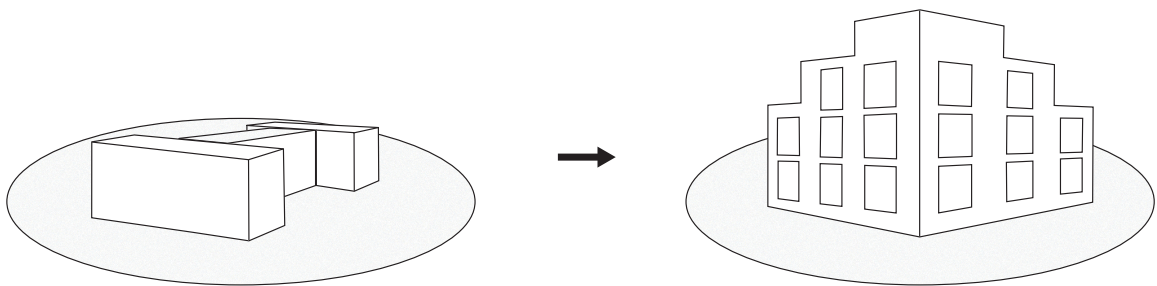
Ill. 64 - Expand with time

Implementation of the framework

The framework suggests a gradual implementation of the different design interventions in Gellerupparken. This is to both accommodate the current and future developments, as well as to be able to roll out the highly prioritized interventions as soon as possible. The implementation of the framework is divided up into three phases:
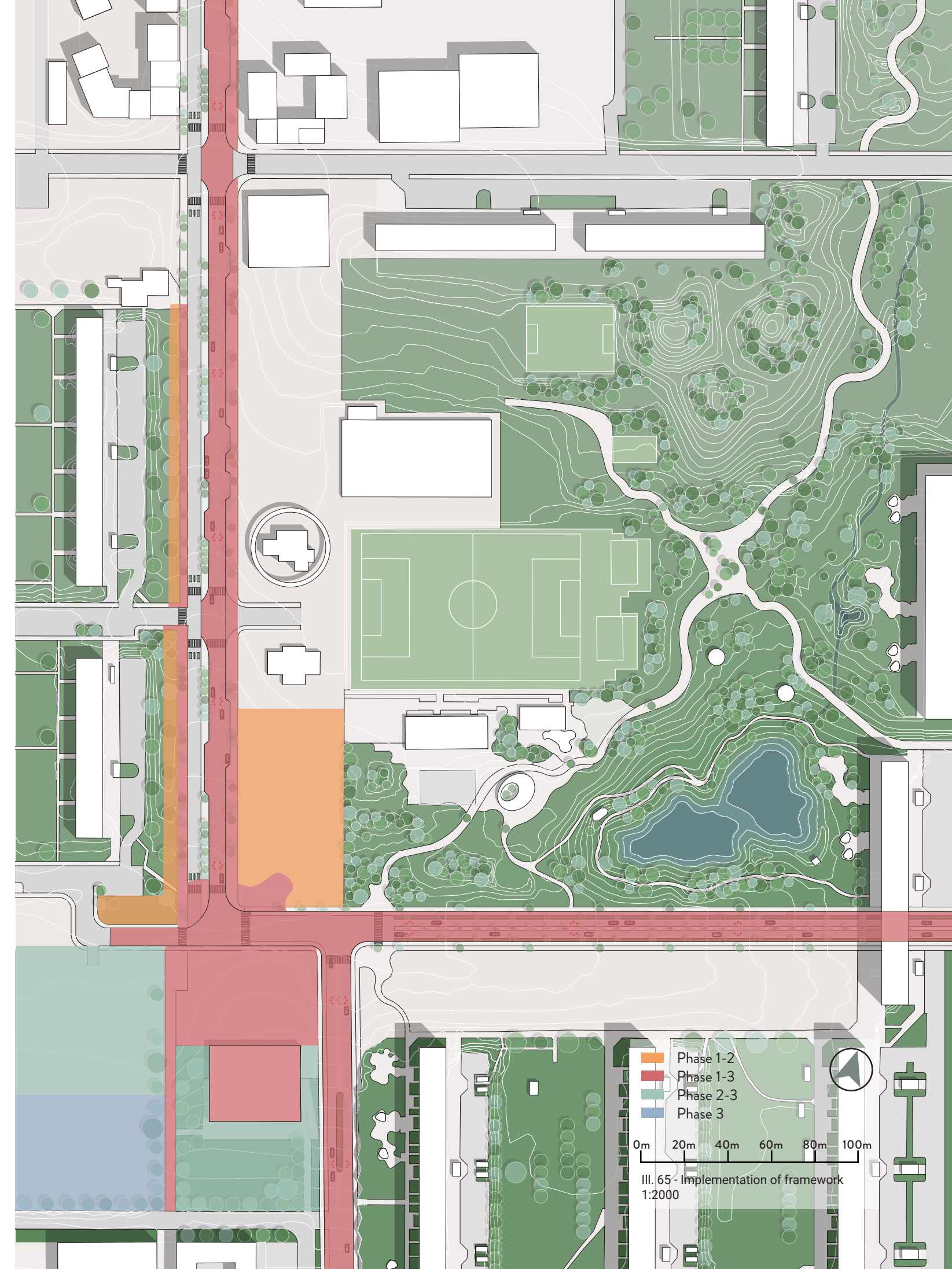
- Phase 1: 2019-2021
- Phase 2: 2021-2024
- Phase 3: 2024-2030

The phases and their specific time frames are suggested based on the current vision of the latest development plan that the housing association has created (Brabrand boligforening, 2019). It is also based upon the latest political agreement resulting in additional demolitions in the coming years. The first phase was therefore decided to be from 2019 to 2021, as the first demolitions will begin some time during 2021. The second phase is from 2021 to 2024 as that is the time period where all of the planned demolitions take place. The third phase is much longer by focusing on the time period of 2024 to 2030, as it is more uncertain when the proposed developments of the master plan will happen, during this time period.

The initial stage of development in the first phase is suggested to begin on most of the vacant spaces in the centre. The area marked with orange (see illustration 65) will be activated for the first two phases of the process. The area west of the boulevard will be demolished from 2021 to 2022, however the area will not be finished until the middle of phase 3. The large vacant area on the southeast corner of the boulevard will remain vacant and inactive until the development of the primary school begins in phase 3.

The development of the vacant area and streets marked with red, as shown on illustration 65, will begin in phase 1. The interventions developed upon this area will last through all of the phases. The vacant area marked with green will be activated in phase two and will be an expansion of the interventions built in phase 1. The interventions built on this area last through the remaining phases. The vacant area marked with blue will be activated in the last phase.

The following section will explain the phases of the design framework detailing what is suggested during each phase and why.

Phase 1-2
Phase 1-3
Phase 2-3
Phase 3

0m 20m 40m 60m 80m 100m

Ill. 65 - Implementation of framework
1:2000

8.4 Design framework
Phase 1: 2019–2021

Context

From 2019 to 2021, Gellerupparken will be subject to several demolitions, which were illustrated in section 4.4. The current renovations of the existing housing blocks will continue and be finished within this time period. The residents living in the housing blocks that are being renovated, are rehoused into temporary housing units or other empty dwellings in the area, until they are once again available to live in.

Framework

The first phase is the initial development of the site. It is proposed to afford experimentation of the shape of the site, the character of it, the connectivity of it, as well as it functions and purpose. Temporary installations, facilities and offices are suggested to be built in order to test and sense the need for them. The ones that do well during the first phase, can request to extend their stay with a contract of three to five years, which would require upgrading the existing facilities, or creating something new and more permanent.

The purpose of the first phase is to bring temporary life and a new character to the site, while strengthening the association life and creating jobs. It is important when creating temporary life and facilities to set clear expectations from the outset. This is needed to make sure that all actors are in agreement of the duration and ambition of the temporary facilities, in order to reduce risk for all parties involved (Martin, Deas & Hincks, 2019). The framework proposes that this will mainly be done by repurposing the vacant sports hall and its surrounding vacant space into a GAME Streetmekka (GSM). GAME is a non-profit street sports organisation that aims at creating lasting social changes through sport for children and youths. GAME establishes facilities and teaches young adults to become role models for others (GAME Denmark, 2018). The GSM provides new facilities for the youths as well as adults to enjoy sports activities besides football such as; basket, skate, bouldering, dance and parkour. It could also house the climbing club whose facilities will be removed once the swimming facility is demolished to make way for the world bath. The GSM is meant to create activity both during the day and the late evening.

A facility such as the GSM, which provides the spaces for sports and afterschool activities, is deemed as an effective tool for creating social exchanges, creating life and safety in the area, as well as creating jobs and improving the image of the area (Stender and Bech-Danielsen, 2017). It can help increase the bonding social capital of Gellerupparken. It can also facilitate different street sport tournaments and events such as summer skate tours, which could create bridging social capital with outsiders and neighbouring areas. Activating the space inside and around the GSM can create a better connection to the existing context consisting of the church, library, City Vest and more.

