Urban Planning
Open Access Journal | ISSN: 2183-7635
Volume 4, Issue 1 (2019)

The Transformative Power of Urban Planning through Social Innovation

Editors

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COGITATIO

Urban Planning, 2019, Volume 4, Issue 1
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Published by Cogitatio Press
Rua Fialho de Almeida 14, 2º Esq.,
1070-129 Lisbon
Portugal

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Available online at: www.cogitatiopress.com/urbanplanning

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2019, Volume 4, Issue 1, Pages 1–6
DOI: 10.17645/up.v4i1.1950

Editorial

The Transformative Power of Social Innovation in Urban Planning and Local Development

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Submitted: 26 December 2018 | Published: 24 January 2019

Abstract
This issue discusses the concept of social innovation (SI) as a potentially transformative factor in urban planning and local development. SI represents an alternative to economic and technology-oriented approaches to urban development, such as that of 'smart cities', 'creative cities', etc. This is thanks to the emphasis SI puts on human agency and the empowerment of local communities and citizens to be actively involved in transforming their urban environments. Urban planning could benefit greatly from devoting more attention to SI when addressing the diverse urban problems of today, such as social exclusion, urban segregation, citizen participation and integration, or environmental protection, many of them addressed in the articles gathered in this volume.

Keywords
experimentation; planning; social innovation; transformation; urban development

Issue
This editorial is part of the issue "The Transformative Power of Urban Planning through Social Innovation", edited by Torill Nyseth (UiT, The Arctic University of Norway, Norway) and Abdelillah Hamdouch (University of Tours, France).

1. Introduction

1.1. Social Innovation: Neither Buzzword nor Normative Panacea

According to Harris and Albury (2009), we are living under a social innovation (SI) imperative. The literature on SI has boomed over the last three decades. Along with a tremendous stream of empirical investigation, a continuous effort has been progressively devoted to the conceptualization of the phenomenon and the processes underlying the deployment of socially innovative actions at various spatial scales. The concept has been introduced in a diversity of contexts for many different reasons. In particular, SI has been seen as a response to the financial and economic crises facing the Western world since the 1990s, favouring greater individual responsibility, private and voluntary service provision, and community self-organisation. As a consequence, SI has become viewed as a buzzword, or even, perhaps, a "quasi-concept" (Godin, 2012; Jensson & Harrison, 2013). From a theoretical point of view, it is underdeveloped as an academic concept. Its notions and perspectives have grown up primarily through practice, and through reflections based on practice (Mulgan, 2012).

As a matter of fact, the understanding of SI as a phenomenon has become so diversified that some scholars have suggested dropping it as a scientific concept (Moulaert, MacCallum, Mehmood, & Hamdouch, 2013), or at least questioning its usefulness (Pel & Bauler, 2015). On the one hand, we observe a mainstreaming of the social dimension of innovation in policy discourses, for instance, through EU policies, as a key tool for governance reform (Jessop, Moulaert, Hulgård, & Hamdouch,

2013). In these discourses, SI is depicted as a normative good (Osborne & Brown, 2011). On the other hand, the concept is highly contested, challenged and resisted in practice. Hence, SI has a double-sided nature: it is highly encouraged and discouraged at the same time (Bartels, 2017, p. 3790).

Despite its rather confused status, SI is nevertheless at least a useful concept for addressing important forms of change and transformation in organizations, neighbourhoods, cities and communities. SI deals with innovations that are social both in their ends and in their means. Hence, SI is not a new sector in the economy; rather, it is a way of understanding a wide range of activities and practices oriented toward addressing social problems or meeting human needs (Moulaert, Mehmood, MacCallum, & Leubolt, 2017, p. 25). Therefore, SI is "innovative because it generates alternatives to the dominant models of the provision of services and goods both by the public and the private sectors" (Blanco & Leon, 2017, p. 2174).

Following Jessop et al. (2013), what is important as an analytical starting point is the constitutive and performative role of social practices and their transformative potential when linked with new economic, political, social, cultural, environmental and other potentially encompassing social projects. Indeed, since the early 2000s, SI has been associated with diverse policy programs such as fighting poverty, overcoming social exclusion and empowering minorities (De Muro, Hamdouch, Cameron, & Moulaert, 2008; Moulaert et al., 2013).

At the same time, while much conceptual work has been done in identifying which dimensions and types of actions could be included under the umbrella of 'social innovation', it is the processes underlying the initiation and implementation of socially innovative responses to human and social needs that have concentrated the theoretical attention of researchers. Topics such as participation, democratic governance, social capital and networks, civic movements and bottom-up initiatives appear at the heart of the understanding of why and how some actors, groups or communities engage in socially creative initiatives aimed at better addressing the essential human and socioeconomic problems of the people concerned. Another dimension that has quickly become of particular interest and subject to investigation is related to collective action, multi-scalar governance and empowerment. These dimensions have been and remain crucial when we come to the theoretical side of SI research (Jessop et al., 2013).

SI, however, is neither a panacea nor a normative recipe for solving all human and social problems in any context. Indeed, it can be instrumental and have contested and even dark sides (Brandsen, Evers, Cattacin, & Zimmer, 2016). As a highly normative concept, an answer to social needs, one may assume that SI is always linked to positive development. What is good for society, however, will always be contested. There is also a problem with its essentialist nature, which eliminates the complexities involved in processes of transformation. Basically, all innovations are marked by a high degree of risk and uncertainty in the course of their development (Nowothny, 1997). Innovations do fail, including SIs, which may have all sorts of negative effects. Changing power structures means, for instance, that someone loses, which could lead to soured relationships in the community, if not opposition and fracturing. SI could also be linked with a diversity of political goals that change over time due to shifts in local political regimes. Political conflict might stop the implementation of a particular SI. Therefore, as we argue in the next section, the critical and political dimensions of SI in urban planning and local development relate to the very specific territorial contexts in which it is embedded and operates.

2. A Critical, Political and Territorially Embedded Phenomenon

SI is genuinely a critical and political perspective on innovation. The aim is social change. It is about empowering marginalized citizens and changing power relationships. It is a perspective that opposes neoliberalism and its devastating effects on urban development. It is even critical of the concept of social cohesion when promoting social cohesion runs in tandem with neoliberal policies stressing competitiveness (Eizaguirre, Pradel, Terrones, Martinez-Celorrio, & Garcia, 2012).

In the EU's Urban Agenda, social cohesion has been substituted for citizenship principles such as social justice and political participation. In a time of sharp welfare rescaling, reduced public sector, migration crises and increased urban competition, discourse on social cohesion often ignores power relations, territorial fragmentation and social rights. In contrast to what Paidakaki, Moulaert and van den Broeck (2018, p. 1) name the "caring neoliberalism view of social innovation", the authors put forward a post-political critique of a technomanagerial and consensus-oriented elitist governance arrangement paradigm that sharpens inequality in urban society. Instead, they put more stress on the political dimension and the notions of dissent, contestation and empowerment. In particular, in urban studies and planning, social innovation has been seen as a trigger for renovating and reinventing the political in planning (Metzger, Allmendinger, & Oosterlynck, 2014; Moulaert et al., 2013, 2017; Smith, Fressoli, & Thomas, 2014).

Therefore, SI and the initiatives and actions it encompasses cannot be understood in general terms, but should be approached in the very specific institutional and socioeconomic, political and cultural contexts in which they operate. In other words, SI has profound socioterritorial roots that frame the way it can feed or influence territorial development in given places and at certain times (MacCallum, Moulaert, Hillier, & Vicari Haddock, 2009; Moulaert & Nussbaumer, 2008). As such, SI is strongly related both to spatial planning and local development approaches.

The aim of this thematic issue is precisely to investigate the potential of SI for transforming these approaches and the practices they induce. The focus, therefore, is to explore how socially creative initiatives and strategies that local actors are engaged in for facing/solving various socioeconomic problems within the urban space can also be levers for transforming both traditional planning approaches and practices and local development trajectories. This focus is in line with several researchers who have highlighted the role of 'field actors' and their initiatives for spurring horizontal collaboration, social involvement and networking, participation and collective action, creativity and collective learning in spatial planning and local development approaches and practices in differentiated territorial contexts (see, among others, Albrechts, 2010, 2018; Christmann, Ibert, Jessen, & Walther, 2017; Evans, Karvonen, & Raven, 2016; Hamdouch et al., 2017; Healey, 1997, 2010; Moulaert, 2000).

The articles in this thematic issue identify what impact the concept of SI has had on planning and local development approaches and practices, understanding "the role of SI in developing alternative socio-political discourses and its potential for social change in particular contexts" (Moulaert et al., 2013, p. 18). More precisely, the idea is to explore the relations between local transformation, urban planning and SI. Do we find evidence of the 'promises' of SI, such as changing power relations or solving various socioeconomic problems? Under what conditions can these promises be filled? Can SI open windows for more democratic dialogue, collective cross-learning and shared visions with citizens and civic associations in order to imagine socially innovative solutions addressing the needs of traditionally excluded people?

3. Perspectives on the Transformative Potential of SI in Urban Planning and Local Development

This issue consists of eight specially-written articles. All of them deal with SI in urban planning and development settings. Geographically, the articles address issues in cities and towns from Northern Europe to Canada and Central America.

Four of the articles address innovative forms of citizen participation. Nyseth, Ringholm and Agger (2019) explore new forms of participation aimed at including difficult-to-reach citizens. They argue that citizen participation has to be reconsidered in a form that is relevant to the particular context and policy problem and to the interests that are affected. Efficient participatory methods require design; they do not simply happen through, for instance, open invitations to public meetings. Førde (2019) discusses innovative forms of integration of migrants in urban settings and emphasises the role of encounter as a transformative power in integration initiatives. Hanssen (2019) looks at the involvement of children in urban planning. How can specific planning regulations stimulate a development that ensures active involvement of urban childhoods trigger SI? Nielsen, Woods and Lerme (2019) discuss the use of aesthetics as a tool in citizen dialogues in the Swedish town of Hamarkullen. Engaging citizens in co-design processes is even considered in relation to place reinvention in a small rural centre in northern Sweden, as in Lindberg, Johansson, Karlberg and Balogh (2019). In the struggle to remain attractive to inhabitants, tourists, entrepreneurs and other stakeholders, various creative initiatives to engage citizens and field actors in co-design processes for innovative place-renewal have simultaneously emerged. These processes may be understood in terms of SI, as they encompass new forms, areas and agendas of stakeholder involvement in societal transformation.

How urban planning could play a role in supporting SI is discussed by De Blust, Devisch and Schreurs (2019). The issue addressed here is the underlying processes of collective learning on which planning practices are based. Several articles focus on models of integrated area development at the neighbourhood level in cities such as Copenhagen and Montreal. The neighbourhood level is also important to the social housing development project in Santo Domingo, argue Hamdouch and Galvan (2019). Although the project was a success in terms of the improvement of housing and public services and had the potential to create structural change in the planning approach, it failed in terms of empowerment and participation due to the particular centralized political culture in the city and country.

Three articles in the thematic issue are more specifically interested in investigating culture-oriented urban development initiatives. Based on a study of two boroughs in Montreal, Canada, Klein,Tremblay, Sauvage, Ghaffari and Angulo (2019) argue for a culture of proximity as a part of an innovative and alternative local development strategy. To counteract the negative effects of gentrification, cultural initiatives need to be embedded within larger inclusionary strategies intended to improve both working and living conditions in local neighbourhoods. Culture is also an important aspect of the upgrading of the swimming pool in Hamarkullen, Gothenburg (Nielsen et al., 2019). Aesthetics played an important role in including local citizens—in this case, Muslim women—in the process. Art and culture as tools for immigrants' integration is a topic also addressed by Førde (2019).

