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SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE PLACE MAKING

A Case Study of Tourism's Effect On 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium

A Master Thesis by Elizabeth M.P. de Bever and Camilla H. Kristensen

Aalborg University Copenhagen
MA Tourism - June 2019
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Abstract

This master thesis examines tourism presence in Ørestad, where urban everyday places like the residential *8Tallet* and the high school *Ørestad Gymnasium* are dealing with tourism. Due to the form of architecture tourism, where tourists visit particular places to view and experience unique types of architecture, Ørestad receives interest from visitors all over the world to gaze upon the award-winning buildings. However, as such places are initially not planned with a tourism purpose, the tourism encounter entails both challenges and opportunities when the ordinary life for the locals is transformed into an extraordinary tourist experience. Due to tourism being so close to the locals' everyday, it inevitably shapes their lives and places, as well as the social sustainability hereof.

As tourism in Copenhagen is increasing and strategically pushed by Wonderful Copenhagen towards sub-districts, it is necessary to research how it affects the local community. In addition to the desire for architecture, the trend of tourists wanting to experience authentic local experiences is enhanced. This means that tourists seek to become temporary locals instead of visiting staged tourism attractions. Thus, local neighbourhoods like Ørestad are becoming increasingly interesting in the eyes of tourists.

This has led to a research question that aims to understand the effects of tourism in such everyday places on a more profound level, namely the lived experiences of the locals living, working and studying in these places. Consequently, central to this research is the voice of the locals, whilst exploring the power structures and responsibilities of various actors regarding tourism management in the place. In order to assure an in-depth, reflexive and problem-driven understanding of the case studies, the research takes a phronetic social science approach. Thus, the philosophical approach is guided by social constructivism, particularly informed by qualitative and primary empirical material in terms of in-depth interviews, observation and netnography.

To explore how places are planned, designed and managed, the theoretical framework discusses the notion of place making and seeks to contribute to the field by taking an underexplored tourism approach. For tourism and the everyday life to be sustainable in such places, it is vital to consider its effects on the locals' quality of life and wellbeing. Therefore, the notion of social sustainability is researched through various physical and non-physical factors that impact the ethics of tourism and the social sustainability in places.

Ultimately, our analysis shows a need for developing a new concept within the understanding of place making. As place making rarely acknowledges the tourism context, it often takes an economic perspective. However, our research shows that there is a definite need for a more profound understanding of how tourism affects the social life, and how this should be

considered in the designing and planning of places. This is particularly necessary as boundaries between absolute publicness and absolute privacy are blurring, leaving private places affected by tourism. Thus, the new concept of *Socially Sustainable Place Making* emerges, which contributes to place making theory by providing a combination of tourism, social sustainability and the importance of the overlooked private spheres within place making. As these elements are proved vital in urban places where tourism flourishes, Socially Sustainable Place Making is suggested as an additive to traditional place making and to serve as a vital part of strategic development plans for cities in the future.

Keywords

Place Making, Socially Sustainable Tourism, Ørestad, 8Tallet, Ørestad Gymnasium, Architecture Tourism, Socially Sustainable Place Making.

Personal Motivations and Acknowledgement

As we went on the study tour 'Conceiving New Urban Neighbourhoods' in Ørestad during the 8th semester of our Tourism Programme, our interest towards understanding the tensions in this new district within Copenhagen arose. Especially the way locals and visitors dwell and co-perform such new urban places made us enthusiastic for this specific topic:

"The study tour made clear that Ørestad is dealing with certain conflicts regarding tourism presence in private spaces. This created a curiosity from my side to understand this newly built area on a more profound level and to dive deeper into how tourism is shaping such urban places and affecting its communities."

- Elizabeth de Bever

"*I find it particularly interesting to study the opportunities and challenges that arise when tourism develops in places that are not intentionally constructed with tourism on the agenda. This is particularly interesting in Ørestad, as it contains a lot of internationally-known buildings in which locals live, study and work, and where atmospheres and physical spheres are constructed and negotiated by locals and tourists*."

- Camilla Kristensen

During this process, several people have been of great support. Firstly, we want to express our gratitude to our supervisor Martin Trandberg Jensen, who has engaged himself with our master thesis from the very beginning and was part of our learning process. We are thankful for his useful insights, feedback and inspiration.

Furthermore, we would like to thank various people who have willingly shared their precious time during the collection of empirical material in the form of in-depth interviews and observations.

Lastly, we appreciate our loved ones, who have been patiently supported us throughout the entire master study, which especially was valued during the writing process of this thesis.

We are grateful for all who have helped us on a professional and personal level throughout this learning process.

Elizabeth M. P. de Bever and Camilla H. Kristensen

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1. Introduction

"*We call it the zoo or the fish tank because all tourists who walk by just stare right into the apartment and at us*" - Resident at 8Tallet (Appendix 6: 28)

"*I think we feel most at home in these kind of buildings that are actually designed for the locals. We had to sneak in to a lot of places (...) It is like "why not"*?" - Tourist in Ørestad (Appendix 4: 9)

Tourism numbers in Copenhagen are expected to grow with 60 per cent from 2011 until 2025 (Wonderful Copenhagen 2019*a*: 2). According to Wonderful Copenhagen, the Destination Management Organization of Greater Copenhagen, there is a need to understand the drivers and barriers of this tourism growth in order to ensure that the city and its locals benefit from it (Wonderful Copenhagen, n.d. *a*). Accordingly, the DMO's aim is to broaden the tourism destination and reallocate tourists towards the sub-districts of Copenhagen, to minimise pressure on the city centre (Wonderful Copenhagen 2019*a*: 6). This strategy is likely to affect Ørestad, which is considered a "*future area of tourism development*" (Wonderful Copenhagen 2019*b*: 32). Currently, tourists find their way to the world-class architecture and award-winning buildings such as the high school *Ørestad Gymnasium* and the residential building *8Tallet*, which became the centre of tourist attention in Copenhagen's new architectural 'hotspot' (Visit Copenhagen n.d. *a*).

Hence, challenges er likely to emerge when tourists enter private places and gaze upon the architecture of residential and educational buildings that are not primarily built with a tourism purpose. In such places, locals are inevitably affected by the presence of tourism. It therefore becomes relevant to research how tourism is shaping the lives of locals living, working and studying in Ørestad, and to analyse how tourism affects the continuing ability for people and places to evolve.

More specifically, this research will focus on two places within Ørestad, namely 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium in order to grasp the daily effects of tourism in more detail. This thesis seeks to empirically contribute with a profound understanding of tourism encounters shaping the locals' lives in these places in Ørestad. To investigate such encounters, we draw in and interrelate the theoretical fields of *place making* and *social sustainability* and set them in an underexplored context of tourism research.

When researching how specific places in Ørestad are socially constructed through the presence of tourists, traditional place making theory will be challenged. This thesis seeks to contribute with additional theory by recognising the importance of a social approach rather than an economic perspective. By giving a voice to the people that live their everyday lives in such places an understanding of the tourism encounter will be gained. With our focal point on the

overlooked social and community development perspective, the relevance of social sustainability theory becomes a significant addition to the traditional place making theory.

Figure 1 visualises the interlink between the three main pillars of this master thesis, which shows the research field of this study:

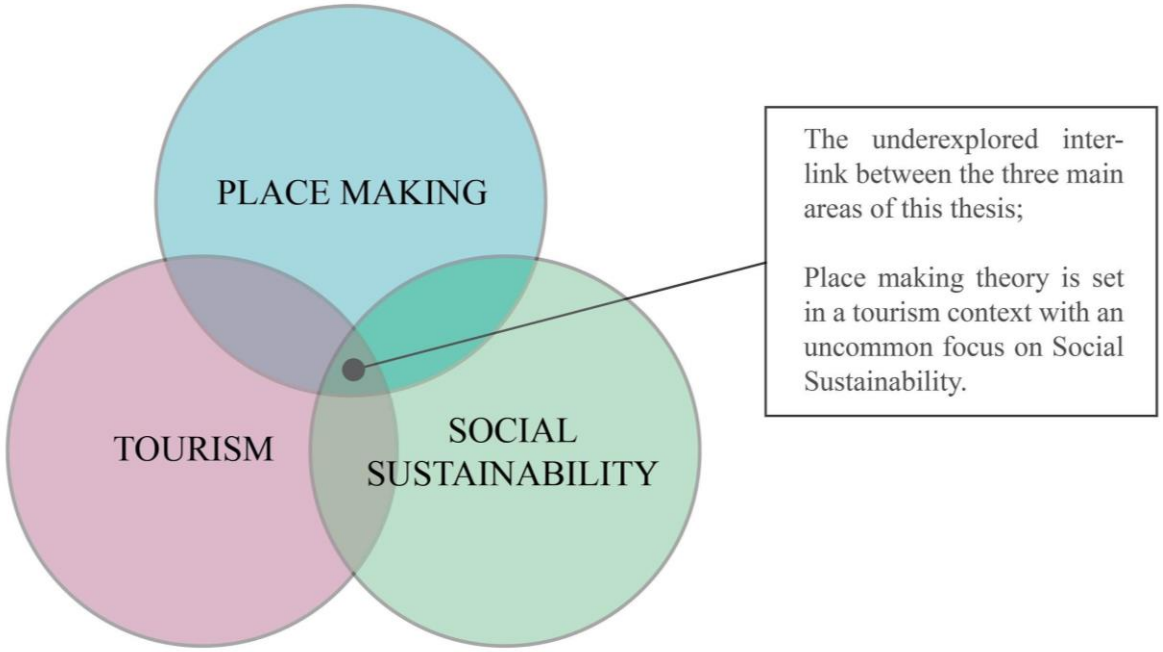

Figure 1: A visualization of the theoretical focus of this thesis; Setting place making in a tourism context with a social sustainability perspective. (Source: Figure by author).

Along these theoretical pathways of place making and social sustainability, the following central research question and four sub-research questions emerge:

How is the everyday life in Ørestad being shaped by tourism, and how does it impact the continuing ability to function as a long-term, viable setting for people and places to evolve in a socially sustainable manner?

Sub research questions:

1. How does tourism impact the locals' sense of belonging to the everyday places?
2. How does the involvement of locals affect the tourism encounter and the everyday life?
3. How does architecture tourism affect the physical and social spheres in places?
4. Who has the power and responsibility to govern tourism in Ørestad, and how is it being managed?

The thesis is structured as follows;

Section 1.1 outlines the spatial context of this study as part of this introduction chapter, in order to provide the reader with a basic understanding of Ørestad as a neighbourhood and the architectural landscape.

Chapter 2 outlines the philosophical and methodological approach of this research are outlined. This is done through the concept of phronetic social science, problem-based learning and case studies that inform the conduction of empirical material.

Chapter 3 provides a theoretical framework including the various perspectives of place making, including the deconstruction of places and the materiality of places in the form of architecture, all in the context of tourism studies. Additionally, theory around social sustainability is presented as a response to the existing gap in place making literature on the social and community aspects of the concept within a tourism setting.

Chapter 4 consists of an analysis and discussion of our empirical data and theory, providing an understanding of how the everyday lives of Ørestad's locals are shaped by tourism.

Chapter 5 brings all insights of this study together in the creation of a new concept in the notion of place making.

Chapter 6 will conclude the key findings relevant for our central research question and sub-questions.

1.1 Spatial Context

Ørestad is one of Copenhagen's newly developed sub-districts and is currently still under construction. This 3,1 square kilometer area is located on the island of Amager, close to Copenhagen airport, Øresund bridge and the Ørestad railway (Pedersen 2008). The plan to establish Ørestad was enacted in 1992 and the project was estimated to take 20 to 30 years. The urban development company By & Havn is currently responsible for Ørestad's development and growth, and their vision is to create vibrant and top-class neighbourhoods that are attractive to live and work in as well as visit (By & Havn, n.d.). In addition to By & Havn, Ørestad's homeowners association (GFS) takes care of the daily management, operations and development of public spaces and activities (GFS Ørestad, n.d.).

The Master Plan: An Architecture Competition

As part of the master development plan for Ørestad, an international architecture competition took place in 1994. The competition stipulation stated that *"it is the intention to give full artistic freedom concerning architectural form, so that the new city quarter or Ørestad will boast state-of-the-art within architecture and art during the building years"* (By & Havn 2010: 21). The Finnish architecture studio 'ARKKI' won, and a vital factor of their master plan was to design the area according to top international standards, including world-class architecture and urban planning. Ørestad's high architectural and environmental quality makes the place stand out as the modern counterpart to the old city centre of Copenhagen (ibid.). Behind many of the buildings in Ørestad are the minds of worldly known architecture studio's such as Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG) and 3xN. Hence, Ørestad occupies various award-winning architectural buildings which attract tourists from all over the world (Pedersen & Habermann 2013).

Being branded by Wonderful Copenhagen (n.d. *b*) as "*Copenhagen's new urban area and architectural hotspot*" an emphasis is put on the materiality of Ørestad's buildings. Wonderful Copenhagen's website further mentions Ørestad as an attractive place to discover for tourists that are interested in contemporary architecture. Various city walks, guided bus tours and presentations about the nordic architecture are currently offered in Ørestad by different providers. Architectural gems are, amongst others, the award-winning 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium (Wonderful Copenhagen n.d. *a*).

Residential 8Tallet

This large residential building from 2010, formed like an '8', houses 476 apartments in various shapes and sizes. 8Tallet is designed by Bjarke Ingels Group and won the award for best housing in 2011 during the World Architecture Festival. Its one kilometer pathway goes up between the facades towards the top on the 10th floor, offering a view over Kalvebod Fælled nature park. 8Tallet's distinctiveness lies in its quirky spatialities and its strong focus on a social building, connecting neighbours through pathways and transparent facades, which has turned out to also function as gateway for tourists to explore the building close-up (Pedersen

& Habermann 2013, Kjær 2013, Pedersen 2013). Figure 2 below shows the construction of 8Tallet, its multiple layers and long communal pathway.

Figure 2: The construction of 8Tallet, Ørestad. (Source: Google Maps 2019).

Ørestad Gymnasium

Another renowned building in Ørestad is a high school, designed by 3XN Architects in 2007 as can be seen on figure 3 below. The high school arrays a visionary interpretation of flexibility and openness in order to inspire one another, as communication, synergy and interaction are key aspects of the design (Ørestad Gymnasium 2019). According to Ørestad Gymnasium's website, the high school deals with tourism, as visitor hours and tours are being communicated visibly. During visitor hours, the school is open for self-guided tours and provides guided tours for groups up to 20 participants, which gives insights into the innovative architecture and educational philosophy.

Figure 3: The renowned high school 'Ørestad Gymnasium' and its open architecture. (Source: Ørestad Gymnasium 2019)

2. Philosophical and Methodological Approach

The following chapter will outline the philosophical and methodological approach that is used in the collection and analysis of empirical material. More specifically, it will delineate the role of social science and how it is used to guide the format of this thesis. Furthermore, it will present the research design including its overall structure and the specific techniques that are being used for collecting and analysing empirical material. Finally, the chapter provides a reflection on the quality of the research as well as the methodological delimitations.

2.1 Phronetic Social Science

With the aim of researching how tourists affect Ørestad's communities' social relationships and everyday lives, this research is conducted using a social science approach.

By some academics, social science has been met with criticism in the sense that it is 'oxymoron' (Schram 2012); a term which meaning includes logical contradictions. Schram (2012) describes that this critique is due to social science often being applied in ways that relate to natural science and emphasises that social science should produce scientific knowledge that inform social relations rather than predictions based on theories and laws. Accordingly, Flyvbjerg (2006*a*) distinguishes between two types of social science, which are essential to understand when doing research;

Epistemic social science relies on natural science and the fact that instrumental rationality is the foundation for any solution (Flyvbjerg 2006*a*: 39). Referring to the previously mentioned statement of Schram (2012), it creates an oxymoron when social problems are attempted to be solved with natural science models. Thus, Flyvbjerg argues, the moon-ghetto metaphor from the 1970s can be proved wrong; "*If natural science and engineering could put a man on the moon, surely social science could solve the social problems of the urban ghetto*" (Nelsen 1977, cited in Flyvbjerg 2006*a*: 39).

In contradiction to the epistemic model, *phronetic social science* takes a more reflexive approach to problems, and base them on value rationality (Ibid.: 39). Here, it is crucial to acknowledge that social science research should not be guided by limiting paradigms or systems that search for a final truth. Rather, it should be acknowledged that the society consists of different groups with different values and opinions. Consequently, the research should be considered as a dynamic process where new valuable interpretations are constantly developing. Answers to the problem may be suggested, but rather than giving complete answers, they should stimulate dialogue about challenges and opportunities and how this can be approached differently (Ibid.: 40). Hence, the aim of phronesis is to contribute to society's practical rationality rather than providing epistemic theory.

Thus, phronetic social science is problem-driven in the sense that it seeks to use research rather than theory to drive changes in the society. In this process, it is vital to understand the respective social and historical context in order to examine how power, values and interests of the community can be related to and praxis. To do so, Flyvbjerg (2006*a*: 40) defines four value-rational questions that are relevant to consider in the specific society:

1) Where are we going?
2) Who gains and who loses, and by which mechanisms of power?
3) Is the development desirable?
4) What, if anything, should we do about it?

These questions will be considered and discussed throughout the analysis.

Using Phronesis and Case Studies for Problem-Based-Learning

In order to be able to make a reflexive in-depth analysis, this study will primarily be based on two places in Ørestad. Researching the specific case of tourism and social sustainability at these places, this thesis informs a case study, also defined as "*an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, program or system in a "real life" context*" (Simons 2009: 21).

As previously mentioned, the choice for this research are 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium, as we prioritised to include both a residential and public institution, representing two different settings. Besides, the preliminary research showed that both buildings are internationally renowned due to the several awards they received. Thus, both places deal with tourism flows, which is a vital aspect for this study. Albeit, the collateral intention is to 'zoom out' and examine how and by who tourism places are empowered and managed in Ørestad.

In science, case studies have had the conventional reputation of lacking reliability and validity due to their incapability of generating standardised results that can be used for scientific development. Nevertheless, Flyvbjerg (2006*b*) rejects this as he outlines the common misinterpretations in his work *Five Misunderstandings about Case-Study Research*. Overall, Flyvbjerg argues that case studies are important to human learning just as context-based knowledge is crucial to expert activities, and he describes that only by the use of cases, we will learn to move from being a beginner to being an expert.

Moreover, the aim with the case study and the problem-driven focus of the phronetic approach is to inform problem-based-learning (PBL), which is the fundamental basis of our Master education at Aalborg University. According to Glazer (2010), the purpose of PBL is that students become able to understand the utility of particular concepts or studies; address complex problems in realistic situations, and actively solve them. To do so, participation in the natural context settings is emphasised as being crucial.

Four central principles from the Aalborg University PBL model (Barge 2010: 9) guide the methodological approach to this project:

1. *Problem orientation* is considered in terms of outlining the social context and problems in Ørestad that are relevant to the study programme.
2. *Integration of theory and practice* is executed by connecting the case study to the relevant theoretical framework within social sustainability, place making and tourism, which can be used to provide food-for-thought.
3. *Participant direction* is explored and decided on in terms of finding adequate participants in Ørestad to contribute with knowledge on the defined problem and making sure to involve various relevant perspectives from the local community.
4. *Informal collaboration and feedback* from relevant parties in Ørestad's local and tourism life contribute to a reflexive analysis that take the three above-mentioned factors into account.

In order to provide a reflexive analysis that represent the values and interests of various parties, the data collection will include tourists, residents and local institutions that are involved in the matter. Thus, rather than suggesting a final-solution oriented framework, one of the aims with this research is to provide food for thought for stakeholders that are involved in tourism in Ørestad by sharing the results of this study with GFS and 8Tallets guide-coordinator by request.

2.2 Social Constructivism

The research has its roots in the social constructivism philosophy of science. Since the 1980s, constructivism has been a popular philosophical approach among humaniora scientists who do not seek for a final meaning and result. There is no universal point of view and there is no right or wrong; it depends on the perspective (Ebdrup 2011).

According to Gergen, a well-known philosopher within social constructivism, our understanding of the world shapes our own future (Holm 2011). Put differently, the way we make sense of and give meaning to things determines what we can and cannot do. Moreover, he argues that our reflections about the world, which derive from our social relations, are decisive for our future behaviour (Ibid.). Considering this, we find it necessary to develop an understanding of how locals in Ørestad interact and reflect upon the effect that tourism has on places and their everyday lives. As tourism in Copenhagen is growing alongside Ørestad's development, we will discuss and add perspectives to the notion of socially sustainable place making and tourism's role in this matter.

For social constructivists, knowledge is a result of human interactions with each other and the environment in which they live, and reality is constructed by human activities. Learning about reality is an active process which continues to develop (Kim 2001). Thus, things only exist if we give life to them, and they are continuously changing due to the researcher's interpretations.

Consequently, it becomes crucial for the socially constructed research to involve various people's perspectives (Creswell 2003). Consequently, "*the nature of the learner's social interaction with knowledgeable members of the society is important*" (Kim 2001: 4), which will be emphasised in our choice of research design.

2.3 Designing the Research

The following section outlines the research design used for the case study, that being the overall strategy that is used to address the research questions. Thus, it will go into detail with how the research is designed methodologically with a focus on deductive and inductive approaches as well as the use of primary and secondary empirical material. Subsequently, it outlines the qualitative methods that are applied to collect the empirical material, including the various informants, methods and techniques.

Inductive and Deductive Research Methods

Deductive research works from the top down in the sense that existing theory influences your questions and guides your research and collection of material. Conversely, inductive research is conducted when your findings in the field guide your further decisions on the theoretical approach. Thereby, you start with a specific case and your findings allow theory to emerge (O'Reilly 2009). This approach is often used in qualitative research (ibid.), and it is relevant to research guided by social constructivism, where human interaction is fundamental to the construction of meaning (Creswell 2003). In broad terms, the difference lies in whether the project is informed by general theory (deductive), or by the more specific empirical findings (Inductive).

Discussing the positive and negatives flaws of each method, O'Reilly (2009) explains that the two approaches are often intertwined, as it is important to acknowledge that clear objectivity from the beginning is not possible in practice. Far most projects begin with an idea about the problem and the theoretical relations to it, or are based on previous research. As argued; "*all data are theory driven. The point is not to pretend they are not, or to force the data into theory. Rather, the researcher should enter into an ongoing simultaneous process of deduction and induction, of theory building, testing and rebuilding*" (Ezzy 2002 cited in O'Reilly 2009: 106).

This mixed approach has also been the case of this research, for which we got the inspiration after a study tour in Ørestad with a local guide who expressed some tourism challenges in the area. When discussing the learning outcomes and the current knowledge about Ørestad, we identified a theoretical relevance within place making, (e.g. Jacobs 1961, Lew 2017, Wyckoff 2014, Agnew 1987, and Cresswell 2009) and identified temporary research questions. As the study developed and we started collecting empirical material, it became clear that social sustainability (e.g. Zhang et al. 2017, Hilgers 2013, McKenzie 2004, Woodcraft 2012, Maretti

& Salvatore 2012) was relevant as tourists were affecting locals' everyday lives. Accordingly, we were introduced to the concept of architecture tourism (Specht 2014, Lasansky & McLaren 2004, Stevenson 2010, Maitland 2010). Thus, the final research questions were developed, and the theoretical framework was adapted to the empirical findings throughout the whole process.

This way of building upon new interpretations can be linked to the hermeneutic method, which implies a circular process where understandings continuously develop into new understandings, dependent on the researcher's history, culture and experiences. In order to understand the whole, you need to understand the individual components that it is constituted by; and in order to understand the individual components, you need to consider the whole (Gadamar 1975). According to Hans-Georg Gadamar (1975), one of the recognised philosophers within hermeneutic, this concept should not only be considered as a method but as a fundamental significance for our entire understanding of the world. Sensemaking and interpreting is a continuing process and reflect the fusion that happens when two horizons of understandings meet. This can be linked to the phronetic social science, in which context becomes vital for the understanding, and new interpretations may offer valuable perspectives to the research (Flyvbjerg 2006*a*).

The Use of Primary and Secondary Empirical Material

The thesis takes an interpretive stance at epistemology; the theory of what constitutes knowledge. Informed by social constructivism, we seek to gain a deeper understanding of how people make sense of everyday meanings and interpretations by "*entering the social world in order to grasp socially constructed meanings* " (Blaikie 1991: 120).

In order to do so, the research is mostly informed by primary empirical material, that being data which is collected by the researcher him/herself for the specific purpose. The primary approach consists of interviews, participant observation, netnography, which will be elaborated further under *Qualitative Research Methods and Techniques*.

The advantage of using primary material is that it allows the collection to be tailored to answer the research question (Hox & Boeije 2005). Moreover, it can be considered as an advantage that the research largely contributes to the existing knowledge on the social impacts of architecture tourism, tourism in Ørestad and tourism in urban places. Thus, it may be used by other researchers who wish to contribute to the field and develop new interpretations, as is the purpose with phronetic social science.

In addition, secondary empirical material, which is public data developed by someone else and for a different purpose (Hox & Boeije 2005) will be used to support the primary research. This includes reports by Wonderful Copenhagen that share the strategy of tourism in Copenhagen now and in the future, which can be argued to impact tourism in Ørestad and put the situation into perspective. Furthermore, newspaper articles regarding the tourism encounter in Ørestad are important for the reflexive analysis as they contribute to an understanding of the history

and the context, which is important for the research of social sustainability (Hilgers 2013). Nevertheless, the use of secondary sources require that researchers are aware of the level of reliability and consider the fact that the data may be collected within a different discourse or discipline (Hox & Boeije 2005).

Qualitative Research Methods and Techniques

The overall difference between quantitative and qualitative theorists can be explained by their view on the nature of reality. Whereas the quantitative theorists argue that one single reality can be measured in a valid and reliable manner by the use of scientific principles, qualitative theorists believe that different meanings of the same phenomena can be generated, dependent on the interpretations of the researcher (Onwuegbuzie & Leech 2007).

Using a methodological approach based on social constructivism makes it relevant to recognise that interaction with others is crucial to the understanding of the world (Creswell 2013). This suggests the need for qualitative methods, which have the purpose to study a phenomenon from the participants' points of view (Orb et al. 2000), why researchers need to gather information personally and interact with the community (Creswell 2003). Thus, the primary role of qualitative researchers is to define the context and study how people make sense of and structure their everyday lives (Hox & Boeiji 2005).

As argued by Hannam and Knox (2010) it can be difficult to perceive the real meaning in complex social tourism processes by the use of quantitative methods like surveys. One reason is the risk that pre-made assumptions will limit the possible variety of responses. Moreover, surveys are stated as being insufficient when it comes to understanding the notion of feelings, motivations and opinions (ibid.: 179); which are considered crucial to understand when aiming to understand the depth and complexity of how tourism affects locals' everyday lives and places. Consequently, the research mainly draws upon qualitative research in terms of face-to-face interviews, participant observation and netnography.

Linked to the social constructivism, the various methods in qualitative research have in common that they are shaped by human beings and their own subjective interpretations (Creswell 2003), which can also be a challenge (Orb et al. 2000). In order to gain a better understanding of the tourism encounter in Ørestad, the research will be informed by a combination of all three methods as well as different informants.

Figure 4 below provides an overview of how the informants have been used for the qualitative research. The model is followed by an explanation of their role and an elaboration on the various methods and techniques that have been used.

Informant	Method
By & Havn	Interview
GFS	Interview
Ørestad Gymnasium	Interview / Participant observation / Netnography
8tallet	Interview / Participant observation / Netnography
Locals in Ørestad	Interview
Tourists in Ørestad	Interview / Participant observation
Other stakeholders in Ørestad	Interview

Figure 4: Overview of informants and methods (Source: Figure by authors).

The Selection of Informants

According to Kvale (1996) the right number of informants is case-specific; it must be able to answer your problem statement. In order to develop a reflexive analysis that reflects the voices and values of different actors in Ørestad, there has been as focus on including different groups of informants:

- *By & Havn*

By & Havn is currently responsible for the development of Ørestad as a vibrant livable place where people want to live, work and visit. Their expertise reaches the urban planning, urban life and construction of the place (By & Havn 2010). Thus, particularly their ambitions and visions for Ørestad's future development as well as the social and cultural life are relevant for the research. After the construction completion, the full responsibility of the area is handed over to Ørestad's homeowner association.

- *Grundejerforeningen (GFS Ørestad)*

Grundejerforeningen is Ørestad's main homeowner association. Until 2011 it was a part of By & Havn, after which it became an independent union. GFS represents the private property owners in Ørestad and manage all the public maintenance and development after By & Havn retracts from the area. GFS is the association coordinating the underlying six homeowner associations: Ørestad University quarter, Amager Fælled East, Ørestad City, Ørestad City South, Ørestad South and the water domain 'Vandlaug', each representing an area within Ørestad (GFS Ørestad, n.d.). Their insight is valuable for us in order to learn how places are constructed from the top down level, how power is delegated, and how they deal with tourism related issues in the local areas.

- *Residents in Ørestad*

As our research is centred around the quality of life of locals in Ørestad, residents are naturally a vital group of informants. Therefore, we have included three residents from 8tallet and two

from the nearby area in our primary research, whereas more voices are represented by the use of secondary research. In order to find the residents, various methods have been used. Contact with the first resident was established as we emailed the official visitor email for 8Tallet. This resulted in an in-depth interview, followed by a guided tour the week after. Another resident responded to our post in the Facebook group Ørestad Syd and City, where we asked for people who were willing to share their thoughts about tourism and life in Ørestad. A third resident from 8tallet was contacted through Instagram as we found a post of her which caught our interest, and she requested for her partner to join. The fifth resident was approached outside 8Tallet. This empirical material is particularly useful and important as it contributes to all four research questions.