The development of the GSM would require that the existing structure is renovated, which residents can be a part of. Social problems cannot just be built away (Stender and Bech-Danielsen, 2017). It is essential to include social work initiatives that help the residents of the area (ibid.). The 'Byg Op' social work

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initiative hires residents to be a part of the construction process (Bech-Danielsen and Christensen, 2017). It is showing positive results in nearby deprived social housing areas in Aarhus and the rest of Denmark, with less vandalism performed due to the ownership the residents feel when they are a part of the process (ibid.). It also activates residents, helps them gain work experience and get into the job market, as well as educating them (ibid.). Residents can also be hired to maintain the facility, and to create equipment and furniture for the facility as well.

During the transformation period of the vacant sports hall, the temporary life is proposed to be generated by providing temporary facilities for associations to use and reside in. These temporary facilities are suggested to be mainly repurposed shipping containers which are cheap, easy to setup and to maintain. The shape and functionality of the site can change and improve over time, due to the modularity of the containers. The suggested permanence of these temporary facilities is up to two years, which affords the possibility of experimenting with both their functions and their cohesion with other associations. It also allows associations to sense what they need in terms of location, space and inventory without being tied to a long contract.

The framework suggests a focus on creating spaces that afford temporary events and activities. The placement of the containers, and the shape of the subsequential vacant spaces that they create, could afford semi-private spaces which helps counteract the large scale and openness of the site. The semi-private spaces affords the possibility to the residents to take ownership of the area, by creating different events or activities in them and sharing them with other residents. Outsiders could also be invited to these events, which means that the events can help increase both bonding and bridging social capital.

The framework suggests implementing speed bumps, as they are effective at alleviating some of the current traffic problems along the boulevard. Furthermore, the framework suggests that the intersection at the site will become a shared space surface to slow down vehicles, allowing a safer crossing for pedestrians and cyclists. This could also increase the connectivity of the site. Parklets along with interactive urban design elements are proposed to be implemented along the pedestrian path of the boulevard to afford temporary activities. The parklets will also include seating and trash cans, which are also needed on the boulevard. They would be a temporary attempt at changing the monotonous and linear flow of the boulevard for pedestrians.

The proposed phase aims to allow the residents to take ownership of the area. The character of the site would not only be defined by its functions and spaces, but also by its visual appearance. An annual event is proposed which invites the residents of Gellerupparken to put their mark on the area in which they live, either through installations or murals. Murals are a common representation of Gellerupparken, which still has the original murals from the 1980s painted on the gables of the eight storey housing blocks. It would allow the residents to frame the image of Gellerupparken to show what the area has to offer.

Ill. 66 - Phase 1 1:2000
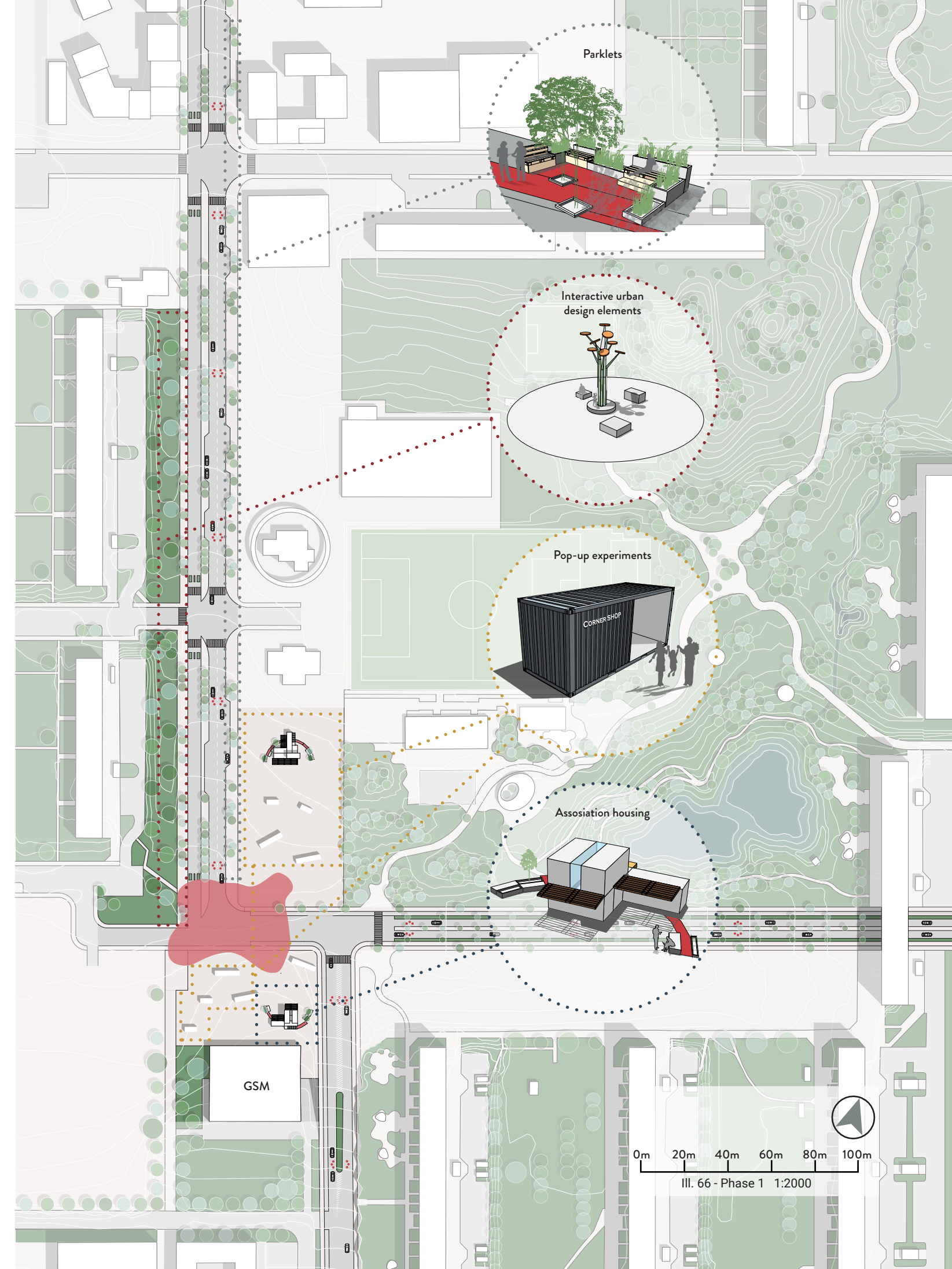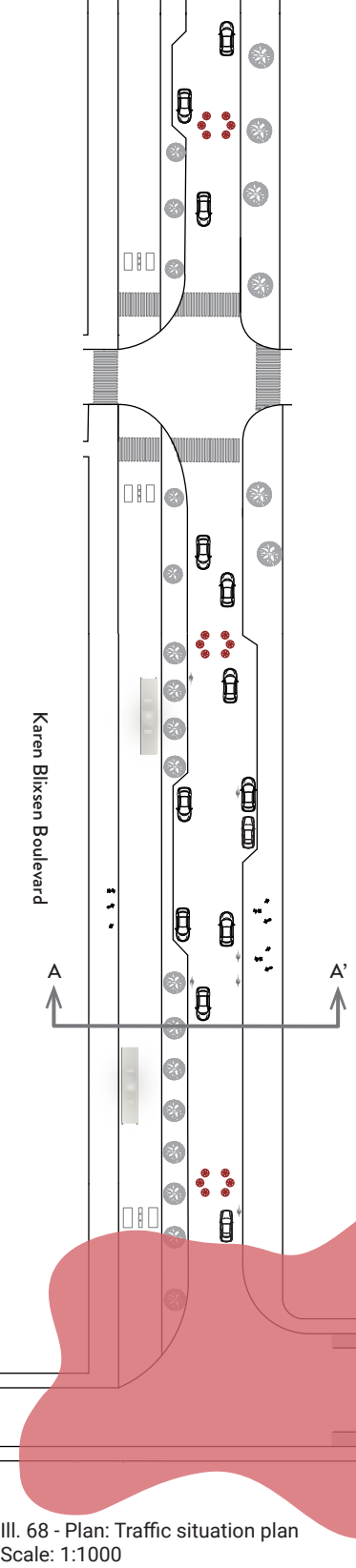
Transport infrastructure

Cyclists often feel discomfort and unsafe when sharing a lane with cars, especially with a lot of car traffic and a high level of car speed. The safety level depends on the speed limit, parking conditions and the width of the street. Therefore, cyclists and vehicles ought to only share same lane where the amount of cars traffic is light and the speed limit is appropriately low (Cyklistforbundet, 2019).