Finally, experimentation is a transversal topic in several of the articles, as well as something that seems to characterize SI. One field in which experimentation is needed is in how to deal with the loss of social cohesion and failing policies of integration and inclusion of immigrants. In particular, the wicked problems of living with difference are addressed in Førde's (2019) article on two cities in northern Norway. The innovative integration initiatives involving art and cultural industries contributed to new encounters, enhanced interaction and dialogue across cultural differences. Through creative experimentation, these initiatives offered imaginative horizons for a possible future. Experiments may also func-

tion as a framework for testing out new forms of participation adapted to the particular context, its challenges, and the citizens being addressed, as argued by Nyseth et al. (2019).

4. Concluding Reflections

A cross-reading of the articles in this thematic issue suggests that the transformative power of SI, as a territorially-embedded dynamics, derives from its potential to change, locally and in specific institutional, political, socioeconomic and cultural contexts, the approach and the processes that underlie spatial plans, design, content and scope. Indeed, SI can open windows for more democratic dialogue, collective cross-learning and shared visions with citizens and civic associations in order to imagine socially innovative solutions addressing people's needs, especially those of marginalized people. Therefore, SI, in a strong sense, is not only a matter of allowing citizens to have a voice in the planning process; it also implies the right to propose (even impose) alternatives to plans and projects designed and proposed by city planners and local authorities.

However, as shown in some of the articles, socially creative initiatives and actions, whoever promotes them and even if they are genuinely oriented toward changing the order of things in people's living conditions and decision-making processes, are never guaranteed to be effective or systematically positive in their outcomes. The success of these initiatives and actions depends strongly on the willingness and ability of the actors to correct or reduce power asymmetries across social groups within planning processes, both when changing governance arrangements and when giving power to alternative development trajectories in the reinvention of places. Engaging new development perspectives relies strongly on the capacity of the local actors to change the way of doing things, i.e., to transform urban planning and governance approaches and practices. These changes in urban planning approaches require planners and city developers, but also citizens themselves, to mobilize their creativity and look at prospects for "breaking-out-of-the-box" (Albrechts, 2005, p. 263).

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the authors, peer reviewers, and the journal's staff and editors for their contribution to making this thematic issue come through.

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COGITATIO

Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183–7635)
2019, Volume 4, Issue 1, Pages 7–18
DOI: 10.17645/up.v4i1.1680

Article

Innovative Forms of Citizen Participation at the Fringe of the Formal Planning System

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Submitted: 6 July 2018 | Accepted: 5 September 2018 | Published: 24 January 2019

Abstract
In the Nordic countries, we are witnessing a proliferation of novel and more experimental ways of citizen and authority interaction within the field of urban planning and governance. These formats are seen in urban regeneration projects and planning experiments that endorse more inclusive interactions between public authorities and local actors than in the traditional formal hearings. The intention of this article is to explore the potential of these forms of participation in contributing to social innovation particularly related to including citizens that are difficult to reach, and in creating new arenas for interaction and collaboration. Theoretically, the article is inspired by the concepts of social innovation, planning as experimentation (Hillier, 2007; Nyseth, Pløger, & Holm, 2010), and co-creation (Voorberg, Bekkers, & Tummers, 2013). Empirically, the article draws on three different cases from Norway and Denmark which entailed some novel ways of involving local citizens in urban planning. Finally, the article discusses how formal planning procedures can gain inspiration from such initiatives.

Keywords
citizen participation; co-production; experimental planning; social innovation

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Transformative Power of Urban Planning through Social Innovation", edited by Torill Nyseth (UiT, The Arctic University of Norway, Norway) and Abdelillah Hamdouch (University of Tours, France).

1. Introduction

A dominant trend in contemporary planning is the need to open up planning processes to new voices and perspectives (Albrechts, 2002; Campbell & Marshall, 2010; Fung, 2015; Lundman, 2016; MacCallum, 2010; Monno & Khakee, 2012). Both in the Nordic countries as well as internationally, we are witnessing a number of new and more participatory forms of interactions between citizens and local authorities (Healey et al., 2008; Sørensen & Torfing, 2018). Some of these participatory practices are being exercised in the periphery of—or only loosely linked to—the formalities of planning processes and operate under different umbrellas, for instance Do-It-Yourself urbanism (Talen, 2015), insurgent planning (Miraftab, 2009), everyday urbanism and guerrilla urbanism (Simpson, 2014). These initiatives are often taken by citizens and manifest as protests or opposition towards the authorities (Agger & Sørensen, 2014; Nyseth & Ringholm, 2018; Umemoto, 2001). However, local authorities also experiment with new forms of participation. In this article, we will analyse three examples of innovative initiatives aiming to involve citizens in formal planning and urban governance processes initiated and organised by the planning authorities.

In a number of transformative urban programs, citizens' input is valued for different reasons (Sørensen & Torfing, 2018). Urban planning and development have

become a testing ground for different forms of experiments (Evans, Karvonen, & Raven, 2016; Lim, 2016; Marvin & Silver, 2016). Under the umbrella term of "urban laboratories", a collection of methods has been developed for organising urban experiments. Increasingly, they have moved beyond the merely technical and towards a social profile (Karvonen & van Heur, 2014), meaning that they emphasise interaction and deliberation among stakeholders in different formats such as, for instance, charrettes, café dialogues, consultations, deliberative panels, workgroup weekends, forecasts, and art interventions. Some of these initiatives may be described as "democratic innovations"; understood as institutions that have been specifically designed to shift the understanding of citizen participation in the political decision-making process (Smith, 2009). Experiments like "The City Development Year in Tromsø" (in 2005–2006) and "Experiment Stockholm" (in 2015) were innovative in their approaches to imagining urban futures for the city through a number of multi-actor workshops, reframing the planning discourse, and staging events that occasionally created moments of magic (Nyseth et al., 2010; Smas, Schmitt, Perjo, & Tunström, 2016). Advantages accruing to the use of temporary spaces as places for artistic experiments in visualising possible futures (Haydn & Temel, 2006; Metzger, 2010) or as sites for pop-up events that can serve as arenas for community action (Madanipour, 2017) have progressed. In the field of area-based urban governance, for instance, new forms of citizen participation have been launched in connection with new ideas about how public authorities can work more strategically in order to mobilise civil society actors to co-produce public services, particularly in Denmark (Agger & Tortzen, 2015). In the majority of these initiatives, citizens are expected to play an important role in co-producing joint solutions for both social and physical improvements with public authorities in their neighbourhood (Agger & Jensen, 2015; Agger & Andersen, 2018; Agger & Tortzen, 2018). Programs with similar aims exist in Norway as well (Ruud & Vestby, 2011).

A motivation behind the innovative forms of citizen participation is the difficulties that traditional and more formal arenas for participation have in reaching a broad scope of citizens and other stakeholders. Another motivation is the need for cities to signify their openness to diversity in ways of living, interests, and ethnicity. Particularly in larger cities, policies targeting social cohesion and branding the cities as being open and inclusive is a new trend, partly as a critique of the entrepreneurial focus dominating urban strategies of the 1990s (Florida, 2014). "Social innovation", which in urban development focuses on processes aimed at countering social exclusion, has gained importance (Gerometta, Häussermann, & Longo, 2005, p. 2007) as a result of this trend. What we are witnessing is an increased interest in the transformative power of urban planning through social innovation (Moulaert, 2016). Although there are multiple interpretations of what social innovation implies, there is a general consensus that 'processes' between citizens and public authorities is considered valuable for the legitimacy of the public sector (Bekkers, Tummers, & Voorberg, 2013).

The interest in social innovation in urban planning has resulted in a number of "democratic innovations" in the sense that citizen participation is being framed differently from the traditional forms; public meetings and hearings with an emphasis on more interactive and participatory elements. These participatory initiatives most commonly start with a "problem" that needs to be solved or a new possibility opened up, and then involve the public/civil society, corporate organisations, and networks, in order to build collaborative institutions that work. Although we find that these new venues for participation have the potential for recruiting a broader scope of actors, we also find that there are some important aspects that haven't been discussed in the scholarly debate.

First, some of these new forms of participation are not necessarily designed according to democratic principles such as inclusion, transparency, and accountability. These venues might still strengthen democracy by including new actors. However, they may lead to the participation of resourceful citizens claiming to talk on behalf of their locality. Second, they are aiming at outcomes other than those of mandatory planning, including features such as creating greater public value, contributing to social innovation, and putting new ideas on the agenda (Demazière et al., 2017). Third, they are often motivated in a context of uncertainty and the need to mobilise new resources into transformative actions (Healey, 2007). For these reasons, the innovative forms of citizen participation also represent a risk to democracy, and we have both sides of risk in mind; the possibility of strengthening as well as weakening democratic standards.

In this article, we will explore certain aspects of these forms of participation and their potential contribution to social innovation. We will base the analysis on three case studies of innovative citizen participation framed as forms of experiments aiming at creating a greater public good. The article is structured as follows: we start by reviewing concepts of social and democratic innovation, creative experimentation, and co-creation as approaches to analyse new modes of citizen participation. Next, we present three examples of innovative forms of citizen participation in invited spaces from Norway and Denmark. In the discussion, we consider the democratic implications of the extended repertoire of techniques used to include citizens, which is otherwise difficult to reach, and create new arenas for interaction and collaboration. Finally, we have investigated how the results of these forms of participation are incorporated into formal processes of planning and decision making.

2. Social Innovation, Planning and Empowerment

The field of social innovation has literally boomed in the last couple of decades, driven by such trends as the engagement of citizens and organisations in inno-

vation, criticism of dominant business models, and narrow economy outlooks on development (van der Have & Rubalcaba, 2016). Social innovation is understood as new ways of creating and implementing social change (Hochgerner, 2011). The focus is on practices and on the way they are combined. Innovation has become more about solving social problems than about new technology as, for instance, stated in the European Commission (2013, p. 6) guide to social innovation: "social innovation can be defined as the development and implementation of new ideas to meet social needs and create new social relationships or collaborations". Starting out largely as a political agenda, more analytical approaches have recently been developed. Across the diverse and fragmented literature, two core components appear to be shared. Social innovation encompasses: 1) a change in social relationships, systems, or structures, and 2) such changes serve a shared human need/goal or solve a socially relevant problem (van der Have & Rubalcaba, 2016). Following Moulaert, MacCallum, Mehmood and Hamdouch (2014), we would add empowerment as a third dimension, as the engagement of citizens is essential to promote social innovation, in particular by giving voice and power to marginalised groups. In accordance to Voorberg, Bekkers and Tummers (2015, p. 1347), we understand social innovation as:

> The creation of long-lasting outcomes that aim to address societal needs by fundamentally changing the relationships, positions, and rules between the involved stakeholders through an open process of participation, exchange, and collaboration with relevant stakeholders, including end-users, thereby crossing organisational boundaries and jurisdictions.

This is a perspective that emphasises the improvement of the quality of life of people where development has a more active meaning aimed to transform relationships and shift trajectories (Gonzales & Healey, 2005). Therefore, successful social innovation that leads to social value creation understood as empowerment, reciprocity, and improved relations among the participants is often constructed in a multi-stakeholder setting where competing values have to be dealt with. Social innovations are often co-produced with participating actors from both civil and government sectors of society.