- *Ørestad Gymnasium*

Based on online research and pictures on Instagram, Ørestad Gymnasium was chosen as one of the two focus areas in this case study, as it was obvious that tourism was a big part of the everyday life. Consequently, we have conducted interviews, observations and netnography here.

- *Tourists Visiting Ørestad*

Albeit locals being the focal point of this research, it was found relevant to include the perspective of tourists who visit Ørestad, as they can give insights regarding the motivation to visit, the encounter with locals, and the experience of the place. Hence, the empirical material include the perspectives of four groups of tourists, being between two and 35 persons with different nationalities.

- *Other Local Business Owners and Institutions*

Though the primary focus is on Ørestad Gymnasium and 8tallet, we find it relevant for the context to explore how relevant this research is for other local business owners and institutions in Ørestad. Thus, we have been in contact with Kalvebod Fælled School, Lille Arena Kindergarden and Café 8 tallet. Although limited, this empirical insight helps us to put the research into perspective and study how tourism affects the place making and social sustainability in the wider landscape of Ørestad.

Face-to-Face Interviews

One of the most common qualitative methods is research interviews, which is also the method that has been applied the most for this thesis. The interview is a conversation about a specific topic, which entails the interchange of views between the interviewer and the interviewee (Kvale 1996). Thus, it is conducted to "*understand the world from the subjects' point of view, to unfold meaning of peoples' experiences*" (ibid.: 2).

In order to gain an extensive understanding of the encounter a majority of the interviews are in-depth interviews which have been scheduled with the informant in advance. Few of the interviews were spontaneous and thus kept shorter. This includes particularly the interviews

with tourists that were met in the field whilst exploring the places. Thus, the research prioritises the residents' perceptions, as they have the voices to describe how their local places change.

Nevertheless, there are different types of interviews and techniques that can be applied to conduct interviews, and it is vital to be well-prepared and consider strategic factors that might affect the outcome, which is discussed by numerous researchers (e.g Kvale 1996, Kvale & Brinkmann 2009, Doody & Noonan 2013, Legard et al. 2003, Holstein & Gubrium 1996, Bryman 2012, Bailey 2008).

- *Semi-Structured, Active Interviews*

Interviews conducted with a social scientific purpose vary in terms of the level of structure; unstructured, semi-structured or structured. This indicates how prepared the interview is and to which degree the interview follows planned questions and orders.

Unstructured interviews have the challenge that they are often difficult and time-consuming to extract valuable insights from due to a missing agenda. On the contrary, the structured and formal interview aims to ask the same questions for all interviewees, which can be problematic in the sense that there is little room for new, relevant subjects that the interviewee might bring to the discussion (Doody & Noonan 2013). This is particularly the case when the research is informed by a social constructivism approach in which the leaning about reality is a dynamic process that should give space for other people's perspectives, as argued in Section 2.2 *Social Constructivism*.

In between the unstructured and structured is the semi-structured interview, which is a planned yet flexible approach. Thus, questions have been prepared in advance, though leaving space for the interview to unfold differently and add or change questions, dependent on the interviewee's responses. This flexible nature of the interview allows the researcher to explore new subjects that were not considered priorly, which enrichens the depth of the data and increases the validity of the study (Doody & Noonan 2013).

Thus, we have structured the interview guide by formulating questions and divided them into topics. This overview ensures that questions are linked and gives you the possibility to place easy questions first, before you go into depth with more reflexive and personal questions (Legard et al. 2003).

In order to make sure not to suppress the interviewee's responses, and to get a good reflexive outcome, we have applied an interview technique that emphasise open-ended and follow-up questions (Creswell 2003). Additionally, it has been a focus to develop an dynamic interview where both the interviewers and interviewee contribute to a collaborative conversation, also referred to as an active (Holstein & Gubrium 1995) or interactive (Legard et al. 2003) interview. Hence, knowledge is socially constructed rather than simply transferred from one part to another. Conducting such an interview means that the interviewer must stimulate answers without letting subjective meanings influence the outcome (Holstein & Gubrium 1995).

When conducting interviews, it is essential that the interviewee is confident in order to gain trust and get the most out of the interview (Legard et al. 2003). Consequently, we asked participants whether they felt comfortable with doing the interview in English, or if they would rather do it in Danish. Logically, people provide more details by using a language that the they are comfortable with and used to. This was valued by one of the participants, who expressed a concern that he would not be able to express himself well due to his limited English vocabulary. Thus, the interview was conducted in Danish and directly translated into English during the transcription.

- *Transcriptions*

In addition to considering the interview approach, it is necessary to consider how you subsequently approach the collected material and use it for your analysis; how you make sense of it and find the things that matter. An important first step for us in this process has been to transcribe the sound recordings from the interviews. Transcriptions are useful ways to interpret, pre-analyse and become familiar with your empirical data (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009), and it makes it easier to use quotes in your qualitative analysis (Bryman 2012). Albeit, it is necessary to stress that once the spoken words are transformed into written text, the transcriber has left an impact on it by for example deciding what to include and how to describe the atmosphere or tone of voice. Thus, we have been aware that the procedure was aligned (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009) among the two of us, and in most cases it has been decided to conduct a full transcription by including all words and sounds from the recorded material, such as stating when the person was laughing or thinking.

Additionally, we have conducted short interviews whilst taking notes instead of recording, which subsequently have been used to develop a transcription. Being aware of the fact that note-taking can distract the interview (Doody & Noonan 2013) and challenge the accuracy and details (Bailey 2008), this approach has only been used for short interviews in which two of us participated, making sure that one could keep the focus whilst one was noting key words or quotes from the conversation.

Participant Observations

Another common method which is considered as a valuable approach in tourism is participant observations. Unlike research interviews in which meaning is created through words, participant observations allow you to develop an understanding by experiencing the context in natural settings (Hox & Boeiji 2005). Specifically, Hannam and Knox (2010: 182) emphasize how this method can be used "*to interact with the researched within the context of their everyday lives*". This is the case in this research by observing how residents react to the tourist encounter, but also how tourist interact with the local environment. Thus, this method underpins the previously mentioned PBL approach, which emphasises participation in the context settings that is being researched.

One of the factors that can affect the participant observation is whether you are doing overt or covert research. More specifically, overt research is solicited which means that you inform the other participants about your purpose, whereas covert research is spontaneous and implies that you do not share any information about your study. Using an overt method may result in people changing their behaviour, whilst a covert method can be difficult to practise (Hox & Boeiji 2005). In the first participant observation at 8Tallet we joined a group of young students and their two teachers on a guided tour, which means that we had to justify our presence though without going into detail with our research question. This was partly the case at our observation at Ørestad Gymnasium, as we took advantage of the situation and interviewed the two tourists after telling them that we were doing research on architecture tourism, without including the perspective on social sustainability and our problems statement. After the interview, the tourists invited us to join them for the rest of their trip in Ørestad, which means that they new about our role, but not about our exact focus of the research. Thus, we emphasised on acting as objective as possible and letting the two tourists lead the tour.

The teachers and students at the gymnasium, and the locals at 8Tallet in our second participant interview were not aware of our role, as the purpose was not only to observe the tourist behaviour but also the locals' reactions as well as the level of easiness to access the building. Thus, the observation has been in a mix of overt and covert (Li 2008), introducing some participants to our overall mission though without sharing details of our research. Consequently, we were faced by ethical considerations and considered the potential conflicts which may arise depended on "*how a researcher gains access to a community group and in the effects the researcher may have on participants*" (Orb et al. 2000: 93). Despite the fact that the both 8Tallet (8Tallet, n.d.) and Ørestad Gymnasium have rules stating that you can only do self-guided tours at specific times, and that you have to wear a visitors' badge (Ørestad Gymnasium, n.d.), we decided to challenge these rules despite several ethical considerations. Consequently, we felt the unwelcomingness during the observations, as described in the Appendix 2 and 3. This feeling increased as we conducted the interview with an employee from the gymnasium subsequently, who described that the tourists without permission are the ones that cause challenges (Appendix 8: 53). However, this observation was important as it enabled us to compare and be critical to what our informant said regarding tourists, and to provide a more reflexive analysis. Thus, the beneficence of the research was considered to overrule the harm of the individuals (Li 2008; Orb et al. 2000).

During the observations we have made sure to note down our thoughts and experiences, which was subsequently transformed into anecdotes that reflect the experience. This method is useful for the observation in order to subsequently reflect upon the visual interpretations, words that are being shared, but also the feelings that arise during the observation (Hannam & Knox 2010). Furthermore, we use photographs from the observations to inform the anecdotes, which is useful in order to develop a visual understanding of the lived experience (ibid.).

Netnography

A third way to develop a qualitative understanding is through digital traces, more specifically things that have been posted or stored online. This method can be defined as Netnography; a digital version of ethnographic research in which the researcher interprets a cultural phenomena by online observation. In social science research, this method is increasingly important as the amount of hours that humans spend on interacting via the digital world is rapidly increasing (Kozinets 2015).

Netnography is considered a 'new mapping of reality'; a new way of interpreting and give meaning to not only words, but also images, drawings, photography, sound files, edited audiovisual presentations, website creations and other digital artefacts (ibid.: 4-5). Thus, the method can take many forms and it can be rooted in various other method disciplines, ranging from social network analysis to data science and analysis.

For this research, which is informed by social constructivism, netnography is used to explore social practices and personal narratives. More specifically, digital medias in terms of pictures posted on Instagram with the hashtags #8Tallet, #8house and #Ørestadgymnasium have been researched. In the selection process we were interested in seeing what people took pictures of and to find specific examples that could be related to our informants' statements about these photographers' behaviour. During the netnography, we researched the profiles of such Instagrammers in order to find out if the pictures were taken by visitors or by people who were living or studying. Thus, only profiles being clearly from visitors of 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium were included as empirical material.

Having transcriptions, anecdotes and pictures makes it possible to read, re-read and code the material as important themes are discovered (Hannam & Knox 2010). This process has helped us to identify important themes, adjust the theoretical framework and develop qualitative indicators regarding place making, social sustainability and tourism, which forms the structure of the analysis.

2.4 Quality of the Research

Due to a leading role of positivist methods, qualitative approaches have formerly been considered inadequate when it comes to 'good' science, and something that was only useful prior to quantitative research (Decrop 1999: 157). Thus, methods guided by interpretivism and constructivism have often been criticised regarding issues around trustworthiness, credibility and triangulation (Ibid.: 158). Some researchers argue that triangulation "*only makes sense from a positivistic framework*" (Seale 1999: 473), and that it "*ignores the ontological and epistemological issues which the use of multiple methods can entail"* (Blaikie 1991: 123). Moreover, Seale (1999) argues that validity and reliability cannot be measured in the same

ways in interpretivist research such as in-depth interviews and ethnography, as in positivist approaches.

Nevertheless, other researchers take distance to these claims. Flyvbjerg (2006a) argues that even though social science is based on interpretations, each of these should be based on validity claims. Whilst comparing 'better' to validity, he explains; "*If a new interpretation appears to better explain a given phenomenon, that new interpretation will replace the old one, until it, too, is replaced by a new and even better interpretation."* (Ibid.: 41). Another advocate of assessing the quality in social science is Alain Decrop, who argues that it is a matter of adapting the terms to these qualitative methods. Thus, Decrop refers to four criteria for qualitative studies, developed by Lincoln and Guba (1985), which can be compared to the quantitative terminology of quality assessment:

1. Credibility (internal validity): How truthful are particular findings?
2. Transferability (external validity): How applicable are the research findings to another setting or group?
3. Dependability (reliability): Are the results consistent and reproducible?
4. Confirmability (objectivity): How neutral are the findings (in terms of whether they are reflective of the informants and the inquiry, and not a product of the researcher's biases and prejudices)?

   (Decrop 1999: 158)

Accordingly, researchers such as Decrop (1999) and Onwuegbuzie & Leech (2006) argue that triangulation can be used to meet and enhance these criteria of quality. Thus, in order to increase the credibility of our in-depth, reflexive analysis, we emphasise the use of both data- and methodological triangulation, inspired by Denzin (1978). That means that multiple actors as well as more than one set of empirical material and methods will inform the same phenomenon, which decreases the chance for personal and methodological prejudices, and enhances the generalisability of the study (Decrop 1999: 158).

This qualitative mixed-methods approach can be referred to as 'bricolage'; a French term for 'Do-it-Yourself projects'. By some researchers this reference puts qualitative studies in a negative light, claiming that it is not as 'rigorous' and 'scientific' as quantitative methods (Decrop 1999: 159). Nevertheless, professor in Ethnology, Orvar Löfgren, encourages this method, as it offers alternative ways to study the ethnography and everyday life by "*combining different materials and approaches, inviting dialogues with art, popular culture, and fiction"* (Löfgren 2014: 79).

More practically, we have throughout the research been able to consider the *credibility* and truthfulness of the findings by comparing the informants' statements with statements by other informants, that being both locals and tourists.

Furthermore, our partly covert role as researchers has allowed us to make important findings in relation to statements and strengthens the *confirmability* by limiting the risk of participants

being biased by us. Additionally, making recordings and subsequent direct transcriptions ensure the *truthfulness* of our role as researchers when analysing the empirical data. Thus, it is worth noting that it was chosen not to make audio recordings of short interviews that were not scheduled in advance, why these were transcribed by the use of notes and memory, as described under 'Transcribing', Section 2.3. *Designing the Research.*

In terms of the *Dependability* of the empirical material, we have opted for interviewing various locals and informants. As our analysis will reflect, the interviews have provided consistent stories of the tourism impacts. By interviewing only one person at Ørestad Gymnasium, we are aware of the challenge in providing reliable findings, though it is strengthened through her ability to provide different perspectives with her role as a former student and current employee. Thus, in this situation the netnography and personal observations from the place play an important role. According to Flyvbjerg (2006a: 41), this variety of perspectives is equal to 'objectivity', in this case *confirmability*, when dealing with phronetic social science.

In terms of *transferability*, it is argued that our focus on including a residential building and a high school makes the study more relevant for other settings. This relevance was confirmed when making short interviews with other actors in Ørestad, as for example Kalvebod Fælled school. Nevertheless, we emphasise the importance of the social and historical context in these studies, why the generated knowledge should not be considered as a fixed how-to framework, but merely as "*food for thought for the ongoing process of public deliberation, participation, and decision making*" (Flyvbjerg 2006*a*: 39).

Hence, the quality of the research has its constraints, yet it is considered applicable for providing valuable knowledge and a basis for further research for the actors in Ørestad.

2.5 Delimitation

After a pilot study in the field, it became known that several buildings in Ørestad were facing tourism daily. Thus, we decided to delimit the research to Ørestad Gymnasium and 8Tallet, as they are perceived as two different buildings having in common that tourism affects the everyday lives. To put the problem into a perspective, we found it relevant to hear from other actors in Ørestad how they were experiencing tourism, however we did not go into depth with those as we prioritised an in-depth analysis of a few places rather than focusing on the quantity of places.

Furthermore, we have deliberately delimited the amount of empirical material, as this was deemed necessary. With respect for the students at Ørestad Gymnasium, the school does not allow visitors before 4pm, whilst periods with tests and exams are completely closed for tourists (Ørestad Gymnasium, n.d.). Thus, it limits the time for researchers to observe how tourists affect the daily life when students are around. We decided to deviate from these rules one time as we found it important for the research to see the reactions and explore the place as 'unwanted' tourists, but it was decided not to repeat this type of research due to ethical reasons. Additionally, our request to arrange further interviews with students was not able to be fulfilled,

why we chose not to ask for permission to enter the school after 16:00, in order to approach students with questions. Thus, well aware that more empirical material would have enabled us to strengthen the quality of the research, we find it important to acknowledge the rules and the ethical actions.

2.6 Summary of Methodological Approach

The methodological approach of the study is influenced by phronetic social science and social constructivism. Thus, it emphasises the importance of context and the inclusion of different perspectives in order to develop a reflexive analysis regarding socially sustainable place making in Ørestad, and tourism's role in this matter. Additionally, the reality is perceived as socially constructed, something that becomes real because of human interaction and interpretation.

In order to create an in-depth understanding of the research question, the research is designed with a dominant use of qualitative and primary empirical material. More specifically, it uses interviews, participant observations and netnography, in which various informants from Ørestad are included. Subsequently, the collection of empirical material is processed by the use of transcriptions, photos and anecdotes, which has resulted in a number of emerging themes. These themes have been used to adapt the theoretical framework, suggesting an inductive approach.

3. Theoretical Framework

The following chapter will uncover the theoretical framework that has been used for this research, based on two overall topics. Firstly, it will explore the academic viewpoint on various perspectives on place making, how places can be constructed and perceived at different levels and how everyday places are turning into tourism attractions. Accordingly, it will identify tourism's role in places, and describe how this affects the everyday lives of locals.

Secondly, the notion of everyday life will be studied with a focus on social sustainability. More specifically, the second section will explore the fuzziness of social sustainability and identify factors that are relevant when focusing on socially sustainable place making in a tourism setting.

3.1 Place Making

The following section outlines theory applicable for the place making of Ørestad. Place making is a widely used term in several academic fields and is often used in a place branding or marketing perspective. Nonetheless, the main focus of this study is rather on creating a profound understanding of places and their planning, shaping and managing in a tourism setting, in order to provide several stakeholders with food for thought around this specific topic in Ørestad.

Thus, the concept of place making will firstly be described through various perspectives as place making can be perceived as a planned process led from above as well as an organic, bottom-up development. Additionally, theory will outline how place making can be used as a tool for community development.

Secondly, the *place* in place making will be deconstructed at different levels and approached through both the materiality and non-physical meaning and atmospheres in order to gain a holistic understanding of places.

The third section investigates how everyday urban places turn into tourism attractions while considering the power of contemporary architecture on attracting tourism to an everyday place where locals live their everyday lives. While explaining this type of architourism, the tourist gaze will be touched upon as this becomes a relevant phenomenon in the context of this study in Ørestad's 8Tallet and Gymnasium.

3.1.1 Place Making From Different Perspectives

Place making is a term widely used in various literature fields such as history, sociology and tourism studies (Serin 2018). However, tourism is a late-comer to this multifaceted concept (Sofield et al. 2017). The diverse use of the term occasionally creates confusion, resulting in dilution of its value and a decrease in its utility when constructing a better place (Wyckoff 2014). To create a profound understanding of place making, the concept's origin will be described, and two major definitions will be discussed.

The Origins and Definitions of Place Making

The 1960s are related to a groundbreaking era within place making, where its concept got challenged. Author and journalist Jane Jacobs was one of those pioneers challenging the notion of place making. With a strong focus on the cultural and social significance in the construction of bustling neighbourhoods and the creation of social public spaces, Jacobs perceived the people living in a place as the focal point of place making. The audio podcast from '*Placemakers: The Cheerful Hurly-Burly'* explains that Jacobs views the citizens as the ones to take ownership of the streets (Scheer 2016). Hence, she is believed to be the ultimate

placemaker, researching into what it means to live in a place and how to design it in a way that is 'of', 'by' and 'for' the people (ibid. 00:04:43).

Jacobs abhorred the city planning trends in the 1960s, such as the construction of enormous monolithic compounds and argued these were anti-city. She re-framed city planning and rebuilding and introduced new principles that were different and even opposite from the trends at that time (Jacobs 1961). With Jacob's groundbreaking perspectives, an important shift took place from solely perceiving cities as a place for shopping centres and vehicles towards putting people at the centre of designing a place. This standpoint was opposed to the view of for example Robert Moses, a well-known urban planner that tended to see the city from above. From Moses' perspective, places are part of a larger metropolitan area, disconnected by water flows and linked by arteries (Scheer 2016). Challenging this view, it could be argued that this position is too zoomed out to see the actual people on the streets. Contrarily, one could claim that Jacobs' view towards place making is too zoomed in, when having the focal point down on the sidewalks, looking the neighbours in the eyes and participating on street level. Nevertheless, Jacobs became one of the most influential urbanists of the 20th century and a decade after, urban designers and landscape architectures implemented the concept of place making when developing livable and pleasurable places that attract people for living, working and visiting (Wyckoff et al. 2015).

Place making has the aim of planning, designing and managing quality places (Project for Public Spaces 2015). Wyckoff (2014: 2-3) describes numerous characteristics that a place should have in order to be a quality place for both locals and visitors, such as "*people-friendly, welcoming, safe, quality buildings and alluring sights*", which allow for authentic experiences and being sociable. The 'central hub of the global Placemaking movement' Project for Public Spaces (2015) evaluated thousands of public spaces worldwide and came up with four general qualities that a successful place needs to fulfil to attract locals and visitors alike. Those requirements are that a place is *comfortabl*e and has a positive image, people are engaged in *activities*, it is *accessible* and lastly, it is a *sociable* place where people are meeting up and take care of its visitors. These characteristics are deemed relevant for our case studies. Despite 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium being partly private, they function as public spaces to a great extent, which will be further elaborated in the analysis chapter.

As marked out earlier, place making is an extensively used concept with various researchers approaching its meaning from divergent perspectives.

Wyckoff et al. perceive place making as "*The process of creating quality places that people want to live, work, play, shop, learn and visit in" (2015: 6).* They argue that place making is used as a tool to improve places through both small projects and activities over a longer timeframe as well as transformative large-scale projects with the ability of converting a place towards a magnet for people in a relatively short period.

Conversely, amongst others, the authors Othman, Nishimura, and Kubota (2013) and Rose-Redwood (2011), describe place making as *"how a culture group imprints its values,*

perceptions, memories, and traditions on a landscape and gives meaning to geographic space" (Cited in Lew 2017: 449). This approach is closely linked to '*Sense of Place'*, where places are shaped through every day, social actions (Agnew 1987: 27), which will be elaborated further in section 3.1.2.

The first mentioned interpretation of the place making concept describes a planned, top-down approach which has been part of the urban planning field since the late 1700s (Lew 2017). This intentional and purposeful approach to the formation of places seeks to reshape urban settings (Smith 2002 cited in Lew 2017: 450) through, what Wyckoff (2014) outlines as both small and large-scale transformative, planned projects and activities. This approach could be related to the way Robert Moses recognised place making from above. In the case of Ørestad, this is the planned work of the urban development company 'By & Havn' and the homeowners association 'GFS Ørestad', which are responsible for the overall master plan behind Ørestad and the daily management of the place.

The second broad meaning to the place making term could be linked with the way Jane Jacobs (1961) views the creation of a place, whereby mundane, every day practices on street level shape a place. These everyday practices are considered particularly important in Ørestad's case. Due to it being a fairly new district under construction, the local involvement is crucial in order to ensure a sense of belonging during the creation of the place.

The above mentioned two meanings can be perceived as the main definitions of the place making concept, both at two opposite sides of the spectrum, with abundant finer definitions in between. As Lew (2017) describes, the original top-down approach can be referred to as 'placemaking', whereas the more spontaneous bottom-up approach can be considered as 'place-making'. The next paragraph will outline the distinction between both definitions in more detail.

Planned Placemaking and Organic Place-Making

As previously mentioned, the concept of place making is used in a myriad of disciplines and as Lew (2017) describes, the vast majority of literature around place making in the field of tourism dwells around top-down, planned placemaking. This highlights the need for further research into the less dominant perspective of organic place-making within tourism studies, as well as the view of places from a community level. Both disciplines will be outlined further to create a profound understanding of its dissimilarities.

- ***Planned Placemaking***

This planned perspective towards the place making concept refers to a process with different stakeholders collaborating in order to maximise shared value. Hence, placemaking is perceived as multiple actors benefitting from a local community's capital (Wyckoff 2014), meaning that placemaking is not the act of one individual or organisation. Additionally, Wyckoff claims that

placemaking is a planned process resulting in the creation of quality places. As being dynamic entities, places need to be framed within wider power geometries, which influences the way places are created, perceived and performed. However, as Project for Public Spaces (2016) explain, the responsibility and power around place management is divided by government agencies and residents are generally removed from the stewardship of the places they share.

Intentional placemaking surroundings are particularly appropriate for international, mass tourism consumption (Lew 2017). As a consequence of their planned, top-down approach these environments are usually predictable and safe. Thus, it could be argued that these places are more likely to be staged and even contrived due to its overly planned state and can come off less authentic (Cohen & Cohen 2012) towards tourists visiting these places.

Three separate concepts in the understanding of placemaking are outlined by Wyckoff (2014) as; tactical, strategic and creative placemaking. Placemaking is, as explained previously, *"the process of creating quality places that people want to live, work, play, shop, learn and visit in*" (Wyckoff et al. 2015: 6). This process includes;

- *Tactical Placemaking:* an, often low cost, short term commitment with realistic goals that can kick off quickly. These low risk, small and short term projects possibly achieve great results.
- *Strategic Placemaking:* achieving, besides the creation of quality places, the specific goal of "attracting uniquely talented workers" with the aim of attracting businesses to the area.
- *Creative Placemaking:* revolving around the creation of places where the physical and social character of a neighbourhood in shaped through arts and cultural activities.

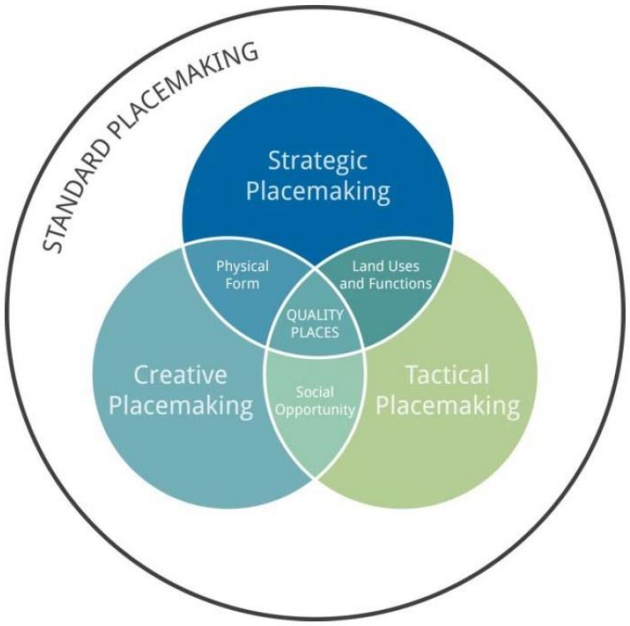

Figure 5: The creation of quality places through the interlink between strategic, creative and tactical placemaking. (Source: Wyckoff 2014: 3).

Figure 5 above illustrates the relationship of these three specialised types of placemaking within the broader placemaking concept. As shown, the combination of these specific notions within placemaking result in the creation of quality places. However, none of the above types of placemaking considers place making

- ***Organic Place-Making***

As shortly explained in the previous paragraph, place-making is perceived as the organic, bottom-up approach where individual power drives local initiatives (Lew 2017). This is referred to as 'minor placemaking' by Bosman and Dredge (2011: 3). Considering place-making as being unintentional, is it generally not oriented towards tourism. This means that place-making environments are more likely to offer tourists a more authentic, real life experience due to its unplanned and spontaneous nature. As opposed to placemaking, place-making often takes place in less touristy areas such as back-regions and sub-city districts (ibid.). This is interesting for Ørestad's case, since the area is one of Copenhagen's sub-districts, placed a few kilometers outside the touristic beaten path of the city.

Additionally, place-making advocates the importance of the everydayness of human life, shaping the landscape around us (Bosman and Dredge 2011), where place meanings and values arrive from everyday activities. Organic place-making is therefore more crucial to the cultural soul of a place and does not require planning as it is within human nature to create places that reflect who we are as individuals and as cultural groups (2011). Tourism in such places is often more community-based tourism where the locals are an important part of the reason for tourists to visit the place. Over the course of time, such places are likely to become popular tourist destinations due to its authentic experience (Lew 2017). Though, as Goodwin and Santilli (2009) argue, such initiatives often fail due to outside intervention, which turns organic place-making into planned placemaking.

This Place-making process can be argued to be socially sustainable in the sense that it acknowledges local control and cultural richness, which will be further developed in Section 3.2 *Socially Sustainable Tourism and Places*.

Lew (2017) states that less tourism-oriented and smaller places are more likely to be determined by the bottom-up place-making. On the contrary, larger and tourism-oriented places are more probable to have their focus towards a planned placemaking perspective. Though, taking a critical look at both concepts of place making, it is essential to understand that even though some places are indeed at one side of the spectrum, most places fall along the middle of the sequence. Additionally, over time places are likely to shift from place-making towards a more placemaking approach and the other way around (Hultman & Hall 2012).

Besides, as Bosman and Dredge (2011) argue, places performing both a strong placemaking and place-making are more likely to be successful tourism places. Harmonising placemaking and place-making is a political process that naturally requires trade-offs among different

interests. Failure in planned placemaking in terms of not including the everyday local life, meanings and values, can develop into "*alienation of residents from each other and from their own place*" (Cartier and Lew 2005: 183). This alienation is dangerous as it could turn environments into meaningless places for locals that possibly perform their everyday activity elsewhere, as well as failed places for tourism where tourists do not want to return (Bosman and Dredge 2011). Once again, this can be closely linked to the importance of involving locals, fostering local tolerance and maintaining cultural richness and community wellbeing in order to develop socially sustainable tourism, which is elaborated in Section *2.3 The link between tourism and social sustainability*).

Nevertheless, researching into place making theory it becomes clear that the majority of research takes a planned placemaking perspective rather than Jane Jacobs' social and community driven place-making approach (1961). Moreover, Lew (2017) clearly acknowledges the fact that tourism perspectives towards place making often tend to be dominated by top-down placemaking, particularly in combination with a destination marketing or branding approach, as tourism is viewed primarily as an economic activity. Besides from adapting the public place making theory to private places, this research aims to study the underexplored field of place-making and research beyond the obvious economic and branding perspective. Thus, it focuses on the undervalued and overlooked social and community development perspective, in which the social sustainability becomes evident.