Speed bumps are one among many speed reducing measures that streets can use to ensure that street users comply with the assigned speed limit. Speed bumps can be used to lower the speed of the vehicles on the street with an anticipated speed of 50 km/h or less. The speed bumps must be designed so that drivers who passes the bumps at the given speed, do not feel any particular discomfort as motorists passing the speed bumps at 15 km/h or less than the signposted speed. Speed bumps are the most frequently used and the most effective physical speed impediment. Furthermore, speed bumps are one of the cheapest solutions to implement (Vejdirektoratet, 2004).
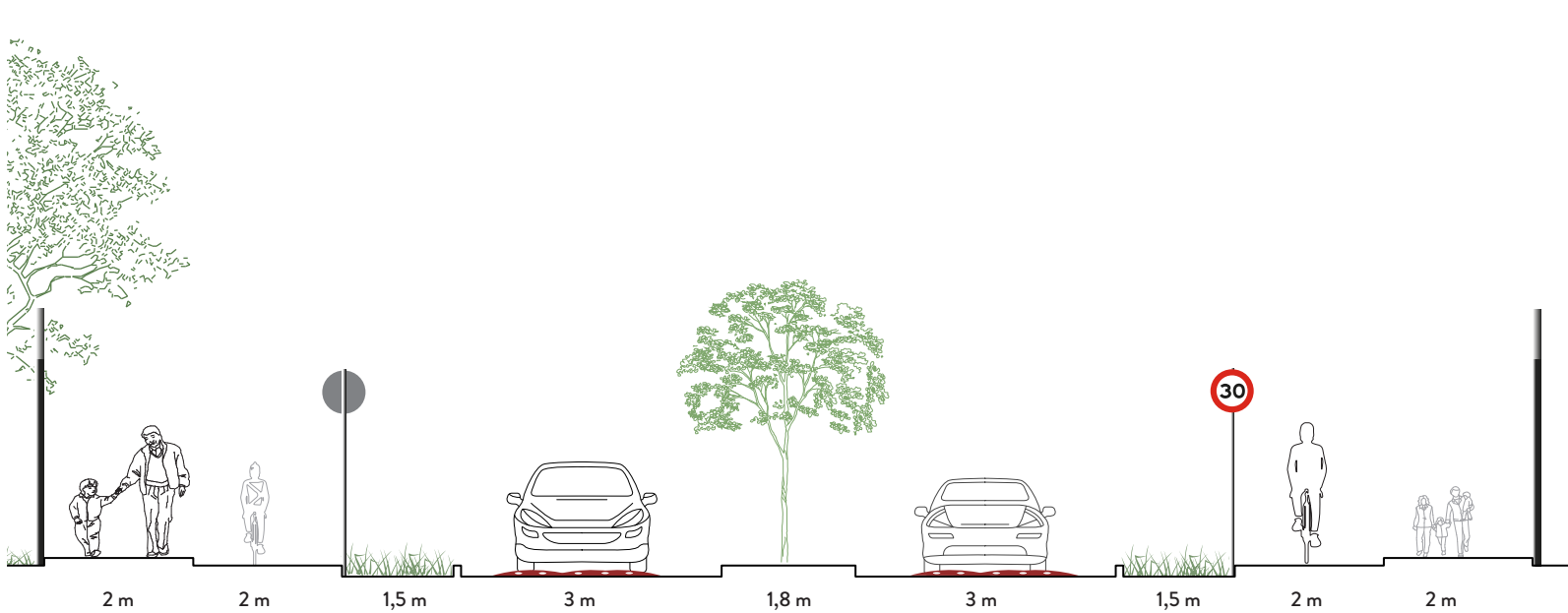
In the recent years, the use and establishment of mushroom bumps have increased in several Danish municipalities. Mushroom bumps are meant to mainly affect cars. The bumps are constructed in a pattern across the street, that limits the speed limit for the cars, while the bus drivers will not be affected by it. The bus can pass the bumps with a pair of wheels on either side of the hump without running over them while the passenger cars have at least one pair of wheels up on the hump (Vejdirektoratet, 2013). This is shown on illustration 67 and 70.

The boulevard faces two main challenges which are; traffic safety, and the 500 meters distance with no activity and very few seating opportunities along the pedestrian paths.

Mushroom speed bumps are proposed to be implemented, as they are effective at alleviating some of the current traffic problems on the main streets. Cars currently share the car lane with cyclists, which decreases the safety for the cyclists, resulting in them mostly avoiding the boulevard due to the lack of safety. The Mushroom bumps would be placed 70 meters apart according

to the regulations (Vejdirektoratet, 2013). This would result in limiting the speed limit of the streets to 30 km/h which affords better safety for cyclists sharing the lane with the cars. It would also increase the safety for pedestrians as the cars are unable to speed through the area.
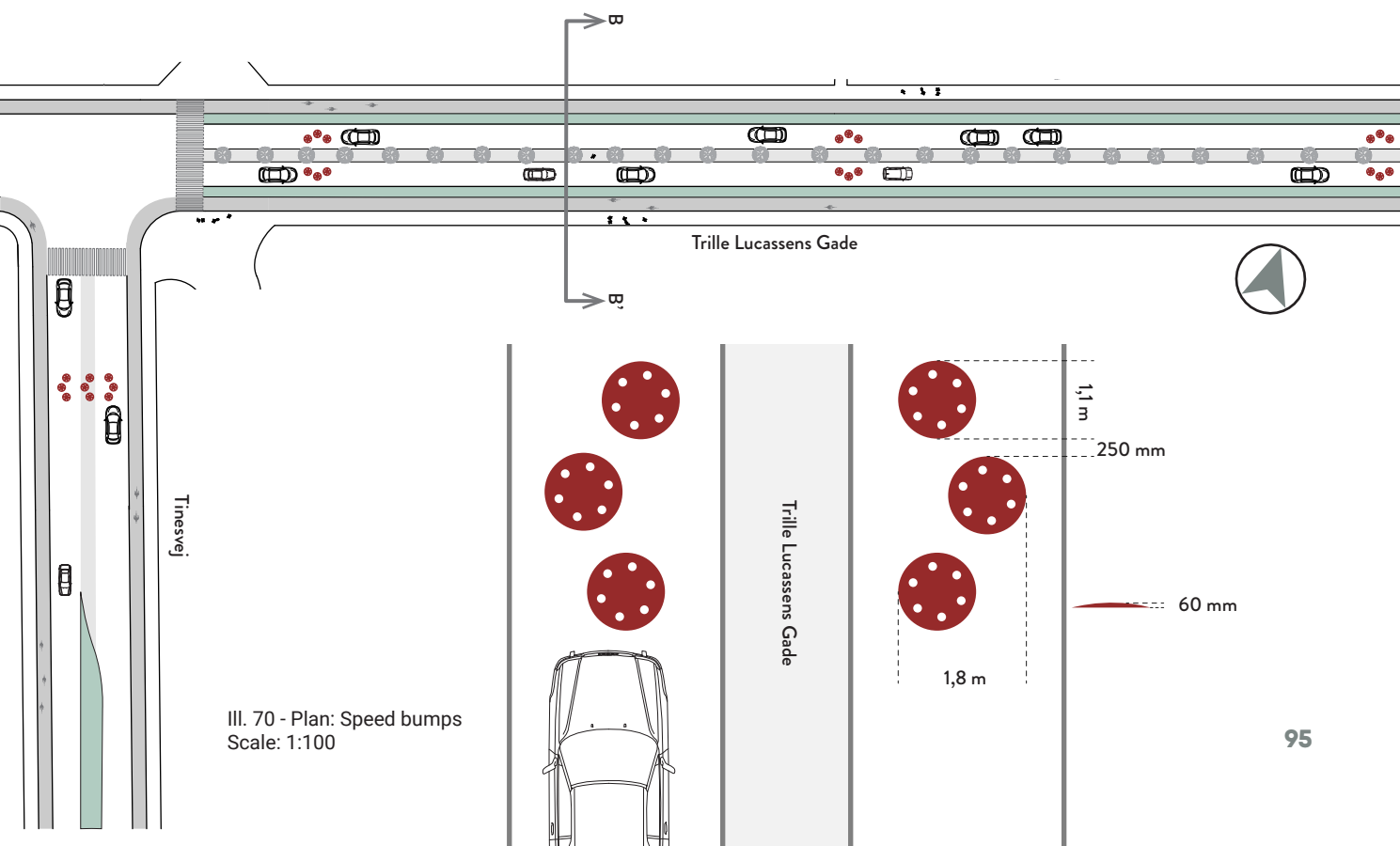
The 30 km/h speed limit would be implemented on the boulevard, partly on the Tinesvej and on Trille Lucassens gade. In addition, Trille Lucassens gade would be established with a separated cycle lane on both side of the street. Illustration 69 above shows the suggested traffic situation to afford a better flow of different types of traffic.