3. Planning as Creative Experimentation and Co-Creation

The interest in finding new ways to interact with public and private actors has, within the field of planning, given rise to an interest in new approaches and practices. For Jean Hillier, experiments are speculative methods of knowing, working with doubts and uncertainty, without knowledge of where one ends (Hillier, 2008). New energies might be mobilised in such transformations, in which there are losers as well as winners, and there may be hegemonic forms of representation (for instance, interest groups of NIMBYs). It is, in Hillier's view, important for planners to organise "good encounters", in which powers of acting and the active effects that follow them are increased; a more inclusive, open, creative, and democratic planning, where possible future scenarios and collaborative, critical discussion about their potential consequences for different actors are called for. The experimental planning approach challenges the framing of participation both with regard to form (performance) and inclusiveness. This approach to participation also finds resonance in the growing literature on the concepts of "co-creation" and "co-production" that are prominent in the discussion on public innovation (Sørensen & Torfing, 2018; Torfing, 2016). These are essential elements in the line of thought that is described as network governance, co-management, and co-production (Hartley, Sørensen, & Torfing, 2013), and summed up as being part of a new perspective on steering under the label 'New Public Governance' (Osborne, 2006). This development is characterised by increased involvement of actors from the business sector, third sector actors, and users in different phases of policy-making, emphasising the collaborative aspects of the innovation process. The participation aspect comes from the literature on collaborative innovation, user-driven innovation (Bason, 2007), employee-driven innovation (Karlsson, Skålèn, & Sundström, 2014), and public value co-creation (Moore & Benington, 2011). The aim of this can be summed up as twofold: to involve citizens/users in policy-making and to produce good policies that lead to different aspects of public value (Alford, 2010; Bovaird & Loeffler, 2012; Bryson, Sancino, Benington, & Sørensen, 2016).

In other words, our approach to the innovative forms of participation are inspired by different, but related, strands of theory. What is striking in the different contributions is that the democratic aspect has not been the most central issue in these studies, even if there are exceptions (Agger & Löfgren, 2008; Shakeri, 2011).

The core question in this article is thus: how does the innovative participation that is carried out in experimental forms hold the democratic potential that the idea of social innovation rests on? As mentioned, innovation contains risk (Osborne & Brown, 2013). One democratic aspect may be countered by another. Hence, social innovation could have both winners and losers (Nicholls, Simon, & Gabriel, 2015). In this analysis, we are guided by the concept of inclusiveness. This is at the core of social innovation ambitions. It is also an essential "democratic good" (Smith, 2009) and an evaluation criterion of innovative participatory democracy (Geißel, 2013). Inclusiveness can, however, manifest itself in different ways, for instance, by how open the invitation to participate is, when and how the participation will take place, and what activity it is organised around. We will emphasise that inclusiveness is also about the degree to which the views and impulses from the participation are being channelled into the decision process. If participation is

not being channelled into the decision making process, then participation aligns with what Arnstein (1969) labels "therapy". We have, therefore, calibrated inclusiveness into a set of three research questions that will guide the analysis:

1) Are the planning authorities able to mobilise new groups that otherwise are difficult to reach?
2) Do they create new arenas for communication and collaboration?
3) How are the experiences from the participation fed into the formal and decision-making part of the planning process?

4. Methods and Data

The three examples, selected to illustrate new forms of citizen participation, have been chosen on the basis that they all display innovative forms of participation with the purpose of enhancing the inclusiveness of citizens in urban planning. They are, however, not intended to be representative. With regard to innovativeness, we refer to the Schumpeterian, contextualised definition of innovation (Schumpeter, 1934/1975). This means that what we define as innovative forms of participation are not entirely novel forms, but forms that are new in the particular context. In this case, the context is the cities where the form is applied. The first example discussed is from Tromsø, a medium-sized city located in the northern part of Norway. The example comprises a participatory experiment on visioning the future. The data came from a number of sources because author Nyseth followed the project over a period of one year (in 2015–2016), through on-site participatory observation, by taking part in the events as a citizen in the city, and, on one occasion, as a speaker at one of the meetings. This enabled direct access to the empirical field. In addition, a diverse collection of documents relating to the project has been analysed. The project was well-documented in plans, papers, websites, evaluations, and summaries of events. The second case is from a small city called Kongsvinger, in southern Norway. Based on public documents and qualitative interviews with three of the organisers, Ringholm investigated the participatory processes of the Kongsvinger Urban Lab. This was part of a master planning process which took place in 2015–2017. The third example draws on a study of urban regeneration in the form of area-based initiatives (ABIs) in Copenhagen, Denmark. Empirical data was collected by Agger between September 2015 and May 2017 and consist of qualitative interviews with planners, as well as documental analysis of formal and informal plans regarding the tasks and activities in the ABI.

5. Tracing Novel Patterns of Participation

The three examples presented below are analysed through the lenses of social innovation, creative experimentation, and co-creation. In terms of social innovation, we question whether the planning authorities are able to reach and mobilise new groups that otherwise are difficult to reach. In terms of creative experimentation, the level of initiating and implementing a testing ground for inviting in new perspectives on urban development is a criteria. In terms of co-creation, forms of collaboration between a broad set of actors are addressed, as well as the potential impact these activities have in the more formal phases of the planning and decision-making process.

5.1. Case 1. Multiplicity: "Where Is Tromsø Going?"

As one of the fastest growing cities in the country for more than 30 years, Tromsø has experienced an intense transformation of the urban landscape that affects citizens' everyday lives and their identification with the place. To involve the citizens in future plans for development has therefore been an issue. The case discussed here, entitled "Where is Tromsø going?" was a project intended to reflect the future of the city, and took place in 2015–2016. A range of different participation methods was used—hence the label "multiplicity". The City has a long history of thinking about and carrying out experimental methods in urban planning. From the 1990s and onwards, a number of new collaborative planning projects were introduced in order to involve and commit stakeholders and involve citizens in urban transformation projects (Nyseth, 2011; Nyseth et al., 2010).

This project took place as part of a formal planning process related to a municipal master plan. The project invited citizens to think about and plan the future of the city. One of the arguments for the project was that "citizen participation, as it is practiced today by the Tromsø municipality, is hardly according to the minimum requirements in the Planning and Building Act". One of the aims of the project was therefore to explore new methods of participation. The initiative was organised as a project and, in that sense, given more autonomy to go beyond authoritative planning procedures and still be a part of the "system" because it was linked to a formal planning process.

The methods used to involve citizens in the project were multiple. Citizens were invited to participate in public meetings, philosophical conversations, city walks highlighting local heritage, cultural events, workshops, democratic cafés, seminars, and exhibitions. In addition, films with topics related to urban planning were shown at a cinema followed by discussions and lectures were given, blogs produced, and chronicles written and published both in the local newspapers and in special publications of "small papers".

Among the most creative and innovative forms of participation was the interactive website based on the MyCity concept. This was a digital platform of communication that used interactive mapping technology which allowed citizens to post their views and suggestions to improve their city online on a virtual map. A summary of the ideas was published in an exhibition. All citizens

were invited and the invitation to participate was worded as follows: "Do you have an idea, dream, or opinion about the future of Tromsø? Share your views here: tromso.mycity.io!" By clicking on the map, citizens could publish comments for others to read, vote for, or peruse. Citizens were invited to suggest the unused potential in the city and suggest solutions that could improve the quality of the community. Relevant suggestions were to be absorbed into the municipal master plan. Altogether, 173 suggestions were posted on the website. The aim was both a democratic experiment generating commitment and engagement of citizens as well as collecting as many practically implementable ideas as possible for the pending area-planning phase.

Another method was organising workshops with young people. Two workshops about future visions were organised. One focussed on architecture in which school children were introduced to thinking about the future through architecture. The other workshop was a documentary film project. Another example of innovative methods was the use of pop-up art and cultural events. The idea was to visualise potentialities.

Among the more obvious outcomes of the project were all the suggestions that were posted on the website; some of these ideas were absorbed into the formal planning process for further consideration. It is, however, very difficult to find any concrete references to these suggestions in the actual plan. More material outcomes were a number of published "small papers" which documented all the ongoing sub-projects. These papers were not academic papers, but had a format that was very accessible, with many visualisations, and easy to read. The project became a testing ground for new ways of reaching out to new citizens using other forms of communication. All the lectures, seminars, and events had quite a number of participants and, although the audience in most of the seminars was more or less composed of the same people, the cultural walks and the workshops with schoolchildren did invite and recruit other audiences. The project mobilised new actors in citizen participation—people who probably would not have participated in public meetings; for instance, schoolchildren. The performance aspect was also important. Young people "doing" planning through city walks, drawings, filmmaking, and other forms of visualisations engaged with and built knowledge about planning in a much more solid way than could be inspired by hearings or meetings. On a more general level, some of these methods have become a part of the standard procedure in the city planning office toolkit, also involving the department of culture in order to use art and cultural expressions as a means of making citizen participation more interesting.

5.2. Case 2. Mobilising the Commons: Stories from the AIBs in Copenhagen

Just as in other metropolitan cities, Copenhagen is challenged by some neighbourhoods that fall behind the rest of the city with regard to the high level of ethnic minorities, people not engaging in the workforce, and young people dropping out of education (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2012). This has resulted in a number of initiatives– among which urban renewal initiatives are integrated (Municipality of Copenhagen, 2012) that address physical improvements and social activities. In Danish, these initiatives are called Områdefornyelser which translates as ABIs.

ABIs are partly funded by the state and partly by municipalities and runs for a period of five years. Each site has a local secretariat, staffed with four to eight people who are typically architects, public administrators, geographers, and social scientists. Part of their way of operating is that it is essential to mobilise local actors to enact citizenship and to care about their neighbours and neighbourhoods. They do so by trying to constitute the deprived neighbourhood as a common place, i.e., an entity for local action and for living a quality life with your neighbours, thus the title; mobilising the commons.

The ABIs methods of involving citizens included a range of different and innovative participatory approaches in order to reach out. Of particular importance are the methods used to connect with certain groups that are often difficult to reach, e.g., ethnic minorities, youth, busy families, or homeless groups. One type of approach they frequently apply is inspired by field approaches used in anthropology, organised by planners as "study trips" in order to feel the environment and to talk to people in the locality. An example of this took place in Nørrebro, where a local plan for traffic solutions was to be debated. Prior to the meeting, the planners went out in the neighbourhood and carried out a number of qualitative interviews with young immigrants who would not attend public meetings. At the coffee table in the meeting room, the perspectives of some of the young people were represented on posters in the form of quotes in speech bubbles. During the debate, the facilitator requested the audience to take these perspectives into consideration.

Another approach is design-thinking; for instance, experimenting with prototyping urban installations in the form of temporary projects which could take the form of converting parking lots to green spaces by installing artificial grass and benches. The idea is to test different uses of public spaces and to catch the attention of passers-by who normally would not participate in a meeting about the development of their neighbourhood. Other examples are projects that aim to show 1:1 scale installations using temporary materials to give an idea about the size and function of the planned installation. One example of this occurred in the ABI in Valby, where a local square was transformed into a temporary garbage collection station. The whole idea of placing a garbage station in a rather dense urban neighbourhood would normally lead to much protest and conflict. However, by using temporary testing it was demonstrated that the garbage station could also carry out other functions and serve as a

local meeting place. The temporary installation helped to not only capture a broad group of local residents that passed by, but it also managed to qualify local deliberations about where to locate the garbage station.