3.1.2 Place Making as a Tool for Community Development

As Wyckoff (2014) outlines, place making is being used as a tool for both economic development, infrastructure development as well as community development. As the development of sustainable and resilient communities fits the social focus of this study on the local community of Ørestad, this paragraph will solely focus on place making as a community development tool.

When place making has its main focus on reaching social goals, such as increased equity and liveability of a place, it has the power to be a tool for community development (Wyckoff et al. 2015). Thus, this approach towards place making takes a community-based participation at the focal point of the process, helping locals to revolutionize environments into essential places that serve common needs.

Various studies that focus on place making as an instrument for community development mention the previously described creative placemaking (Markusen & Nicodemus 2014), which improves communities through creativity, art, culture and design. This form of placemaking is a strategy to engage residents locally, create socially sustainable and healthy communities, as well as strengthens the community well-being and quality of life of the locals. Besides, place making with a focus on community development has the potential to build trust, social cohesion, a feeling of safety and community pride amongst locals of a particular place (ibid.).

This is due to its community-based approach where locals are the core of the, often creative, place making process (Wyckoff 2014). An example of place making as a tool for community development is the creation of neighbourhood events. Those have the power to build stronger social networks and enhances the community identity, which are both essential aspects of resilient communities. Additionally, when such activities are driven by the locals and thus organic, bottom-up place-making, it gives power to the local community, but also responsibility (ibid.). Interesting research is whether this power and responsibility creates a viable setting for people to evolve in the long term.

Moreover, tourists can have a certain power and impact on the community and their involvement in place making. This impact of tourists can turn out to affect the social sustainability of the place, which will be discussed in Section 3.2.2 *Socially Sustainable Development of Tourism Places*. Thus, taking the community into account and welcoming positive impacts from tourism in place making may inform the urban social sustainability in terms of making the place a viable setting for human and cultural development (Hilgers 2013).

As previously mentioned, it is worth noting that there is a gap in literature around place making as an engine for social community development, as existing studies primarily focus on the economic development. After all, as Project for Public Spaces (2015) states: "*It takes a place to create a community, but also a community to create a place*" and therefore, the community aspect of place making should be perceived as equally important.

3.1.3 The *Place* in Place Making

The previous paragraphs mainly focus on the 'making' of places in terms of strategies and outcomes, but what constitutes the *place* in placemaking?

While the concept of place has existed as long as geography has, it is only since the 1970's that meanings and attachments are connected to a particular location (Cresswell 2009), giving a place a more sensuous and personal layer in addition to its geographic coordinates on a map. Thus, Adriana Campelo's description of a place goes beyond it being merely a location when viewing places as "*multi-dimensional phenomenon of experiences in which human embodiment refers to the social, economic, cultural and political practices that constitute the society and its communities"* (2017: 3).

Places can be described as dynamic, complex and fuzzy, with various theoretical standpoints from different scholars identifying the reality of places. In the following sections, John Agnew's (1987) approach to the construction of place through three levels, namely *Location, Locale* and *Sense of Place*, will be outlined in order to grasp the concept of place in a finer matter. Since this approach considers both the tangible as well as the intangible social constructions of a place, it is suitable for the overall understanding of places within Ørestad, in this case 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium. Agnew's approach will be linked to subsequent

scholars' theories that, over the years, contributed to the different levels of place. These will be identified and addressed in the following divisions.

Location; The Materiality of Places

According to Agnew (1987: 28), the location of a place refers to *"the geographical area encompassing the settings for social interaction".* The location is a static and fixed area on the map that sets the stage for social practices, referring to the 'where' of a place (Cresswell 2009). This *descriptive* approach towards a place characterises how people view the world as a combined set of physical and tangible places that each are unique entities on its own (Cresswell 2004).

Additionally, Cresswell and Hoskins (2008) view places as products with a focus on fixed product attributes. Due to its physical and tangible materiality, a place can be commoditized and thus be perceived as a product. Hence, a place on this particular level could be connected to Warnaby and Medway's (2013: 349) '*City of Stones*', in which a city is built of tangible and unique assets within a physical entity.

Relating this level of place to Ørestad Gymnasium and 8Tallet, it suggests that the specific tangible and unique assets of the buildings make up for the place as a competitive product, attracting locals and tourists alike. As interest increases, one could imagine that these iconic buildings function as a tangible materiality which could be commoditized, either planned or organically, into tourism products. This commodification is especially relevant to consider when the commodity is not just any tourist attraction, but as in this case consists of homes, offices and educational institution where long-term social factors are crucial to the everyday lives. Thus, Section 3.1.4 *Everyday Urban Places Transformed into Tourism Places* will research deeper into the specific form of architecture tourism in relation to everyday places consisting of everyday lives, taking into account the importance of the tangible architecture assets.

Locale; a Socially Constructed Place

The second level of viewing a place is perceived by Agnew (1987: 27) as a series of settings or Locales in which "*both informal and institutional social relations are constituted*". This means that the place is not just considered as coordinates on the map, but an environment where social- and everyday life takes place. This social context includes for example everyday life places such as workplaces, schools, shopping malls, and homes, where people's interactions result in the creation of values, meanings and behaviours (ibid.).

A line could be drawn between Agnew's notion of Locale and Cresswell's social constructionist approach towards a place (Cresswell 2004), where places are constructed through underlying social processes while still considering a place particularity.

Furthermore, Locale means what people say about a specific place, the narrative and meanings that are created around a setting. Examples of such social practices are rituals, traditions, myths and memories. Therefore, this approach is less tangible than the previous mentioned location, resulting in a shift from the 'city of stones' towards the 'city of words'. Here, the city is defined by relations and power structures and emerge as a socially constructed product, developed, defined and understood through spoken and written words (Warnaby & Medway 2013: 349).

Important to realise is that both levels intertwine in many ways and therefore should not be viewed as mutually exclusive. As a place is an environment for social interaction, this setting still must take place somewhere. This built setting can be used by for example place marketeers to develop narratives around the place, especially in the occasion of iconic assets. As Jones (2011) argues, architecture can have a critical role in materializing identities and meanings around a place.

Approaching Ørestad from this level, one could say that the behaviour of both locals and visitors, as well as everyday life in places such as school, residential buildings and other social spaces, function as elements that shape the place identity of Ørestad. Consequently, this research investigates the socially constructed meanings and narratives and how tourism affects the locals' feeling of belonging to a place.

Sense of Place; a Phenomenological Approach to Places

The Sense of Place is Agnew's (1987: 27) third level of a place, which "*reinforces the social-spatial definition of place from the inside*". This means that this approach focuses on the importance of human presence in a place and the personal and emotional attachment people feel when visiting a certain place. From this level, Sense of Place relates to the relationship we have with a place, which embodies our memories from the past, current experiences and hopes for the future (Project for Public Spaces 2015).

Connecting Agnew's Sense of Place to Cresswell's view towards places, a link could be made with his phenomenological approach, which explores the essence of human existence as one that is inevitably in-place. Additionally, his focus is on lived performances and experiences, meaning that places are viewed through every day sensory practices such as sounds, moods, tastes and feelings that defines its uniqueness and affect the atmosphere (Cresswell 2004).

On this level, materiality, place particularity and the social forces are not in focus, but rather seeks performances that constitute a structure of feelings. Although the city of stones and the city of words are still fundamental pillars for the Sense of Place to develop (Warnaby & Medway 2013: 349), a shift takes place towards something that could be referred to as the city of senses. Here, a place can be deconstructed through the senses experienced by locals and visitors of a particular place. A location with a strong Sense of Place is often perceived as a quality place and commits locals as well as attracting tourists and potential new residents.

Additionally, a distinct Sense of Place means that a place performs uniqueness which both locals and visitors can identify with (Project for Public Spaces 2015).

Hence, the Sense of Place is relevant for the everyday life and activities of locals, which make up for the atmosphere and individual memories, experiences and hopes within the place. From this level, places are perceived as combinations of the daily sensory practices as sounds, tastes, feelings and moods together create a specific atmosphere (Cresswell 2004). Looking at this from a tourist perspective the Sense of Place is crucial when it comes to architecture, as buildings with its unique own atmosphere are likely to be popular tourist attractions (Specht 2014). Another thing that may play a role in the Sense of Place is the host-guest relationship, which may evoke feelings and create a certain atmosphere and mood, which will be elaborated further in Section 3.2.3 *Sustainable development in local tourism places*. Thus, the tourists' effect on locals' sense of belonging to a place does also shape their Sense of Place.

It should be noted that the above mentioned three approaches of Location, Locale and Sense of Place are interlinked and equal important when understanding a place. Therefore, they should not be ranked on significance, but rather demonstrate a holistic view of a place as its tangible materiality can be the driver of specific intangible social constructions and atmospheres (Agnew 1987).

Public and Private Spaces and The Grey Zones in Between

When looking further into places, their fuzziness becomes evident when creating an understanding of the notion between publicness and privacy. Public spaces refer to areas or places that are open and accessible to all peoples, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, age or socio-economic level (UNESCO 2017). This includes gathering spaces such as parks, squares and plazas, but also connecting spaces like streets and sidewalks. To a limited extend, government buildings that are open to the public, such as town halls, public libraries and schools are public spaces, although they are likely to have restricted areas and greater limits upon use. Opposed, a private place is generally perceived as a place that is exclusively used by one or more individuals for a personal purpose and provides no access for the public. Though, seemingly clear demarcated, many grey zones exist between the notion of such public and private spaces. Examples are *public 'private' spaces* which are seemingly public external spaces, but in fact are privately owned and *private 'public' spaces* that are publicly owned but are functionally and user determined (Carmona 2010).

3.1.4 Everyday Places Transformed into Tourism Places

As Maitland (2010) describes, tourism increasingly shapes cities. This is partly due to increased tourist numbers as a result of economic change and globalisation, and due to the current trend where tourists seek to become 'contemporary locals' (Wonderful Copenhagen 2017). Thus,

cityscapes have also changed, inviting more visitors into everyday places, while still focusing on maintaining the quality of life of its locals.

Tourists in an urban setting can no longer be perceived as passive gazers visiting purpose-designed tourist attractions, as nowadays an important part of the city's appeal is the opportunity to become part of the everyday life. This means that tourists value the everyday life of the locals, as those are unplanned, feel authentic and are off the beaten track (Maitland 2010). Such local experiences go beyond tourists having a chat with locals and reaches to the level of tourist imagining and experiencing what it is like to be a local in this specific everyday place (ibid.).

As tourism becomes a part of a place, there are several external factors that shape the place and its social sustainability, which are important to emphasise. These will be further elaborated on in Section 3.2.3 *Socially Sustainable Development of Tourism Places*.

Architecture as a Tangible Driver for Tourism; a Focus on Contemporary Architecture

It is difficult to understand tourism places without discussing architecture, as visitors primarily are drawn by "*qualities of place, including architecture, people, food, culture and diversity*", opposed to tourist attractions (Maitland & Newman 2008: 232 cited in Scerri et al. 2016: 1). The physical form and materiality, as defined by architecture, aesthetic spaces and creates a particular sense of place, 'pulling' tourists to places (Edwards et al. 2014). Architecture can be a major motivator for tourists to visit a specific destination (Lasansky & McLaren 2004) and in many places it even functions as a destination's strongest pull factor (Specht 2014). Examples of buildings that have resulted in mass tourism are the historical Colosseum in Rome and the more contemporary Guggenheim museum, attracting many tourists to gaze upon the uniqueness of its materiality. This performance of gazing will be outlined under *Performing the gaze in everyday places* in this section. Since Ørestad is branded as Copenhagen's 'architectural hotspot' and consists of many award-winning and world-famous buildings created by renowned architects (Visit Copenhagen n.d. *a*), it becomes relevant to take the physicality of such buildings into account when researching this specific context.

In 2002, during a conference at Columbia University, the term 'Architourism' was used for architecture as a tourism attraction, meaning that architourism is perceived as a specific type of tourism (Specht 2014: 3). Additionally, this conference discussed architecture as a destination for tourism in itself, which describes tourists visiting specific buildings for its unique and outstanding architecture as the main destination within a place, with its own Sense of Place.

When looking at the meaning of architectural design, Albena Yaneva (2016) describes that that design "*triggers specific ways of enacting the social*" (p. 273). As she claims, it is unthinkable to grasp the way a society works without acknowledging how design shapes and facilitates everyday sociality. Design is here not perceived as a cold domain of material relations, but rather as a type of connector that produces, adjusts and re-enacts the social. By pursuing how

users *engage* with architecture, and how they "*seize, handle and evaluate them*" (p. 283), an understanding can be created on how design functions as a process of putting the social into practice. Even though she does not take a specific tourism stance, it nevertheless is valuable to realize that design does not just consists of passive objects and triggers people to act in certain ways.

Similarly, Francesco Di Sarra (2017) explains that materiality has the power to attract and guide tourists into a building and can stimulate engagement through various senses, setting atmospheric tones. This relates to the important aspect of the *accessibility* of the buildings, inviting tourists into the place, which Thomas Krüger highlights in the interview with Jan Specht (2014: 22). Thus, the easy accessibility of a building would allow tourists to become part of the architecture spatial experience (ibid.).

As Stevenson (2010) defines, any type of architecture might provide a way of pleasure or interests, drawing the attention of tourists, whether intentionally developed for visitors, locals or both. This means that even constructions developed for the local community, without directly targeting tourists, still have the ability to be tourism attractions. Thus, as Specht (2014: 13) argues, a distinction can be made between architecture:

- Developed for the tourists' demands (e.g. hostels, campings and staged tourism attractions).
- Build for the demands of locals and tourists (e.g. railways, bars and theme parks).
- Solely developed with the direct demands of locals in mind (e.g. educational, residential and office buildings).

Both historical and contemporary architecture are considered as major tourism attractions, but contemporary architecture reaches much attention because of its contribution to the dynamic scenery of, especially, urban places. Tourists get continuously attracted to a place that is ever changing and therefore it keeps being interesting to visit. Additionally, contemporary architecture is closely connected to the feeling of innovation and transformation, which allows a place to show its aspirations for future development (Specht 2014).

For contemporary architecture to become a tourism attraction, there should be a certain uniqueness to the building and an iconic quality, since tourists seek to be impressed. It is those places that urge tourists to take out their camera and take pictures of it. The high quality of the architecture takes a vital position, as just being contemporary is not enough to add value to a place (Krüger 2014 cited in Specht 2014). Nonetheless, everyday places build for locals, such as schools, homes and offices, can become attractive assets for tourism when containing alluring and unique architecture (Stevenson 2010).

Performing the Gaze in Everyday Architecture Places

As architourism in Ørestad takes places in everyday local places, the local community is automatically involved in the gazing. As previously explained, tourism behavior shifted from

being passive gazers to becoming active actors (Maitland 2010), which is related to John Urry's (1992) theory of the tourist gaze. The theory has developed in the years since tourists' behaviors have evolved alongside understandings of sociology and anthropology within tourism. Therefore, Jonas Larsen contributed with *The Tourist Gaze 1.0, 2.0* and *3.0* in 2014.

The first version of John Urry's tourist gaze from 1990 explored the cultural and social ordering of the tourist gaze. From Urry's first perspective, tourism was predominantly a visual practice, where businesses stage experiences and tourists visually consume those. Tourism is, from this view, a passive "*way of seeing*" rather than an active engagement, when gazing upon places that are out of the ordinary (Larsen 2014: 305). Already here, Urry mentioned the power tourists have over places due to locals being photographed and gazed upon (Urry & Larsen 2011).

Version 2.0 (Urry 2002) focused on the global ordering of the tourist gaze as a result of a more mobile and globalised world. Thus, gazers emerge from many different countries, with a focus on the recent Asian middle-class visiting places in the West (Larsen 2014). This means that the tourist gaze can no longer be perceived as exclusively a Western phenomenon, as it was before. Thus, it is important to take into account that people with different cultural background gaze in different ways, and that the current gaze theory does not include the specificity of Asian ways of seeing (ibid.).

In 2011, Urry and Larsen describe the tourist gaze 3.0, by developing a relational approach that acknowledges the intersections of the senses and people in the visual encounters with places. Whereas version 1.0 merely perceives tourism as sight*seeing*, the latest version considers other bodily experiences and sensescapes as touching, smelling, feeling and hearing. Thus, one could argue that sight*seeing* has developed into sight*doing*. Additionally, the tourist gaze 3.0 examines the relational gazes where the eyes of gazers and gazees are probable to meet and where tourists gaze upon places in the presence of others. The 3.0 version recognizes for such gazees to exercise their power as a host and argues that locals just as well are able to gaze upon the tourists. This so-called *Mutual Gaze* contains locals and tourists who perform everyday gazing at each other in the spaces of tourism (Maoz 2006: 222), which evidently affects the host-guest encounter.

3.1.5 Summary of Place Making Theory

Summarizing the above theory, one could conclude on two main approaches within the concept of Place Making: the planned top-down approach called 'placemaking' and the unintentional place-making with a strong people-focused perspective (Lew 2017). Furthermore, Agnew (1987) grasps the fuzziness of places by dividing them into the fixed Location, the socially constructed Locale and the sensory Sense of Place, highlighting the different tangible materialities and intangible perspectives towards places. Additionally, this theory section described how everyday places are increasingly popular amongst tourists and how the

architecture of such places invites tourists into the everyday lives of its local communities. This challenges the boundaries between private and public spaces.

When receiving tourists into these places, the local's everyday lives, wellbeing and quality of life are inevitably affected by the presence of tourism and therefore it becomes relevant to include a more socially sustainable perspective towards the place making theory. Additionally, theory introduces the ability of place making as a tool for community development (Wyckoff 2014), which engages locals in a strategy to create socially sustainable and healthy communities (Markusen & Nicodemus 2014). Besides, it highlights the fact that place making is often used in an economic or promotional tourism setting. Thus, this study finds it relevant to contribute with a socially sustainable perspective towards place making, in order to understand how places can be constructed in a viable manner whilst engaging with tourism. Therefore, the next section will go into depth with the concept of social sustainability and more specifically the notion of social sustainable tourism in the context of a place.

3.2 Socially Sustainable Tourism and Place Making

As previously mentioned, this thesis will solely focus on the social sustainability, yet it acknowledges that social sustainability is intertwined with other forms of sustainability. The following section will set the landscape by providing a brief review of the origins and development of sustainability. Secondly, it will discuss the notion of social sustainability and its complexity. Finally, it covers relevant physical and non-physical factors to consider in order to enhance the social sustainability in tourism places and the host-guest encounter.

3.2.1 The Origins and Definitions of Sustainability

Sustainability covers a wide palette of meanings, definitions and branches. The concept has its roots in the 18th century's forestry literature where a German academic emphasised the importance of long-term wood productivity. With the aim to use the forest *"[...] to the greatest possible extent, but still in a way that future generations will have at least as much benefit as the living generation*" (Chasin 2014: 343), the idea from 1804 can be argued to be the fundamental ground for the sustainability discourse.

However, the first major step of acknowledging sustainability in political and academic research was in 1960s. Here, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) was developed to promote policies favouring sustainable economic growth and employment (McKenzie 2014). Eventually, this led to the establishment of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), with the purpose to develop a "*global agenda for change*" (WCED 1987). *Our Common Future,* the so-called Brundtland Report from 1987, defines sustainable development as "*A process to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs* (WCED 1987).

This official definition of sustainable development can be argued to cover a wide and rather fuzzy scope of meanings, being unclear what kind of needs that are referred to. Though, it has ever since been subject to further research within academic fields and business sectors such as tourism, a sector where sustainable tourism has received a lot of attention (UNESCO 2010). An example of this is the research and reports by the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO 1995), which defines sustainable tourism development as "*A tourism process that meets the needs of present tourists and host regions, and protects and increases their opportunities for future prosperity",* a broad definition closely related to that of WCED.

One of the latest major actions within the field is the *2030 Agenda for Sustainable development,* constructed by the United Nations (UN). The agenda comprises 17 Sustainability goals which call for action in order to "*improve health and education, reduce inequality, and spur economic growth – all while tackling climate change and working to preserve our oceans and forests*". According to the UN, the world will be '*a better place*' in 2030 if the objectives succeed (UN

2015: 12). According to the UN (2015), the goals address both developed and developing countries and are based on economic, social and environmental dimensions, which are the general underlying dimensions for sustainable development and research. Especially goal 11 'Sustainable Cities and Communities' is considered interesting for this study, as it acknowledges the need for efficient urban planning and management practices. Even though tourism is not specifically mentioned by the UN in this target, it can be argued for tourism to provide both opportunities and challenges when striving towards inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable cities (Kamp 2017). A positive effect of tourism in urban areas can be for example the use of gained revenues in the investment of improved infrastructure. However, as cities are appealing tourism attractions, many challenges and risks arise when dealing with for example overtourism. Goal 11 focuses on essential urban challenges, almost all of which can be either directly or indirectly linked to the tourism industry (ibid.).

The UN goals have been met with criticism by for example the Co-Director of Asia research Centre and India Observatory, Ruth Kattumuri, who argue that the goals neglect the social issues compared to the economic and environmental issues (Kattumuri 2015). The negligence of social sustainability has also been the case within the tourism discourse, where the focus often points towards the economic or environmental opportunities and challenges that tourism brings (Zhang et al. 2017).

Intertwining Dimensions and Equal Importance

Despite it being more than 30 years since the WCED report was published around the tripartite of sustainability dimensions, the focus of research, practices and policies has primarily been based on economic and environmental rather than social development (McKenzie 2004, Woodcraft 2012, Zhang et al. 2017, Maretti & Salvatore 2012). Nevertheless, recent studies suggest a more widespread discourse in which the three spheres are increasingly equally represented. The change of focus can be illustrated by the two models, made by Stephen McKenzie (2004: 4-5).

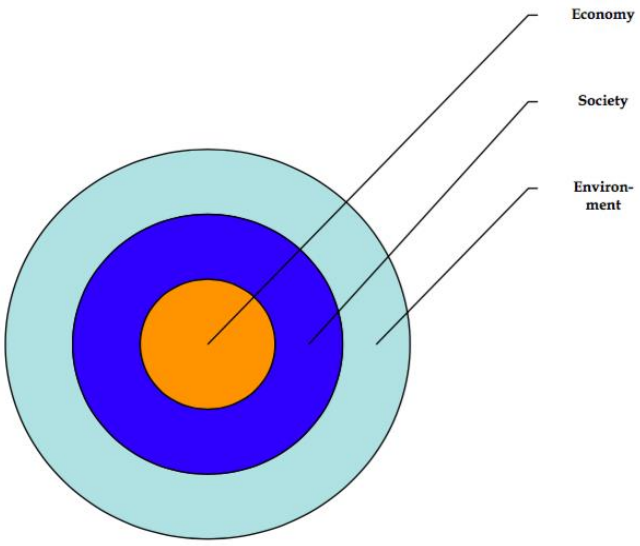

Figure 6: Sustainability as layers (Source: McKenzie 2004: 4)

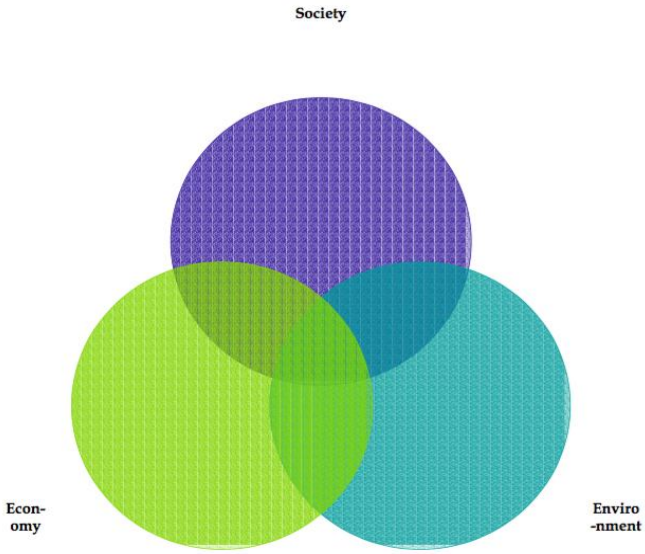

Figure 7: Sustainability as three intertwining dimensions (Source: McKenzie 2004: 5)

Figure 6 suggests economy as being the core layer of sustainable development, followed by society and environmental factors. Conversely, figure 7 features the three dimensions as being equally important and interdependent, a viewpoint that this thesis supports. John Elkington stresses the importance of this intertwined approach, stating that it is not possible to achieve a desired level of sustainability without all three forms of sustainability, simultaneously (McKenzie 2004). Based on this view he develops the Triple Bottom Line (TBL) approach, a framework used to measure the performance of all three dimensions of sustainability, which has now resulted in thousands of TBL reports annually (Elkington 2018). But how do you use a genetic framework and how do you measure social sustainability? Reading into '*The Triple Bottom Line: What Is It and How Does It Work?'* by Timothy F. Slaper (2011), a number of potential variables are suggested in order to do so, such as: *Unemployment rate; Median household income; Average commute time; Violent crimes per capita;* and *Health-adjusted life expectancy*.

However, looking at sustainability through a social science lense, quantified measurements that are developed with the purpose to be transferred to other cases alike, do not comprehensively reflect the nature of reality and social problems, as argued in Chapter 2 *Philosophical and Methodological Approach*. Rather, the research should provide a reflexive, situational and context-specific analysis which takes the qualitative insight of values and interests within different groups into account (Flyvbjerg 2005). Nonetheless, Elkington (2018) has recently published the article '*25 Years Ago I Coined the Phrase "Triple Bottom Line." Here's Why It's Time to Rethink It.'* Here he expresses the need to update the TBL approach after serving many years of guidance to businesses and policymakers, arguing that the success of sustainability goals cannot be measured solely by profit and loss, whilst stating that it currently fails to include the wellbeing of people.

On the basis of the above, it becomes evident that 1) The notion of sustainability is complex and based on multiple definitions and adaptations; 2) Social sustainability is often being

neglected in the sustainability discourse; and 3) Context as well as disciplinary measures beyond theories are crucial for your research and understanding of the concept. Thus, with this brief introduction to the sustainability as an overall agenda, it becomes evident to research the notion of social sustainability and set the stage for the context of this research.

3.2.2 Defining Social Sustainability

Just as the concept of sustainability, *social* sustainability comprises broad definitions. *The Business Dictionary* suggests that social sustainability is:

"The ability of a community to develop processes and structures which not only meet the needs of its current members but also support the ability of future generations to maintain a healthy community."

Referring back to WCED's definition of sustainability from 1987 (*A process to meet the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs)*, this is very similar, suggesting that there is a lack of clarification of the *social* aspect in this definition of social sustainability.

Other definitions are more detailed, yet they cover a wide range of topics. One example is that of the Western Australian Council of Social Services: "*Social sustainability occurs when the formal and informal processes, systems, structures and relationships actively support the capacity of current and future generations to create healthy and liveable communities. Socially sustainable communities are equitable, diverse, connected and democratic and provide a good quality of life*." (cited in McKenzie 2004: 18).

The challenge in making specific definitions is that social sustainability deals with cross-disciplinary literature and approaches, including various social contexts, political landscapes and problems. Thus, researchers do not fully agree on what the terms consists of and the concept can be described as fragmented (Bramley & Power 2009). Consequently, taking the context into account is something that several authors stress the importance of in order to make the research more valuable (Maretti & Salvatore 2012). As Phillip Sutton puts it: "*To understand the concept, you need to identify the focus of concern*" (Cited in McKenzie 2004: 6).

Urban Social Sustainability and Place Making

According to Woodcraft (2012), some social sustainability researchers emphasise underdevelopment and basic human needs, whilst other focus on equality, diversity, democracy and social justice, most often in the context of underdeveloped countries. A third topic of theories revolve around the maintenance of social values, culture and quality of life. The latter is primarily the field that this thesis will be concerned with, researching how the locals in urban

and developed places are affected by the presence of tourists, more specifically how it affects the wellbeing and quality of life. Thus, this thesis takes an urban approach to social sustainability, defined as "*the continuing ability of a city to function as a long-term, viable setting for human interaction, communication and cultural development*." (Hilgers 2013: 3).

Current research on place making that takes social sustainability into account exists, albeit is limited. Professor in Landscape Architecture, Elif Karacor (2014) has contributed with her view on a place making approach to accomplish social sustainability, in which she argues that not only the planning and designing, but also the continuing management of places is one of the most important aspects, as they continue to develop. Moreover, she challenges the use of top-down place making, as it lacks the consideration of individual human behaviour. Consequently, she highlights the need for community involvement, though she mentions that it can lead to social problems because it does not benefit all. Allison Heller and Toby Adams (2009) acknowledges this view in their paper *Creating healthy cities through socially sustainable placemaking*, by stating that "*...people have a right to be involved in deciding how their town or city develops. Real, sustainable change will not be achieved unless local people are in the driving seat right from the start. Successful cities are founded on participative democracy*" (p. 18). Additionally, a community's sense of belonging to a place is a key indicator of wellbeing and should be incorporated in the design of spaces. Thus, the physical and social spaces affect the social sustainability through the cultural- and individual identity, and community engagement. A healthy community, Heller and Adams argue, is resilient and manages to maintain and enhance both the individual's and the collective wellbeing through a sense of connectedness, belonging and empowerment.

A framework for socially sustainable place making in urban communities has been developed by the organisation *Social life*; an organisation which offers expertise in place making and sustainability whilst emphasising the need to identify local issues and opportunities. In their report, they argue that: "*Social sustainability combines design of the physical realm with design of the social world – infrastructure to support social and cultural life, social amenities, systems for citizen engagement, and space for people and places to evolve*." (Bacon & Caistor-Arendar 2014: 6).