Even though there are three paths on each side of the street, the surface level would not the same. Between the bike lanes a green buffer zone is suggested, as well as a median strip between the two car lanes. This is proposed to make it easier and safer for the pedestrians to safely cross the street. The proposal is meant to inhibit the cars from using the middle part of the street to avoid the speed bumps.

The intersection at the end of the boulevard is suggested to become a shared space surface to slow down vehicles, allowing a safer crossing for pedestrians and cyclists, which could also increase the connectivity of the site.

Ill. 69 - Section B-B': Trille Lucassens Gade, speed bumps
Scale: 1:100

Karen Blixsen Boulevard

Ill. 68 - Plan: Traffic situation plan
Scale: 1:1000

Trille Lucassens Gade

(5 m)   6 m   3,5 m   6,5 m   (5,5 m)
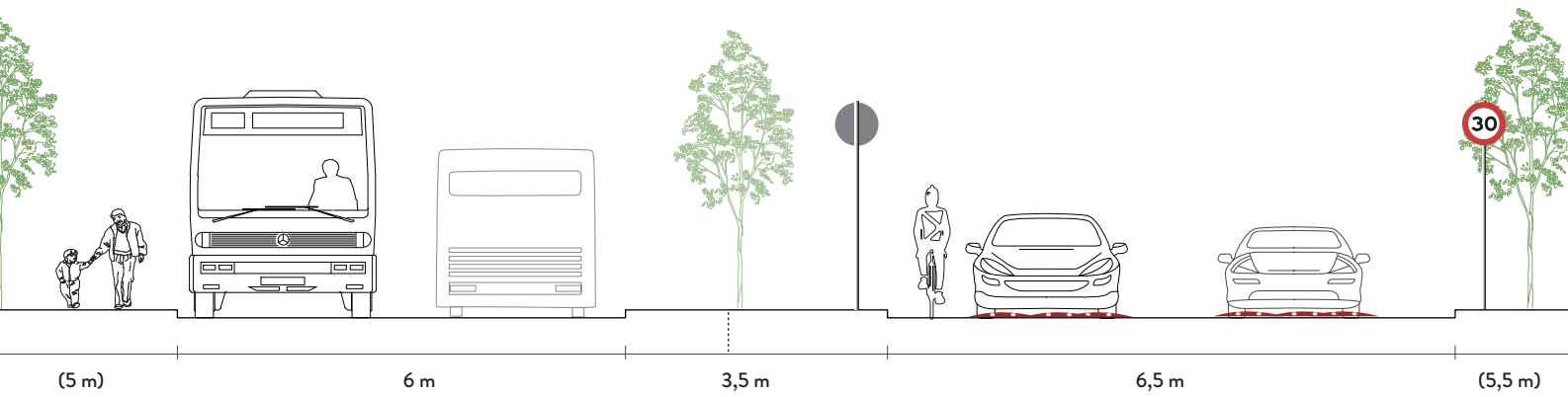
Ill. 67 - Section A-A': The boulevard with speed bump
Scale: 1:100

Tinesvej

Ill. 70 - Plan: Speed bumps
Scale: 1:100

2 m   2 m   1,5 m   3 m   1,8 m   3 m   1,5 m   2 m   2 m

1,1 m   250 mm   60 mm   1,8 m

Trille Lucassens Gade

Phase 2: 2021–2024

Context

From 2021 to 2024, Gellerupparken will be subject to new construction sites and will consist of hundreds of new townhouses, mainly built in Toveshøj and in the eastern part of Gellerupparken. The area will also begin the expansion of City Vest, which is estimated to be finished at the end of 2023. Gellerupparken will be subject to demolitions during this phase, as both the Dortesvej quarter and the sports campus are estimated to be finished in 2026. The Dortesvej quarter will begin demolitions in 2021. A business quarter will begin its development in the eastern part of Gellerupparken near the ring road. This entails that the current temporary information center "The E&P House" will either be moved or removed. It also entails that a large part of the boulevard, on both the western and eastern side, will become a construction site for years to come. Based on this, temporary facilities that were built on these sites in the first phase, will be relocated further south towards the GSM. The construction sites along with the boulevard might make the space less welcome or used due to negative side effects of the construction, such as noise. We propose creating more parklets along the boulevard, in an attempt to keep some sort of activity during this development period. However, if the testing period of the first phase proved that the parklets were not being used, then they will not be proposed for the second phase.

Framework

The second phase of the proposed framework will start the expansion of functions west of the GSM by occupying and activating the residual space. The main focus of the second phase is proposed to increase employment in the area, and to continue to lay the groundwork for possible upward social mobility. This would be done by creating a 'semi-permanent', and later 'permanent', incubator facility for co-operative workspaces, meeting rooms, education rooms and offices. The framework suggests that semi-permanent facilities are allowed three to five years of occupancy, and permanent facilities are allowed at least ten years.
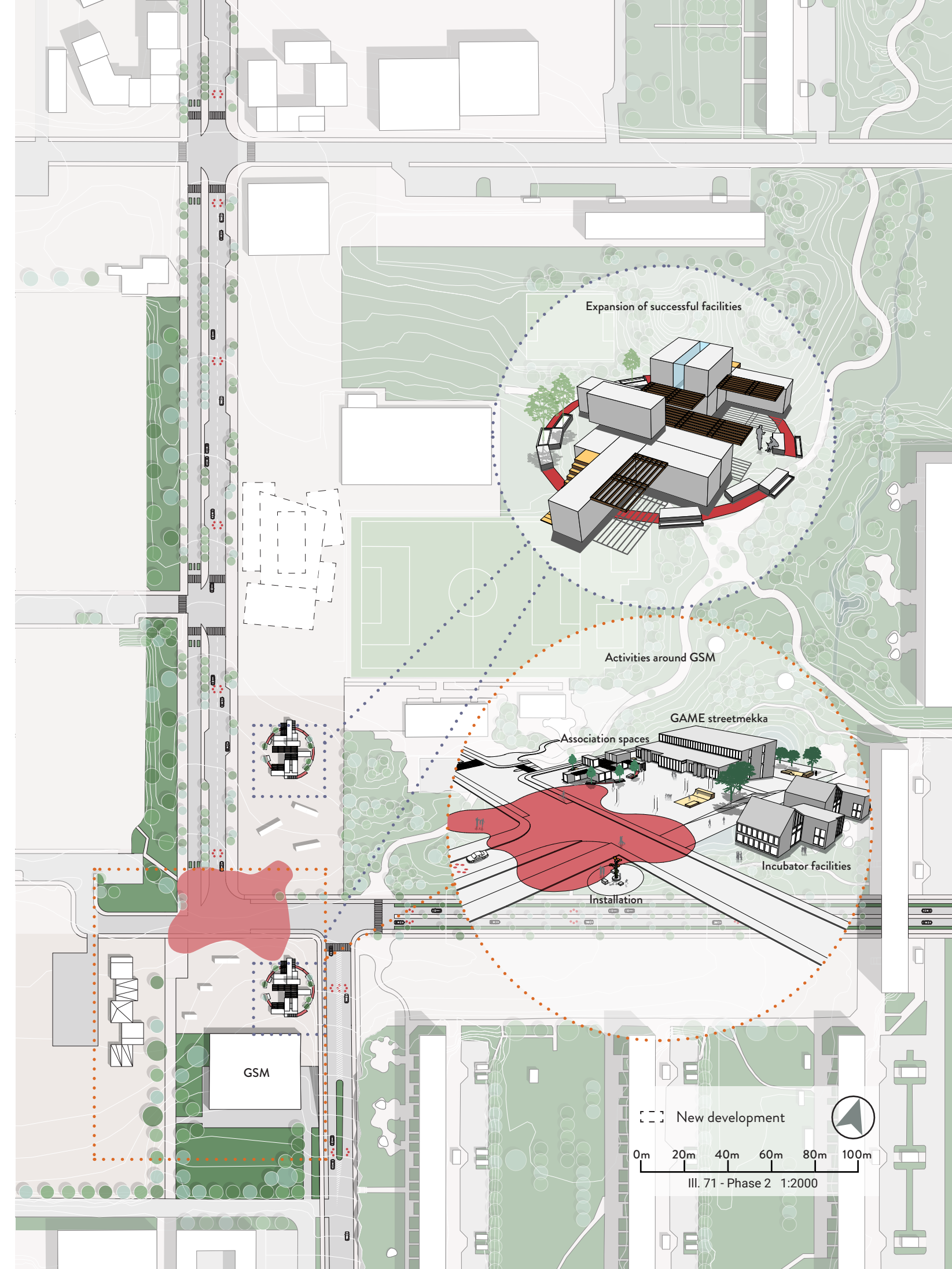
There already exists a similar temporary incubator facility in Gellerupparken, 'The Gazelle Farm', which exemplifies the relevance for such a facility in the area. The Gazelle Farm allows residents to rent a workspace for three months and are required to collaborate with fellow tenants of the facility. Facilities such as this also exist in Aarhus with Institute for X, which is used as an example of how this proposal would work.