The example of the Danish ABIs shows that they are able to mobilise groups that are otherwise difficult to reach. They do so by applying anthropological methods, that 'go to the field' where these groups are present, and by creating an arena where local actors and networks can meet and deliberate. Many of these networks work side-by-side in the neighbourhoods, but often they have no knowledge of the existence of the other actors or are too occupied with their own agenda to see the value of collaboration. Thus, in a sense, the participation is organised top-down, but with the intention of kick-starting bottom-up processes of empowerment. The potential impact of these approaches is twofold. First, the ABI approaches mobilise local actors and contribute to creating local action capabilities among different local actors. However, it is usually the most resourceful actors who participate in these arenas. Second, when these approaches are coupled with design-thinking and anthropology tools, then the potential impact of reaching a broader group of actors is high. The potential impact of these modes of participation is difficult to assess in a general manner. However, we noted that when local actors managed to agree on a particular matter, the city council would often approve the projects. Nevertheless, there were also incidents where local actors agreed on a topic that was against the majority of the city council and, therefore, impossible to implement, to the frustration of the local actors.

5.3. Case 3. Regeneration Strategy through Participation: CityLab (ByLab) In Kongsvinger (Norway)

The CityLab in Kongsvinger was connected to a city development process, which was also connected to transport planning in the area of the city and its surroundings. The aim was to chisel out a development strategy for the city area—Kongsvinger 2050. The general political backdrop for initiating the city development strategy consisted of three main factors. Firstly, an ageing population prompted a general agreement that the municipality should take measures to inspire young people to come forward with their wishes and expectations about the future of the municipality. Secondly, a plan for necessary changes in the road system was coming up. Thirdly, the municipality had urban regeneration aspirations intended to bring new life into the city centre, particularly to attract young people. The process should, therefore, include a broad set of participatory efforts.

The entire planning process was carried out in the period from autumn 2015 to winter 2017 and several participatory measures were taken. The activities and meetings during the process were initiated in collaboration between Kongsvinger Municipality, Hedmark County Authority, the national road authorities, and Our City Kongsvinger (Byen vår Kongsvinger), a network organisation open to business actors, organisations, and individuals which advocates for activity in the city.

The planners argued for new and untraditional ways of participation, in particular those which would engage young people. Insights from citizens, in general, were also welcomed and a set of events with a broad scope with regard to the age and institutional affinity of the participants was designed.

The methods of involving citizens included a range of different activities, starting with in-house preparatory work and a start-up conference focusing on everyday experiences from different parts of the city. In the first phase (2015–2016), three workshops were carried out: 1) the "Youth Workshop" with the youth council in October 2015, 2) the "Business Workshop" with business actors in November 2015, and 3) the "City Seminar" which included a broader spectrum of citizens, in January 2016. These were carried out in the form of group discussions where each group summed up their inputs regarding the process in a document that was handed in to the planning committee. In the second phase, a "Future Workshop" and a public meeting took place, both of which included a diverse set of citizens. Two categories of groups were in action: 1) invited participants from different societal sectors, such as the business sector and the voluntary sector, and 2) an open group where anyone could attend. The third phase, which was the innovative form in this context, was organised as a CityLab over one week and marked the final part of the participatory efforts.

The purpose was to gather insight for developing future images and concept development. A CityLab had not been carried out in this municipality before. The whole process itself was also innovative in the way that the collaborating partners (Kongsvinger Municipality, Hedmark County Authority, the national road authorities, or Statens vegvesen, and Our City Kongsvinger, or Byen vår Kongsvinger) had not carried out a participation-based planning process of this kind and volume before. The CityLab was organised as a combination of meetings in new arenas, visits to different workplaces, politicians' lunch in the pedestrian street, politicians' sofa, collections of written suggestions, taking photos of important places, and it involved children and young people. The CityLab certainly managed to create new arenas and engage people who are, in general, difficult to engage in municipal planning; particularly children, youth, and people who are not engaged in organisations that are normally included in participative planning. However, while it is fairly easy to map the arenas, it is far more difficult to get the full picture of who the participants in the arenas were. Some are straightforward, like school classes and workplaces. Others are impossible to map, like the city walks, the politicians' sofa, and collections of suggestions and photos. The participants in those arenas were not filed and mapped.

The inputs from workshops and other events were summed up and reported on. The project's homepage

made all these documents accessible and enabled responses. The policy documents that presented the "future pictures" to the business and city development committees, to a certain degree, summed up experiences and views from the different components of the whole process. It is, however, difficult to trace which event and what stage of the process the knowledge and viewpoints came from by simply reading the policy document, as this document is short and refers to the process in general terms. In other words, the "tidier" forms of participation, workshops, and formal meetings are possible to identify in the documents, while the "untidy" forms tend to become invisible. When considering how traceable the inputs from the process are in the policy document, however, we must take into consideration that this is a strategy document and that there is a possibility that the inputs will be more concretely traceable in later phases, when the strategy is translated into zoning plans and area zoning plans. The findings from the three examples are summarised in Table 1.

6. Discussion

In this article, our intention was to explore the democratic potential of new forms of citizen participation in the field of urban planning and governance. Social/democratic potential was particularly addressed through inclusion and operationalised into two questions: 1) To what degree are these forms of participation able to include new groups of citizens? 2) Did they manage to create new arenas for interaction and collaboration? What the three examples have in common is that they experimented with—for the planners involved—new modes of interacting and reaching out to affected citizens. The most inclusive methods used to reach out to citizens that are otherwise difficult to reach are the

Table 1. Summary of the three examples.

	Multiplicity: Where is Tromsø going?	Mobilising the commons: ABI in Copenhagen	Regeneration strategy through participation: CityLab in Kongsvinger
Forms of social innovation (inclusion) • Invite new groups • New arenas	Invited people with *different backgrounds*, interests, and ages to form views about the future of Tromsø. *New arenas*; cafes, the street, the web	Mobilise local actors by creating *new arenas* for participation; Open, hang out spaces in the neighbourhood; Reach out to *hard to reach groups*, e.g., busy citizens, families, ethnic minorities; Contribute to creating empowerment	Inspired young people, in particular, to come forward *New arenas*: shopping School visits mall, pedestrian street, work-places
Forms of experimentation • Methods of involvement • Level of "testing"	*Public meetings;* *City walks;* *Philosophical conversations;* *Cultural events;* *Democracy cafés;* *Blogs;* *Chronicles;* *Interactive web;* *Workshops*	*Field approaches* to connect with citizens; Qualitative interviews; *Temporary installations* as tests and to create attention	*Politicians' sofa*: sofa manned two hours a day by a politician; *CityLab on tour*: seven planners and politicians visit workplaces and meeting places City talk in the mall; Politicians' city lunch in the pedestrian street; *The thought-catcher*: notes that people can post on a map to state a view; Sketches and 3D glasses to visualise future Kongsvinger.
Forms of co-creation • Cross-sector collaboration • Multi-level collaboration	*Cross-sector:* between planning office, local architects, artists and a broad set of stakeholders	*Multi-level:* Collaboration between the municipality and state authorities; Creating action space for coordinated activities.	*Multi-level & cross-sector:* Collaboration between the municipality, Hedmark County Authority, the national road authorities, and Our City Kongsvinger.

examples of Case 2, "Mobilising the Commons". The ABI officers' efforts to reach out to, for instance, migrants through ethnographic methods are unique. By bringing planners and public administrators to the streets and public spaces where citizens socialise, they were able to directly interact with citizens in the neighbourhood. It was possible to reach those who never attend public meetings, create dialogue on the spot, and consider alternative views and inputs. Also, in the two other examples, new groups of citizens, particularly young people, were included through new approaches and methods, for instance, filmmaking, interactive web, and cultural events. A mall, a street, a café, or a workplace can become arenas for citizen participation and interaction.

By using new methods for expressing views about qualities of place, all three examples also created new arenas for dialogue among citizens and experts. Such arenas can function as a form of intermediary institutions between actors in the neighbourhood, as well as between the neighbourhood and local government (Agger & Jensen, 2015, p. 2059). At their best, these innovative forms of participation might contribute to a "third space" (Firth, Maye, & Pearson, 2011) or what Fung calls "cold deliberative settings" (Fung, 2003). In "hot" settings, the stakes are set and views are strongly formed; stakeholders are therefore hardly persuaded by others arguments. "Cooler" settings are often more informal and unofficial, and have a more advisory function; less is directly at stake, which also opens up the possibility of minds being changed without any risk for the stakeholder. Such spaces can sometimes open up quite unexpectedly (Metzger, 2010, p. 218) or, as in these examples, be deliberately designed and facilitated.

The examples presented in this article do not represent methods and techniques which aim at increasing citizen participation that are completely unknown. What makes them interesting, however, is the compilation of a broad variety of methods which involve citizens and create an assortment of participation in one and the same process; as such, this illustrates the diversity of participatory development. The examples display a mix of participatory forms, with different degrees of staging. Some parts of the initiatives and processes were more orchestrated by the planners than others. Such processes can be achieved through the arrangement or creation of a new physical environment to meet in, or through changing the technologies, for example through the use of social media and web-based forms of interaction.

As for the third question about how the experiences from the participation are fed into the formal and decision making aspect of the planning process, the answer is more ambivalent. Some of these forms of participation seem to provide new forms of openings towards new ideas, opinions, and imageries that could increase the quality of a plan. On the other hand, there are also shortcomings when it comes to concrete and tangible results in the form of direct inputs to a plan. In the Multiplicity case, a decision vacuum occurred in the phase when the project was finished, and the experiences were supposed to be transferred and linked to the standard operating procedures and routines of the municipal planning office. Experiments such as these often lead to conflicts with city governments on how to use places in a somewhat orderly fashion (Groth & Corijn, 2005). The middle ground, which is an advantage in the creative phases of the process, becomes a disadvantage when results are due to be translated into the formal planning process. The question of how a participatory process might inform a final plan is often not articulated. The conservativeness of the plan as a genre might be an explanation as to why this seems to be so difficult to change (MacCallum, 2008). Another problem related to these forms of settings, from a democratic point of view, is that they do not provide a high degree of transparency or accountability. In addition, there is probably a need to dig deeper into the possible outputs of participation, other than simply looking for them in the corresponding policy documents. These processes are just as much aimed at having an impact on the mindset of citizens, planners, and politicians, both with regard to quality of place and with regard to an understanding of how participation should take place. As such, it is possible that they better correspond with the expressive side of participation than with the instrumental side (Pateman, 1979). Such aspects are in line with a great part of the social innovation literature that underlines the transformative power in contributing to the development of new roles, mindsets, and discourses.

7. Conclusion

Citizen participation has to be reconsidered in a form that is relevant to the particular context, to the particular policy problem, and to the interests that are affected. In this sense, experiments may function as a frame for testing out new forms of participation adapted to the particular context, its challenges, and the citizens being addressed. Efficient participatory methods require design; they do not simply happen through, for instance, open invitations to public meetings. These methods need to be tailored to fit the context and its challenges (Agger, 2012). Offering a new forum for interaction with a diversity of actors, methods such as urban living labs, and other forms of experiments can be used to establish a defined space for experimentation where users become co-creators of values, ideas, and innovative concepts (Hakkarainen & Hyysalo, 2013, p. 21). Perhaps this search for novel ways of addressing participation is an expression of public planners' and politicians' recognition of the New Political Culture (Clark, 2014)—that citizens communicate through different channels than before and, in order to involve them, planners and politicians need to meet them where they are: in the streets, in the shopping malls, in the cafés. These are the scenes where the buzz is happening, and planners need to keep their fingers on the pulse (Clark, 2014). Experiments are understood to be contingent and open-ended, carrying

a risk for losses as well as rewards (Karvonen & van Heur, 2014, p. 386). Co-creation, urban lab experimentation, and other forms of experiments such as cultural events illustrated by the terms buzz and scene do, however, have shortcomings in terms of democratic legitimacy, tendencies towards either unlimited inclusiveness or, on the other side, exclusiveness, and extreme temporality. In that respect, they contrast with the "tidiness" of more traditional forms of participation. That said, we do not argue that one should dismiss the "untidy", innovative, and experimental forms because of the risk of losing in some aspects of democracy. Rather, we believe that the research should delve into the questions that arise in the wake of this development, in order to detect new connections. There is a need for the right set of tools to process the inputs from the experiments into the plan documents and the decision process. Herein is also a need for tools for assessing the democratic values that are honoured in the experiments and those that are not.