This is reflected in their framework, which consists of a total of 23 indicators divided into four dimensions; Amenities and Social Infrastructure, Social and Cultural Life, Adaptability and Resilience, and Voice and Influence. These indicators are developed to function as a quantitative scoring and assessment tool of the social sustainability of a neighbourhood in the United Kingdom.

Thus, the definition and framework by Social Life suggests that not only social practices but also physical realms are important to the social sustainability, which is also supported by Karacor (2014) and Heller and Adams (2009). This can further be linked to Saffron Woodcraft's (2012) research on social sustainability in new communities, which acknowledges that both non-physical and physical factors contribute to urban social sustainability. In her research, the list of physical factors is limited to eight fairly broad factors, among others

Accessibility, local environmental quality and amenity, and *sustainable design* (p. 34). Hence, the urban place planning research does not explicitly include the role of tangible architecture, which is a central point in this study.

In the research paper, Woodcraft argues that there is a lack and a need for theory on how social sustainability is deployed in urban planning practices, as it can be used to inform decisions regarding both the material and social fabric of places. Urban planning itself is a wide field which this thesis does not manage to cover extensively, though it deals with how urban places are affected and shaped by physical and non-physical factors due to tourism. Woodcraft further draws on Social Life's framework in her own case study, and tests her own indicators by dividing them into the categories *positive, satisfactory, negative* (Bacon & Caistor-Arend2012: 39). Nevertheless, as argued previously, our social science and epistemological approach suggests that theory of knowledge should be based on a deep, reflexive and interpretive understanding, why a single word is not comprehensive enough to give meaning to the world (Blaikie 1991). Additionally, as Mathieu Hilgers (2013) argues, the local context and history plays an important role when developing strategies for social sustainability, why it cannot be limited to a technical, problem-solving approach. Thus, the framework is considered inspirational for the study as it acknowledges the link between place making and social sustainability, though it lacks the aspect of tourism and architecture.

Hence, we have defined the notion of social sustainability and introduced the context and focus of this research. Though, whereas research on socially sustainable place making considers the role of external stakeholders and locals, it fails to include the role of tourists. As mentioned previously, tourists' role in place making is in general underexplored, and present research that acknowledges it tends to deal with the economic aspect hereof (Lew 2017). This calls for further research that examines the interrelations between place making, tourism and social sustainability, more specifically how the planning, designing and managing places (Project for Public Spaces 2015) that deal with tourism may incorporate socially sustainable factors that are crucial to the quality of life. Thus, we find it necessary to explore how relevant literature within the field of socially sustainable tourism can inform the field of place making.

3.2.3 Socially Sustainable Development of Tourism Places

As has already been discussed, researchers and policy makers within tourism are increasingly aware of the importance that tourist's footprints have on destinations. However, this need for socially sustainable tourism is often centred around aims that primarily benefits the poor and marginalised people in developing countries with strategies such as community-based tourism, justice tourism, social tourism and pro-poor tourism (Saarinen & Manwa 2008, Higgins-Desboilles 2005).

Additionally, one of the contemporary tourism trends is that tourists are, or at least aims to be, more aware of the impacts they leave in environments (Maretti & Salvatore 2012). Though,

the travel behaviour often shows clear signs of the opposite (WTTC 2017). This is worth considering since tourism is developing faster than any time before and particularly European destinations are on the travel itinerary (UNWTO 2018). According to Wonderful Copenhagen's Director, Mikkel Aarø-Hansen, tourism in Copenhagen is expected to increase to 16 million tourists in 2030, compared to 8.8 million tourists in 2017 (Baumgarten 2018). Thus, we argue for the need to expand research around socially sustainable tourism and the impacts it has on local communities in urban places and developed countries.

"*Making tourism more sustainable is not just about controlling and managing the negative impacts of the industry. Tourism is in a very special position to benefit local communities, economically and socially, and to raise awareness and support for conservation of the environment.*" (UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 2)

With these words, The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and The World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) introduce an extensive guide for worldwide countries, regions and local communities dealing with tourism. Whereas UNEP is the leading global environmental authority (UNEP n.d), UNWTO is the leading international organisation within tourism, and accountable for the promotion of responsible, sustainable and universally accessible tourism (UNWTO n.d. *a*). *Making Tourism More Sustainable - A Guide for Policy Makers* introduces principles, tools and guidelines that can be incorporated day-to-day operations, whilst stressing that it will vary how many and which tools that are relevant for the particular circumstances as well as the need for adaption. UNEP & UNWTO's guide is divided into 12 focus areas which partly acknowledge the importance of tourism's impact on social sustainability, as illustrated in figure 8:

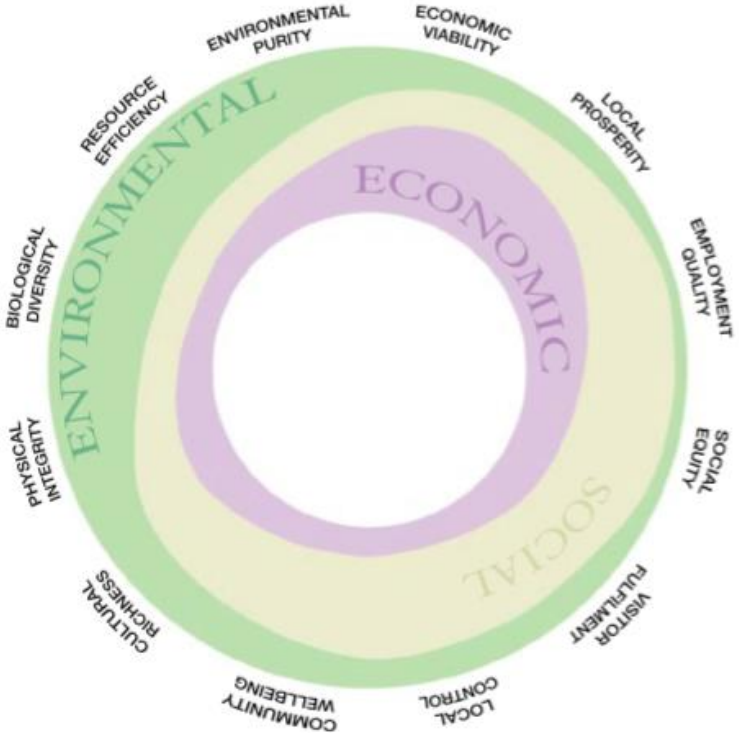

Figure 8: Relationship between UNWTO and UNEP's 12 aims and the pillars of sustainability. (Source: UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 20).

Interestingly, the model illustrates that the *Physical Integrity*'s relation to social sustainability is limited. One of the aims with this thesis is to challenge that view by examining the role of materiality in community wellbeing. Despite being related to social sustainability, *Local Prosperity, Employment Quality and Visitor Fulfilment* will be excluded due to the context of this study.

Consequently, *Community Wellbeing, Social Equity, Local Control, Cultural Richness* and *Physical Integrity* will be elaborated and related to further relevant theory about tourism and social sustainability.

- ***Community Wellbeing***

"*To maintain and strengthen the quality of life in local communities, including social structures and access to resources, amenities and life support systems, avoiding any form of social degradation or exploitation*" (UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 36).

Wellbeing can be defined as 'the state of feeling healthy and happy' (Cambridge Dictionary n.d.). In the report, this factor involves a wide palette of factors including job-positions, housing prices, human rights, access to water and transport services, which can be stimulated both positively and negatively by tourism. Tourism, it describes, can be 'socially disruptive' in the sense that behaviour that may be 'alien to host communities' can result in unacceptable social practices among tourists and local people (UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 36). The report mentions drugs and prostitution as examples, though in this case study, there is a focus on how tourism affects the social wellbeing and structures in the everyday lives of residents, employees and students.

The report further claims that the negative and positive influence is linked to the balance of tourism in terms of volume, timing and location, referring to the need for determining a social carrying capacity of each destination (p. 36). Another proposed focus point to address in local policy is "*influencing the behaviour of tourists towards local communities*" (p. 37), arguing that many of the big challenges in tourism communities derive from individual tourists or groups' behaviour due to cultural differences. Consequently, they suggest that information about "*the nature of the host community, their values and any particular sensitivities*" should be provided before and during the visit (p. 37).

Communities can be referred to as a group of people who live in the same geographical location, but also to a group of people who feel 'communitas' or togetherness or are a part of a local, social system (Blackstock 2005). Thus, it is relevant to consider community wellbeing in terms of how people in a geographical community feel that tourism affects their happiness, but also how tourism shapes communities of togetherness independent from the geographical stance. Nevertheless, in order to develop and maintain a sustainable community, the overall life satisfaction of the individuals in this community is important too, as argued by Heller and Adams (2009).

According to research made by Kyungmi Kim, Muzaffer Uysal and M. Joseph Sirgy (2012), community residents feel that tourism impacts their economic, social, cultural and environmental dimensions of life. Moreover, they link these impacts to their sense of material-, community- and emotional wellbeing, and overall life satisfaction. Some of the conclusions of Kim et al.'s study is that there is 'a positive relationship between the social impact of tourism and residents' sense of community well-being, meaning that as residents increasingly perceive the positive social impact of tourism, their satisfaction with the community well-being increases'. Moreover, they argue that 'the relationship between the perceived cultural impact of tourism and residents' sense of emotional well-being is significantly positive' (Ibid.: 537).

Maretti and Salvatore (2012) mention how tourism can be positive for the development of the local community. Some of the opportunities that occur when transforming local places into tourism places is that the appearance of tourists may expand social spaces as well as conceptual and organisational boundaries (Maretti & Salvatore 2012). Thus, not only locals contribute to place making, as discussed in Section 3.1.2 *Place making as a tool for community development;* tourists can also impact the organic place-making and the "*long-term, viable setting for human interaction, communication and cultural development"* (Hilgers 2013: 3).

Hence, tourism is likely to have a deep impact on the local community in terms of social organisation and 'localness making' (Maretti & Salvatore 2012: 11) which will be triggered by tourism. The place turns into a 'social arena' (ibid.: 11) where different influences have an important function, and locals need to be involved in order to ensure a local Sense of Place and belonging. However, as Chris Ryan (2002) and Jarrko Saarinen and Haretsebe Manwa (2008) argue, host communities will often have different meanings and preferences regarding tourism; some may be interested in its development and some may be interested in its limits of growth. Consequently, the local involvement in tourism may cause challenges for the community wellbeing and affect the locals' sense of belonging to the place.

- ***Social Equity***

"To seek a widespread and fair distribution of economic and social benefits from tourism throughout the recipient community, including improving opportunities, income and services available to the poor" (UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 32).

Though poverty is mentioned as a particular focus in the report, social equity is crucial for all communities to function, as some people will often be more disadvantaged than others. As an example of social equity in developed countries, the report mentions the need for providing opportunities for the unemployed urban youth (ibid.: 32). In this research, social equity should be considered in terms of accommodating equal rights, dignity and interests of all people in the community. An equitable urban society, Hilgers (2013) explains, ensures *"everybody to have access to services and facilities and to participate economically, socially and politically to the life of the community "*.

The key policy areas to address are based on utilizing economic opportunities from tourism, such as to develop income earning for the disadvantaged, and to support social programmes that benefit the disadvantaged in the community (UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 33). When dealing with local communities where residents and students are the focal point of tourism engagement, it shall be interesting to see how tourism affects the social equity, and the how disadvantaged are distinguished from advantaged people in the community.

- ***Local Control***

"*To engage and empower local communities in planning and decision making about the management and future development of tourism in their area, in consultation with other stakeholders*" (UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 34).

This aim suggests that involving locals and empowering them to influence their own future is considered as a fundamental factor for sustainable development and policy making (ibid.: 35). Contemporary tourism is far from always planned from above, and the DMO is not always a part of what happens at a neighbourhood or place level. Nevertheless, in these situations it is important for the social sustainability that locals can somehow maintain control. Sheldon and Abenoja (2000) further stress the importance of local control and refer to the term 'resident responsive tourism' (p. 436). This concept covers community-driven tourism that values local involvement to ensure a destination's long-term viability and appeal. By not including locals and their voices, it "*contributes to residents' disfavor of tourism in their community, erodes the host community's tolerance for tourists, and heightens sensitivity towards further tourism development*". Hilgers (2013) agrees that local engagement increases tolerance to difference, and further argues that people develop a stronger sense of belonging to the community whenever they invest their time, energy or money in it. Thus, a community-based involvement is argued to be important for a place, like it is argued that organic or minor place-making is necessary in order to maintain place meanings and values (c.f. *Section 3.1.1 Place Making from different perspectives*).

However, when dealing with local control and community involvement, one should be aware of challenges and conflicts due to locals' interests and distribution of power. Greg Richards and Derek Hall (2000: 7) describe that it is often overlooked in sustainable tourism literature that "*elements of the same community can be in conflict over the aims or outcomes of tourism development*". Accordingly, they outline potential conflicts in terms of inclusion/exclusion of people, the distribution of financial benefits, different personal values or interests, and the delegation of right or power to make decisions. Additionally, Kirsty Blackstock (2005) takes a critical stance towards local community control and argues that it does not always lead to participatory decision making. As mentioned under 'community wellbeing', community interests are often heterogeneous, and some individuals' self-interest is prioritised before the collective good (Saarinen & Manwa 2008; Blackstock 2005). Richards & Hall (2000: 1) point towards questions such as who in the community should benefit from tourism, and how should the community be presented to the tourist? Thus, local control can challenge the social equity, as some people will gain a powerful "*ability to impose one's will or advance one's own*

interest" (Reed 1997). This power can be used "*to govern the interplay of individuals (...) in influencing, or trying to influence the direction of policy*" (Lyden et al. 1969: 6, cited in Hall 2003: 101). Power is often unevenly distributed in communities as some people will have more access to for example financial resources, social capital, time or knowledge (Hall 2003: 101). This suggests that local control should be considered along questions concerning *who* has the power and *how* it is being used to assure the common good and a socially sustainable environment.

Tourism strategies are often developed and discussed at a city-wide or DMO level, whereas tourism is starting to be practiced at a neighbourhood level. This can give challenges in terms of scaling and applying conceptualized strategies in local contexts (Woodcraft 2012). This aspect of socially sustainable tourism places is particularly important to stress in this research as local places and residents are the focus for Wonderful Copenhagen (2017). This is stated in their 2020 strategy about *Localhood* in which "*locals become the destination*" and shared and co-created experiences are pointed to as the focus of future tourism development (Wonderful Copenhagen 2017). Additionally, the DMO's newly published 10xCopenhagen report claims the importance of broadening the tourism destination of Copenhagen towards its many neighbourhoods (Wonderful Copenhagen n.d *a*). Thus, strategies like these may result in both opportunities and challenges for the social sustainability and development of local places, why it is relevant to consider locals' involvement in tourism.

- ***Cultural Richness***

"*To respect and enhance the historic heritage, authentic culture, traditions and distinctiveness of host communities*" (UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 38).

In the example of cultural richness, the report underpins the fact that tourism can help develop but also degrade tourism places and their culture according to the management of it. Culture, however, can be many things. Clifford Geertz takes a rather intangible stance at it, stating that culture is "*a system of meanings (...) of which the nature of reality is established and maintained*" (Cited in Greenwood 1977: 131). Saarinen and Manwa (2008) stress that cultural factors can be both material and non-material, such as crafts and traditions. In this thesis, culture is argued to exists in both materialistic and social forms.

In the research paper *The Link Between Sustainable Tourism and Local Social Development*, Maretti and Salvatore (2012) argue that one of the main trends is that contemporary tourists value authentic and co-created experiences rather than staged settings and mass tourism places. Tourists have a desire to become temporary locals and to explore the uniqueness of the local community which they visit. This means that "*the same site where they live or/and work will have to be shared with new travelling communities that will consider it not only as a space for "ordinary way of life" but also for "extra-ordinary*" experience" (ibid.: 11).

From one perspective, it can be argued that when tourism gets integrated into your local community, it can contribute to positive cultural development. For example, in their report for UNESCO, Mike Robinson and David Picard (2006) emphasise that tourist encounters may

result in thinking out of the box and give space for new, reflexive places that serve as a positive development for the host community's culture. Experiencing different ways of life can have a positive impact and valuable educational advance not only for the tourists but also for the locals.

On the contrary, when tourists explore the local places, there is a risk that they ignore cultural practices that are essential to the community and their social life because it seems irrelevant, which might create tensions (Maretti & Salvatore 2012: 21). However, the cultural richness may not only be disturbed directly by tourists, but also indirectly by locals. As tourism takes form and starts to be organised, the various stakeholders involved tend to package and commodify the spaces and cultures in order to contextualise it in a way that tourists understand (Robinson & Picard 2006). Thus, it is not only the materiality of places that can be commoditized, as it was outlined in Section 3.1.3 *The Place in Place Making*. According to Davydd J. Greenwood (1977), the cultural commodification threatens the local authenticity in the sense that important meanings and social practices are being translated and conceptualized. He gives examples of several previous local cultures that have been expropriated, destroyed and made meaningless to locals when turned into tourist attractions. This allows the local space to be invaded by tourists who do not appreciate the local service and culture. Thus, the local community may benefit economically without benefitting culturally (Ibid.).

Saarinen and Manwa (2008) also touch upon the challenges with cultural commodification and explain how it tends to concretise and objectify the past, which may result in the space distancing itself from the present and the local people. This is a problem for the sustainability, they argue, as local knowledge, values and heritage is an ongoing development. This effect is particularly interesting and important to take into account when the cultural commodity is not just any tourist attraction, but in fact a private home; workplace; or an educational institution where social factors are crucial to the everyday lives and knowledge and values are constantly developing with its residents.

As discussed in Section 3.1.1 *Place Making From Different Perspectives*, places that are staged and overly planned often result in lack of authenticity (Cohen & Cohen 2012), and can develop into "*alienation of residents from each other and from their own place*" (Cartier and Lew 2005: 183). Kim et al. (2012) agree that tourism has the power to disrupt traditional cultural structures and behavioural patterns, and argue that the cultural impacts vary according to the social relationship with tourists. According to Karen Cook, "*tourism development that is subordinate to local character and identity as well as to local needs, wants, and priorities is the best possible guarantee against tourism saturation*" (Cited in Sheldon & Abenoja 2000: 436). This suggests the importance of organic place-making, where the local assets and theirs needs and values are considered as very important in the creation of places (Jacobs 1961, Lew 2017). Thus, it is crucial to study how tourism affect social and cultural factors that impact locals' sense of belonging to the place they live, work or study. In order to avoid this disruption, UNEP and UNWTO (2005) state that improved information for guests as well as interaction is necessary, though cultural commodification must be avoided. Hence, it suggests a sensitive

and fragile balance between setting a code of conduct that informs about cultural values, and at the same time ensuring that the culture is not being packaged and lost in translation.

- ***Physical Integrity***

"*To maintain and enhance the quality of landscapes, both urban and rural, and avoid the physical and visual degradation of the environment*" (UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 39).

As previously stressed, social sustainability combines the design of the physical realm with design of the social world (Bacon & Caistor-Arendar 2014: 2). Hence, materialities can ascribe meaning to a place (Jones 2011), and the social sustainability is impacted by the meanings ascribed to both the city of stones and the city of words (Warnaby & Medway 2013). Additionally, Section 3.1.4 *Everyday Places Transformed Into Tourism Places* describes how architecture functions as a tangible driver for tourism in urban places, and sometime is the strongest pull factor (Spect 2014). Accordingly, it describes how there has been a shift in tourism from sigh*seeing* to sight*doing*, with the tourist being actively involved in the experience. This may affect such architecture places positively or negatively, why it is crucial for the long-term viable setting that the physical integrity and aesthetic quality is being maintained, particularly as the tourism takes place at private residence and school property.

According to the report, it is necessary to minimise physical impact and to ensure that the tourism development is aligned with the local environmental conditions. The majority of literature research on tourism's effect on *environmental quality* does not include the physical aspect, but rather subjects such as biological diversity, environmental purity and resource efficiency (Levy & Hawkins 2010). Nevertheless, UNEP and UNWTO stress the need for emphasising both physical and aesthetic integrity in urban places when referring to the quality of landscapes:

"*This is about the physical structure of places and their aesthetic quality and appearance. It is an important aim intrinsically from the environmental perspective, as well as affecting the wellbeing of local people. It is also critically important for the long term health of the tourism industry as the physical attractiveness of destinations is a key element of their appeal to visitors.*" (2005: 39).

Closely linked to these above-mentioned sustainability factors, the impacts of tourism have raised a focus on the ethical responsibility and behaviour. Simply put, ethical tourism should benefit people and the environment in the destinations, with health, environmentalism and concern for human rights being main concerns among the consumers (Goodwin & Francis 2003). Alongside sustainability, this is one of the focal points of The United World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), which has developed a global code of ethics for tourism (UNWTO 2001). According to their website (UNWTO, n.d. *b*), the code of ethics is considered as a fundamental frame for sustainable tourism, and includes 10 articles with ethical principles;

- Article 1: Tourism's contribution to mutual understanding and respect between peoples and societies

- Article 2: Tourism as a vehicle for individual and collective fulfilment
- Article 3: Tourism, a factor of sustainable development
- Article 4: Tourism, a user of the cultural heritage of mankind and contributor to its enhancement
- Article 5: Tourism, a beneficial activity for host countries and communities
- Article 6: Obligations of stakeholders in tourism development
- Article 7: Right to tourism
- Article 8: Liberty of tourist movements
- Article 9: Rights of the workers and entrepreneurs in the tourism industry
- Article 10: Implementation of the principles of the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism

Such code of ethics are known from organisations, where they function as "*messages through which corporations hope to shape employee behaviour and effect change through explicit statements of desired behavior*" (Malloy & Fennel 1998: 453). Thus, tourism can be perceived as more than an industry, why the ethics involve more than corporations and employees. Tourism also involves locals and tourists who are not hired to develop or follow a specific code of conduct, which can be argued to problematise the ethics in their actions. Though, with tourism being one of the most important forces shaping our world (Higgins-Desboilles 2005), it is necessary to consider the ethical behaviour of locals and tourists just as much as those of employees and corporations.

Thus, ethical responsibility and sustainable factors such as community wellbeing, social equity, local control, cultural richness and physical integrity are considered important to consider when designing, managing and planning places. Additionally, an important step in the sustainable development of local tourism places is that locals acknowledge themselves as being hosts rather than a normal, local community (Maretti & Salvatore 2012). Thus, the tourism encounter and the host-guest relationship becomes crucial when creating *"quality places that people want to live, work, play, shop, learn and visit in"* (Wyckoff et al. 2015: 6), as discussed in Section 3.1.1 *The origins and definitions of Place Making*. The following section will outline key factors in a socially sustainable host-guest relationship.

Three Key Factors in a Socially Sustainable Host-Guest Encounter

Sustainable tourism stresses the need to consider the host communities in which tourism revolves, including their roles, benefits and needs (Saarinen & Manwa 2008). Based on the above, it becomes clear that long-term destination sustainability is highly dependent on the residents' and communities' wellbeing and control, yet local voices are often un-prioritised until tourism reaches a level where the host-guest relationship becomes critical (Zhang et al. 2017). Linking this to place-making, the tourism encounter can be argued to affect the Locale (Agnew 1987: 27), as discussed in Section 3.1.3 *The Place in Place Making*. Thus, when a place is perceived as a socially constructed environment where everyday-life takes place, the host-guest encounter becomes crucial.

According to Hanqin Zhang, Daisy Fan, Tony Tse and Brian King (2017), an increased amount of studies have stressed the importance of sustainable destinations and various scholars have designed assessment tools for the measurement of sustainable tourism. Nevertheless, the research tends to neglect the social dimension, and Zhang et al. (2017) argue that a precise measurement tool is non-existent yet urgently needed in order to ensure social sustainability in tourist destinations. Hence, the authors have created *the Scale of Social Sustainability* for tourism with the purpose to evaluate and assess social sustainability in destinations. The key findings in the research shows that three overall indicators comprise a multi-dimensional monitoring of socially sustainable tourism, namely *Host-Guest Conflict, Social Acceptance,* and *Social Tolerance* (ibid.: 74).

- ***The Host-Guest Conflict***

Saarinen and Manwa (2008: 45) define three general contexts for the host-guest encounter:

1) Places and situations where tourists are purchasing goods and/or services from the host
2) Places and situations they are using or occupying at the same time
3) Places and situations in which they meet and share knowledge and ideas

They further argue that the latter is far from always the context, and that the host-guest encounter often results in situations where the tourists needs overrule the hosts' values; 'one's benefit becomes another's loss'.

Consequently, *Host-Guest conflict*, and the relation in general, must be researched in order to indicate the level of impact and dissatisfaction that local residents have regarding tourism in their area. Conflicts can be caused by, for example, inappropriate behaviour, communication problems and different cultural norms (Zhang et al. 2017: 74), and only development which also benefits the locals can prevent these conflicts (Bimonte & Punzo 2016). Therefore, host-guest conflicts are considered vital for the social sustainability, as "*any impacts from tourism causing annoyance or anger in the host community may lead to problems for the long-term sustainable development of the industry*." (Zhang et al. 2006: 184).

Thus, in order to understand the social sustainability of the place it becomes evident to explore the host-guest relationship and how it affects the social and cultural life in the place. In Zhang et al.'s (2017) research, the conflict is measured by quantitative methods. Nevertheless, from a social constructivism stance the focus is not on the quantity of complaints and a fixed measurement of social sustainability. Rather, it is about gaining a deeper understanding and interpretation of the social change and social dynamics that the host-guest conflicts ential, and how this affects the place as well as the local involvement in tourism.

- ***The Social Tolerance and Social Acceptance of Tourists***

Social tolerance refers to "*resident well-being and the competence to get together with tourists*" (Ibid: 74). Zhang et al. (2017) refer specifically to the hosts' tolerance on sharing medical and transportation facilities with tourists, but it can be argued that it is just as important in terms of

sharing your residential or educational area with tourists. In worst cases of failing to develop social tolerance, tourism has been accused for leading people to leave their homes (Goodwin & Francis 2003: 273), which raises serious ethical and sustainable questions about tourism.

Social acceptance indicates to which extent the residents accept and appreciate the presence of and development of tourism in their local area. Compared to tolerance, which indicates whether it is *possible* to live with, accept can be argued to take a step further and indicate whether the residents *accept* to live with it; "*You can tolerate something without accepting it, but you cannot accept something without tolerating it*" (Jefferson 2014).

Thus, one has to decide to which extent the change is acceptable, and whether a socially sustainable city is a place where people are *able* to live, or a place where people *want* to live (Woodcraft 2012). For several decades, it has been a focus to give people the human right to travel and rest (Higgins-Desboilles 2006). However, as Ryan (2002) puts it, all people should equally have the right to expect respect from tourists. Thus, the host and the guest have a mutual role in the social acceptance of each other.

Examples that can impact social acceptance can be how tourism contributes to understand different cultures, and whether public places are kept clean and nice (Zhang et al. 2017: 69), referring to a more physical integrity level. The residents' acceptance of tourism is considered essential for sustainable tourism by several authors, who present various factors that can impact the social acceptance and the social sustainability it entails. Just as Pauline Sheldon and Teresa Abenoja (2000) stress the importance of local control, Salvatore Bimonte and Lionello Punzo (2016: 2) argue that "*the hypothesis put forward is that the success and sustainability of any tourist development is crucially depend on acceptance of tourists and tourist-related plans by the local community*. Whereas Bimonte and Punto's research focuses on the economic exchange being a driver to acceptance, Jiaying Zhang, Robert Inbakaran and Mervyn Jackson (2006) argue that acceptance is dependent on the 'social exchange' (p. 185); the relationship maintenance among the host and the guest. Thus, the social and cultural rewards and costs, as well as the extent of control and transformation, is evident for the willingness to engage and develop a social acceptance (ibid.).

Hence, the host-guest encounter as well as the above-mentioned aims made by UNEP and UNWTO (local control, community wellbeing, social equity, cultural richness and physical integrity), are considered vital factors that shape places where locals live, study and work.

3.2.4 Summary of Social Sustainability Theory

Social sustainability is a fuzzy concept that is related to a myriad of meanings, approaches, politics and social practices. Thus, when dealing with social sustainability, it is evident to define the context of the research, which in this case is urban social sustainability: *the continuing ability of a city to function as a long-term, viable setting for human interaction,*

communication and cultural development (Hilgers 2013: 3). More specifically, it draws on literature that is relevant for the construction of places. As tourism gets close to the everyday lives of locals, it is inevitable that it affects the places they live and work in, both in terms of physical and non-physical matters. Nevertheless, the very same physical and non-physical attributes of a place may also affect the attraction of tourists. Thus, tourism impacts the making of places where people live and work, and in order for it to be more socially sustainable, certain physical and non-physical factors need to be maintained and acknowledged.