These incubator facilities would be shared by residents that want to develop their own business. The facilities are proposed to be built on the residual lot west of the GSM adjacent to the pedestrian path in the area. This would allow them to connect easily to the GSM and the square, as there is no street or heavy traffic to disrupt the connection. Additionally, the area is connected to the street on its northern edge, which allows the entrepreneurs to park or ship products from their workspace.

There already exists a growing co-operative office space in Gellerupparken above the current library. Their lease contracts will end in 2021, which fits well with the timing of the incubator development. They would be able to move their workspace just a hundred meters up the street. The incubator facility would be a strong proposal for lowering unemployment in the area on a long term basis, by providing the physical spaces, education of starting a business, and close connections to other entrepreneurs, which are essential for developing a business.

Associations that have flourished or found a need for their temporary facilities during the first phase, will be able to extend their stay in the same facilities. It is also possible that some associations sharing common interests, might be interested in sharing the same facilities or being joined together, which can be done thanks to the modularity of the containers.

Additionally there will be a continued effort to increase activity in the area. It is assumed that the square in front of the GSM has learned from its mistakes and successes during the first phase, which have been evaluated and acted upon to improve it. The character would still change slightly every year with the annual event, allowing the residents to make it their own with urban gardens, dining tents with communal kitchens, installations and other types of art. Interactive installations on the square are meant to invite people to stay and use the area, while it provides character to the area, such as swings or seesaws with light in them. These interactive installations could help increase the use of the area, indicate life even during the night, and possibly increase the sense of safety in the area.

Expansion of successful facilities

Activities around GSM

GAME streetmekka

Association spaces

Incubator facilities

Installation

GSM

New development

0m 20m 40m 60m 80m 100m

Ill. 71 - Phase 2   1:2000

Phase 3: 2024–2030

Context

A lot of things happen in Gellerupparken from 2024 to 2030 with little certainty of what will be developed, and when the majority of the developments will start or finish. The third phase of the proposal is therefore less specific. The only certainties are; that the Dortesvej quarter and the sports campus are supposed to be finished in 2026, and that a new primary school will be built and finished by 2030. Based on this, temporary facilities situated on the area where the school will be built, will be moved further down south, drawing them away from the boulevard. Smaller temporary functions such as the parklets can still remain on the boulevard.

Framework

The third phase of the proposed framework is less experimental in terms of testing the shape and functionality of the area, as well as what facilities might be implemented. However, this does not exclude new temporary facilities from being implemented. They can still add to the more established facilities from the first two phases.

In the third phase, less space will be available for the proposed facilities, as the area where the proposal is situated, will be built upon and finished by 2030. There is little to no indication of what will be built on the site up until 2030, except for the BRT system which will separate the site into two halves. It will be separated both during the construction period and once it is fully functional.

The permanence of the facilities built in the first two phases would depend on their success. If the facilities help creating jobs for the residents and strengthen the social capital of the area, then the housing association and the municipality might consider letting them stay. The more successful facilities could be a joined together, if it makes sense, to take up less building plots. They could also become a part of buildings, that the housing association might plan to build. Another option would be to move them to the business quarter built by the housing association in the second phase. However, this might change the functionality of the facilities, as they are no longer situated in the centre of Gellerupparken.

New development

0m 20m 40m 60m 80m 100m

Ill. 72 - Phase 3 1:2000

GSM
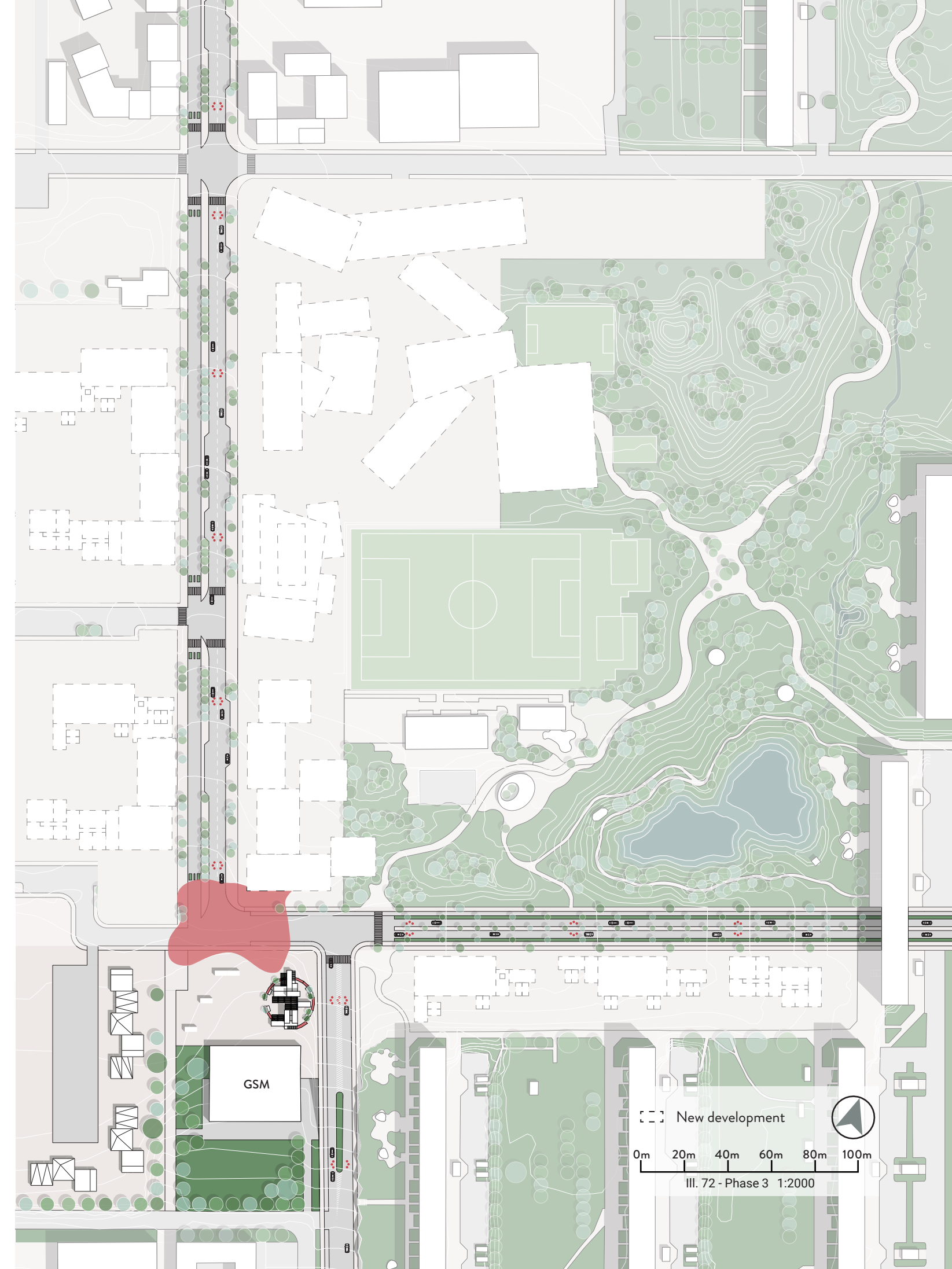
Best practice examples of interventions

GAME street mekka

The GAME streetmekka in Viborg served as an inspiration in showing a great example of how the street mekka can attribute to activating an area and engage the local community, as well as been an example of how to repurpose vacant constructions (see illustration 73).

Ill. 73 - GAME streetmekka Viborg (EFFEKT) - See illustration list for more details

Temporary experimental activities in shipping containers

Shipping containers afford the possibility to be turned into a variety of functions, which inspired the choice of containers when experimenting with different ways of activating the vacant areas. Below are some examples of containers turned into temporary functions from San Francisco, USA (1), Montreal, Canada (2) and Berlin, Germany (3).

Ill. 74 - Examples of temporary activation - See illustration list for more details

Parklets

The suggested parklets along the boulevard can vary in shape and functions. Parklets have been introduced worldwide to afford activities on the streets, as well as increasing safety for pedestrians and lowering car speeds. The examples below are from London, UK (1), Copenhagen, Denmark (2) and Łódź, Poland (3).