Acknowledgments

The research on the two Norwegian cases was carried out as a part of EVAPLAN, an evaluation of the Norwegian planning and Building Act, funded by the Norwegian Research Council (2014–2018). The Danish case is part of the project "Communities in transition: New methods and approaches in mobilizing local stakeholders" and was financed by the Ministry of Housing, Urban, and Rural Affairs in Denmark. We would like to thank the editors and the two anonymous reviewers for constructive feedback on the article throughout the process, and for comments by Hege Hofstad at ECPR 2018, where the paper was presented. The publication charges for this article have been funded by a grant from the publication fund of UiT, The Arctic University of Norway.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183–7635)
2019, Volume 4, Issue 1, Pages 19–30
DOI: 10.17645/up.v4i1.1673

Article

Towards a Situational Understanding of Collective Learning: A Reflexive Framework

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Submitted: 2 July 2018 | Accepted: 14 September 2018 | Published: 24 January 2019

Abstract
Based on an in-depth study of how socially innovative processes are collectively reinforced within two cases, this article builds a reflexive framework that conceptualizes socially innovative processes as situated trajectories of collective learning. The framework starts from three theories in the field of pedagogy and organisational studies that try to contextualise and operationalise how internal processes of learning, supportive relationships and external demands interrelate within processes of collective learning. In line with the reflexive character of social innovation research, the article presents the framework as a means to give concrete answer on how socially innovative processes can be supported and how the dynamic character of their collective learning trajectories can be managed. The conclusion of this article further reflects on the importance of a situational and multi-layered understanding of collective learning for creating institutional support for socially innovative processes in planning and presents reflexive questions that can help external actors as planning practitioners to position themselves within this often messy and complex reality.

Keywords
collective learning; reflexivity; situational understanding; socially innovative planning

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Transformative Power of Urban Planning through Social Innovation", edited by Torill Nyseth (UiT, The Arctic University of Norway, Norway) and Abdelillah Hamdouch (University of Tours, France).

1. Introduction: Social Innovation and Collective Learning

Planning practice could play a crucial role in creating institutional support for socially innovative action (MacCallum, Moulaert, Hillier, & Vicari Haddock, 2009; Moulaert & Cabaret, 2006; Van Dyck & Van den Broeck, 2013). The transformative aims of planning (Albrechts, 2015; Friedmann, 2011) and its often immanent position in between government and civil society (Albrechts, 2012) creates the opportunity for planning practice to influence and support the processes of learning, decision-making, collective action and institutionalization that are crucial for socially innovative action (Jessop, Moulaert, Hulgård, & Hamdouch, 2013; Novy, Hammer, & Leubolt, 2009; Oosterlynck, Van den Broeck, Albrechts, Moulaert, & Verhetsel, 2011). Notwithstanding this promising basis, the socializing nature of a lot of planning initiatives (a.o., Swyngedouw, 2008) and the underlying variety of conflicting interests, often result in exactly the opposite. Well-intended actions as participatory decision-making, co-productive visioning or a need-based understanding of local dynamics, often fail to fully understand and support the open, multiple, and critical nature of a lot of socially innovative initiatives in their search for alternative development strategies (Moulaert, MacCallum, Mehmood, & Hamdouch, 2013) and end up in strengthening the co-optation of alternative practices by classic

government systems (see, among others, Kaethler, De Blust, & Devos, 2017; Palmås & von Busch, 2015). In this article we argue that a better understanding of the underlying process of collective learning is primordial in order for planning practice to play a role in supporting social innovation. More specifically we plea to conceptualize these trajectories of collective learning as situated and multi-layered trajectories that sometimes support, and other times obstruct one another and that are embedded in larger institutional fields.

Collective learning can best be described as a concept that gives insight in how a diverse group of individuals work on processes of shared problematization and a shared sense of meaning (De Laat & Simons, 2002; Schreurs & Kuhk, 2017; Wildemeersch, 2007). Theories of collective learning concretizes how these processes are structured and how they deal with internal complexity and external demands by analysing how a collective emerges, learns and transforms (Whatmore, 2009). In social innovation studies collective learning is seen as a core element for collective transformative action (see, among others, Chambon, David, & Devevey, 1982; Jessop et al., 2013). Collective learning creates the possibility to collectively appropriate, deconstruct and reconstruct information and knowledge, taking into account a diverse set of life-worlds and value alternatives for existing dominant positions. Social innovation theory starts from the idea that collective learning based on a shared social innovative agenda is crucial in order to recreate existing institutions and structures and provide them with new meanings (Cassinari & Moulaert, 2014; Jessop et al., 2013; Moulaert & Nussbaumer, 2005).

The social learning tradition of planning theory and practice (e.g., Friedmann, 1987; Healey, 2009; Kuhk, Schreurs, & Dehaene, 2015; Vandenabeele, Vanassche, & Wildemeersch, 2011) share this understanding of learning as a crucial element for transformative action. Social learning values the social processes of knowledge-creation and the construction of goals as the result of a "continuous socially situated activity in probing inquiry, collective sense-making and the testing out of ideas to see if they 'work' and mobilise attention" (Healey & Hillier, 2008, p. xvii; see also Healey, 2013). Where both planning and social innovation studies share the idea of appropriate qualities for learning, a process of learning should be inclusive, reflective, subjectifying, has a transformative potential and starts from an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary and iterative endeavour (e.g., Brown & Lambert, 2013; Kuhk et al., 2015; Moulaert, Van Dyck, Khan, & Schreurs, 2013; Servillo & Schreurs, 2013), the specific application of which remains rather diverse.

In planning there is a focus on the shared endeavour of dealing with irreducible uncertainty (Bertolini, 2010; Schreurs & Kuhk, 2017), where the social innovation approach has a much more political understanding of learning. Social innovation theory defines collective learning as "a new form of social learning oriented to the production of knowledge as an 'intellectual common'" (Jessop et al., 2013, p. 119). Collective learning emphasizes on the solidarity-based character of learning through processes of sharing and cooperation in order to organize the satisfaction of human needs and changes in social relations and increasing the socio-political capability as well as access to resources of a large diversity of unheard actors (Moulaert, Martinelli, Swyngedouw, & Gonzalez, 2005). The transdisciplinary character of collective learning becomes an important asset to relate the revalorization of a large diversity of social use values with—much needed—institutional support (Jessop et al., 2013).

In order to avoid that these different interpretations of learning create confusion and consequently an unpredictable basis for supporting socially innovative initiatives and lead to their (un)intentional co-optation and depoliticization in planning processes, we propose to focus on a more operational and situated understanding of collective learning—later defined as a reflexive framework. This understanding goes beyond the qualities of learning and engages with a more in-depth understanding of how processes of collective learning are managed, how internal processes of learning and external demands interrelate and how external actors as planning practitioners can play a role in creating the institutional support for collective learning processes. We define this perspective as an actor-oriented approach to collective learning as it focuses on the dynamic collection of actors (that can change in composition), and how they are part of multiple collectives and have to deal with contradictions, own agenda's, or parallel trajectories. Based on this understanding we try to define certain reflexive questions that can help external agents as spatial planning practitioners to better define their role and added value in collective learning trajectories in order to strengthen their resistance to (un)intentional co-optation and de-politicization in planning processes.

In the following paragraphs we give an overview of the different methodological steps that were applied while constructing the framework, conducting case-based research and defining the final reflexive questions. Following this overview, we introduce the reflexive framework that was drafted during this research and describe shortly its separate underlying theories. In the third part of this article we describe the situated trajectories of collective learning of two cases: the living Streets in Ghent and the Eastern Rail Park (PSO) in Antwerp, Belgium. Both cases can be described as civil society led processes and have socially innovative potential. Where in the case of the Living Streets, an example of temporary use of public space, this potentiality evolved towards a culture of cooperation between different organizations and a further institutionalization of socially innovative practices, conflictual tensions remained the institutional basis for collective learning in the case of PSO, an example of local advocacy planning. In the conclusions of this article we further illustrate the added value of our reflexive framework and introduce how the analysis of both cases lead to a multi-layered understanding of collective

learning for planning practitioners in supporting local socially innovative initiatives.

2. Methodology

The research trajectory consisted of a series of workshops on participatory cases that we organized for the professional association of spatial planners in Flanders (VRP). Three sessions were organized with key stakeholders of different cases and a group of professional spatial planners that worked for different cities in Flanders, for the Flemish government or for private developers. In the first two sessions, key stakeholders presented six case studies of different collective learning trajectories that worked on social innovation and participation in planning on different scales. At the end of each presentation, the stakeholders and planning practitioners were asked to map the capabilities that the collectives needed to achieve their goals, based on the theoretical framework of Baser and Morgan (2008), as will be later described. In the third session, the work of Biesta (2010, 2011, 2012) on the functions of education and learning and the work of Bruno Latour (2004) on onto-political proceedings were introduced—the two other theories behind our reflexive framework after Baser and Morgan (2008)—and a reflection on the changing position of spatial planning practitioners was presented. Based on the three theories and the collective mapping exercises of the first two sessions, a reflection was organized to gain a better understanding of the cases based on both the internal process of collective learning and its (un)supportive relationships with external agents as spatial planning practitioners. As a result of this reflection, first drafts of the reflexive framework were developed and reflexive questions for planning practitioners were discussed and presented.

In a second part of the research, the three authors of the article further developed the reflexive framework by researching two case studies more in-depth. Both case studies were selected because of their socially innovative potential (combining local action with processes of institutionalisation) but different outcome (a culture of cooperation versus conflictual tension). Based on the presentations of both case studies during the first sessions of our research and the initial mapping of collective capabilities, follow-up interviews were organized with the main key stakeholders of the cases. These follow-up interviews were structured based on the same questions and theories that arose in the three sessions. Firstly, we critically evaluated and validated the mapping of collective capabilities of the cases. Based on this mapping we further reflected on the trajectory of collective learning and the relationship with planning practitioners following the theoretical frameworks presented in the following paragraphs and their related questions. The semi-structured interviews were compared and analysed in such way that they could further specify and critically evaluate the interrelation between the different theories of the framework and its relation with social innovation. In order to relate the results of this research to planning practice, we tried, inspired by the reflexive exercise in the last session of the participation lab, to rephrase the results and observations to clear reflexive questions that could help spatial planning practitioners to position themselves in relation to collective learning trajectories and their socially innovative potential.

3. Towards a Framework

The reflexive framework is based on a selection of three theories that, in our understanding, can help to operationalize our understanding of collective learning. These theories are situated in the field of pedagogy or organizational studies and, consequently, are not directly developed with the aim to support social innovation in the context of spatial planning projects. The three theories that we discussed are the work of Baser and Morgan (2008) on capacity development, the work of Gert Biesta (2010) on the functions of education and learning, and the work of Bruno Latour (2004) on onto-political proceedings. Each of the theories shed light on a specific element of an operational and situational understanding of collective learning.

The work of Baser and Morgan (2008) and their study on capacity building can be used to understand how processes of collective learning are managed, by describing five core collective capabilities that define the ability of a group to organize themselves. In this respect these capabilities should allow to learn how the organization can adapt to conflicting goals and an evolving situation. Baser and Morgan (2008, p. 33) describe five core collective capabilities that can, to a greater or lesser extent, be found in all organizations and systems: capabilities (1) to commit and engage, (2) to carry out functions or tasks, (3) to relate and attract resources and support, (4) to adapt and self-renew, and (5) to balance coherence and diversity. Each of these collective capabilities enable an organization to create public value and can be seen as both a condition and a result of internal processes of learning. The status of each of these collective capabilities reveals the overall capacity of a group to engage in processes of learning and therefore helps (external) agents to specify and strategically select their possible supportive role.