4. Analysis of Tourism Impacts on Socially Sustainable Place Making in Ørestad

The following chapter will analyse and discuss four overall subjects that emerged from collected empirical material and the understanding of place making and social sustainability theory. These themes seek to examine how tourism shapes the everyday life in Ørestad, as well as how this impacts the ability of Ørestad Gymnasium and 8Tallet to function as long-term, viable settings for people and the places to evolve. Thus, it will be centred around the following four topics that relate to place making and social sustainability:

1) How tourism affects the locals' feeling of belonging to places in Ørestad
2) The local involvement in the host-guest relationship in Ørestad
3) The role of materiality in everyday urban tourism places in Ørestad
4) The power structure and responsibility of tourism in Ørestad

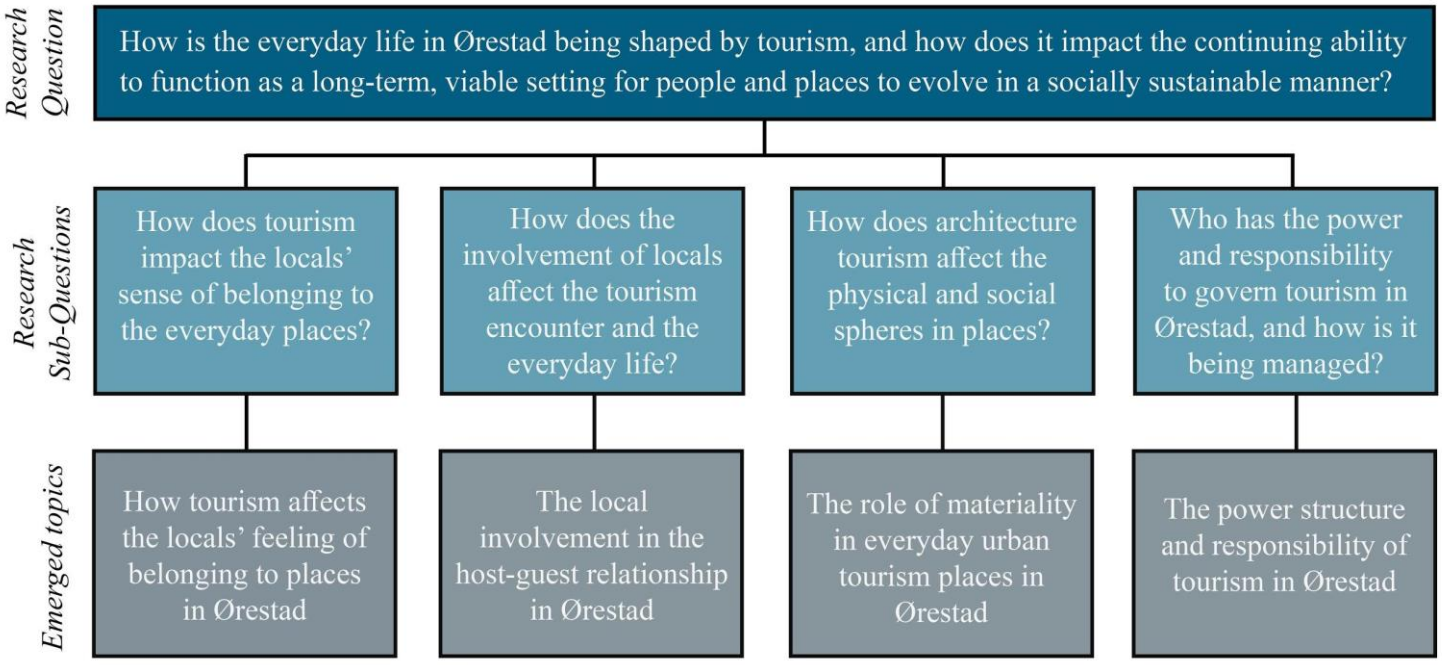

Figure 9: The visualisation of the relationship between the central research question, sub-questions and topics emerging from empirical material and the theoretical reviews. (Source: Figure by authors)

4.1 How Tourism Affects the Locals' Feeling of Belonging to Places in Ørestad

As place making theory shows, there is a great importance in viewing tourism places not only from the obvious economic perspective with a large focus on placemaking, but rather in combination with the often neglected and undervalued socially focused place-making approach (Lew 2017). However, it is more relevant for this research to analyse the social aspect of tourism in place making, as the lives of residents are inevitably affected by tourism (Kim et al. 2012, Sheldon & Abenoja 2000). Hence, this section of the analysis explores how tourists make the locals within 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium feel that they belong to the place they live, work and study in, as this is important for the ability to function as a viable setting for people and places to evolve in the long term.

As argued by Zhang et al. (2006) any anger or frustration in the host community may threaten the long-term sustainability in the place. Both at 8Tallet and the gymnasium, social practices and the wellbeing of residents, students and employees have been challenged to a great extent due to tourism presence. Based on our empirical material, a number of themes have emerged:

The Feeling of Living in a 'Human Zoo'

In newspaper articles from 2013, Jacob Jørgensen, the Chairman of the owners association at 8Tallet, states that the tourist behaviour makes the residents feel like they live in a zoo (Pedersen 2013; Kjær 2013). Despite this being more than four years ago, and despite the fact that tourism has gotten much more controlled (Appendix 5, Appendix 6), our informants still refer to their apartment like this; "*we call it the zoo or the fish tank because all tourists who walk by just stare right into the apartment and at us*". Resident M claims that only tourists stare into the windows, as there is an unspoken rule amongst residents living at 8Tallet that you do not stare in each other's apartments (Appendix 6: 28). Thus, this is an example of the Tourist Gaze (Urry 1992) in practice, where tourists are gazing upon 8Tallet's apartments as those places are perceived as unique and out of their ordinary. This provokes certain negative feelings from the residents living in the place. Several other times in the two interviews, the residents refer to tourists making them feel like animals living in a zoo:

"*(...) I could sometimes sit in a bikini and they would just stop and stare at me, and I would be like 'I'm not an animal*'". *It really is an awkward and unpleasant feeling in your own home.* - Resident, 8Tallet (Appendix 6: 29)

"*They would disturb us if I came out one morning and I had not showered, and I just went out to get some dog food, suddenly you see people standing and asking me how to get up to the top, just like I am a part of the zoo that they are in (...)*" - Resident, 8Tallet (Appendix 6: 23).

"*(...) To speak completely directly it is like being in the Zoo but then just with the Danes, here you can come in and see how the Danes live, I am sure they have marketed it that way (...)*"
- Resident, 8Tallet (Appendix 5: 12).

"*We have fantastic neighbours and a very social building* (...) *you really want to interact with your neighbours and walk into their terrace and have a beer and talk and that is great, but you do not want to have that with strangers that come in and just regard it like being in the zoo with humans, that really was a bother for us because we did not know it would be that bad*" - Resident, 8Tallet (Appendix 5: 14).

When analysing this phenomenon, it becomes clear that tourism has the power to negatively affect the locals. By making people feel like animals being gazed upon in their own homes, one can argue that 'social degradation and exploitation' challenges the quality of life (UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 36). This is inevitable to challenge the development of a quality place with characteristics such as *people-friendly, welcoming and safe* (Wyckoff 2014). Additionally, such animal-references have a strong influence on both Agnew's (1987) socially constructed Locale and sensory Sense of Place. 8Tallet's Locale is constructed through the underlying social processes between locals and tourists in which the locals are feeling gazed upon. As a result, the narratives and meanings created around the place (Cresswell 2004) are consistent as residents independently talk about 'the human zoo'. Thus, it is argued that the presence of tourists influences the Locale level of such place as the meanings that locals give to the place is affected by tourism. If not for the tourist gazing, 8Tallet would most likely not be referred to as a 'fish tank' or 'zoo'.

Additionally, it is claimed that the presence of tourists changed the Sense of Place (Agnew 1987). This relates to the personal and emotional attachment that the residents have with 8Tallet and focuses on the lived performances and experiences (Cresswell 2004). This means that 8Tallet is viewed through everyday sensory practices (ibid.). In this case, the Sense of Place is being affected by large tourism flows making the residents feel like the centre of tourist attention. Residents use words like 'awkward', 'unpleasant' and 'bad' (Appendix 5: 15, Appendix 6: 30, Appendix 7: 49), which embodies their memories from past and current experiences with tourists. With a strong focus on such lived experiences, it can be said that the everyday sensory practices (Cresswell 2004), which tourism influxes bring with them in the form of negative moods and feelings, affect the atmosphere in 8Tallet.

Like at 8Tallet, the cultural richness at Ørestad gymnasium lies in the openness of the building (Appendix 8: 51, 57), but its distinctiveness also brings challenges when having tourists around. According to employee and former student A, one of the major hurdles that tourism brings to the student life at the school is the distraction, which is caused by the gazing mediated through the many open spaces and glass walls to the classrooms (p. 51). Especially for her first year of studies she points to the disturbance of tourists as being problematic (Appendix 8: 50) and she describes; *"sometimes there would be like three or four tourists standing right outside, looking in.. that is obviously going to distract us. So whenever these tourists just walked by we kind of paused"*. (p. 54). She further adds she knows that teachers also finds this distraction

annoying (p. 54). This is an example of the occurring problems when everyday places like public institutions are being transformed into tourism attractions (Maitland 2010). Due to these changing tourism settings, where tourists are appealed to unplanned, authentic everyday places rather than purpose-designed tourism attractions (ibid.), these places have to deal with unaccounted tourism influxes.

In this light, it is argued for tourism to have a vital influence on how locals feel about the places they inhabit and their sense of belonging to such places. When regularly becoming the centre of attention in the middle of a class, your sense of being in a study environment is distracted. The school does not only become a place where you go to learn, it also becomes a place where tourists come to gaze at you. When relating this to place making, including the perspectives from a local level are crucial in the design of quality places, as these make up for a strong Locale and Sense of Place. Furthermore, the gazing is central to the host-guest encounter and raises ethical questions in regard to tourism, which will be further discussed in Section 4.2 *The Local involvement in the Tourism Encounter in Ørestad.*

Disrupting Important Cultural Meanings

The lack of privacy is a topic in most of the examples on tourism life at 8Tallet. The residents explain that they like the openness of 8Tallet because it brings you closer to your neighbours. This openness represents both material and non-material cultural factors (Saarinen & Manwa 2008), as for example the open terasses which bring you closer to your neighbour (Appendix 5: 14) and the many common activities for residents (Appendix 6: 15). The openness is distinctive to the environment and can be perceived as the community's cultural richness, which is evident to maintain during sustainable tourism development (UNEP & UNWTO 2005).

According to UNWTO's Code of Ethics (2001: Article 1), it is important that tourist activities are conducted in harmony and with respect for the local culture. However, when it comes to tourists, they do not always understand how to behave in these open environments. Because of the gazing of tourists, residents M and K have bought their first bathrobe, and at one point tourists made them consider getting curtains and "*closing the whole thing off and say 'this is too much' because it made us feel uncomfortable when people were staring in or just sticking their heads around the wall*" (Appendix 6: 32). Although buying a bathrobe or getting curtains may not seem like a big disruption of everyday life to many people, closing off the openness of the building and the life would go against these locals' principles as they value the open design and culture. This proves that tourism has the power to disrupt traditional social practices and behavioral patterns (Kim et al. 2012) as residents M and K considered changing their usual behaviour because of tourism presence.

Ørestad gymnasium faces similar issues as employee A explains that the openness is what makes the place unique (Appendix 8: 57). Nevertheless, at the same time it functions as an easy access for tourists to the building, which sometimes make the students feel 'uneasy' and ask

themselves "*what are they doing here, are they supposed to be here, are they allowed to be here*?" when seeing tourists (Appendix 8: 51). Eventually the students learn to observe and be aware of tourists and it becomes a part of the everyday student life (p. 51); "*we kind of got used to having cameras in our faces*" (p. 50). Thus, the cultural richness and its distinctiveness (UNEP & UNWTO 2005) may not seem to be threatened by the appearance of tourists (Maretti and Salvatore 2012) as they adapt, and the school continues to provide open classes (Appendix 8). Though, the emotional wellbeing (Kim et al. 2012) of the students is affected in terms of feeling uneasy and uncomfortable when tourists' behaviour does not respect the ethical rules of the community.

Another problem is that residents feel uncomfortable because tourists take pictures of their homes and their pets (Appendix 6: 26, 27). Examples of this is illustrated with the below pictures of 8Tallet found on Instagram, both posted by tourists:

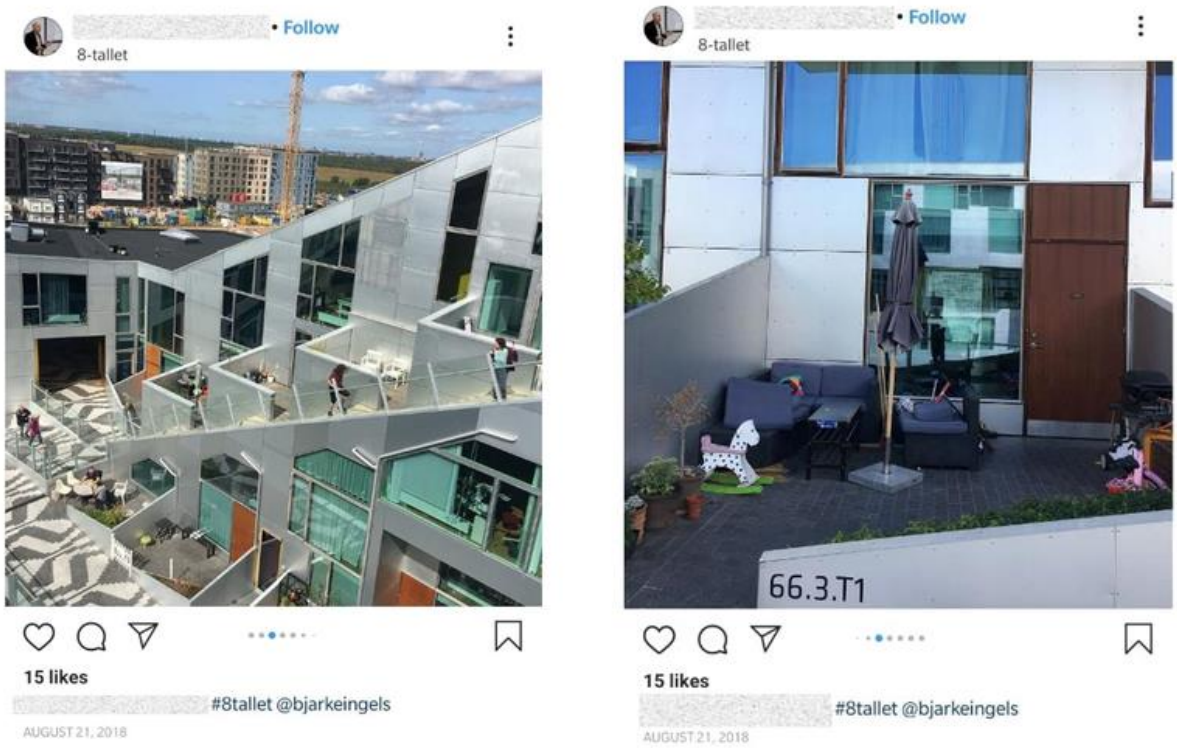

Figure 10: Examples of tourists taking pictures of 8Tallet's apartments, viewing the residents' everyday lives. (Source: Instagram)

As can be seen on the above pictures, visitors take pictures of the residents' apartments and terraces and thereafter upload such photos online, in this case on Instagram. One could understand from these pictures that tourists indeed come very close to the homes of the locals as our informants described in the interviews. Both figures show a photo taken of particular apartments, capturing the private places of residents in 8Tallet. Especially figure 10 captures this well, as a man and a child are sitting around the table outside on their terrace and several others are walking the stairs and the ramp. Besides, the photo views straight into various apartments, though assumptively unintentional, still problematic for the residents' privacy.

Once again, this is an example of tourism behaviour that fails to understand and respect the host community's social and cultural values (UNWTO 2001: Article 1), thus challenging ethics that are fundamental to sustainable tourism.

Tourism at Its Worst Triggered People to Move Away

Furthermore, some problems go beyond the visual boundaries, and confirm that sight*seeing* has turned into sight*doing* where senses and bodily experiences become important (Urry & Larsen 2011). Resident M describes that, especially before the guided tours, there was an issue with the privacy. She tells that a few years ago some of the residents woke up one morning to tourists taking pictures inside their kitchen as the doors towards their terrace were open and people just walked in (Appendix 6: 22). Resident F mentions something similar as the person who lived in the apartment before him decided to move out because of tourists. They would walk into his apartment if his garden door was open, and finally he put up cameras to prove the trespassing of tourists to the other residents (Appendix 5: 12). Resident K states that she thinks a lot of people moved out because of tourism when it was at its worst as residents did not always feel comfortable in their own place (Appendix 6: 29) which challenges their sense of belonging to their own homes. This invasion of private space was worse when tourism was not under control, that being before the guided tours started one year ago (Appendix 6: 23).

Nevertheless, these examples are clear evidence that residents feel an invasion of private space and that the open culture is not respected by tourists and their behaviour. This shows that insufficient ethical behaviour of tourists can have vital consequences for people living in urban architecture spaces, and in worst cases drive them to leave their homes (Goodwin & Francis 2003). Consequently, the social and emotional wellbeing of the locals is impacted negatively, which can be linked to the overall life satisfaction and community wellbeing (Kim et al. 2012). Considering that these feelings occur in their own home raises questions about the residents' rights. For many decades, the emphasis has been on making travel a human right and fundamental freedom for all (WTO 1999). In relation to this, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 24 stresses that "*everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay*" (cited in Higgins-Desboilles 2006: 1197). To travel has become "*a factor of social stability, mutual knowledge and understanding of man and peoples, and the betterment of the individual*" (Ibid.: 1197). This research is not to deny these human rights. However, based on this context of research it can be argued that the social stability and betterment of individuals caused by tourism should not only be centred around the one who travels, but also the one who is affected by the travellers, which is currently neglected. After all, as Jafari (2012) argues, "*We should recognize that a destination is not designed to make tourists comfortable. First and foremost, it is there for its own people*". (Jafari 2012, cited in Kamp 2017). When tourism invades your privacy, impacts your capability to rest in your own home or class, and make you spend your spare-time on managing it, it can be argued that basic human rights are being challenged. Hence, with tourism having such impacts on local communities, it is argued that there is a need to stress the

importance of locals' rights to rest and maintain privacy in the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism.

Not only is there a need for locals' rights to be re-considered, but also for the overlooked focus on developed countries. Whilst UNWTO emphasises the importance of tourism's effects on *developing* countries in particular, our analysis stresses that tourism and the quality of life in *developed* communities should not be neglected in this ongoing battle for sustainable tourism. In the General Assembly Resolution forewords in Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, UNWTO explicitly states that they recognize "*the important dimension and role of tourism as a positive instrument towards the alleviation of poverty and the improvement of the quality of life for all people, its potential to make a contribution to economic and social development, especially of the developing countries, and its emergence as a vital force for the promotion of international understanding, peace and prosperity"* (UNWTO 2001). This thesis is not to neglect how tourism should and can contribute to development in such developing countries, yet we find it important to recognize that developed countries also deal with ethical challenges within tourism.

Thus, these residents' rights are challenged as tourism in everyday places develops and affects the local community, as in the above-mentioned examples. This is due to the increasing interest of tourists to visit unplanned, everyday, authentic places (Maitland 2010). The challenge lies in such places becoming tourist attractions whilst originally not being developed with tourist demands in mind (Stevenson 2010). Such conflicts can be further enhanced through the open features of contemporary architecture (Specht 2014), which will be elaborated further on in Section 4.2.1 *The role of materiality in tourism places and the the local social life*. Important social and cultural practices that are essential to the open culture of those places are clearly being ignored, which threatens the wellbeing of residents. When tourism is not managed well, it challenges the residents' wellbeing in terms of privacy rights and social wellbeing, which suggests that socially sustainable tourism factors should focus on the boundary between private and public space. The notion of privacy means a lot to the quality of life, and it is severely challenged as tourism starts to be more authentic oriented (Maretti & Salvatore 2012). To what extent is it the residents' own responsibility to protect their privacy rights? Do they have to feel like animals and put up gates in their open community? As Robinson and Picard (2006) argue, societies have the right to participate in social practices that shape their cultural identity, but they should also have the right not to. In the light of this analysis, it can be argued that the residents at 8Tallet do not have the right to *not* participate. When this private place is turned public, it clearly affects the place making in terms of social and physical matters, and "*the continuing ability of a city to function as a long-term, viable setting for human interaction, communication and cultural development*." (Hilgers 2013: 3). Consequently, there is a need for place making and social sustainability research to acknowledge that tourism also affects private space, and not only public. Thus, it is argued that locals' rights and the challenges caused by unethical tourism behaviour is highly relevant for decision makers in Ørestad to consider when designing, planning and managing the place. The current responsibility and inclusion of this will be elaborated further in Section 4.4 *The Power Structures and responsibilities in Managing Tourism in Ørestad*.

Adding Social and Cultural Value to the feeling about living or studying in Ørestad

One of tourisms' positive effects to the social sustainability of a local area is the positive cultural and social impact that it can bring, as argued in Section 3.2.3 *Socially Sustainable Development of Tourism Places.*

At Ørestad Gymnasium they do believe that they benefit from tourism through social exchange (Zhang et al. 2006: 185) and cultural inspiration (Maretti & Salvatore 2012). One example is that the first-graders are voluntarily responsible for guiding the many international partner schools around. This provides the students with a positive feeling of importance, engagement and responsibility as they take care of the guests and get to practice their knowledge about their culture (Appendix 8: 56). Furthermore, from one perspective tourism contributes to the inclusion of students and the feeling of belonging to a community in the overall picture, whilst it from another perspective informs the exclusion of students. This will be further elaborated in the next section: 4.2 *The Local Involvement in the Host-Guest Relationship in Ørestad*.

On the contrary, when asking informant M and K whether the local community in 8Tallet gains anything from having tourists, they are clear about the answer:

"*I would actually say that the answer is no. It does not improve the diversity or cultural acceptance or anything like that.. tourist, regardless on where they come from, is by many seen as a nuisance and others are happy about it, but the happiness that comes from tourists is that sometimes you will have a nice chat because they really appreciate when you take the time to talk to them*" (Appendix 6: 31).

As will be discussed in Section 4.2 *The Local Involvement in the Host-Guest Relationship in Ørestad*, this perception of value can be argued to be closely related to M and K's relationship to tourists, which is fairly limited. As theory suggests, the deeper interaction locals have with tourists, the bigger is the chance for tourism to add positive value to the local community (Robinson & Picard 2006, Kim et al. 2012, UNEP & UNWTO 2005). Interaction and social processes are crucial to the place's values, meanings and behaviours (Agnew 1987, Cresswell 2004), why the interaction with tourists becomes crucial for their ability to contribute to these values and meanings.

Also when looking at Ørestad in general, resident M and K are sceptical about tourism's contribution, stating that "*tourism does not create any value to the area*" (Appendix 6: 32), though they say that it would be positive if tourism could result in more shops or cafés (p. 36). All informants explain that currently they feel that Ørestad lacks social life and a vibrant atmosphere, which could result in an indefinite sense of place due to the limited every day sensory practices that take place. Resident L even explains that for social activities she leaves Ørestad and goes to the centre as "*there is nothing really out here. There is no human activity at night, there is no cultural things to do*" (Appendix 7: 39). She further explains that she believes tourism would enhance the social life and would be positive for the place. When looking from a place making perspective, this could imply that the place makers of Ørestad,

By & Havn, should have considered the added value of tourism from the beginning of creating 'bustling neighbourhoods'. However, as will be described in detail in Section 4.4 *The Power Structures and Responsibilities in Managing Tourism in Ørestad*, tourism has been neglected on By & Havn's agenda.

Nevertheless, as employee S from GFS explains, tourism's influence on Ørestad can be considered as a paradox in terms of the fact that residents might think that tourism does not bring much value, but simultaneously they worship the development it entails; "*the residents want to go down at eight in the evening to grab a pizza, but if tourism did not happen there, they would not be able to do this*" (Appendix 10: 72). Thus, he advocates for the importance of tourism in the creation of bustling places, and perceives it as contributing with 'beneficial activities for the host community', referring to article 5 in the Code of Ethics for Tourism (UNWTO 2001). Resident K & M agree that one of the positive impacts of tourism could be the potential drive to open more shops or restaurants, as they see a major need for this, thought they do not find this realistic (Appendix 6: 31). Resident L, who lives nearby 8Tallet in Ørestad Syd, agrees that tourism could make her feel happier about living in Ørestad, as she believes it is necessary for the future of the place to have a more active social life (Appendix 7: 39);

"*The positive effect [of tourism] would be that more shops and more cafés would open out here, because that is really some of the important things during the day that there would actually be people passing by and having a coffee like in Copenhagen city. There are not many possibilities to sit down at many places now for both locals and tourists*" (Appendix 7: 41-42).

More shops and social life would automatically result in residents spending more time in their neighbourhood, and accordingly it would increase the feeling of belonging. Thus, one could argue for the importance of tourism in the creation of quality places with a strong atmosphere where people want to live, work, play, shop, learn and visit (Wyckoff et al. 2015: 6).

Additionally, our informants mention that the interest from tourists makes them aware that they live, work and study in a '*cool*' place. In an interview with resident L who lives in Ørestad South, close to 8Tallet, she describes:

"*It makes you realise again how special the area is when you see tourists taking pictures of the buildings. I know that some people go a bit too close to the apartments and that is a problem, but still this area is beautiful, and it is nice to me reminded by people who come and want to visit it*" (Appendix 7: 41). Besides she adds: "*It [tourists having an interest in Ørestad] makes me feel proud of the place I live in*".

Resident M refers as well to the area being *"a cool place otherwise tourists would not go here*" (Appendix 6: 31). Thus, such notions of feeling proud of your surroundings are being stimulated in this case by the presence of tourism. Hence, tourism could function as an engine for a feeling of belonging by contributing to community pride amongst locals of a specific place (Project for Public Spaces 2007). As Kim et al. (2012) argue, it is important to both community leaders and tourism officials to consider how residents' sense of wellbeing and

feelings about the place is impacted by tourism, as these answers can guide successful planning policies in tourism development. Thus, tourism's role in this development is considered highly relevant for place makers to consider when creating place making strategies.

Summary on How Tourism Affects the Locals' Feeling of Belonging to a Place

This section has outlined the sense of belonging to a place, as this is important for the ability to function as a viable setting for people and places to evolve in the long term. It is described how the presence of tourism makes the residents at 8Tallet feel like they life in a 'human zoo' or 'fish tank', as they feel gazed upon by visitors. The same tourist gaze is present in Ørestad Gymnasium, where students had to get used to be the centre of a tourism attraction. At both places this provoked feelings of discomfort and uneasiness, which is argued to challenge the feeling of belonging to a place. Tourism at its worst even resulted at 8Tallet in residents moving away, pointing towards severe challenges with ethical tourism behaviour in the local community. Hence, it is argued that whenever tourism attacks your privacy, impacts your capability to rest in your own home or class, and make you spend your spare-time on managing it, basic human rights of locals need attention. Thus, not only the tourists' rights to rest and leisure should be taken into account in the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism, as this section shows the importance of including the locals' rights as well.

Opposed to these challenges, opportunities are seen when tourism enter these private places or public institution. The gymnasium uses tourism to create a sense of belonging amongst students as they are being engaged in the guided tours at the school, giving them responsibility to take care of the guests. Additionally, locals feel a sense of proudness towards living in such a 'cool' place due to the large interest of tourists, which enhances the feeling of belonging. Moreover, some locals believe tourism has the power to increase the social life, which is believed to be fundamental to the place. When relating this to place making, it becomes evident that tourism's impact on the feeling of belonging should be a focal point for place makers in Ørestad when managing current tourism places, as well when as planning and designing future architectural hotspots.

4.2 The Local Involvement in the Host-Guest Relationship in Ørestad

"*Sustainable tourism within a community calls for the harmonious relationship between the visitor, the host community, and the place (...)*" (Garrod & Fyall 1998, cited in Sheldon & Abenoja 2000: 436). Thus, in order for a place to function as a viable setting for human interaction and cultural development (Hilgers 2013), it is relevant to analyse how the host-guest relationship unfolds, as well as the local control and willingness to tackle tourism conflicts.

The Paradoxical Host Role

The above section of the analysis suggests that there is a great amount of host-guest conflicts at 8Tallet that affect the community. Host-guest conflicts are necessary to take serious as "*any impacts from tourism causing annoyance or anger in the host community may lead to problems for the long-term sustainable development of the industry.*" (Zhang et al. 2006: 184). Though in this case, it is not the sustainable development of the industry that is threatened, but the ability of the local people and places to evolve in a sustainable manner.

According to Maretti & Salvatore (2012), one of the important things that fosters sustainable tourism in communities is that locals accept their role as hosts. However, this is exactly where challenges and 8Tallet and the gymnasium start.

Firstly, it is worth considering the various contexts for the host-guest encounter (Saarinen & Manwa 2008). At 8Tallet and the gymnasium, the host-guest encounter does not always set place around tourists purchasing services from the locals, or because they meet to share knowledge and ideas. In many circumstances, the encounter can be defined as the locals and visitors sharing a place at the same time (ibid.). Thus, the tourism does not happen in a regular 'tourist space'; 'an area dominated by tourist activities or one that is organised for meeting the needs of visitors' (ibid.: 46). Rather, the tourism encounter happens at places that are considered private and where people live their everyday lives alongside tourism. This is a crucial point in this matter because the place they share is their balcony, living room or classroom. Currently, place making theory is set solely around public spaces, however, this exact example shows the blurring boundaries between publicness and privacy when such private spaces are used by the public. Thus, we claim the importance of looking beyond just public spaces when planning and managing places.

Secondly, it is worth considering the definition of a host; *A person who receives or entertains other people as guests* (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.). This definition of a host may often fit on tourism encounters, though this context deviates from the description since not all residents and students have chosen to function as hosts and to receive or entertain guests. Rather, the role has been imposed. This raises conflicts related to power issues, social acceptance and community wellbeing that are highly relevant to consider;

Among the locals who are not hosts by intention, the acceptance of tourists and the way they perceive the encounter appears to be mixed. For some, the relationship to tourists has been so critical that the hosts' social tolerance (Zhang et al. 2017) of tourists was exceeded. Tourists did not only become something residents at 8Tallet did not accept, but something they could not tolerate to live with, which resulted in people moving out (Appendix 5: 12, Appendix 6: 29). As previously mentioned, this critical host-guest relationship, causing people to leave their homes, is a clear indicator that ethical tourism fails (Goodwin & Francis 2003). Relating this to the Global Code of Ethics for Tourism (UNWTO 2001), local values and behaviour are not respected and understood (article 1), individual and collective fulfilment is prevented (article 2), and it is not a beneficial activity for the host community (article 5).