Ill. 75 - Examples of parklets - See illustration list for more details

Interactive urban design elements

The interactive urban design elements were inspired by several installations from all over the world. Much of the intrigue came from the way light was employed as an interactive element, as it could be used to create activity during the night-time, but also illuminate dimly lit areas with little night-time activity. The examples below are from Copenhagen, Denmark (1) and Montreal, Canada (2,3).
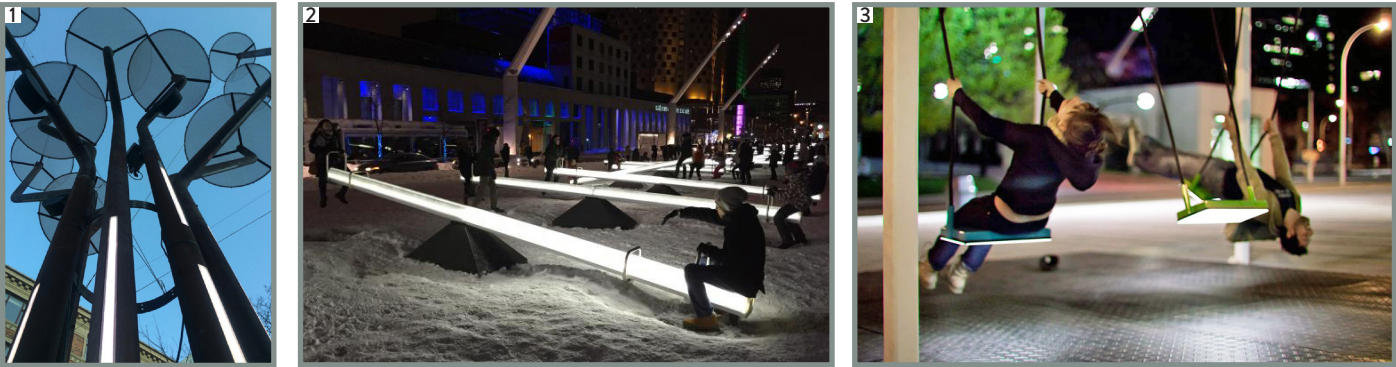
Ill. 76 - Interactive urban design elements - See illustration list for more details

Gellerupparken's incubator facilities

The creation of an incubator facility was in part inspired by existing functions with similar goals of upward social mobility. One of these was Townsend enterprise park in Belfast, a non-profit organization which aims to promote social and economic regeneration. They also aim to create employment within their community by providing employment opportunities and a shared space for residents of different backgrounds (1). It was also inspired by examples seen in danish context such as Institut for X in Aarhus (2), and 'The Gazelle Farm' in Gellerupparken (3).
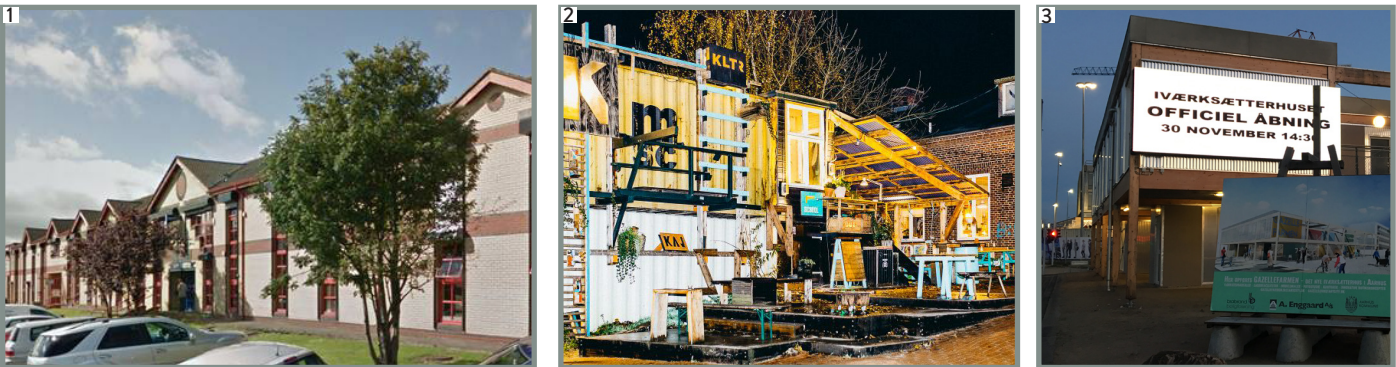
Ill. 77 - Examples of incubator facilities - See illustration list for more details

Overview of the framework

Intervention	Users	Maintenance	Priority	Permanence	Phase	Funding
Incubator facilities	Local residents	Entrepreneurs	High	9+ years	2 -> 3	Aarhus Municipality, BBBO, Foundations[1]
GAME streetmekka	Local residents, visitors and associations	GAME	High	10+ years	1 -> 3	Aarhus Municipality, associations, BBBO, Foundations[2]
Association spaces	Local associations	The associations	High	1-10+ years	1 -> 3	The associations, BBBO, Aarhus Municipality, Foundations[3]
Transport infrastructure	Drivers, cyclists and pedestrians	Aarhus Municipality	High	1-10+ years	1 -> 3	Aarhus Municipality
Installations	Locals and visitors	BBBO	Medium	1-10+ years	1 -> 3	Aarhus Municipality and Foundations[4]
Parklets	Locals and visitors	BBBO	Low	1-10+ years	1 -> 3	Aarhus Municipality and BBBO[5]

Table 15 - Overview of the framework and its interventions

Summary

The design framework has been created with an implementation plan in mind to accommodate and adapt to the constant changes of the area. The different interventions of the framework are suggested to begin at different time periods in order to respond to these changes. The permanence of the interventions will depend on the need for them and how successful they turn out to be. All of the interventions could exist after the master plan is finished, as there will likely still be a need for workplaces, spaces for activities, spaces for associations, road safety and the possibility of creating ownership of the area. Parklets could be incorporated into the design of the boulevard instead of being temporary solutions. The interventions with the highest priority are all equally important as they respond to the most critical points found in this thesis. The installations and the parklets can be seen as supplements to the highly prioritized interventions, as their aim is to strengthen the functionality of them.

All of these interventions will require some form of maintenance and in terms of being operated. The framework suggests that the entrepreneurs maintain their own spaces and that people are hired to operate the facility. The maintenance can be paid for through their rent. The GAME streetmekka would not be as impactful if it is not operated by GAME themselves. Their aim on improving the life of children from deprived neighbourhoods fits perfectly in the context of this thesis. The associations spaces should be maintained and operated by the associations themselves, as it reinforces the ownership of the spaces. The infrastructural interventions would have to be maintained by the municipality, as they are built on municipal streets. The installations and parklets would need maintenance if they are intended to remain in the area. Some of the funding raised for these interventions could be set aside for maintenance, which the housing association could use at their disposal once maintenance is needed.

Funding:

1. The entrepreneur park could be funded by the municipality through social work resources and by the housing association. They already funded the existing temporary entrepreneur workspace building on the boulevard. Foundations that sponsor small-medium businesses and entrepreneurs could help as well, such as Markedsmondningsfonden, Welovestartups, and Innobooster.

2. Existing GAME street mekkas have received funding from their respective municipalities along with foundations that sponsor cultural and sports activities. Some of these foundations are Realdania, Lokale og Anlægsfonden, and Nordea Fonden.

3. The association spaces could be funded by the municipality which sponsors youth and adult education associations. The housing association has an independent association that provides economic support for leisure activities for the members of the association. Foundations such as Lokale og Anlægsfonden and Landsbyggefonden grants money to association spaces and local halls. The associations can also help fund the spaces themselves, which they will be required to do in order to apply for the grants.

4. The installations could be funded by the municipality which has funds available for specifically culture in Gellerup, which they grant biannually. The municipality also has funds for culture development which could fund these installations. Foundations such as the Danish Arts Foundation could also sponsor them.