The work of Biesta (2010, 2011) places this development of collective capabilities in a broader framework of learning. Biesta's work focuses on different modes of education and learning as well as the function of learning in society and can give us insight in the finality of learning. Biesta makes a distinction between three modes of learning. A first mode of learning is the ever-present idea of qualification: learning as a means to provide someone or a group with the knowledge and skills to do something. This quality of learning forms the basis for the mainstream idea of organized education and is, in our analysis, situated in line with the idea of strengthening the collective capabilities of a group as defined by Baser and Morgan (2008). A second mode of learn-

ing can be defined as socialization. In this approach a set of structure and rules and the adaptation to existing processes and dominant ideas are crucial. Socialization can be seen as a mode of learning that contributes to the reproduction of existing socio-political order (Biesta, 2010) and its related norms and values. Within collective learning processes this kind of learning usually prioritises the goal to get decisions approved and obtain public support for a particular way of working. The third mode of civic learning can be defined as subjectification. Subjectification entails modes of learning that focus on the emergence of political agency and as such subjectivity (Biesta, 2010). This kind of learning focuses on independency and the importance of reflexivity as the continuous emergence of alternative collective imaginaries and engagement. Biesta further specifies this last mode of learning based on the idea of a pedagogy of interruption. Subjectification is not only about demanding a certain reflexive mode of learning but also about securing the opportunities for new forms of political subjectivity to emerge (Biesta, 2010, 2012). In relation to socially innovative practices this subjectifying mode of learning is crucial to develop a political and transformative potential through collective learning. The different modes of learning often co-exist in processes of collective learning. Their internal balance highly depends on certain requirements of learning that are defined through time.

These different requirements for learning are further theorized by Latour (2004), who introduces a situational understanding of learning and its related time dimension. Originally, Latour describes four requirements for learning to get a better grip on the value of science, knowledge and democracy in our society and how this directly relates to the internal and external dynamics of a group. In *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy*, Latour (2004) starts from the idea that facts and values can't be defined as exclusive nominators for action. Latour sees both as interrelated concepts that, during a process of learning, lead to a shared reality and definition of the group. Latour distinguishes four requirements that define specific situations of learning. The first two requirements are related to the idea of a group; or, as Vandenabeele and Goorden (2007, p. 206) translate: which options do the involved actors take into account? To answer this question, a group needs to go through a process of 'perplexity' (holding on to a broad horizon) and 'consultation' (excluding nobody arbitrarily). The two other requirements relate to strategy, selectivity and the power to arrange in rank and order. Vandenabeele and Goorden (2007) translate this as: which options do the actors experience as being useful? This question can be answered by processes of 'hierarchy' (trying to understand the relationship between new values and what is currently prevailing) and 'institutionalisation' (closing the debate for the time being). A group or collective continuously engage with each of these four requirements. By adding this situational understanding to our theoretical framework, different moments of inclusion and possibilities for engagement get defined and create a basis for further analysis.

By combining the three theories within one theoretical framework (Figure 1), we can develop a situated understanding of collective learning and have a better insight in how the capabilities of a group and the way collective learning is organized changes over time based on to what extent the collective and its supportive relations are constantly (re-)defined by what Latour calls, the "scenarization of the totality", the continuous process of defining the provisional and ever-changing border between inside and outside (Latour, 2004, p. 248). The shared collective capabilities of a group create a clear idea on the possibilities to start and sustain a collective learning trajectory, where the understanding of collective learning as balancing socializing and subjectifying modes of learning tells us something about the quality and finality of learning (and, as such, about its socially innovative potential) and acknowledges this as a changing and balancing endeavour. Lastly, the different requirements for learning can help to understand how a group changes throughout a process of collective learning and opens or closes itself to external support.

The framework shows how this definition of a group, the possibilities for external support, the collective capabilities to organize a collective learning trajectory and the finalities of the applied modes of learning are all interrelated. By integrating these different dimensions we can structurally analyse how a collective learning trajectory and its socially innovative ambitions is organized and changes through time, taking into account the political and institutional context. The trajectory of collective learning is, in both our cases and in line with our framework, defined as the recurrent process during which a (changing) group of people actively and collectively try to (re)define and test how, why, what and in relation to who they are organizing themselves. With regard to external support the framework illustrates three different ways to support collective learning trajectories: (1) by enhancing the collective capacities of a group (*can I help a group with one of their five core collective capabilities?*), (2) by understanding processes of learning and its socializing and subjectifying dimension (*how can I support a subjectifying mode of learning? Can my organization or can I as, e.g., an administrator give other groups the possibility to set up a subjectifying learning trajectory?*), as well as (3) fuelling processes of perplexity, consultation, hierarchy and institutionalisation (*are there propositions neglected in a group discussion? Can I add propositions based on my expertise, network? How have the participants been selected? Can I avoid arbitrarily-short-circuiting?*).

In order to analyse the two cases based on this theoretical framework three questions were defined that directly relate to the three theories of the framework and their relation with collective learning and social innovation. The following questions have as a goal not to evaluate the cases but to highlight and understand

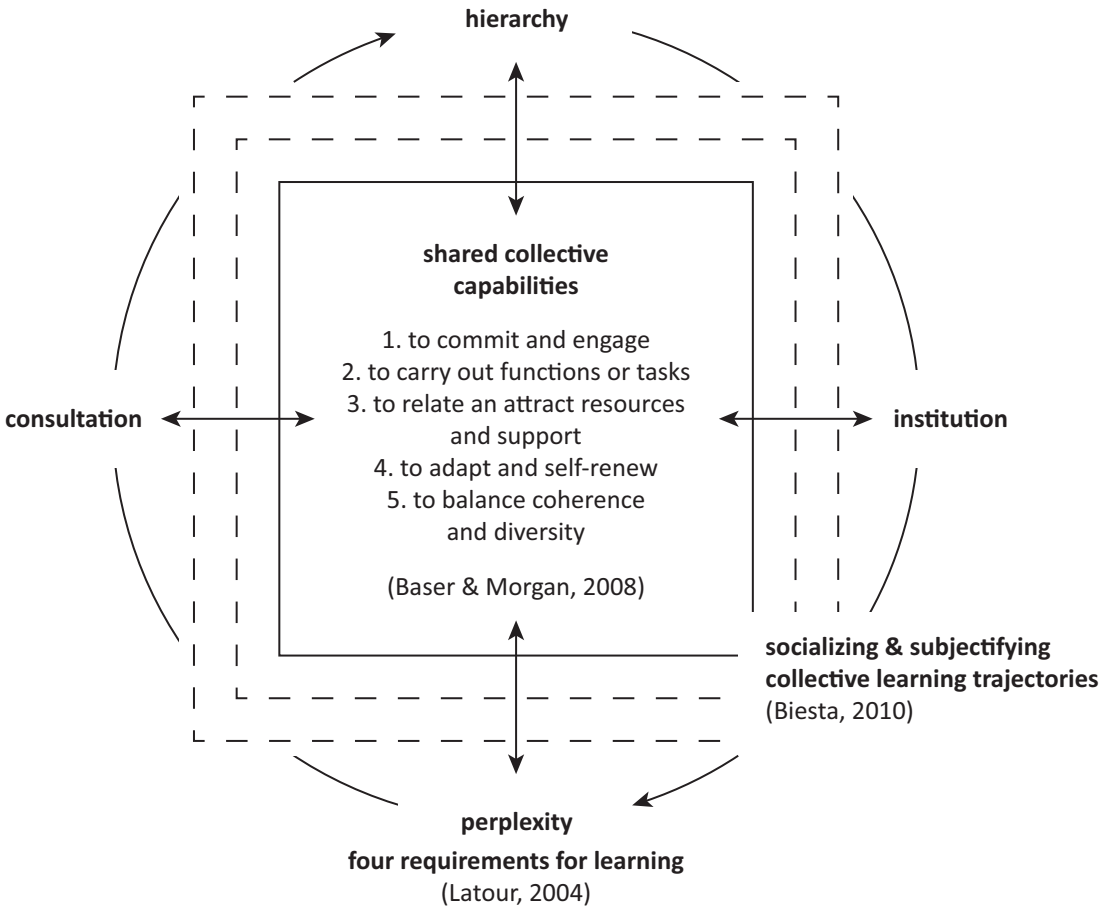

Figure 1. A conceptual framework for a situated understanding of collective learning.

their underlying mechanisms and how these mechanisms can further clarify a situated understanding of collective learning:

1. What are the collective capabilities of a group and how are they developed throughout a process of collective learning?
2. How does the configuration of socializing and subjectifying modes of learning contribute to the socially innovative potential of a trajectory?
3. How did a group deal with the different requirements for learning and how does this influence the socially innovative potential of a trajectory?

4. Learning from Cases

4.1. Living Streets in Ghent

The Living Streets project can roughly be described as a civil society campaign focused on creating support for a modal shift in the city through concrete temporary interventions and experiments (Figure 2). Yearly, different streets in Ghent are made car-free for two months and transformed into places for experimenting with alternative mobility strategies (bicycle sharing, collective parking, alternative routing, etc.) and the use of public space (creating a greener public space, redefining the space for cars, etc.). In each street, inhabitants are the core of these initiatives. A small group of initiators try to convince neighbours to engage in the experiment and co-create the activities and specific interventions they want to see implemented. Since the initial idea of the Living Streets project originated at a transition lab of the City of Ghent on future mobility, the different local initiatives have a strong, but often implicit, interrelation with the city-wide debate on new forms of mobility. From the start of the Living Streets project in 2013, it has been Lab van Troje (the Trojan Lab), the organizer of the project, firm ambition to organize a creative laboratory that offers solutions to speed up the process of turning the Ghent area into a sustainable, liveable and climate-neutral region.

The Trojan Lab combines different roles. During the Living Streets campaign, the Trojan Lab provides logistical support for each of the local experiments. On the level of the city the Trojan Lab evaluate the effects of the Living Streets project on changing patterns of mobility and actively investigate and debate the role of temporary use and experiments for local governance systems. Currently, the Trojan Lab is trying to structurally embed this new culture of experimentation in the administrative structures of the City of Ghent. During our research we chose to focus on one of the local collective learning trajectories and selected the case study of the Wasstraat, a street that participated twice, in 2014 and 2015.

Figure 2. The Living streets as local experiments for car free environments.

The collective learning trajectory in the Wasstraat was mainly centred around the idea of organizing an inclusive trajectory. The initiators wanted to organize an open trajectory that both accepts and provokes unplanned happenings. In order to be as open as possible and true to the experimental nature of Living Streets, the local learning trajectory mainly focused on including the large diversity of inhabitants in the experiment and creating room for changing engagements. In second order, some of the participants of the Living Street Wasstraat were also involved in the coordinating (collective learning) trajectory that would place the different local trajectories in a larger institutional debate hosted by the Trojan Lab. This engagement in a diversity of learning trajectories is mirrored in the organizational structure of the Living Street Wasstraat which is based on a dual structure of on the one hand a small core group of initiators (who worked together with the Trojan Lab and other Living Streets) and on the other hand a large group of neighbours who took part in the local experiment. The local learning trajectory strongly focused on an inclusive approach, i.e., learning by consulting every family in the street and inviting them to participate and by only applying socializing modes of learning as a way to create the right conditions for collective experimentation. During the trajectory basic rules on the use of space, such as timeframes and maintenance logics were defined and the threshold of participation was lowered by guaranteeing the temporary character of the interventions. This approach hardly changed in their participation in 2015.