During an observation at 8Tallet, in which we were just the two of us walking around on a Saturday afternoon, an unwelcoming feeling was strongly sensed: "*When walking across the apartments, residents were visibly looking dissatisfied seeing us walking around in the building. Especially one man sitting on his terrace was constantly watching every move that was made and starred us away"* (Appendix 2: 3). Hence, it was felt that we as visitors were not accepted to walk around at 8Tallet, as various residents were dissatisfied with our appearance. During the observation we would have liked to approach residents for some small-talks about tourism, but the unwelcoming feeling resulted in us not feeling welcome to do so. If tourists share the same experience when visiting, it limits the interaction and automatically distances the hosts from the guests. This may be considered critical as interaction is a vital part of hosts' acknowledgement of tourists, as well as tourists' positive experience, which will be further elaborated under *The Importance of Host-guest Interaction* later in this chapter. Thus, from this perspective it is argued that locals who are not officially hosts have a limited social acceptance of tourists at 8Tallet. It is argued that this unwelcoming atmosphere challenges the Sense of Place for both tourists and locals. When feeling unwanted in a place as a tourist, the lived experience is negatively affected. As well, receiving undesired visitors affects the daily sensory practices of locals. However, as a strong Sense of Place is argued to be important for quality places (Cresswell 2004, Project for Public Spaces), it suggests that the presence of tourism challenges the quality of the place for locals.

This unwelcoming feeling was further provoked at Ørestad Gymnasium where we sensed that teachers and students gave an "*obviously bothered and annoyed look*" (Appendix 3: 4). The two tourists who were touring around the gymnasium did clearly not feel the same, stating that "*it seems quite relaxed here [at Ørestad Gymnasium] regarding us tourists*" (Appendix 4: 8). This different perception can be due to expectations and cultural norms, though it may also have something to do with our role as researchers and awareness of the problems with tourism despite the observation at the gymnasium being conducted *prior* to the interview with our informant. Nevertheless, it made us sense that the teachers did not appreciate tourists to be around.

Conversely, most students, who are *official* hosts at the gymnasium, enjoy the guiding and the meeting with the guests as they benefit from it themselves (Appendix 8: 55). One example is that the first-graders are voluntarily responsible for guiding the many international partner

schools around and at the same time practice their language skills and knowledge. This host-role provides the students with a positive feeling of 'importance', 'inclusion' and 'responsibility' as they take care of the guest experience (Appendix 8: 56). Besides, the students often establish new friendships with these visitors (Ibid.: 56). Thus, the guided tours contribute to social exchange (Zhang et al. 2006) and cultural inspiration (Saarinen & Manwa 2008). In this light, the host-guest relationship contributes to community wellbeing (UNEP & UNWTO 2005) in the sense that when students perceive the positive social impact of tourism, their satisfaction with the community wellbeing is strengthened, as linked by Kim et al. (2012). However, it is crucial to note that only a limited number of students get to be actively engaged as official hosts. This exclusion entails certain challenges, which we will come back to under *Challenges and Opportunities of Local Involvement in Tourism* in this section of the analysis.

How Gazing and Cultural Diversity Impacts the Host-Guest Relationship

When residents and students are not in direct contact with the tourists, the host-guest relationship is based upon gazing. Despite the lack of contact, this performance that has been argued to have a vital impact and reflect tourist's power over places and locals since 1990 (Urry & Larsen 2011).

As touched upon in Section 4.1 *How Tourism Affects the Locals' Feeling of Belonging to Places in Ørestad*, gazing makes residents at 8Tallet feel like they live in a Zoo, which can be considered a clear indicator on gazing informing a negative relationship to the tourists. In fact, it threatens the acceptance of them as it entails that residents are willing to make physical changes to their home to avoid the contact (Appendix 1: 1, Appendix 2: 3, Appendix 6: 28). Resident M refers to direct host-guest conflicts as a result of gazing, where she confronted a tourist taking pictures of their home and dog. When she asked the person to delete the photos: "*This particular person just laughed at me and walked away and I got really really mad, but what can I do?*" (Appendix 6: 26). With such negative interaction and attitudes amongst hosts and guests it is "*hard to believe that tourism can develop in a sustainable way*" (Zhang et al. 2006: 183).

During our participant observation around Ørestad with the two tourists, it became very obvious that they were performing the gaze everywhere. Figure 11 illustrates how they were climbing upon blocks and pillars to take pictures and gaze inside apartments at VM-huset:

Figure 11: Tourist gazing at the residential VM-mountain, Ørestad. (Source: Photograph by authors)

Employee A from Ørestad Gymnasium also comments on the gazing: *"I started in 2014, and I think throughout that year I experienced maybe three or four times where a tourist had his or her camera very close to my face. (...) they were just standing on the other side of the glass taking pictures. They were not even thinking about that we were just looking at them like "really?""* (Appendix 8: 53). As earlier discussed, these statements and actions bring up questions about tourists' perceptions of the residents' rights of privacy. Should it be given that you accept to be an object for exhibition, only because you want to live or study in a nice building, where openness may be a core value? As has already been illustrated in several other examples of this analysis, the gazing does not meet the ethics of tourism behaviour as locals' privacy is not being respected (UNWTO 2001, article 1) though the tourists claim to gain a better understanding of the Danish culture during this tour with statements such as "*The Danes are so open compared to Americans, it is like they are not hiding behind these facades, I love it*" (Appendix 3: 15).

However, it should be noted that the gaze is also mutual. This means that gazing is not only an action of guests towards hosts, but just as well the other way around (Maoz 2006). An example of 'mutual gazing' (ibid.: 222) in the setting of 8Tallet can be viewed in figure 12 below. This picture was take by resident K from her apartment, where she was gazing at the tourists. She posted the picture on Instagram and included the hashtag #everydaylife. It is argued that here,

the power of gazing is repositioned from the tourists to the locals as the usual positions are swapped.

Figure 12: #Everydaylife: Resident taking picture of tourists outside her apartment in 8Tallet, Ørestad (Source: Instagram)

After finding this picture on Instagram during our netnography, an interview was conducted with the resident posting this, to create a better understanding of the meaning behind it. Resident K describes that she made this hashtag because tourists have indeed become a part of her everyday life, as tourists gaze and take pictures outside her window every day (Appendix 6: 27). According to Gillespie (2006), the reverse gaze often results in shame and discomfort when the photographee notices and gazes back at the photographer. This can be directly linked to resident K's explanation of how tourists react when they see her observing them from behind her window (Appendix 6: 27).

As Urry's (2002) 2.0 version suggests, gazers can be from various countries and cultures, and their culture is likely to affect the way they gaze (Larsen 2014). The locals in Ørestad bring this statement to life as they clearly describe how some guests create worse problems than others, referring to Asians in general and Chinese specifically. According to resident F, the Chinese have a 'special approach of being tourists' (Appendix 5: 12) and refer to how they invade the space to take pictures and then leave again (p. 11). At Ørestad Gymnasium it is also mostly 'Chinese' or generally 'Asians' who are argued to perform the gazing (Appendix 8: 53), and employee A explains how their idea of space is important to the host-guest relationship:

"*In Asia they do not have this comfort zone, this idea of private space, so the Europeans kind of keep their distance and are more respectful.*" (ibid.: 51).

In a short interview with a kinder garden in Ørestad they also mention Asians as the biggest challenge because they stop and stare and take pictures of the kids playing outside (Appendix 15: 84). However, before relating all gazing challenges to the Asians, it is worth considering that these statements may tend to be impacted by assumptions. This argument is based on the statement by resident M, in which she distinguishes gazing behaviour based on nationality, though her expectations were 'surprisingly' wrong: "*Chinese tourists are actually not the worst. They are not the ones who take the pictures and do not care.. Italians are also not bad, the Germans are not bad.. it is the Spanish! Really odd.*" (Appendix 6: 26).

Nevertheless, these examples show that there exists a diversity in how people from different backgrounds behave and gaze in places. As theory suggests, conflicts often arise due to different cultural norms (Zhang et al. 2017), and negative impacts like these will most likely be increased if tourism is not well planned, managed and developed (Zhang et al. 2006). Thus, as tourism flows consist of so many cultures each shaping the place in their own way, it is deemed relevant for place makers to consider such cultural diversities all sharing one place. In this case, the places are planned and designed with locals in mind but utilized by tourists with many different backgrounds as well. However, current place making theory insufficiently takes into account the role of tourists. This potentially opens up for a deeper analysis and future research on how different cultural behaviour impacts the host-guest relationship and affect how people from different backgrounds coexist in such everyday places (Bacon & Caistor-Arendar 2014), though this is beyond the scope of this thesis.

UNEP & UNWTO (2005) emphasise that this cultural incompatibility can affect the community wellbeing, and one of the advice in order to address the challenge is to influence the behaviour of tourists towards local communities' (ibid. p. 37). Consequently, they suggest that information about "*the nature of the host community, their values and any particular sensitivities*" should be provided before and during the visit (ibid. p. 37). At Ørestad Gymnasium they do not have any online rules regarding gazing and picture taking among the other visitor rules (Ørestad Gymnasium, n.d.). However, at 8Tallet they have developed their own tourism policy and Code of Ethics which is presented on their website and on-site. Two of them specifically link to gazing and picture-taking (8tallet, n.d.):

- Feel free to take pictures of the scenic view and the architecture, but please avoid taking pictures of our private homes (this includes backdrops for 'selfies')
- Please keep in mind this is a residential area and do not stare into the homes

Despite this attempt to inform people about the community values, this analysis claims that these issues are clearly still relevant, meaning that UNEP & UNWTO's advice about providing information is not comprehensive. Moreover, additional rules about opening hours and maximum numbers of guests, they have tried to adjust tourism to the social carrying (UNEP & UNWTO 2005: 36) of the community in terms of volume, timing and location of tourists. Thus,

this shows that locals do not have the power to affect the tourism behaviour, which suggests the need for local authorities to act and contribute with regulations.

The Importance of Host-Guest Interaction

Tourism encounter involves the meeting of two populations whose attitudes, expectations and experiences may be different (Bimonte & Punzo 2016). As the above section suggests, the host-guest relationship is often based on gazing, which in this case has a negative effect on the wellbeing of residents and the host-guest relationship. For the ones who are not official hosts, that being involved in the guiding, it can be argued that it becomes critical if gazing is the only fundament for their relationship to tourists, since this encounter occurs in their private spheres daily.

However, despite not being guides, M and K from 8Tallet state that they still interact with tourists, though it can be discussed whether this makes them *appreciate* their presence:

"*It is not like when we see a tourist we start throwing things at them [laughing] it is not like we hate them.. It has gone much better with the tourism groups. When I sit outside and work and tourists stop by and start asking me something I will of course turn around and talk about the building*" (Appendix 6: 27).

M further explains that approximately one out of five tourists approach them with questions when they meet. This interaction can be perceived as important since it may lead them into the important host-role (Maretti & Salvatore 2012) and result in social acceptance (Zhang et al 2017). However, the fact that she says that she 'of course' talks to them may suggest that she generally finds the interaction something that is given, an obligation for her role as a local.

Sheldon & Abenoja (2000: 436) argue that *tourists*' experience to a wide extent is affected by the "*nature, depth, and quality of their interaction with local residents".* Shifting the focus from tourists to locals, it may also be argued that their subjective experience of tourists is affected by the nature and quality of interaction with tourists. Thus, if one out of five guests approaches a resident to ask about the building, the value of the interaction may be taken for granted because it lacks quality and depth, which makes it is less likely to have a positive influence. Resident M indirectly refers to this by stating that:

"Nobody here interacts with the tourists in a way where they give you any valuable input in your lifestyle. Only when the tourists contact us because once you get used to having everywhere between two and 70 in a day, it becomes the normal standard that you are just a part of, without noticing it anymore" (Appendix 6: 31).

In that case, *any* interaction is not necessarily equal to a healthy host-guest relationship, because it becomes a normal standard in their everyday.

Nevertheless, despite saying that no one gains value for interacting with guests, the residents give examples of how they have invited three tourists in their home for tasting Danish snaps, and a Spanish Airbnb couple in for a drink, stating that *"then the tourists became something that gave us value because we got to know somebody new"* (Appendix 6: 31). Thus, when the interaction becomes more personal, the social and cultural impact on the community development is naturally valuable (Kim et al. 2012). Such notions of hostmanship, in which locals make tourists feel welcome, contributes to the overall experience of the place for both hosts and guest.

Hence, it is argued that both Agnew's (1987) Locale and Sense of Place are affected by such encounters. The everyday environment where social life takes place is being shaped by the relations between these hosts and tourists, as their interactions result in the creation of meaning, values and specific behaviours (ibid.). Additionally, the Sense of Place relates to the relationship we have with a place. As tourism flows are a large part of both 8Tallet and the gymnasium, it certainly affects the relationship locals have with the places. This embodies their memories regarding tourism from the past, the current experiences they have with tourists and hopes for the future of the place (Project for Public Spaces 2015).

Challenges and Opportunities in Managing Tourism at a Local Level

If not planned well, tourism can have a severe damage on a host-community's social well-being, why it is crucial to involve and align with locals; "*Sustainable tourism cannot be successful without involving those who are affected by tourism*" (Sheldon & Abenoja 2000: 435).

Resident F explains that due to tourism being a big problem for him and his wife, and the failure of previous solutions, they decided to dedicate their spare time to develop a guided tour service at the building. This was in April 2018 (Appendix 5: 12), more than four years after the tourist challenges were discussed in the newspapers as highly problematic for the residents (Pedersen 2013; Kjær 2013). This witnesses the problematic that tourism often has to become highly critical before residents' voice are being heard (Zhang et al. 2017), albeit in this case the residents themselves ended up reacting to their own voices. The locals become place makers at their own residency, as they step into an important role of designing, planning and managing the place. This initiative is an example of Jacob's (1961) view on place making where she argues that the citizens should take ownership of the streets. However, this situation shows that in practice is it not necessarily positive to let locals take this control, as many challenges arose which could have arguably been avoided if tourism problems were being dealt with from above on an earlier stage. Besides, as occurs from the interview with resident F, they were 'forced' to develop tours in order to manage tourism and create a livable place (Appendix 5: 11). Thus, it is argued that this place-making from below does not take an organic approach but rather is intentional and planned.

In order to manage such guided tours at 8Tallet, a group of dedicated residents was established. Everyone who wants to join the group is welcome, and it consists of people who engage for different incentives;

"*it is balanced by people who have had or maybe still have problems with tourists, and the other side those who think that tourists are wonderful and that we should have as many as possible"* - resident M from 8Tallet (Appendix 6: 23).

Resident F also touches upon the different viewpoints, stating that; *"(...) a lot of our neighbours did not really see the problem because the ones having a balcony do not feel the same problems as we have with the terraces"*. Accordingly, he explains that it is him who makes the final decisions on when to talk in groups of tourists and when it is too many; "*I will do that. The one controlling the email will do that. But of course it is a decision influenced by the board and the tourist group where the volunteers are*". With input from the residential meetings, resident F describes that it is the guide who personally decides where to go and what to tell people, though with guidelines from the board. This position to decide where, when and how often the guided tours will take place automatically result in uneven delegation of power in the local community. This is particularly interesting as he comments that this solution challenges good neighbourhood-ship; "(...) *the concept about being a neighbour that is in charge has really enhanced the social discipline because then residents can be mad at their neighbours instead of tourists*" (Appendix 5: 20).

Observations during the guided tour at 8Tallet illustrates how the guided tours, different interests, and the delegation of power can cause neighbour-conflicts;

The first observation on this delegation of power happened when the first participant observation at 8Tallet was about to start. As we joined a tour with 35 students, two tour guides were intended to show up in order to divide the pressure of tourism presence. However, one guide never showed up, and the other guide excused by saying "*she must have been sick or forgotten*", without trying to get in contact with her (Appendix 1: 1). This entails several problematics. First of all, it is necessary to divide the groups when more than 20 people in order to respect the residents' privacy, as described by resident F (Appendix 5: 15). Second of all, the reaction of the guide reveals that the local control is not always under control, and that the tour guides do not have a relationship that is either close or professional enough to contact each other, which questions how these tours contribute to the community wellbeing.

Whereas some residents passed the large group of 35 children and kindly smiled and greeted the guide, other residents avoided eye-contact and rushed inside their apartments when seeing the group, making guests feel less welcome (Appendix 1: 2). During this tour one of the residents "*looked visibly annoyed through the curtains from her apartment and pulled the curtains further down in a hostile manner*" (p. 2). This resulted in the guide moving the group a few meters away from this particular apartment, which arguably illustrates that we were not the only ones who felt the dissatisfaction. Thus, the socially sustainable tourism encounter

should not consider the host-guest relationship and conflicts, but also about "host-host" conflicts and acceptance.

Figure 13 illustrates the big group of children standing outside people's apartments:

Figure 13: Resident/tour guide shows a group of 35 pupils around the building at 8Tallet, Ørestad. March 20, 2019. (Source: Photograph by authors)

Thus, from one perspective, it can be argued that whatever the motive is to engage, it ensures that locals voices are being heard, and enables them to address the problems when the willingness is there to do so. Sheldon & Abenoja (2000: 436) refers to the important role of 'resident responsive tourism', an emphasis for active and community-wide engagement in the management of tourism. The involvement of residents, they describe, can result in tourism being "*a function of their ability to control and influence decision-making in their community" (ibid. p. 436).* However, as these residents' statements explicitly stresses, there is a clash between the interests in tourism being something you want to support the development of, or something you feel the need to engage in to control the negative impacts. At this point of writing, the tours at 8Tallet have only been in action for one year, and for the first time, tourism was not on the agenda at the last general assembly (Appendix 5: 16). This may be considered as something positive, which it was for resident F. However, it may also be considered that if tourism becomes something that is not on the agenda at general meetings because some residents steer the local control, it becomes harder for the community to maintain a common ground and accommodate all voices with different mindsets about tourism. As discussed in Section 3.2.3 *Socially Sustainable Development of Tourism Places*, research shows that

different personal interests and values in a community can result in internal conflicts (Richards & Hall 2000).

This becomes particularly relevant when reflecting upon the fact that 8Tallet inhabits more than 1400 residents, and only 20 of these are guides with only 10 being 'very active' (Appendix 5: 13). One problematic is the financial benefits that derives from tourism. At 8Tallet, the economic benefit from being involved is the DKK500 from each tour, which is going directly to the tour guide (Appendix 5: 15). This may increase the willingness to engage and social acceptance of tourist development (Zhang et al. 2006), but at same time it may cause internal conflicts (Richard & Hall 2000). Another challenge is the ability to be involved. When asking residents K and M why they did not join the group, they explained that they went to the first meeting but realised that they did not have time (Appendix 6: 23). More residents do have the chance to join the guided tours and possess this power, but as stated by Hall (2003), the power to make decisions will always be unevenly delegated in communities due to access to resources such as money, knowledge and time. As Project for Public Spaces (2015) states: "*It takes a place to create a community, but also a community to create a place*". Thus, this uneven delegation of power and financial benefits can be said to challenge the social equity in the community.

Consequently, the current solution raises questions about the delegation of power that are considered vital to sustainability of the future development (Richard & Hall 2000). Although Karacor (2014) argues that top-down place making can lead to social problems because it does not benefit all, it can also be argued to be problematic to leave the responsibility entirely to the local communities. As power imposes one's will or advance one's own interest (Reed 1997), it can create internal tensions if some individuals' interests inform the tourism development in a way that is not considered right for the collective good. Hence, conflicts may not only arise when external stakeholders join the development of places, but may also be facilitated by local control.

The Risk of Commoditizing Culture Through Guided Tours

Residents that are guides at 8Tallet naturally interact with guests at tours, which often result in a more engaged experience. For example, resident F describes how many of the local guides, including himself, often invite guests inside their apartments to show them how they live. This illustration of the Danish family life and culture is, as he argues, really appreciated by tourists (Appendix 5: 13, 15) and informs the contemporary tourist desire to experience local and authentic cultures (Maretti & Salvatore 2012) and daily lives in everyday places (Maitland 2010). In addition, this gesture adds a social and cultural exchange to the encounter as it gives both parties insight in the values of different cultures (Appendix 5: 15). Hence, in this case the interaction between people result in the creation of values and meanings around the place, which is how Agnew (1987) and Cresswell (2004) approach the Locale of a place.

Voluntarily letting tourists into your private and personal sphere suggests that the active hosts are likely to accept the tourists, especially taking into consideration that 'privacy' is one of the major conflicts of debate at 8Tallet. As argued by Hilger (2013) it is likely that the acceptance and tolerance of tourists is increased when locals invest their time and energy in the encounter. From one perspective, it can be argued that keeping such close host-guest relationships and a local focus with apartment-tours prevent that important cultural meanings and social practices are being ignored, and give rise for new cultural input (Robinson & Picard 2003). However, it is not only fixed buildings which are being commoditized, as Cresswell and Hoskins (2008) give examples of. Conceptualising the everyday life throughout guided tours may result in the residents transforming the everyday practices into a commercial and staged setting, risking to distance it from the present values of the local community (Saarinen & Manwa 2008). This can be argued to be problematic for the meaning of the local culture and authenticity in the long term, which has been the case in many tourist destinations where local culture is translated and packaged (Robinson & Picard 2006; Greenwood 1977). Accordingly, the conceptualization and translation may not only affect the tourists' experience, but also alienate other residents from their own place (Cartier & Lew 2005). This commodification can be argued to develop if 8Tallet creates more strategies to meet the tourists needs. One example is that they are currently thinking about putting up boards with information for guests who come by, transforming the hallway into a 'museum' (Appendix 5: 17). Additionally, they are talking about adjusting the prices so that it is cheaper for two, four or six people to go on a guided tour (Appendix 5: 15-16). If this results in more visitors booking guided tours, it may be positive since less people will walk around on their own, though it also automatically increases 8Tallet's role as an official commodity. Such actions raise questions on whether the tourism is considered as something that needs to be managed, or as a profitable business, something which the residents are currently not agreeing upon (Appendix 6: 23).

Thus, the commodification that is facilitated when hosts sell their everyday life stories in order to impress the guests may challenge the cultural richness and community wellbeing at 8Tallet in the long term. Consequently, it becomes evident that the more people are involved as hosts and have a meaningful interaction with the guests, the better is the chance for developing a place that functions as *"a long-term, viable setting for human interaction, communication and cultural development*" (Hilgers 2013: 3). Nevertheless, in its current settings, the involvement is limited, and power is unevenly delegated within the community, leaving your neighbour to have an impact on your daily life.

Guided Tours - A Driver for Inclusion at Ørestad Gymnasium

So far it has become clear that the tourists have become an integrated part of the daily life at Ørestad gymnasium, though it can affect them negatively to be obvious objects of the tourist gaze (Urry 1992). Consequently, there needs to be a driver in order for the students and employees to think positively about tourism's impact on their daily life at the school; the rewards have to be higher than the costs (Zhang et al. 2006). According to employee A, this is also the case. When being asked if the positive things overrule the negative, she states:

"*Yes at least I feel like that. I feel like the school knows how to handle the tourists, they kind of have a system for everything so they do not become a problem.. but if they [the tourists] could come and go as they pleased, I think that would be a problem" (p. 56).*

Similar to 8Tallet, Ørestad Gymnasium has a group of teachers and selected students who have been accepted to do guided tours and are taught what to say and which rules apply. As an important example of the positive effects of tourism, she explains that all of the money from the guided tours are sponsored to a student foundation which, among other things, helps students with financial problems to join the class trips. "*It is very important for us that everyone can go on these tours, since this are the moments that a class really connects, so we want everyone to be included*" (Appendix 8: 56). This economic opportunity from tourism helps ensuring that the disadvantaged people in the community have access to the social life (Hilgers 2013). Moreover, it can be argued to increase the feeling of 'communitas'; to belong to a social system (Blackstock 2005), which has a great effect on the wellbeing of those students that otherwise would not be able to join their fellow classmates on a study trip. According to employee A, it is popular among the students to become a guide and everyone can apply (Appendix 8: 56). This is important to the feeling of belonging to the place, a subject which was discussed in the previous section of the analysis. Thus, in this case tourism informs social inclusion and social equity, and is considered to support important ethics in the sense that it becomes a beneficial activity for the host community, as well as a vehicle for individual and collective fulfilment (UNWTO 2001: article 2, article 5). However, only a few students from each class get to be representatives (Appendix 8: 56), meaning that the guided tours can also facilitate the feeling of exclusion from the community, which challenges the social sustainability (Richard & Hall 2000).

Moreover, the guided tours offer benefits in terms of economic (Bimonte & Punto 2016) or social exchange and prestige (Zhang et al. 2006). The students who do the guided tours at the gymnasium are granted with lunch-tickets which they can use in the cantina, and at the end of the education they receive a diploma for being a 'change maker', which they can use to get points when they apply for further education or jobs (Appendix 8: 56). Once again, excluding remaining students from this can cause tensions and create unequal terms in the community as only some people will benefit from the tourism. If the social, cultural and financials rewards inform the social acceptance of tourists, it may have the opposite effect on people who do not directly receive these benefits.

Conversely, employee A describes that the teachers do not gain anything extra from handling the tourists, as this is a part of their job at the gymnasium (Appendix 8: 56). Interestingly, our participant observation shows that not all teachers act like they are supposed to when noticing visitors that are obviously not allowed to be at the school. In fact, no one reacted:

"*Walking around Ørestad gymnasium while joining the two tourists, several teachers gave, what we could feel, an obviously bothered and annoyed look, which made us, as researchers, feel uncomfortable being there. Two teachers passed by on the staircase while the tourists took pictures from the inside architecture. The teachers did not say anything but were clearly*

distracted by the tourists in their conversation and not amused with their presence." (Appendix 3: 4).

It is worth noting that prior to this, the two tourists were clearly making other people aware of their presence and the fact that they were visitors. When we spotted them, they were jumping around on bean bags with bottles of wine next to them, speaking loudly in an American accent. It is argued being critical when tourists bring alcohol into a high school in which the majority of students are underaged. Once again, the current way tourism is managed and controlled raises clear ethical questions about the tourism behaviour's respect and understanding for the nature of the host environment (UNWTO 2001, article 1). Figure 14 illustrates how you could see the two tourists from a distance:

Figure 14: Tourists jumping around at Ørestad Gymnasium while the bottles of wine stick out above the paper bags that are placed in the open. (Source: Photograph by authors)

Once we approached them, we stayed at the same location for at least 15 minutes whilst conducting an interview with the American tourists. Several teachers noticed us, though no one came nearer. Thus, the teachers occur to be less willing to address tourism problems in terms of trespassers at the school, than stated by employee A in the interview. This may be related to the lack of benefits but, coming back to the discussion about the host role, it is also worth considering that the teachers did not choose to be a part of the tourism, and that they may not enjoy the confrontations that this role entails. As discussed previously in this section, the teachers are passively delegated responsibilities and expected to act to tourism problems, and one can argue that power is used to pass on responsibilities to the teachers that they may not

prefer. This opens up for considerations about the community wellbeing (UNEP & UNWTO 2005), and the power to delegate responsibility within the community (Richard & Hall 2000). Is it socially sustainable to expect employees, whos job is to teach students, to take a role which entails an ongoing responsibility of questioning and confronting other people's presence? Additionally, this ability of people to walk in and consume alcohol and the lack of control to distinguish between students and visitors in the building raises a large safety issue. Though out of the scope of this thesis, it is undoubtedly relevant to consider in the light of the effects of tourism on the risk management of public institutions.

Hence, the local control may function as a positive factor for the social sustainability and well-being of the community, but it is worth noting that it may also function as a barrier. Despite the fact that local control and tourism groups can result in the expansion of networks and relations within the community (Robinson & Picard 2006), they also cause challenges for the community. Consequently, it is important to be aware of social structures, the rights to participate or not to participate, and to reflect upon how the community's interests and values developed when their 'ordinary way of life' is turned into an 'extra-ordinary experience' (Maretti & Salvatore 2012: 11).

Summary on the Local Involvement in the Tourism Encounter in Ørestad

In order to develop and maintain a place that functions as a viable setting for human interaction and cultural development in the long term, it is vital that the host-guest relationship is good, and that the locals involve themselves in the tourism encounter. One of the main challenges is that a majority of the locals cannot be considered official hosts for several reasons. This means that some are included whilst others are excluded. For those excluded, the encounter is primarily centred around gazing, which influences the experience and social acceptance of tourists negatively. When hosts and guests interact, it increases the chance for tourism to contribute with social and cultural impacts, which is often considered positive.

Nevertheless, one has to be aware of this interaction and relationship not to develop into a commodification of the culture, meaning that the cultural authenticity disappears and collapses. This is likely to happen when locals translate the culture into guided tours and start to develop and plan tourism in order to make it a profitable business. Moreover, as the control of tourism is highly local, it creates an imbalance of power and social equity in the communities. At 8Tallet, it is concerning that only 10 out of 1400 residents are actively engaged, as this means that they get to set the agenda for the tourism and only they benefit from it economically. At Ørestad Gymnasium it is likewise only a few students per class who are selected as 'change makers', though more students benefit from the tourism due to its economic contribution to the student foundation. Thus, tourism raises several ethical questions regarding mutual understanding and respect, individual and collective fulfillment, sustainable development and it being a beneficial activity for the host community, who become place makers. These challenges are crucial for external place makers in Ørestad to consider in order to develop a viable setting where tourism and locals can evolve in the long term.