5. The parklets could be funded by the municipality and the housing association. Other municipalities have paid for parklets and similar solutions in their respective cities. The housing association could also fund the creation of these parklets.
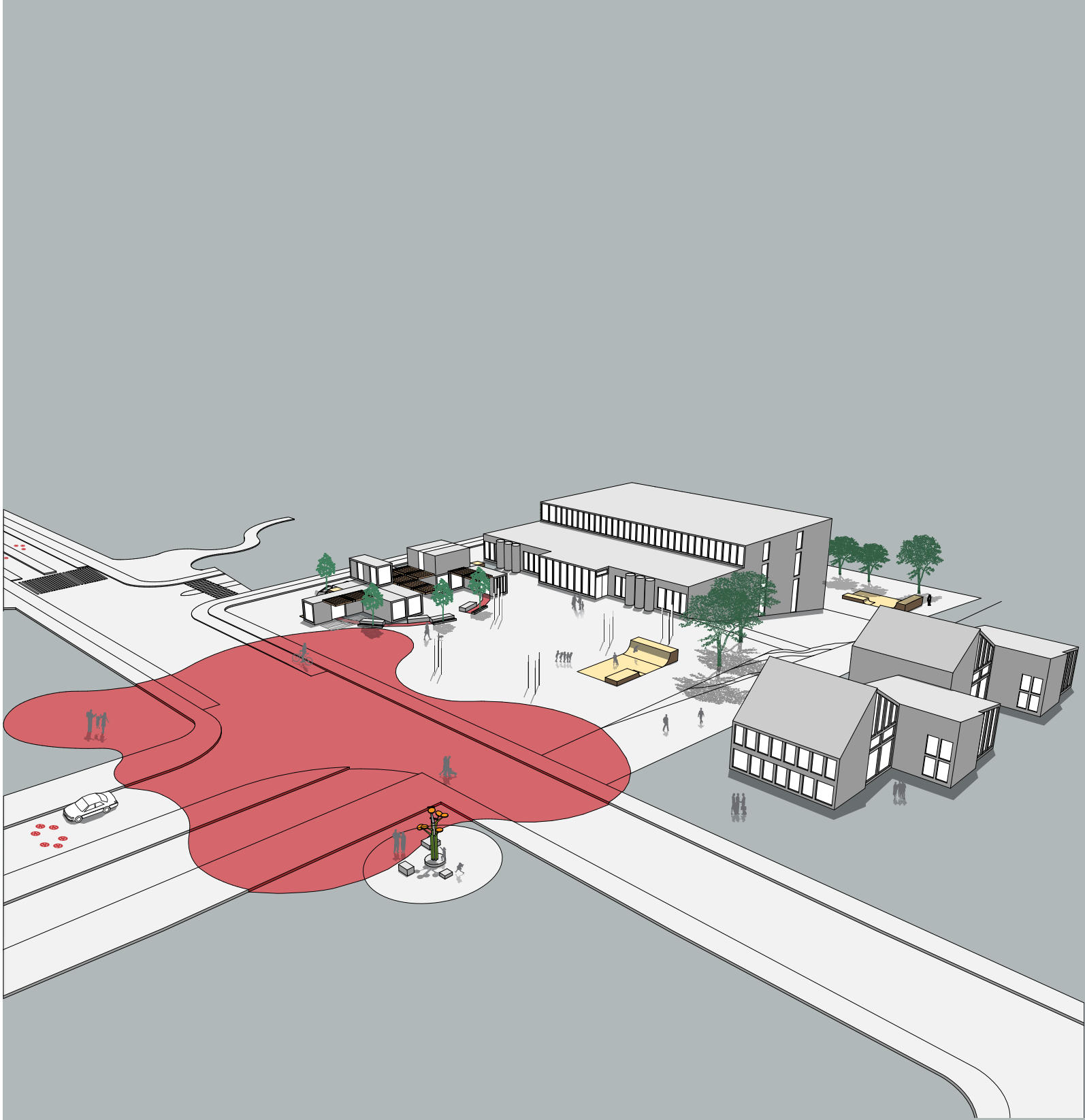
Conclusion
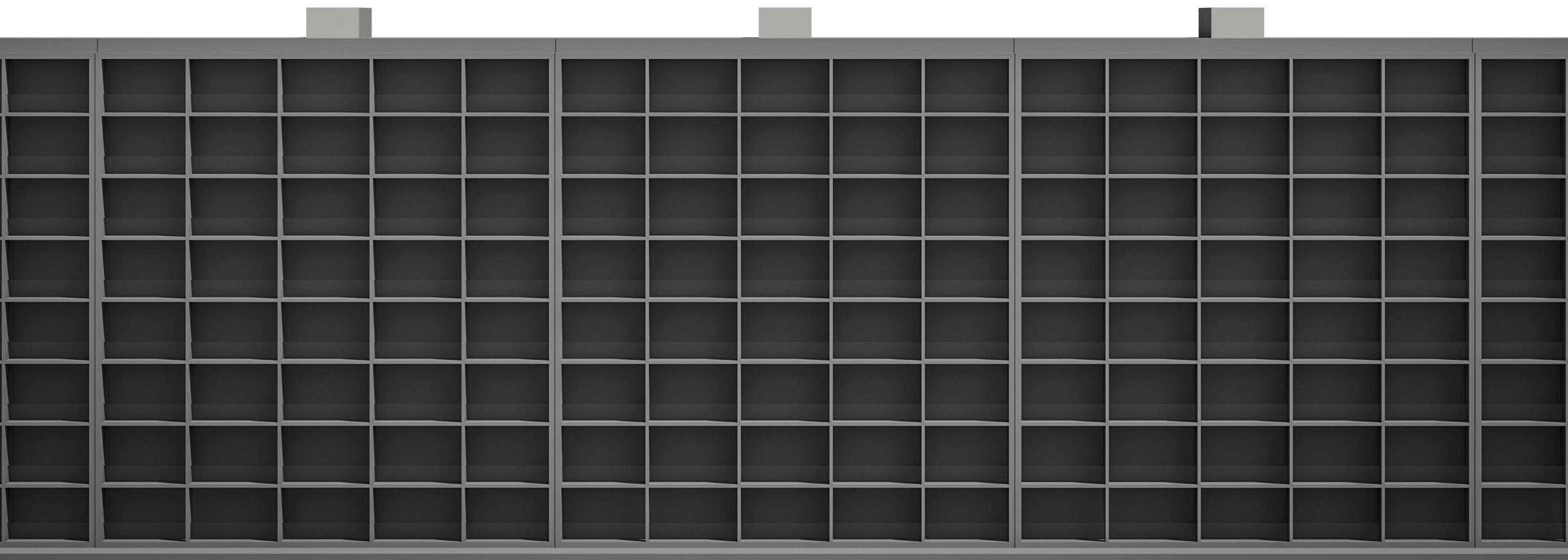
9.1 Evaluating the design framework

Urban design is almost synonymous with designing for the future, but what about the present? As an example, the master plan of Gellerupparken focuses on a future city that does not exist. It is aimed to be a new city in 2030, which is made clear by the municipality's decision to make the boulevard for the residents, traffic, facilities and urban life of 2030, not of today. But what about Gellerupparken today and the next 11.5 years? Are the residents just supposed to endure these challenges until then? The area is arguably dysfunctional in terms of cohesion, scale and activity and will likely continue to be so for many years. As previously presented in the thesis, the focus on making an area for 2030, creates social, spatial and technical challenges in the area and for its residents right now, which will most likely continue. There needs to be a focus on solving these challenges, while making Gellerupparken better for the residents during this time period. The framework of this thesis is a suggestion for doing so.

Designing something for today necessitates fast planning and development, which can be done with temporary facilities. The temporary facilities could help strengthen the community and the social capital of Gellerupparken, without having to design anything extravagant such as a sports and culture campus. As Gellerupparken is still changing and will continue to do so until 2030, a necessity for designing something for today, entails that the built environment is adaptable to changes in the construction of the area.

The housing association and the municipality aims for the boulevard to be filled with urban life thanks to its ostentatious facilities such as cafés, shops, world bath, sports and culture campus, youth city, and much more. However, they have no plans yet for how the boulevard is supposed to be used, and it shows, as the development on both sides will leave the boulevard as a 400 meters long construction site for at least six years.

The framework aims at alleviating challenges imposed upon the current residents by realizing opportunities through design interventions, aimed at improving the conditions for the current residents while avoiding further consequential stigmatization and gentrification. The framework further sought to create an alternative strategy to the redevelopment of Gellerupparken, that would empower residents and strategic actors in Gellerupparken to lobby decision makers by suggesting more localised and sensitive practices of regeneration that could suitably benefit existing uses and qualities of the area.

Evaluation of the framework

It is very likely that the facilities might not be able to stay in the area, as investments from developers arguably entices the housing association and the municipality more, rather than spaces for associations and jobs. One has to consider, that the master plan aims at remaking Gellerupparken into an entirely new city, with a lot of new housing typologies and a lot of new affluent residents. One could argue, that the new residents, who are better off than the current residents, will not be needing some of the facilities such as the incubator facilities. We can only hope that the interventions of the framework could be a somewhat success worth continuing even after 2030.

The framework is not going to be the solution to their problems, as some of the problems are caused by macro institutional agendas that are not so easily changed or solved. The framework is not going to improve the statistics enough to remove an area from the ghetto list. There are too many factors, upon which the ghetto list decides whether an area is a ghetto, and some factors cannot be improved upon. As our interviewee and chairman of Gellerupparken stated in our interview;

"Ethnicity cannot be changed. You can improve the statistics of employment, education and crime, but you cannot change the ethnicity of the residents." - Abdinasir

Even though the framework is adaptable and temporary, it would still take a few years for it to be fully implemented, and for it to start helping the residents. Social housing areas that end up on the ghetto list only have four years to get off it again, and if they do not reach that deadline, they will be required to lower the share of social family housing in the area to 40%. The framework can therefore not prevent gentrification, demolitions and subsequent displacement. However, perhaps the approach of the framework can be used in other deprived social housing areas with another purpose.

Transferability of the framework

We can only hope that a similar framework and strategy could be reproduced in other deprived social housing areas facing similar challenges as Gellerupparken.