What are the collective capabilities of the Living Street Wasstraat and how are they developed throughout their process of collective learning?

The capability to balance coherence and diversity was from the beginning of the collective learning trajectory an important aspiration of the organization in order to involve as many neighbours as possible in their temporary experiment. Throughout the trajectory the other capabilities of Baser and Morgan were developed. Most of the collective capabilities were managed in the core group of the initiative. The initiators of the Wasstraat learned to deal with the passivity of certain groups, creating momentum by programming activities and accepting experiments with uncertain outcomes. Throughout the experiment other collective capabilities such as the capability to commit and engage, carry out functions or tasks and attract resources were more and more shared by the bigger group of participating neighbours. Since the Living Street Wasstraat was part of a larger yearly campaign, there was more or less a format on how to organize a local collective learning trajectory and how other external actors and organizations like the Trojan Lab could support this endeavour. The lab created, for instance, a manual on how to start a Living Street. This manual gives the necessary structure for local initiators to start and explore how they can create an own collective trajectory. The lab also supported every living street on a logistical level by negotiating permits with the city, providing contact with supportive enterprises to co-develop experiments, etc. Because of this format the local organization of the Living Street Wasstraat was almost automatically embedded in a larger multi-layered organizational structure. This semi-institutional structure created a direct potential for social innovation by combining a strong local collective learning trajectory that engaged a large diversity of actors with a supra-local collective learning

trajectory that tried to influence further processes of institutionalization. In order to better understand this potentiality, we must look at the other dimensions of our framework of collective learning.

How does the configuration of socializing and subjectifying modes of learning contribute to the socially innovative potential of the Living Street Wasstraat?

The cooperation between different learning trajectories and their underlying organization created an interesting condition to balance socializing and subjectifying modes of learning. The case of the Wasstraat clearly shows that sustaining the necessary balance between accepting and provoking unplanned happenings could only be achieved thanks to a strategic interchange between street-level and city-level learning trajectories. The organizational structure of different collective learning trajectories made it possible that the Wasstraat, on street-level, decided to create a very open, experimental and subjectifying trajectory, where on city-level, the Lab van Troje chose to run for a more political, governance-oriented and as such socializing trajectory. The balance between both trajectories could be secured because of a strategic interchange that respected the specific definition of each of the collective learning trajectories and the differential importance of socializing and subjectifying modes of learning. The importance of this mutual understanding becomes clear in the following example: right after the second edition of the Living Street Wasstraat, the planning department of the City of Ghent used the wide public support for the Living Streets experiment as an opportunity and legitimation to plan and design some structural changes in the composition of the public space. However, by neglecting the experimental and subjectifying character of the Wasstraat and introducing a more socializing planning mode of learning (designing a plan, finding support, etc.) they failed to set up a common trajectory.

In relation to the social innovative potential of the Living Streets this differentiation in organizational structures, not only based on supporting collective capabilities but also on the importance of balancing subjectifying and socializing modes of learning, seems to be promising. An organizational structure based on different trajectories of collective learning gives the possibility to limit the inherent socializing pressure of processes of institutionalisation on local trajectories of collective learning. Meanwhile a more structural embedment of local learning trajectories in a city-wide discussion gives the possibility to directly influence existing governance structures, bringing a large diversity of social values to the front of the debate. In order to strengthen this relation between local learning trajectories and governance discussions the Trojan Lab organized intermediate sessions where representatives of the local Living Street experiments met and collectively reflected on their local cases as well as the trajectory as a whole. Based on this introduction of an intermediate structure we need to question whether these different layers of the collective learning trajectory really belong to the same learning trajectory or are to be seen as strategic alliances (that strengthen the collective capabilities of different groups and create space for balancing socializing and subjectifying modes of learning).

How did the Living Street Wasstraat deal with the different requirements for learning and how did this influence the socially innovative potential of the trajectory?

On a local level the changes in the group and its collective learning trajectory were limited. Starting from an open and inclusive perspective on membership and experimentation, the Living Street Wasstraat was primarily focused on a continuous engagement with the requirements of perplexity and consultation, trying to gather a diverse group of neighbours and creating the ideal conditions for interchange and open reflection. The requirements of hierarchy and institution and their related discussions mainly centred on implementing temporary interventions. The rules that were defined and the choices made during the collective learning trajectory related to creating the conditions of learning rather than to proposing new solutions or perspectives based on what was learned (this wasn't the case for all the local Living Street trajectories; some initiatives dealt with subsequent reflection on the results of their local experiments).

This limited engagement with the requirements of hierarchy and institution somewhat questions our idea of the socially innovative potential of the local trajectory and its differentiated organizational structure. The local and diverse processes of learning that worked on street-level wasn't reflected in the discussion and process of learning on the level of the city. Although the different results and evaluations of all the local Living Streets experiments were used as an inspiration to challenge and change the mobility policy in the city, local and supra-local trajectories weren't part of the same collective learning trajectory, they didn't share processes of learning; this was illustrated by a limited focus on feedback relations, the inexistence of an agenda shared by all the initiatives and participants and, probably, a different interpretation of what to take into account or what to define as useful.

4.2. The Eastern Rail Park in Antwerp

PSO is a completely different story. The case is centred around a partly abandoned railway yard in the north of Antwerp (Figure 3). Although the City of Antwerp decided to develop the site as a parking lot and a zone for events in 2015, different neighbourhood organizations had pleaded for a more public and green use. Throughout the development of the site, a close collaboration between opposing organizations (the city administration of Antwerp and the local neighbourhood associations) and their respective storylines, could never be established, contrary to the Living Streets project in Ghent. Despite this apparent failure, the case shows an interesting learning trajectory as it illustrates how certain events limit the socially innovative potential of collective learning processes and situate it in a larger field of social action.

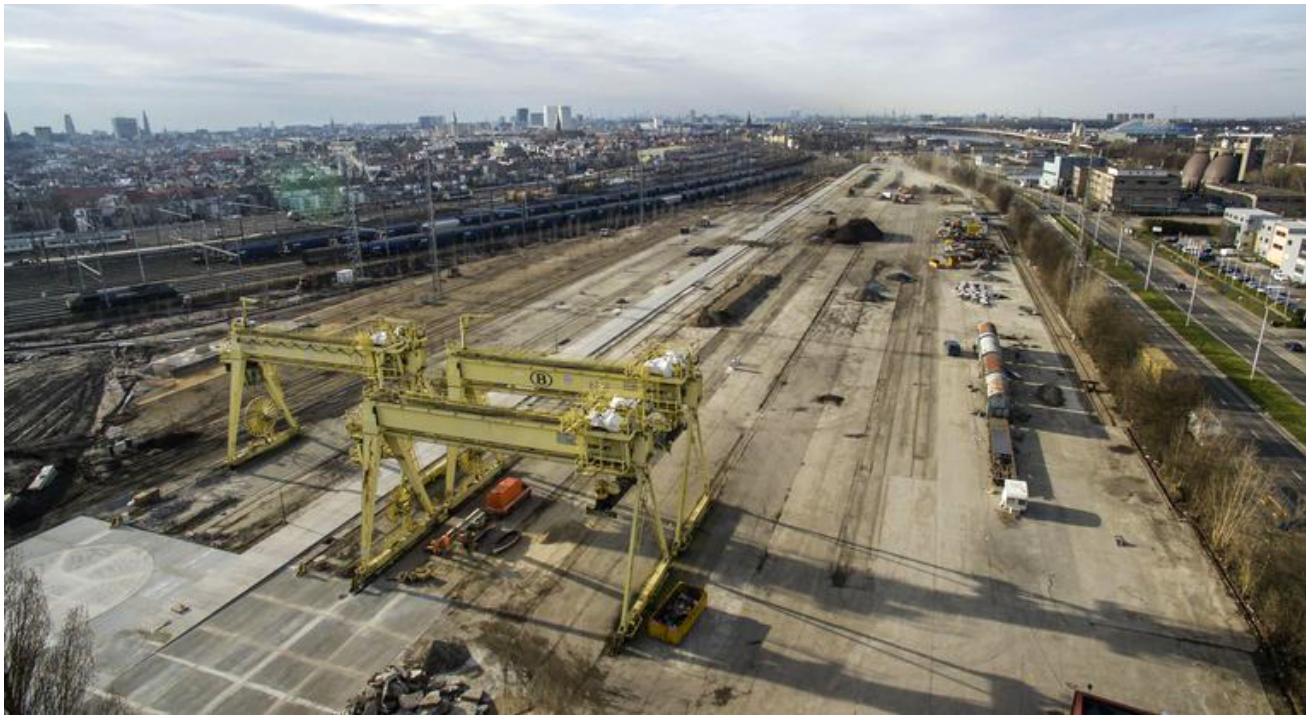

Figure 3. The PSO: An abandoned railway yard in the north of Antwerp.

The collective learning trajectory of PSO was a rather fluctuating process. As an action group PSO highly depended on changing contextual conditions such as the existence of an official vision on the PSO, legal procedures etc. A first reorganization of the group and its learning trajectory was carried out after difficult negotiations with the City on the future of the abandoned railway yard. PSO, at that moment a local neighbourhood committee working on a shared formulation of a vision together with a large diversity of neighbours, decided to create two types of organizations: PSO and Oostnatie. PSO operated as a civil action committee that would challenge the plans of the City in court, while Oostnatie adopted a more cultural profile and claimed and programmed the area in order to show its relevance for neighbourhood-related activities and preserve the socially innovative potential of the process. This reorganization gave PSO the possibility to further concentrate on its political and activist role and start a legal procedure against the plans of the City. Creating expertise and involvement to gain wide public support for their cause were their main objectives. This specific definition of the group changed again when the planning conditions of the PSO changed. Indeed, the City of Antwerp had started an exercise on covering the nearby ring road what would change the whole configuration of the site. In order to influence this broader trajectory, PSO and other affected neighbourhood organizations started the Schijnverbond, an umbrella organization that pleaded for a full covering of the ring road. This manoeuvre reopened the debates on membership and hierarchy and consequently redefined the new trajectory of collective learning again aiming to open up the process and give room for shared visioning.

What are the collective capabilities of PSO and how are they developed throughout their process of collective learning?

Throughout the trajectory PSO, its goals and organizational structure were constantly reinterpreted. This clearly influenced the collective capabilities of PSO, with a strong focus on adaptation and self-renewal. The committee can be described as a small activist group embedded in a larger network of experts focused on communication, legal and technical expertise. Their capacity to effectively organize actions is mostly based on the direct and close ties between the core members and their ability to show flexibility in changing conditions. This central position for the capability to adapt and self-renew had a direct effect on the collective learning trajectory of PSO. Even when the group wanted to reach a broader and more diverse group of people, as was the case when different groups joined forces in the Schijnverbond, the actual trajectory of collective learning and the development of further capabilities was not open to members outside the core group of the organization. And so, the socially innovative potential of PSO seems to be rather low when taking into account the way the organization is structured. In order to further understand this limitation, we need to look at the other dimensions of our reflexive framework.

How does the configuration of socializing and subjectifying modes of learning contribute to the socially innovative potential of PSO?