4.3 The Role of Materiality in Everyday Tourism Places in Ørestad

As described by Lasansky and McLaren (2004) and Specht (2014), architecture can function as a pull factor for tourism. It is argued that this is indeed the case in Ørestad as the uniqueness of both 8Tallet and the gymnasium attracts tourists from over the world to visit the buildings and to gaze upon its outstanding architecture. This relates to Cresswell and Hoskins (2008) view on locations, as both 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium are being commoditized due to their physical and tangible materiality. As UNEP and UNWTO (2005) describe, the physical integrity of the materiality and aesthetic quality is considered "*an important aim intrinsically from the environmental perspective, as well as affecting the wellbeing of local people".* Moreover, they argue that it is *"critically important for the long-term health of the tourism industry as the physical attractiveness of destinations is a key element of their appeal to visitors*" (ibid.: 39). In this case, the impact from this commodification on the local wellbeing is particularly relevant to consider, as the commodity consists of homes and educational institutions where long-term social factors are vital to the everyday lives. Challenges and opportunities naturally arise when unintentionally inviting large amounts of visitors to everyday places that are built without such tourism flows in mind. However, when researching into socially sustainable place making, the materiality of the buildings is often overlooked as a powerful mediator.

Take for example Social Life's understanding of social sustainability in places: "*Social sustainability combines design of the physical realm with design of the social world – infrastructure to support social and cultural life, social amenities, systems for citizen engagement, and space for people and places to evolve*". This shows that the physical realm is taken into account when understanding social sustainability. However, the architecture of the places is neglected in their understanding of the physical realm, and so is it by Woodcraft (2012). This thesis claims the importance of including the role of materiality in the shaping of socially sustainable tourism places due to the large tourism flows that it attracts. Especially contemporary tourism can be challenging in an urban tourism setting, due to the openness of its design, blurring the boundaries between public and private spheres and inviting tourism into the lives of locals. Thus, this analysis section seeks to analyse how a combination of tourism and architecture shapes the places of 8Tallet and Ørestad gymnasium.

The Dark Side of Attractive Contemporary Architecture

In Specht's (2014) interview with the architect Thomas Krüger, he states that a combination of an iconic and appealing form, together with an easy accessibility, would work best in architecture as this allows the *tourist* for a spatial experience of the architecture. However, looking from a *local's* perspective, one should question if an appealing form and easy accessibility is that desirable if this means that outsiders are easily invited into the building as well.

When researching into both cases of 8Tallet and Ørestad gymnasium, it becomes obvious that attractive architecture developed with the demands of locals in mind has the ability to develop into tourism attractions (Stevenson 2010, Specht 2014). Bjarke Ingels, the architect behind 8Tallet, confirms this: *"In this situation the buildings' attraction has irrefutably made it into a destination which awakens interest outside Ørestad - and outside Denmar*k" (Pedersen & Habermann 2013, translated from Danish).

The contemporary architecture of such everyday places seems attractive, innovative and transformative; the large top to bottom panoramic windows invite in plentiful light, and accessible open spaces let locals connect. This can be seen in figure 15 below. However, this way of designing transparent and unique buildings and cities challenges the livability of these places when they become magnets for architecture tourism.

Figure 15: Large windows and accessible communal path at 8Tallet, Ørestad. April 14, 2019.

In the case of 8Tallet, the architect behind the building, Bjarke Ingels, had the idea to build an entire village in one building, resembling an Italian mountain village (Pedersen & Habermann 2013). The 8Tallet location is so large, that the project actually balances between housing and entire urban planning. His architecture firm 'BIG' has put a lot of emphasis on creating easily accessible apartments that invite neighbours to meet and children to play together on the

connecting communal pathway (ibid.), as can be seen on figure 15 above. However, in practice this communal ramp does not only invite locals, as resident F explains: "*There were people at 8Tallet that had this idea that 8Tallet should be a building where everyone is welcome and should be open to everybody. Unfortunately, then you welcome a lot of strangers too"* (Appendix 5: 11).

As a result of such attractive contemporary architecture, locals do not only interact with their neighbours, fellow students or co-workers, they are also forced to deal with tourist encounters, which are described in the two previous sections of the analysis. Section 4.2 *The Local Involvement in the Host-Guest Relationship in Ørestad* describes that currently the encounter between locals and tourists often happens through the gaze (Urry 1992). This theory is specifically interesting in the open, transparent setting of Ørestad's contemporary architecture, inviting the eyes of gazers inside. This is an example of what Yaneva (2016) describes as design having the power to shape and facilitate everyday sociality and trigger specific ways of enacting the social. Through such architecture, the gaze reaches a different level where physical transparent facades become the mediator of gazing on the everyday life of locals, which causes conflicts between hosts and guests and affects their quality of life.

Thus, not only the tourist but also the architecture is linked to the impact on the social sustainability, as it functions as the centre for gazing. Here, architecture indeed functions as a connector that informs certain ways of using the building and is thus not perceived as merely a cold domain of material (Yaneva 2016). Yet, Urry's tourist gaze (1990) never took into consideration the openness of contemporary architecture, in which materiality functions as the mediator for the gaze. None of his revised versions of the tourist gaze place the gaze into the challenging field of for example large glass windows in contemporary buildings, inviting visitors to gaze into locals' private places.

Figure 16: The reflection of a group of tourists in the large window of an apartment at 8Tallet showing how close tourists come to the residents' daily lives. March 20, 2019. (Source: Photograph by authors).

The above figure 16 shows an example of the openness of contemporary architecture inviting visitors into the locals' daily life. With ethical considerations, we decided to take a picture of an apartment from a spot where the the guided tour at 8Tallet stopped to give information, to illustrate how visible the residents' apartment was. The reflection in the window clearly demonstrates how many people who stand right outside an open living room, and visualises how close the guests come to the locals' private spaces. Additionally, even though the guide informed the group not to take pictures of apartments, our observation shows that students took pictures and filmed the whole tour on a GoPro camera (Appendix 1). Thus, the uniqueness of 8Tallet instantly urges tourists to take out their camera and take pictures, like Krüger described in Specht (2014) when talking about contemporary architecture as tourism attractions. Once again, this is an example where the behaviour of tourists can be questioned in terms of ethics as we are dealing with moral principles of respecting locals' privacy when taking photographs and filming so close to their homes.

The same attraction goes for the architecture at Ørestad Gymnasium, designed by 3xN and branded as an open space where all activities are visible to everybody in order to facilitate communication and to inspire one another (Ørestad Gymnasium, 2019). Employee A at Ørestad Gymnasium acknowledges the power of attractive architecture and tells to be pleased that the outer part of the gymnasium is not as special as its interior architecture, because "*then we would have even way more tourists in here (..) That would be a huge problem*" (Appendix 8: 55). Nevertheless, the building still attracts abundant tourists who want to experience the openness of the interior and the culture, in which pupils automatically become the centre of attention and are photographed while being at school. "*The inside is similar to an urban landscape with many opportunities for learning and interaction*" says Kim Herforth Nielsen, founder of 3xN. Indeed, this urban landscape opens up for the ability to function as a *"long-term, viable setting for human interaction, communication and cultural development"* (Hilgers 2013: 3), though not only with co-students and co-workers, but also with tourists that regularly visit the building.

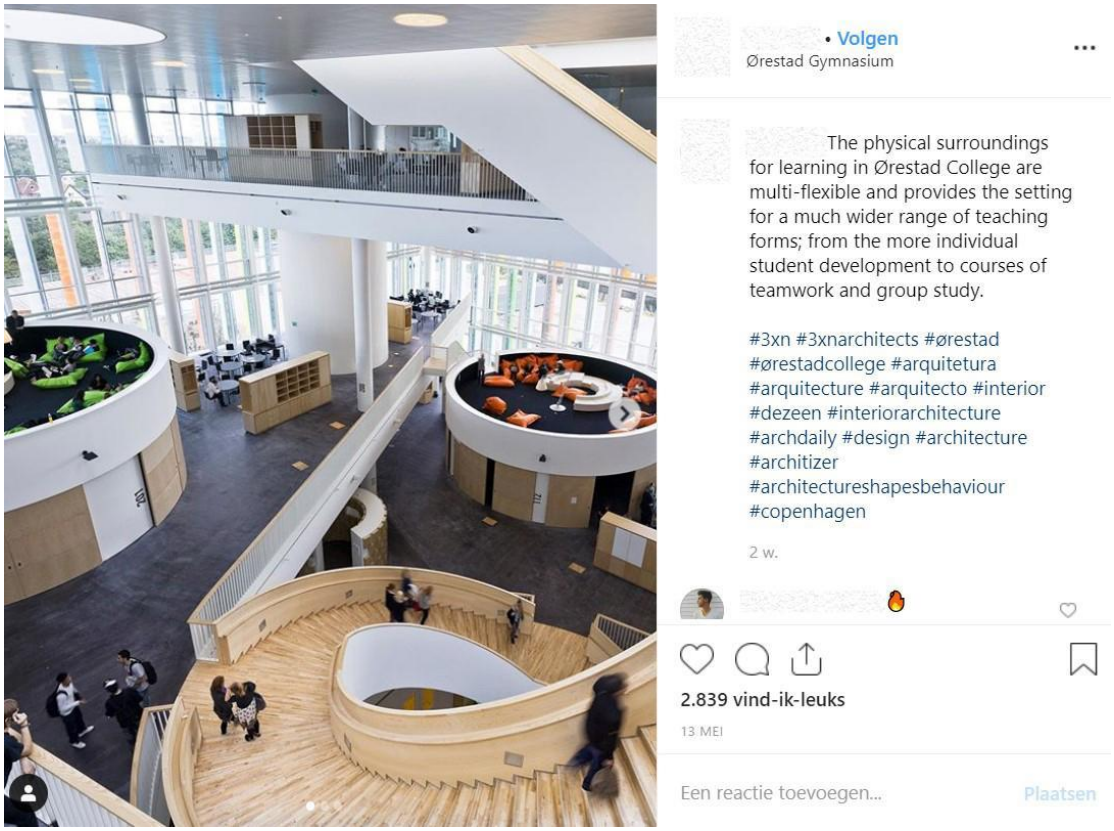

Figure 17: An Instagram post showing the openness of Ørestad Gymnasium's interior architecture, whilst students live their daily lives. (Source: Instagram)

At the beginning, the principal of school, Allan Kjær Andersen, worried that students would have difficulties with adapting to the different, open environment. Nevertheless, in a video interview on YouTube he describes that "*the students adjusted very quickly. The building and architecture itself do something to both students and teachers, making them understand quite quickly how to behave here*" (Ørestad Gymnasium 2013). This adaption was further expressed by our informant, A, who describes that she in the beginning felt the distraction, but eventually learned how to adapt (Appendix 8: 57). However, even though the principal of the gymnasium believes that the architecture makes students and employees understand how to act, it is apparent that tourists do not always realise how to behave in such places. This results in affecting the wellbeing of both students and teachers alike.

Kim Herforth Nielsen mentions the following in an article from 3xN (2018) *"Architecture affects everyone — whether they are aware of it or not — as it sets the framework for our everyday life, so it is important to make sure the effects are positive"*. Nevertheless, when analysing how people feel about they place they live, work or study, as well as the host-guest relationship in Ørestad, it shows that the effects of architecture are not only positive. The presence of tourists results in locals being gazed upon, taken photos of, being distracted from their daily lives and tourists even entering their private space. This confirms that the attractiveness of architecture has a dark side to it and in its worst case even triggered people to move out (Appendix 5: 12).

The Fuzziness of Private and Public Spaces and its Challenges

After the many interviews and observations, it came to our knowledge that a large part of the conflicts regarding tourism in these places lies within its notions of publicness and privacy. As Carmona (2010) describes, many grey zones exist between absolute publicness and absolute privacy, which are challenged even more through contemporary architecture styles. 8Tallet is created through various stimulating edge zones, such as the common pathways, stairs and courtyard, where the private spheres of the apartments intertwine with the public spheres of the outside area. Hence, private terraces and front gardens intermix with the surrounding public pathway and stairs, though the aluminium fences mark the end of the common ramp and the beginning of private space. Even though the boundaries between public and private are seemingly clearly marked, such borders are not always being felt or respected by tourists as previous sections outline. An article written in Magasinet KBH highlights the exact same issue, where tourists have difficulties distinguishing between the public and private spaces at 8Tallet (Pedersen 2013). Through the collected empirical material, it became clear that both 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium are dealing with visitors entering private or restricted areas, whilst gazing and taking pictures. This is being felt by resident F who says:

"*One day there was this group when I was standing in my bike clothes in the apartment, they were pointing into the apartment and standing and looking and was like, there are eight people and they do not think about this being a private residence because they apparently are so overwhelmed by the design, so they do not respect the rules*" (Appendix 5: 12).

Resident F from 8Tallet mentions the physicality of the architecture as a reason why tourists are being 'overwhelmed' and do not think about the boundaries between public and private spaces and the notion of privacy. Resident M and K mention the same fuzziness of private and public areas at 8Tallet:

"*We also noticed that in the summer we always have chairs up front and always when I go away from home I put them next to the garden table so it look nice.. and many times we come home to the chairs standing like someone has been sitting on them. I find that really rude and invading my private space*" (Appendix 6: 27).

When asked about this openness in an interview, Bjarke Ingels explains that they intended to draw 8Tallet in a way that allowed residents to close off their patios (Pedersen & Haberman 2013), which has obviously not been efficient enough to keep tourism problems out. During an interview with two architecture tourists, the following was said when being asked about such physical borders:

"*They have all the signs [at 8Tallet] with 'no trespassers' and 'private property', but we just ignored all those signs and went up anyways, I mean, what is the worst that can happen, they tell us to leave?"* (Appendix 4: 8).

"We went into the open courtyard on the small patio on the first level looking back on the project and we went up on one of the stairs up to the building, drank a little wine there and enjoyed the view". (Appendix 4: 7). Clearly, these tourists were not affected by the signs that were put up at 8Tallet.

Figure 18: Metal chain and signs to inform people about the division between public and private spaces at 8Tallet, Ørestad. March 20, 2019. (Source: Photograph by authors)

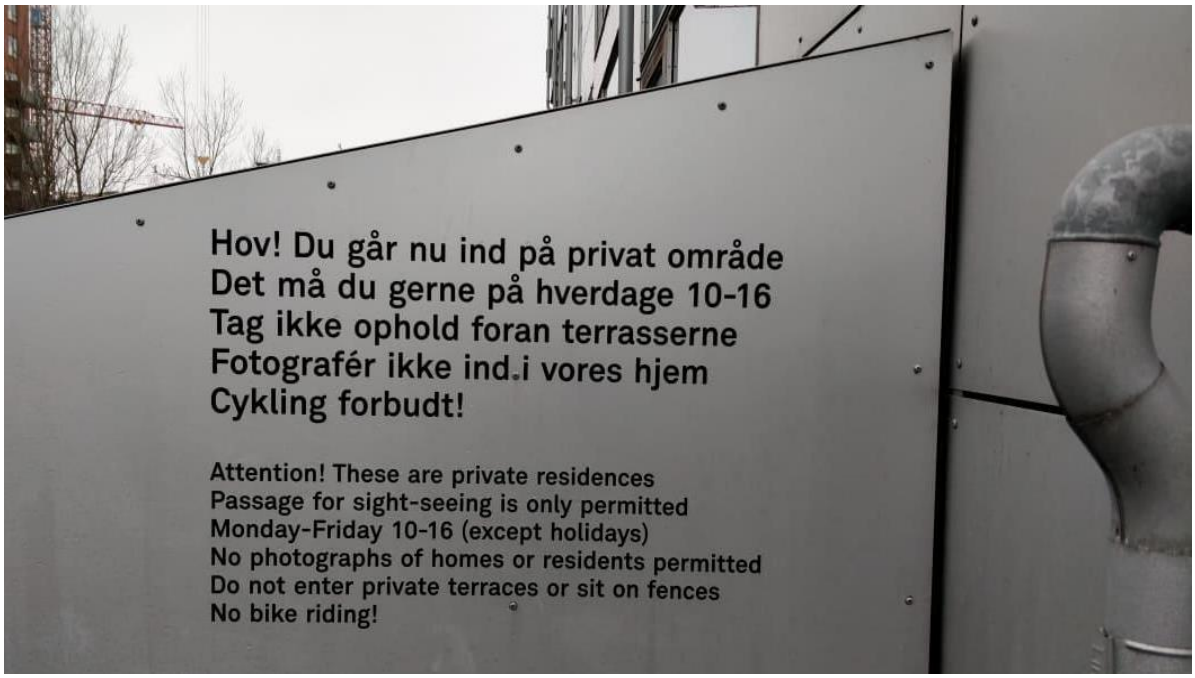

Figure 19: Text in both Danish and English to inform people about the entering rules at 8Tallet, Ørestad. March 20, 2019. (Source: Photograph by authors)

Both figures above show an example of such signs trying to make visitors aware of the division between public and private spaces. The signs and chains are put up several places in the building. Figure 19 shows that the signs inform visitors specifically not to enter private terraces. However, as empirical data describes, not every visitor takes these signs serious. In 2013, Bjarke Ingels states that there will always be conflicts when different cultures meet but he thinks it is a matter of time before guests learn how to behave when visiting 8Tallet (Pedersen & Habermann 2013). However, privacy is still an issue now six years later in 2019, as confirmed by interviews with both tourists and residents. According to the Global Code of Ethics for tourism, "(...) *tourists themselves should observe the social and cultural traditions and practices of all peoples (...)*" (UNWTO 2001, article 1). However, the previous examples of invading private space and degrading the physical integrity show that tourists do not pay respect or understand the local cultural richness, and that tourism does not contribute to its enhancement (ibid.: article 1, article 4). Thus, the natural environment and the aspirations for the current and future residents are challenged, meaning that tourism is not a factor of sustainable development (ibid.: article 3).

An alike situation is seen at Ørestad Gymnasium, where the large glass windows have the power to attract and guide tourists into the building and stimulate engagement (Di Sarra 2017). However, as being a public institution, the entire notion of publicness and privacy is being challenged at the high school when becoming an attraction for tourism. Besides the transparency of the top-to-floor windows, the open interior architecture unintentionally stimulates tourists to come closer to the everyday life of the students and teachers. Employee and former student A describes that the school has no closed classrooms, they all have glass walls and many classes take place in the open space, meaning that "*everything is really open and you can always see everyone (..) So because of that it has been a problem with the tourists because sometimes it can be a bit disturbing for the class because they can always see you when they walk by, and they can just stand there and look in through the glass*" (Appendix 8: 51). She further explains that the openness of the interior is even more challenging when the students have classes in the open spaces as tourists can just walk straight through (ibid.: 51). It is claimed that such architecture provokes the fuzziness of boundaries between public and private spheres. Besides, the tourism behaviour in such fuzzy places undoubtedly challenges the feeling of privacy. Hence, the open ethos of contemporary urban planning and architecture plays with these notions of publicness and privacy, which possibly creates conflicts in regulating the city regarding locals' rights to privacy.

Nevertheless, employee A feels there is no specific need to put up physical signs to communicate with tourists, because the "*staff at the school are adequate at spotting them and providing information on how to use the building*" (Appendix 8: 55). However, the above described examples state the opposite.

Additionally, during a participant observation with two tourists at the school, it was clear that the tourists moved past chains that blocked the pathway. Our anecdote from this participant observation notes that: *"The tourists wanted to check out the top floor of the building, while it*

being closed off with a rope. One of them said he did not care and would go up to check out the view anyways, and so he did to take pictures" (Appendix 3: 4). Even though the tourists were well-aware of the restrictions, it was decided to move past them anyways. Thus, tourists are crossing physical boundaries and entering places that are closed off.

The problematics regarding the public openness were seemingless not considered by either BIG or 3xN while designing these places. Tourism might not be an obvious subject of consideration when planning residential or educational places solely built with the demands of the locals in mind (Stevenson 2010). However, this thesis argues that external factors such as tourism flows are vital fields to considered in the creation of places and attractive architecture as they clearly do affect the quality of life of the locals. Besides, the desire for tourists to take the role as temporary locals make them even more attracted to these everyday, authentic places (Wonderful Copenhagen 2017), meaning "*that same site where they [locals] live or/and work will have to be shared with new travelling communities that will consider it not only as a space for "ordinary way of life" but also for "extra-ordinary" experience"* (Maretti & Salvatore 2012: 11). Our informants confirm this:

"*I think we feel most at home in these kinds of buildings that are actually designed for the locals. We had to sneak in to a lot of places like some architecture schools in Stockholm and here in Copenhagen in the 8House and we have VMhouse and mountain on the planning as well. It is like 'why not'?*" (Appendix 4: 9).

The Paradox of Maintaining Cultural Openness in a Gated Community

Due to large tourism inflows, 8Tallet's homeowner's association decided to put up locked gates at the end of each staircase in the autumn of 2013. This was opposed to the open and inviting ethos that are valued by the residents. Informant F describes the conflict that the gates created with the overall culture of the place and how the gates did not manage to reduce the problem regarding tourism.

"So people did not want to close off the building, which was actually tried after a couple of years because there were a lot of people coming to 8Tallet. So, they tried to put up gates, but people visiting would break open the gates and come in anyway [...] It also did not fit the openness". (Appendix 5: 30)

Resident K talks about the same gates and describes that she disliked them because it did not fit with the openness of the building (Appendix 6: 30). Bjarke Ingels' opinion is the same as that of the residents', as he finds it important to maintain the buildings' inviting character and ensure that 8Tallet does not turn into a 'gated community' (Pedersen & Habermann 2013).

However, due to tourism the green pathways were destroyed from tourists biking on them (Appendix 5: 15). Moreover, when putting up gates to protect both the physical and social environment, it did not take long for tourists to demolish the gates, as described by the chairman of the homeowner association in an interview with Magasinet KBH (Pedersen 2013).

When putting up gates due to the building becoming a tourist attraction, it was enforced and did not fit in with the nature and distinctiveness of the culture, which may result in local people distancing themselves from the place (Saarinen & Manwa 2008). The boundary between private and public space was translated into something physical and visual in order for tourists to understand it. Besides, the tourism resulted in a degradation of the physical integrity, something that is vital to be aware of in sustainable tourism development (UNEP & UNWTO 2005) and in place making. As argued in Section 3.1.1 *Place Making from Different Perspectives,* the values, perceptions and traditions attached to a landscape are crucial elements to consider in place making, as these give meaning to the space (Lew 2017). Thus, it becomes problematic if these values are disrespected and disrupted through physical changes.

Locals Altering Their Private Spaces to Keep out tourism

The latest research done by Wonderful Copenhagen (2019*b*) shows that locals in general welcome tourism in Copenhagen, as long as it does not come to close to their daily lives. This is noticeable through one of the conclusions of the 10xCopenhagen Report: "*Tourism is welcome, but preferably not in my backyard*" (ibid. 2019*b*). However, tourism at 8Tallet is literally taking place in their backyards. This resulted in the local community of 8Tallet performing a form of 'minor place-making' (Bosman and Dredge 2011: 3) by shaping their own environments on a small scale to keep tourism on a distance.

When actively putting up fences, flower pots and furnitures locals mark the boundaries of their private space for visitors to understand the demarcation. Hence, this is an example of the everydayness of human life shaping the landscape around themselves (ibid.). This, suggests that even though this minor place making happens from below, it still takes an intentional approach to keep visitors out. During the first observation at 8Tallet, the following was noticed:

"*As the terraces of the residents are immediately connected to the openly accessible ramp, many people have blocked the opening towards their terrace with fences. Other ways of closing off their private spaces are the use of large flower pots and pieces of furniture. The view into residents' apartments was in many cases blocked by curtains, shutters and screens*". (Appendix 2: 3).

Thus, materiality is clearly being used here to alter private space in different forms, which can be viewed in figure 20 below. The multiple photographs showing various ways of locals adjusting and marking their private area.

Figure 20: A collage of pictures showing the use of various physical attributes to mark the division between public and private space at 8Tallet, Ørestad. March 13, 2019 and March 20, 2019. (Source: Photographs by authors)

To gain a better understanding of the motivations behind such minor place-making by locals, residents M and K were specifically asked into the reason for people to put up such physical boundaries. K believes that fences are being put up to "*make people aware that this is actually private property*" (Appendix 6: 27). Even though people would still be able to trespass and overstep such barriers, "*it would take an extra step to trespass when there are such clear marks*" (ibid.: 27).

Independently and without being asked about it, resident F describes a similar story as the residents from the penthouse lanes on the top floor "*could see a lot of tourists and had a lot of people walking into their terraces and stuff like that and a lot of residents put up fences to be sure that tourists would not walk into their private area which is completely crazy*". (Appendix 5: 14).

When Bjarke Ingels is asked whether architecture fails when residents have to block pathways in order to maintain the boundary between public and private everyday life, he explains that architecture does not fully have the control over the life that is being lived in the buildings; it only sets the frames. This analysis underlines that the architectural frames can be closely connected to the life that is developed, as they are evidently linked to many tourism challenges in the everyday life of its residents.

A Materiality Challenge That Goes Beyond 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium

It is important to realise that even though this research primarily focuses on the two specific cases of 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium, the problems regarding the materiality of contemporary architecture may reach far beyond. The transparent architectural style and the uniqueness of the buildings include many other places within Ørestad, possibly dealing with similar issues regarding tourism. Additionally, contemporary architecture pulling tourism to specific buildings is a worldly phenomenon and not solely happening in Ørestad. Thus, it is assumed that the challenges regarding the place materiality go beyond this case study.

As examples, our empirical data shows that the Tietgen dorm, Kalvebod Fælled primary school, VM Mountain and VM Houses deal with similar problems. Though, as those buildings are not the main focus of this thesis, no in-depth knowledge is collected on these specific places. Nevertheless, in a short interview with two employees at Kalvebod Fælled school they highlight that:

"We had to put up a sign outside the door, maybe you saw it when you were walking in, because at some point there were simply too many people from outside who entered the school and started walking around [...] they just walk right in and take pictures of everything [...] and we are a school so we have all these kids here that are being photographed, that is problematic" (Appendix 13: 80).

Additionally, another employee at the school describes that people perceive the area as an open, public space since there are no fences around it. Thus, everyone just bikes around and the employees are required to explain people that the place is an actual school (Appendix 13: 81). Hence, this describes again that the openness challenges the division and understanding between public and private spaces. The easy accessibility of the place invites outsiders in, sometimes even without such visitors realising they are overstepping a boundary. Several buildings in Ørestad have either tried to put up gates or considered them, but closing of the places would go against the open ethos of the culture and architecture. However, at Tietgen dorm gates seemed to be the only option to keep tourists out of the building on unwanted times (Appendix 5: 12).

When joining the two architecture tourists, it became clear that tourists do come to Ørestad to visit a variety of buildings. In this case, the tourists planned to hop from one architectural site to another, with the main focus on the contemporary unique buildings of Ørestad. The tourists even talk about Ørestad as "*an architectural mecca*" as every known architect has built something there (Appendix 4: 7).

Figure 21: Photos of tourists taking pictures of the 'M' of VM Houses, Ørestad. March 20, 2019. (Source: Own photographs)

When arriving at the 'M' part of the VM house, one of the guys jumped on a pole (see figure 21) to have a better view into the apartments. It could be seen that people were home and every move of them was noticeable. The American tourists were amazed by the transparency of the buildings and said this openness of residential buildings would never happen in America. They agreed that the VM house gave a great impression for them on how the Danes are living as they could see right into their furniture and lives; "*The Danes are so open compared to Americans, it is like they are not hiding behind these facades, I love it*", they expressed (Appendix 3: 5).

Figure 22: The view into the apartments of residents at VM Houses chosen by the observees. (Source: photo taken by architecture tourists and observee D).

Figure 22 above shows Ørestad's 'V' of the VM Houses during our participant observation. From the public stairs at VM Mountain, this view into the apartments of VM houses' residents is present. While following the observees, we stood here and gazed for a while as the observees took pictures and videos from this particular spot. When one of the residents noticed the cameras she quickly moved away from the windows, out of sight. One of the tourists replied with "*well, you know if you are going to live in a place like this that people are able to look inside and will take pictures*" (Appendix 3: 5).

Thus, it is argued that the challenges and opportunities that the local communities are dealing with in 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium are not limited to these places only. As contemporary architecture functions as a pull factor for tourism and as a mediator for the tourist gaze, local communities are inevitable affected by tourist flows. Hence, the materiality of places are important to take into account when researching into the social sustainability of such places, and when planning, designing and managing places. Even though the place makers of public places may not have the power to make final architectural decisions, a collaboration should ensure that the architects' plans take tourist behaviour as well as place makers and locals' values and aspirations into account.

Besides, this is a perfect example of how the Sense of Place, Locale and Location (Agnew 1987) are intertwined and should not be viewed separately. The physical attributes of the location, in this case the architecture, make up for social constructions within the place and provoke specific meanings and narratives around the building. Besides, a certain atmosphere at places like 8Tallet and the gymnasium are created due to the tourism flows and the way this makes locals feel that they belong to the place. Thus, the physical location is central in the understanding how everyday lives at such places are being shaped by tourism.

Summary on the Role of Materiality in Tourism Places and Their Everyday Lives

As our empirical material shows, the architecture of 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium have the power to be a major pull factor for tourism. This is particularly interesting when such architecture is not just any tourist attraction, but in fact a home, a workplace or an educational institution where long-term social factors are important to the everyday lives of its locals. Through interviews and observations, it became clear that the uniqueness and openness of contemporary architecture has a dark side to it when becoming magnets for large tourism flows.