The framework of this thesis is made for Gellerupparken, so it would not be possible to copy it and propose the exact same interventions in another deprived social housing area. One would have to analyse the area, interact with its residents and work with them to uncover what their challenges and potentials are. Challenges and potentials vary from one deprived social housing area to another, despite the statistics of the ghetto list might show that they face the same challenges. The temporary facilities can be used in other deprived social housing areas, adapting to their necessity and context, and allows for experimentation and discovery of the area's potentials. However, they should only be used if it makes sense to create something temporary, or if one wished to use containers due to the low cost or modularity.

Expectations of the design

We hope that the framework could help create more activity in Gellerupparken, while strengthening the community life and the opportunities for its deprived residents. Furthermore, we hope that the local and community stakeholders could use this framework as a lobby document to articulate their potentials towards the decision makers. Lastly, we hope that this framework and its suggestions of interventions could help the decision makers to realize the potentials of the area and its residents, in order to rethink the redevelopment of the area by incorporating its existing uses and qualities.

The framework will not help everyone, as we were not able to get in touch with a large part of the residents during the fieldwork. We created the proposed framework based on the most critical challenges and potentials that we were able to find during our fieldwork. If we had been able to get in contact with different stakeholders, then the proposal would mostly likely be different and focus on other critical challenges or potentials.

The proposed phases are a suggestion based on the certainties of the master plan when the thesis was written. It is important for whomever uses this framework as an inspiration to try an alternative approach of redeveloping Gellerupparken, to know more certainly when the developments of the master plan will begin, as the current uncertainties affects the phases of the framework. The phases would likely not be the same as the proposed phases, and there is no need for them to be that. The aims of the phases remain the same despite the time available to implement the suggested interventions. It does not matter if the development of the proposed spaces for the associations or the incubator facility begins in 2019 or 2021, as long as they are implemented. However, one needs to bear in mind that the implementation and development of these interventions will never be perfectly timed as the area and the plans for it constantly changes.

9.2 Conclusion of the study

The aim of the study was to critically explore the advancement of anti-ghettoization policies in Denmark and the impact of state-endorsed stigmatization on deprived social housing areas, which ultimately facilitate their redevelopment and gentrification. This was done by investigating the experiences of residents affected by the policy construct, in order to identify ways of alleviating challenges imposed upon them by realizing opportunities and to identify alternative ways of redeveloping these areas.

To gain a thorough understanding of urban regeneration policies, a literature review needed to be done in order to properly understand the methods of urban regeneration and their consequences. The literature review focused on state-led stigmatization which leads to consequential gentrification and displacement. It investigated the methods used in urban regeneration projects, showing how social mix methods were employed by governments and decision makers. The literature review argued that social mix methods showed little to no evidence supporting the claims of their effectiveness, even stating that it could have detrimental consequences. The literature review showed a gap in knowledge relating to a Danish context, which afforded the opportunity to be explored further. This coincided with the purpose of the thesis, which was to explore the advancement of anti-ghettoization policies in Denmark and the impact of state-endorsed stigmatization on deprived social housing areas, which ultimately facilitate their redevelopment and gentrification.

In order to do so it was necessary to conduct a policy review of current political plans in Denmark. The policy review showed that despite the evidence against social mixing methods, national policies in the form of the ghetto plan had made social mixing methods the crux of their anti-ghettoization strategies. The ghetto plan, targeting deprived social housing areas in Denmark, high-lighted five criterias that would decide if an area was in need of urban regeneration; crime, unemployment, ethnicity, education and income. To further explore the effects that the ghetto plan and its implicit regeneration agenda has on deprived social housing areas, a case study area was selected based on three criterias. The selection of the case area was selected based on meeting all five criteria of the ghetto list, its significant size and population, and its advancement of redevelopment.

Gellerupparken was chosen as the case area, due to meeting all five criteria of the ghetto list, its significant size and population, and was the only 'ghetto' that had advanced in its redevelopment process, which began in 2014. The master plan of Gellerupparken surprisingly showed strategies very much in line with the ghetto plan that was created 7 years later. The same social mixing methods required by the ghetto plan, were already being performed in Gellerupparken.

In order to understand the current context of Gellerupparken and how it became what it is today necessitated an understanding of its past. The thesis therefore investigated the history of Gellerupparken, and the previous strategies employed from 1999 until 2019 to gain an understand of its preceding development.

In order to critically examine the effects of the ghetto plan and the redevelopment of the area in Gellerupparken, and the different experiences of residents affected by them, methods for studying this were required. A methodological framework was created based on the outcomes of the literature review, the policy review and the understanding of the case study. This established the framework for empirically studying the phenomena of stigmatization, gentrification, and displacement along with how the residents of Gellerupparken are affected by them.

An area very much different from what was depicted by the ghetto plan and the master plan was revealed, by empirically studying Gellerupparken through interviewing, talking and mapping with local stakeholders, and attending different community events. This showed an area with a strong community and social capital facing several challenges relating to stigmatization, gentrification and displacement. Many of these challenges were afforded by the policy construct and the master plan which intended to improve the area. The area also showed many potentials, mainly relating to its strong community. The challenges and potentials were uncovered, and the most critical ones in the context of the thesis were later unpacked to create a deeper understanding of how the challenges could be alleviated, and the potentials realized.

Unpacking the empirical findings of the fieldwork revealed that many of the spatial challenges which the residents face came from living in a liminal area, waiting for the redevelopment of the area to be finalized. The changes in the area has displaced residents as well as associations, created streets that do not reflect the current context but a distant future, and large amounts of vacant and inactive spaces that will not be activated for many years to come. Other challenges related to unemployment and a lack of education were also unpacked, which are not addressed by the current development plan. Multiple potentials of Gellerup-

parken were revealed during the fieldwork, showing how the community and its resourceful residents helps each other and improves the area. It was clear from the interviews and meetings with these community stakeholders, that these potentials were neglected in the redevelopment of the area.

It was then decided to operationalize the critical findings through a design framework and implementation strategy to illustrate how the area could be improved with more sensitive and localised interventions, which recognizes the value of the strong community that exist in Gellerupparken. This was done with a focus on activating spaces with both a short-term and long-term perspective, highlighting the need for immediate activation, alleviating the critical challenges and realizing the critical potentials. In evaluating the framework, there are obvious weaknesses but the purpose of the thesis as a whole was to show how existing narratives of stigmatization and associated policies and development plans do not deal with the challenges and potentials of these locations.

9.3 Recommendations
Getting in contact with stakeholders

It was challenging getting in contact with different types of local stakeholders, as a large part of the residents do not speak Danish or English. This arguably limits the validity of the empirical findings and subsequently the final design framework, as we only managed to talk with residents who spoke Danish or English. Had we been of similar nationalities or spoken the same language as some of these hard-to-reach residents who only speak their own language, then perhaps the final design framework could be more impactful.

Language is a big factor when studying deprived social housing areas where a large percentage of the residents are from different countries and do not speak Danish or English. We recommend that one should hire a translator, or get to know residents in the area that speak Danish and other languages, in hope that they might be able to introduce you to other residents, and perhaps even translate for you. Be aware that a translator or local, acting as a mediator, can affects the empirical data either by their mere presence, or by rephrasing and subsequently changing the interviewee's answer to your question. One must also consider to create interview questions in multiple languages, in case the interviewees do not understand the language you speak.

Timing of the thesis

We were limited by the amount of time available for the thesis, which affected the quantity, quality and validity of the empirical findings collected during the fieldwork. The timing of our thesis and of the fieldwork also affected the empirical findings that were collected. The ghetto plan was released last year, but it is only lately that the residents in deprived social housing areas have started to notice its impact directly (see section 3.3 - Questionable approaches to displacing residents).

It is safe to assume that the replies we received from our interviews and mapping with the locals would have been different, had we performed them a few months later this year or even a few years in the future. Things such as activity zones might have been mapped differently as the park would be finished and would have been used more by the residents, or if the sports campus had been finished. It is possible that displacement would be of greater concern, if we had interviewed the locals after the negotiations between the housing association and the municipality had concluded, deciding in May 2019 on the demolition of nine additional apartment blocks.

A social mix clash might also have been more prevalent in our empirical findings, had we performed the interviews in a few years when the new housing typologies have been built, and new more affluent residents have moved in.

We recommend studying the case of a newly gentrified and socially mixed area, formerly known as a deprived social housing area, and how the social interaction and capital has come to be. It would be very interesting to evaluate upon the success of Gellerupparken post-gentrification, by studying how the different socioeconomic classes interact in their daily life through different activities in their community.

But most importantly, we recommend studying the gentrified and displaced residents of Gellerupparken. How do the residents spared from displacement feel about the area they live in now? And what happens to the displaced residents? We would recommend following residents not only from Gellerupparken, but multiple deprived social housing areas and see where they end up, how they fare in their new communities and if they are better off. It could also be interesting studying the different approaches that housing associations use to disperse the residents, and how long it would take until new social housing areas show up on the ghetto list after 2030.

We recommend that more research should be done before developing master plans for other deprived social housing areas, to uncover methods for helping residents, instead of just moving the problem.

Appendix

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