Due to the blurring boundaries between public and private spheres, tourists are 'invited' to be closer to the locals' everyday lives through the materiality of such places. Thus, locals are intentionally performing a form of minor place-making when altering their private spaces to visualise boundaries towards visitors. Hence, it is argued for the openness of the building and the culture to be challenged by the presence of tourism as locals feel the need to put up large flower pots, fences and furniture to mark the borders between public and private spaces. Additionally, through the use of chains and signs it is communicated to tourists not to trespass. However, these are not always respected by tourists, which challenges the wellbeing of locals.

As the Location is such a vital part in the holistic understanding of places and constructs certain Locales and Senses of Place, it is argued for place makers to include such materialities in urban strategies and align with other relevant actors in order to create liveable and quality places.

4.4 The Power Structures and Responsibilities in Managing Tourism in Ørestad

Throughout the previous analysis sections, the roles of the tourists and the locals have been proved to have a crucial impact on local places, both public and private. This encounter has resulted in multiple challenges and opportunities for the local community and the social sustainability hereof. However, when outlining the willingness to resolve tourism problems in Ørestad, it is also necessary to consider external actors, who often have a powerful role when developing and shaping places. In UNEP & UNWTO's (2005) guide for policy makers, they point out that "*Sustainable tourism is about local control, but also about working together*" (p. 16). When tourism functions at different levels, it can create tensions and paradoxes if the local values do not fit the general strategy (Robinson & Picard 2006). Thus, local control and engagement should happen in consultation with other stakeholders within the tourism industry (ibid.). Consequently, we analyse and discuss the role of three vital actors, and their power and responsibilities when managing tourism in Ørestad.

This firstly includes Wonderful Copenhagen, the DMO of Greater Copenhagen. Secondly, By & Havn's willingness to address tourism problems is discussed, as they have the primary responsibility for the area to be developed into a vibrant neighbourhood. Subsequently, the homeowner association GFS Ørestad takes over this task from By & Havn to manage Ørestad, which is why they are perceived to have a growing importance in tourism matters and thus will be taken into account in this discussion.

Wonderful Copenhagen's Understanding and Acknowledgement of Local Values

Wonderful Copenhagen's 2020 strategy focuses on *Localhood*, emphasizing that "*locals and visitors not only co-exist, but interact around shared experiences of localhood*" (2017: 10). Accordingly, they have introduced the new 10xCopenhagen report which emphasises the aim to broaden the tourism destination and reallocate tourists towards the sub-districts of Copenhagen. In this report, Ørestad is considered as one of Copenhagen's new sub-districts and is named as a 'future area of tourism development' (Wonderful Copenhagen 2019*b*: 32).

However, what happens when tourism expands towards local neighbourhoods and places that are not planned for tourism? Taking a critical standpoint towards the Localhood strategy, it should be considered to what extend this development is desirable if it entails that guests and locals should coexist at buildings in which they live their everyday lives. As the analysis has provided examples of, tourism inevitably impacts the social sustainability of the local community in terms of wellbeing and development, that being both positively and negatively. Consequently, it stresses the importance of Wonderful Copenhagen's understanding and acknowledgement of the local social tourism paradoxes at the areas and buildings that they facilitate tourism at.

As introduced in Section 1.1 *The spatial context,* Wonderful Copenhagen's engagement with tourism in Ørestad is currently limited to the promotion of tourist attractions at their tourist website 'Visit Copenhagen'. By naming Ørestad 'Copenhagen's new urban area and architectural hotspot' (Visit Copenhagen a, n.d.), an emphasis is put on Ørestad's materiality. However, the official description of 8Tallet at their website neglects the fact that the building is a private residence that has certain official rules for visiting. For example, the opening hours are stated as Monday-Friday 10.00-16.00, but nowhere is it stated that you have to book a guided tour if you come in a group of more than six. The description does also not stress the importance of respecting the residents' privacy when you visit. Rather, it can be argued to encourage the opposite; "*8TALLET epitomizes room for display and activity, and there are lots of common areas that are perfect for every occasion*" (Visit Copenhagen n.d. *b*). Whether this accounts for the local community or the tourists is not explicitly stated and thus might give tourists the perception of these common areas to be open to everyone.

Therefore, it can be concluded as problematic that the DMO of Copenhagen does not provide information about the local values and code of conduct in order to prevent that tourist behaviour harm the community wellbeing, as suggested by UNEP & UNWTO (2005). This is particularly relevant to consider since Wonderful Copenhagen will most likely be involved in tourism strategies in Ørestad within the upcoming five years, according to our informant from the overall homeowner association in Ørestad (Appendix 10: 72). This underlines the importance of the willingness of Wonderful Copenhagen to take the residents' voice and influence into account when developing the future strategy for the area, as an understanding of for example 8Tallets' needs and values does not seem to be fulfilled now.

By & Havn's Willingness to Tackle Tourism Related Problems

The overall planning and development of Ørestad is to a wide extent influenced and managed by external organisations such as By & Havn. However, as the tourism encounter in this case study takes place on private and semi-public property, the locals are left alone with the management and local policy planning hereof. Despite the fact that it is By & Havn's vision to develop cities that are attractive to live, work and *visit* (By&Havn, n.d.), tourism is not particularly on the agenda unless it is related to selling properties or making Ørestad look attractive for business owners (Appendix 9: 58). However, as the previous sections of the analysis show, there is a definite need for tourism to be considered in overall urban development plans, as tourism is argued to take an important role in the creation of places.

When researching further into By & Havn's approach towards Ørestad, it becomes clear that their centre of attention is primarily on the creation of a successful new business quarter for Copenhagen. Relating this to the planned placemaking theory, one could argue for By & Havn's *strategic placemaking* approach (Wyckoff 2014), where the focal point lies within attracting businesses and uniquely talented workers to the area rather than on any tourism related issues. During an interview with employee M from By & Havn the following answer was received after questioning how tourism is on their agenda:

"*We do not per se have tourism on the agenda. We rather make an effort to develop Ørestad as an attractive place for the residents and the business life" (Appendix 9: 58).*

When approaching this from a planned, top-down placemaking perspective (Lew 2017), it could be questioned how an urban development company with focus on the creation of quality places for living, working and *visiting* can neglect such a central part of their strategy. As employee M describes:

"We are responsible for the overall development and starting up the city, but then we retract again. There is a common homeowners association for the whole of Ørestad [GFS Ørestad]. *They are more into the residents' interests and daily lives than we are, so problems occurring from tourism must be on their table too as they are closer to the people" (Appendix 9: 63).*

Thus, By & Havn points towards Ørestad's homeowner association being responsible for tourism as they are "*closer to the people*" in Ørestad. When interviewing employee M it is clear that By & Havn does not feel the responsibility to make any effort towards monitoring tourism in Ørestad, neither from the early planning stages nor from an ensuing managing point of view. With their responsibility for Ørestad's success and livability, it can be perceived as a concern when those in charge of the development do not view Ørestad from a visitor perspective, and do not consider themselves accountable for tourism related matters. Since By & Havn create the foundation for the place, it could be argued that it is them who have the power to take into account all vital aspects when creating livable places.

However, as Wyckoff (2014) described, placemaking is a process towards the creation of quality places that includes multiple stakeholders rather than one single actor in order to maximise value, something that is also argued for tourism development to be socially sustainable (UNEP & UNWTO 2005). Hence, By & Havn should not be the only actor responsible for resolving tourism problems in Ørestad. Nevertheless, it is concluded that with their focus on the top-down business side of placemaking, they lack a willingness to tackle tourism related problems. Besides, they put the responsibility on the table of Ørestad's homeowner association with the reason of them being closer related to the locals. Thus, the next paragraph will discuss to what extend GFS Ørestad takes the control for Ørestad's tourism related problems.

The Role of Ørestad's Homeowners Association in Resolving Tourism Problems

During the interview with employee M from By & Havn, the relevance for an interview with Ørestad's homeowner association is clear as they were mentioned for having a closer connection with the everyday lives of the local communities. However, empirical data shows that GFS Ørestad has limited resources related to tourism and in a similar manner does not have tourism on their agenda whilst still being responsible for planning, designing and managing the place.

Employee S from GFS Ørestad explains that they "*do not cater specifically to tourists*" (Appendix 10: 71) and currently do not have any tourism strategy for Ørestad as they lack economic resources within the respective associations. This is despite the fact that the area is international renowned and that a lot of tourists visit (ibid.). However, due to the development of Ørestad, tourism is seen as something that will be even more relevant in the future, which is why there is a need to develop a tourism strategy according to the Managing Director of GFS Ørestad;

"(..) *within maybe five years we would reach perhaps a 90 percent finished Ørestad and by that time the whole of the city would look much more finished and the tourism would be even higher as it would be a lot nicer to be here. So I think in five years time we will NEED to have a strategy for tourism because it will be simply too much otherwise (...) and I think that should happen with Copenhagen's municipality, something like the Wonderful Copenhagen, because they are specialized in doing that*" (Ibid.: 71).

GFS Ørestad is well aware of some tourism related problems at 8Tallet; according to our informant they talk about tourism problems "*all the time*" (Appendix 10: 72). He describes that they have given voice to the residents regarding rental boats *outside* 8Tallet as residents living on the first floor and face the water felt visually exposed in the evening when people were sailing right by their windows (Appendix 10: 69). GFS Ørestad had in this specific case the power to change the opening hours of the rental boats to a more decent time schedule, which decreased the number of resident complaints. This shows their willingness to resolve tourism problems in the place. However, whenever tourists enter private property at places like 8Tallet, GFS Ørestad claims to have no power to make decisions: "*if you step on 8Tallet's lot that they own then it is a private lot and they can decide who gets in our out, so there is a fuzzy boundary*" (Appendix 10: 68). Consequently, external actors who are interested in branding Ørestad and its unique buildings, such as Visit Copenhagen and By & Havn, do not have the power to control the tourism presence at these private properties. Thus, the residents are left alone with the challenges that occur due to large tourism flows.

After interviewing both By & Havn and GFS, it becomes clear that such development of new urban places consists of a complex political landscape, involving various actors on different authority levels throwing responsibilities at each other. Interestingly, as By & Havn refers to GFS Ørestad regarding tourism management (Appendix 9:63), GFS Ørestad refers again to one layer below and explains that tourism problems mainly are on the table of the underlying homeowner associations related to each specific district of Ørestad, as well as the locals (Appendix 10: 68). Hence, GFS Ørestad states to be willing to solve any tourism problems whenever the underlying homeowner associations give them the task to do so, but otherwise they do not have the power and resources to resolve any issues themselves (Appendix 10: 68). Thus, it is questioned which party is actually responsible for dealing with tourism problems in this multiple layered political landscape, and if it is fair for the local communities to be responsible for uncontrolled tourism. This calls for a need to collaborate closely across boundaries of private and public spaces, and for relevant actors to extend the responsibility and

contribute with regulations or resources that may help the locals in these situations.

GFS Ørestad informs us that they value the input of locals in the planning and managing of the public spaces, which is collected through surveys, walk and talks and workshops with residents (Appendix 10: 67, 70). The overall place making in Ørestad is master planned and organised from above by both By & Havn and GFS. However, when it comes more specifically to the management of tourism, a planned approach is lacking as tourism proves to be neither on By & Havn's nor on GFS' agenda. Rather, locals are left alone and solely self-organise by removing external constraint, which would take a more bottom-up approach (Lew 2017). This notion of bottom-up place-making (Lew 2017) empowers the local communities to take control and have influence in the development process of these places. Local control is suggested by UNEP & UNWTO to be a fundamental factor for sustainable development (2005: 35) yet in this case, the residents of 8Tallet and the employees and students at the gymnasium are left no choice else than to take control of the tourism inflows, which questions the social sustainability of the community. Due to the challenges occurring in the locals' daily lives, they must act and take control in order to create a livable environment whilst fostering important social sustainability factors of the place.

Collaboration Amongst Tourism Stakeholders in Ørestad

In connection with these case studies, it has come to our knowledge that tourism is widely managed by independent guided tours at several places and buildings in Ørestad. Besides the two case studies of this thesis, it came to light that for example Kalvebod Fælled School was inspired by the way that Tietgen Dorm is addressing tourism (Appendix 13). Hence, both places are actively showing their willingness to resolve tourism problems through the creation of guided tours and tourism groups like at 8Tallet and the gymnasium. This leaves space for thinking that these individual tourism groups may benefit from each other, and that a collaboration might be relevant in order to share tourism-related knowledge and advice. Additionally, this collaboration might improve the relationship between different parts of Ørestad, which informs socially sustainable places (Bacon & Caistor-Arendar 2014).

A form of collaboration has already been developed at Ørestad Gymnasium. Apart from only dealing with tourist inside the school, our informant describes that tourism in Ørestad functions as a tool for collaborations with external stakeholders. One example is the partnership with hotel CABINN in Ørestad, and students from Ørestad Gymnasium who had Chinese as a part of their study programme (Appendix 8: 50). The case took place in October 2018, and in an article posted in Ørestad Local Newspaper, the Chinese teacher expresses her excitement stating that "*there is an increasing amount of Chinese tourists in Copenhagen, so therefore it is relevant to see that the students can use their Chinese in the career to work in, for example, the tourist business*" (Ørestad Avis 2018). Hence, tourism results in local social relationships between different stakeholders in Ørestad, as well as the students' influence over a wider area, which is considered important for socially sustainable place making (Bacon & Caistor-Arendar 2016).

Summary on the Power Structures and Responsibility in Managing Tourism at Ørestad

This analysis suggests that interesting questions regarding power, politics and responsibility to act can be raised when looking into the willingness of various actors to resolve tourism problems. In general, Wonderful Copenhagen is responsible for the growth and development of tourism in Copenhagen. However, as they view Ørestad as a 'future area of tourism development' (Wonderful Copenhagen 2019b: 32) it is clear that their tourism actions in Ørestad is currently limited.

Similarly, By & Havn neglects tourism on the agenda though being responsible for the developing Ørestad as a place to live, work and visit, which seems concerning. It could be argued for the importance of taking tourism into account from the beginning in their city development plans and create cross-collaborations with those that are closer to the locals.

Additionally, GFS Ørestad claims that their power is limited as soon as tourism interferes with private property. Interestingly, it is still those organisations that are responsible for the overall livability and quality of life within Ørestad, which is shown throughout this analysis to be shaped by tourism inflows.

Consequently, interesting questions regarding power, politics and responsibility to act should be considered by place makers when dealing with tourism. How and by whom are places constructed within contexts of power? And, what kind of power relations are entangled within these places? Has it become necessary for decision-makers in public places to expand their responsibility to private spaces when needed? What is in fact the boundary of public and private, when tourism enters these places because of public promotion and open design? Our research shows that the power around tourism management is pushed between actors with power, and finally ends up on the locals due to 'privacy' reasons, who have no other choice than to take the responsibility. This calls for a disruption of conceptual planned and organic place making.

5. Socially Sustainable Place Making in a Tourism Setting; **Introducing a New Concept**

Throughout the theoretical framework and the analysis, various gaps within the notion of traditional place making are outlined. Limited literature studies combine the notion of tourism and place making together. With Lew (2017) being one of the few to look through a tourism lense at place making, this study was partly inspired by his work. However, social sustainability is not highlighted in Lew's research as tourism is viewed as merely an economic activity, and place making strategies are solely perceived relevant to public spheres.

Furthermore, our analysis shows that places are and cannot always be planned. Unforeseen factors such as tourism desires have a deep impact on the Locale and Sense of Place, which are vital elements to consider in the designing, planning and management of liveable places. Thus, despite the overall area of Ørestad being planned from a top-down level, individual places in Ørestad are subject to both planned and organic place making and highly controlled by locals. However, this local involvement does also entail challenges for the community.

When managing tourism places where everyday lives are at the centre of attention, there is a need for a concept that takes a planned approach and involves relevant stakeholders without compromising the local values that have developed throughout their own place making. Tourism in these places should not be considered as a top-down or bottom-up approach, but as a mutual collaboration across scales.

Hence, the following four categories emerged from our analysis and are perceived as important to the overall place making concept;

- Not only locals shape places from below. **Tourists** play an important role in the shaping of places as their presence affects how the everyday life is being lived, how people and places evolve, and how organic place making turns into planned place making. Thus, tourism should not be neglected in place making strategies.

- Tourism also affects the **private** social life and not only **public** social places. As architecture is an important driver for tourism, it draws tourists to enter everyday places that are intentionally not build with a tourism demand. Consequently, their presence leads to both challenges and opportunities regarding the physical and social wellbeing of the community. Thus, place making strategies should consider how to accommodate private spaces when they are extensively used by the public.

- When tourism takes place so close to the locals' everyday lives, **social sustainability** needs to be acknowledged when developing tourism strategies within place making. Factors within physical integrity, community wellbeing, cultural richness, social equity and host-guest relationship affect the ability of the place to function as a viable setting

for people and places to evolve. Accordingly, important challenges regarding ethical tourism behaviour must be addressed in the place making strategy.

- There is a need in these everyday places for actors to work together in **cross-collaborations across power scales**, which breaks with the conceptual top-down/bottom-up approach. Rather, relevant actors within the complex landscape of places should strive together towards creating livable places in which tourists and locals thrive together.

The analysis chapter has induced a broad apprehension of these above-mentioned categories and their vital role in the creation and shaping of everyday places that deal with tourism. Thus, our research claims the importance of these gaps to be filled and responsibility to be taken, in order to manage tourism in a socially sustainable manner. Therefore, our research results in the introduction of a new concept that contributes to the notion of place making, considering all four categories that emerged as being vital to the creation of places.

Hence, we have developed the concept *Socially Sustainable Place Making* that unpacks place making processes in a socially sustainable light within a tourism context and sets the stage for future research. As argued throughout the analysis, it seems insufficient to deal with place making in the long-term without the integration of all four suggested categories.

What is Socially Sustainable Place Making?

As outlined above, this new concept acknowledges the importance of including all relevant actors within a place and must be perceived as an additive to the existing notion of place making.

Socially Sustainable Place Making stresses the importance of the tourists' role within the creation of places. Tourism increasingly takes place in everyday localhoods and sub-districts where tourists want to become temporary locals and want to explore the everyday lives of the locals (Wonderful Copenhagen 2017, Wonderful Copenhagen 2019). Therefore, tourism presence cannot be overlooked in urban development plans. In the future, the inclusion of tourism will only become more important as the tourism industry is growing rapidly (UNWTO 2019). Socially Sustainable Place Making agrees with UNWTO (2018) when describing that urban tourism has the power to be a driving force in the development of many cities as tourism is intrinsically linked to how a city develops itself. Thus, we need a place making concept that acknowledges tourists' presence, as it is not only important for the hosts in the community to accept the tourists, but also for the official place makers.

As outlined in the analysis, our research stresses the importance of the blurring division between public and private spaces. Due to tourism reaching everyday places and coming closer to the daily lives of locals, the boundaries between absolute publicness and total privacy are fading and many grey zones in-between emerge (Carmona 2010). Additionally, the unique and open character of the materiality of contemporary architecture draws tourists to come even

closer and blurs such boundaries even more. Thus, tourists are invited by the materiality of for example large top to floor windows, to enter and gaze upon the everyday places of locals. Therefore, Socially Sustainable Place Making stresses the inclusion of those private spaces that are in the public-private grey zone and suggests that place making strategies and the responsibility hereof should not limit itself to public spheres only.

In the creation of livable and quality urban places, the wellbeing of local communities are key. However, as tourism in place making literature is often perceived as an economic activity and provides as marketing tool, this thesis takes the underexplored social perspective towards tourism in place making. Hence, Socially Sustainable Place Making takes into account both physical and non-physical social sustainability factors and aims to include a focus on the community wellbeing, social equity, local control, cultural richness and physical integrity. These factors are highly linked to the ethics of tourism, which play a crucial role in the host-guest relationship. Thus, place making needs to take such sustainability factors into account in order to create a long-term, viable setting for people and places to evolve in a socially sustainable manner. Though, it is worth noting that the sustainability factors may vary according to the context.

Tourism is no longer an industry only for those who choose to be in it. Tourism is everywhere. Thus, places cannot be merely managed and decided by a few people in authority, neither solely by the locals who are directly affected. Socially Sustainable Place Making argues that the planning of urban places should not consider merely a top-down or bottom-up approach, but rather work collectively together in cross-collaborations between all actors. The power and responsibility for tourism to thrive in these places should be on everyone's table, from the governing authority to the destination management organisation to the local communities. It would not be socially sustainable if not all relevant actors are involved and are able to share their knowledge and interest and have their influence in the place making process. Our analysis shows that locals are willing to address tourism problems, and that they are capable of developing important policies and insights that are tailored to their needs. However, in order to maintain a quality everyday life alongside tourism, there is a need for professionals to assist locals in managing the places whilst aligning to these values, as solely place-making from below proves to challenge the social sustainability in the host-community.

The Significance of Socially Sustainable Place Making

The insights of this study and the new notion of Socially Sustainable Place Making touches a number of stakeholders in Ørestad, which will conceivably each benefit in their own way from the findings of this research. Thus, the potentially applied, practical implications of this thesis are as follows;

- Firstly, as GFS Ørestad is responsible for managing and maintaining Ørestad's quality environment (GFS Ørestad, n.d.), they will benefit from the findings of this study as a voice has been given to Ørestad's locals. This study provides GFS Ørestad with insights into the lived experiences of the local encounter with tourists and the challenges and

opportunities that emerge. Additionally, as tourism is expected to grow in Ørestad in the coming years, this research inspires GFS Ørestad to acknowledge the role of tourism in the development and maintenance of Ørestad as a quality place.

- Secondly, Socially Sustainable Place Making provides the urban development company, By & Havn, with food for thought on how neighbourhoods should be built for the residents, businesses and visitors. As By & Havn's current strategy for Ørestad solely involves workers and residents, one could argue for the importance of the neglected take on tourism as the places and their communities are inevitably affected by tourism.

- Thirdly, this paper provides food for thought for Wonderful Copenhagen on how tourism affects the everyday lives of locals. Additionally, as Ørestad is just one of Copenhagen's many sub-districts, it could be argued that the insights gained from this study function as inspiration for managing tourism in other sub-districts. Though, it should be taken into account that this particular study on Ørestad's tourism is context specific and therefore cannot be directly translated towards other sub-districts.

- Besides inspiring Copenhagen's sub-districts, this study may also function as stimulus for other similar residential districts outside Copenhagen and even outside Denmark, that could gain knowledge on how the wellbeing of locals is affected by increased tourism in everyday places. More specifically, architectural buildings such as Kalvebod Fælled primary school, VM houses, and especially the upcoming new UN17 Village may find this knowledge useful as they often do not have the resources for in-depth research into the resident's wellbeing and the effects of tourism.

Hence, the concept of Socially Sustainable Place Making challenges place makers in designing, creating and managing livable and social sustainable places, in which local actors and tourists thrive together, and its significance is relevant to several actors.

6. Conclusion

This thesis has strived to examine how the everyday life in Ørestad is shaped by tourism, and how it affects the social sustainability of the communities. More specifically, it has studied the two places of 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium, where the mundane everyday is turned into something extraordinary by tourists.

Our problem-driven and reflexive analysis of the architecture tourism phenomenon has resulted in several findings that contribute with new interpretations on how tourism affects places. These findings highlight the importance of ethical tourism in urban settings, and the need for incorporating social sustainability factors in the design, planning and management of places where tourism is present.

First of all, it can be concluded that tourists have the power to affect the locals' feeling of belonging to the place they live, study or work. Our analysis of the empirical data shows that both at Ørestad Gymnasium and at 8Tallet, tourism behaviour makes locals feel like they are in a human zoo, which causes distraction, discomfortness and disrupts their daily social processes. Accordingly, the tourism challenges important cultural meanings related to the openness of both the building and the social life. Hence, the narratives that are developed due to tourism affect the way locals give meaning to the place, as well as their personal and emotional attachment to it. When the tourism problems were at their worst, they even triggered people to move from their apartment. On the contrary, tourism contributes with positive feelings of belonging amongst some students and residents. This primarily happens when locals are involved in the tourism encounter through for example guided tours, or when economic resources earned on tourism contributes to the inclusion of all students in social activities at the gymnasium.

Second of all, the analysis provides a deeper understanding of how the local involvement in the tourism encounter affects the social acceptance of tourism as well as the community wellbeing. As theory suggests that it is important for the locals to acknowledge their role as hosts, this raises a focus on the paradoxical position of the residents at 8Tallet, who often do not choose to be hosts despite the fact that tourism happens in their backyard. At Ørestad Gymnasium, the same challenge arises as only a few students from each class are chosen as official hosts and whereas teachers are automatically provided with responsibility for handling tourist encounters that they have not asked for. Due to the limited number of active hosts, the tourism encounter is often based on host and guests gazing at each other. This challenges tourism ethics in regard to function as a beneficial activity and contribute to mutual understanding and respect between hosts and guests. In some cases, interaction with tourists develops further and leads to an acknowledgement of being a host, which adds value to the social life and has an important meaning to the overall acceptance of tourists. Nevertheless, the tourism at the places is highly controlled by local residents, teachers and students, who have developed their own tourism policy for the place and thus function as place makers. This local

control can be perceived as positive as it ensures the maintenance of important local values and strengthens the feeling of belonging. The locals who are actively engaged appear to have a high social acceptance of tourists, and it is also argued that their guided tours decrease the number of host-guest conflicts. However, our analysis shows that the local control and guided tours also entail challenges. As communities are heterogenous, giving power to a limited amount of people in a community may result in host-host conflicts that harm the social equity and community wellbeing. Moreover, the local solution of guided tours comes with the risk that people's everyday lives and settings are turned into commodities, which often results in the collapse of local authentic cultures.

Third of all, it can be concluded that contemporary architecture is a driver for tourism, which brings tourism close to everyday lives. Tourism and architecture are in fact linked in a reverse manner; not only does the architectural planning and design affect how tourists behave in terms of gazing and trespassing; the tourists' behaviour also has the power to affect the architecture in terms of physical changes. Thus, architecture that is designed for residents may have another functionality when tourists arrive, and other meaning may be ascribed to the place. This is particularly problematic when dealing with people's home, school and workplace, as a long-term, viable setting for these places and people to evolve is crucial. One challenge caused by materiality is the aforementioned gazing, which has functioned as a key issue according to our informants. Architectural planning of a place, such as attractiveness, openness and accessibility become central to the gaze. Consequently, 'minor place making' has started to develop among residents, who change the environment with gates, curtains and physical objects to alter private space, which affects the physical integrity, cultural richness and the residents' liveability. The importance of the materiality proves that the location, locale and sense of place are intertwined, as physical settings affect the social construction in places, and the feelings that are attached to them. Hence, attractive contemporary architecture has a dark side to it, as it invites in the curiosity of tourists and contributes to blurring lines between private and public spaces. It is worth noting that these problematics go beyond 8Tallet and Ørestad Gymnasium, as these are only two of several attractive buildings in Ørestad that are dealing with tourism challenges. Albeit physical factors often receive limited attention in the context of social sustainability, they are deemed crucial for socially sustainable place making of everyday places that deal with tourism.

Fourth of all, it is analysed and discussed how the power and responsibility of the tourism places in Ørestad is delegated amongst relevant actors, as these often have a powerful role in place making. As this study deals with a private residential building and a high school that has limited access for visitors, this raises an interesting debate about who and how tourism should be managed. This is particularly relevant since Wonderful Copenhagen considers Ørestad as a potential destination for tourism development, alongside GFS Ørestad's call for a tourism strategy within the coming five years. The analysis concludes that tourism in Ørestad is currently limited on the agendas of Wonderful Copenhagen, By & Havn and GFS Ørestad. This is despite Wonderful Copenhagen's role as being responsible for tourism in Greater Copenhagen, By & Havn's vision to develop Ørestad as an attractive city to live, work and visit, and GFS' responsibility of the daily management of Ørestad. Thus, residents and private

homeowner associations are, to a wide extent, responsible for managing tourism, which is concerning since previous sections have outlined how local control can challenge the social sustainability of places. Whereas the overall place making in Ørestad is master planned and organised from above by both By & Havn and GFS, the locals are shaping their own places and policies, and field research shows that several buildings in Ørestad have their own strategy to manage tourism. Problematically, in the case of 8Tallet, their own policies regarding tourism are not communicated by Wonderful Copenhagen in the current promotion of the place. This clash is vital for decision makers such as GFS Ørestad to know and take into account when planning the future tourism. As locals have proved their willingness to tackle tourism problems and have acquired important tourism skills and knowledge about place making, it is considered essential that the local tourism stakeholders collaborate with each other across different power scales. Locals and tourists are crucial for how the place and everyday life is shaped, but so is the responsibility of external actors who can contribute with resources and professional experience. Thus, different values, interests and expectations must be aligned.

Finally, our research concludes that tourism impacts the ability of places to function as long-term, viable settings for people and places to evolve in various matters. The presence of tourists evidently affects the places, which can have both a negative and positive impact on socially sustainable factors such as local control, cultural richness and community wellbeing. This emphasises the need for taking tourism and social sustainability into account when designing, planning and managing quality places, which is not currently present in place making theory. Consequently, our findings give rise to the development of a new concept which acknowledges the interlink between tourism, place making and social sustainability; *Socially Sustainable Place Making*. The concept is based on four main principles which perceive place making as a collective process where the boundaries of private and public spaces are re-considered, and where locals share the responsibility of managing tourism with relevant stakeholders. Throughout this process, there is a need for incorporating a socially sustainable mindset that takes relevant physical and non-physical factors into account.

Conclusively, the findings of this thesis prove the power of tourism and the need to recognise how it shapes physical, socio-cultural and personal aspects of places and our everyday lives. Thus, we can ascribe to Freya Higgins-Desboilles' (2006: 1204) statement;

"*Tourism is not just businesses or governments – it is people*".

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