Contrary to the Living Streets the context of learning of PSO isn't primarily defined by an over-arching design process of learning, but directly relates to events and positions that are defined in spite of what is happening on

a local scale. Collective learning is in the case of PSO not instrumental for processes of institutionalization but directly organizes processes of collective action. This constantly changing context influences the role of learning. Whereas in the case of the Living streets, clearly defined expectations of learning were instrumental in balancing the multiplicity of learning trajectories, the case of PSO shows a clear engagement with mostly subjectifying modes of learning. In the different constellations during its collective learning trajectory, PSO searched for alternatives for ways of working as defined by the government. From the moment more socializing modes of learning were expected, the group changed and reorganized itself, as was the case when a parallel trajectory with Oostnatie was created (an organization that partly works within the borders of the existing institutional order).

This subjectifying way of working can be seen as the result of a more hostile institutional context, but also influences how external actors as planning practitioners can support their collective learning trajectory since the finality of their organization (advocating for an alternative development strategy) isn't widely acknowledged and neither is part of a broader campaign or cooperative system, as was the case for the Living Streets. An engagement with these kinds of initiatives asks for a clearer positioning of external actors, the acknowledgement of the strategic choices behind a certain initiative and relating these choices to the position of their own organization and institutional structures.

How did PSO deal with the different requirements for learning and how did this influence the socially innovative potential of the trajectory?

In the PSO-case, the different requirements for learning are directly related to the strategic choices of the group in reaction to changing conditions of the planning process. The role of perplexity and consultation for instance changed throughout the trajectory. At the start of their existence PSO had a much more inclusive ambition by reaching out to a large diversity of neighbours. From the moment this representative position of PSO was neglected by the City and seen as less relevant in the debate, PSO changed its focus to a more adaptive structure concentrating on technical expertise that would help them to advocate for an alternative future of the site.

Since a cooperation with PSO directly involves the acknowledgement of how they strategically deal with the different requirements for learning (and hence, how they position themselves, what is taken into account, etc.) the different collaborations of PSO with other organizations like Oostnatie and het Schijnverbond were always embedded in a trajectory of collectively defining the structure of learning (taking into account the four requirements for learning). The strategic cooperation with Oostnatie for instance was a clear result of a tactical exercise of organizing a more cooperative and activist trajectory based on a shared understanding of the finality of their actions. In the case of the Living Streets this exercise was already drafted at the beginning of the campaign by the Trojan Lab as the external partner of the local collective learning trajectories. This resulted in a stable environment for learning which diminished the need for strategic action and as such the need to redefine relationships between organizations in a common trajectory of learning. The lack of this stable environment in the case of PSO also limited its potential to organize a more open and diverse collective learning trajectory and consequently influenced the socially innovative capacity of the initiative.

5. Conclusion

Both cases showed clear differences in how collective learning and social innovation can interrelate and how each of the dimensions of our reflexive framework directly influence the socially innovative potential of a local learning trajectory. The collective capabilities of a group may be too weak or restricted to actually organize a collective learning trajectory, the context for learning may be too hostile or undefined which leaves no room for balancing socializing and subjectifying modes of learning, or the way a group deals with its requirements for learning is not acknowledged or not actively taken into account in the further process of institutionalization. In order to understand how these different situations can be avoided the case study research presents a situated and multi-layered understanding of collective learning trajectories. Both cases showed how trajectories of collective learning need to be understood in relation to other collective learning trajectories. In the case of the Living Street Wasstraat, the Trojan Lab directly supported the collective capabilities of the group and influenced the way the Wasstraat balanced socializing and subjectifying modes of learning and how it dealt with the different requirements of learning. In the case of PSO, the creation of new and parallel learning trajectories as Oostnatie and the Schijnverbond were a direct reaction to the unsupportive relation with the dominant learning trajectory of the City. This multi-layered understanding of collective learning is to be seen as an additional element to our reflexive framework that concretizes the institutional embeddedness of collective learning trajectories and the possible supportive role of external actors.

The institutional embeddedness of collective learning trajectories directly relates with whether or not the different dimensions of a collective learning trajectory are acknowledged by existing instruments, procedures and external actors. The following reflexive questions, based on the different dimensions of our framework, can help to assess this institutional position. With regard to the collective capabilities of a group, it can be questioned: do planning procedures create room for collectives to organize themselves in order to become active partners or are there specific instruments to strengthen the collective capabilities of a local learning trajectory?

To balance socializing and subjectifying modes of learning one must reflect if the methods used are only applicable for a subjectifying or socializing mode of learning. When are which kind of methods normally used? Do other actors agree with this? Is there the possibility to have an open debate about it? Engaging with the different requirements of learning, on the other hands, starts from the question: can the requirements of learning for a certain group be acknowledged? And which underlying facts and values are determined in the underlying differences with other trajectories of learning?

The supportive role of external actors seems to enlarge in a multi-layered understanding of collective learning by taking into account the possibility to relate different learning trajectories to one another. Besides taking part in a (pre-existing) collective learning trajectory, a multi-layered understanding creates the possibility to engage in strategic alliances that can strengthen the collective capabilities of a group and form a coherent basis for balancing socializing and subjectifying ways of learning. The possibility to create a supportive context for collective learning introduces new reflexive questions that can help external agents to better define their role and added value in collective learning trajectories: is there a possibility to set up a certain parallel trajectory to support a group on one of their collective capabilities without the need to get involved in a common learning trajectory? Do I have instruments/procedures that can help me with this? Can I guarantee that the outcome of a collective learning trajectory will be respected? How can I limit the influence of existing institutional frameworks in order to create enough room for manoeuvre for local collective learning trajectories to define their own interpretation of hierarchy and institutionalization?

Based on these reflexive questions, that can be seen as new research agendas for researchers and practitioners, it becomes clear how theories from the field of pedagogy and organizational studies can form an interesting perspective for planning practice and research to understand how collective learning trajectories and social innovation interrelate. Although none of the theories directly related to social innovation studies, their situational and multi-layered understanding of collective learning showed how actors can interrelate with trajectories of collective learning, not only through direct involvement but also through creating a supportive context for socially innovative practices. The reflexive framework can give insight in the underlying mechanisms of collective learning and so reduce the imminent threat to misinterpret and co-opt collective learning trajectories and their socially innovative potential. Moreover, a multi-layered understanding of learning and the possibility to relate different learning trajectories to one another based on a clear analysis of their internal requirements for learning and collective capabilities is an interesting tool for engaged actors to enlarge their freedom to act and widen the institutional support for social innovation in planning practice.

Acknowledgements

The research was supported by a special PhD Fellowship of the Research Foundation—Flanders—and made possible through funding support of the KU Leuven Fund for Fair Open Access. We want to thank the three anonymous referees for their challenging comments on an earlier version of this article.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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COGITATIO

Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183–7635)
2019, Volume 4, Issue 1, Pages 31–43
DOI: 10.17645/up.v4i1.1740

Article

Social Innovation as a Driver of Urban Transformation? The Case of Planning Approaches in the Dominican Republic

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Submitted: 11 September 2018 | Accepted: 19 October 2018 | Published: 24 January 2019

Abstract
This article assesses the role of social innovation (SI) as a driver of urban transformation through the case-based analysis of an ambitious social housing urban project in the Dominican Republic, specifically in the emblematic slum La Barquita, in the heart of northern Santo Domingo. This project was led by a dedicated public body, URBE, which is in charge of the coordination of several institutions and the management of the community participation. Since La Nueva Barquita integrates dimensions regarding the satisfaction of human needs, change in social relations, and increase of citizens' socio-political capabilities, it may be considered a socially innovative initiative in the territorial development discussion. The article builds first on the literature on SI by drawing attention on governance and institutional structures in specific urban contexts. Based on a series of semi-direct interviews, it then focuses on the analysis of key moments regarding the definition, implementation and evaluation of the institutional dimension of the project from its launching in 2013.

Keywords
governance; institutions; planning approaches; social innovation; urban transformation

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Transformative Power of Urban Planning through Social Innovation", edited by Torill Nyseth (UiT, The Arctic University of Norway, Norway) and Abdelillah Hamdouch (University of Tours, France).

1. Introduction

Rapidly growing large cities in developing countries have undergone poor planning processes and face the consequences of decades of inertia:

> The spatial concentration of low-income, unskilled workers in segregated residential quarters acts as a poverty trap with severe job restrictions, high rates of gender disparities, deteriorated living conditions, social exclusion and marginalization, and high incidence of crime. (UN Habitat, 2016)

Case studies on urban neighbourhood transformation exist from different regions, regardless the urbanisation characteristics and the size of the cities. At the European level, a continuous series of research projects over the past 20 years have provided theoretical, methodological, and empirical basis for further analysis of local development, social innovation (SI) and social inclusion (Moulaert, Mehmood, MacCallum, & Leubolt, 2017). The majority of the case studies were located in urban neighbourhoods with social exclusion problems in Europe, but also in Lima (Peru), Leon (Nicaragua), and Palestinian Territories in East Jerusalem.

In Latin America, studies have particularly dealt with the urban revitalisation processes in Brazil and Colombia, two contexts with rapidly growing cities, unplanned urbanisation, and large, deprived neighbourhoods. Over the past two decades, the "favelas" projects in Rio de Janeiro, as well as the Integral Urban Projects in the "barrios" of Medellin, focused on the infrastructure and

on social and institutional dimensions to meet the basic needs of the populations (Silva, 2013). These experiences also promoted different forms of citizens' participation during the design, implementation, and evaluation stages of projects. In that sense, we think that SI as a conceptual field provides a relevant perspective for studying institutional, organisational, and behavioural changes in order to combat exclusion and poverty within a deprived territorial context (De Muro, Hamdouch, Cameron, & Moulaert, 2008).

In Santo Domingo, more than 20 public, private and nongovernmental projects have been undertaken over the last two decades in order to remediate, at least partially, the housing, environmental, or poverty problems in vulnerable areas; but the results have been disappointing. The lack of coordination among actors, weak rules enforcement from authorities, and the lack of cooperation among beneficiaries are among the main causes of such failure. In that sense, it has been said that the first reason for the poor levels of compliance with cross-sector coordination efforts to improve people's lives in needy territories in Latin America is that local governments are not solid political actors (Cecchini, 2015). Another reason is disintegration and fragmentation in the subsystems of the local society in deprived areas, which block the potential of individuals to set coherent objectives and achieve common claims (Hillier, Moulaert, & Nussbaumer, 2004).

Our aim in this article is to shed light on the research gap related to urban transformation projects in the Dominican Republic, which have been mainly led by national government and focused on the housing provision imperative. In that way, analysis have also been generally lacking from the broader human needs scope, considering other inhabitants' dimensions of their daily life. Regarding institutional analysis, a lack of interest has been shown on conceiving housing projects at a local government responsibility, perhaps due to the Dominican administrative culture, where national government is in charge of most of the infrastructure building. That is precisely why our article studies the most recent and relevant urban social project in Santo Domingo, undertaken between 2013 and 2016, named La Nueva Barquita (LNB). The developers described it as a model *integral urban project* in the Dominican Republic that combines infrastructure building, social cohesion, and environmental sustainability objectives, in contrast with previous efforts that undertook only partial responses. High expectations have been placed upon this pilot project because of the intention to replicate it throughout the country. Other analyses have looked at financial and citizen participation aspects about the LNB project, but this research may be the first that concentrates on organisational and governance aspects, together with a human needs approach.

Our key research questions are: how does LNB address human needs satisfaction of the inhabitants? How does the project affect urban governance in Santo Domingo? How empowered are LNB inhabitants after the implementation of the project? Our article proposes that insofar as LNB integrates (at least in its initial claims) dimensions regarding the satisfaction of human needs, change in social relations, and increase of citizens' socio-political capacities, it may be considered as a SI initiative.

In academic discussions, urban transformation projects are generally presented with at least some partial aspects of SI; therefore, one should be very cautious when exhibiting rather small and superficial variations as being deep and significant social changes. On the other hand, when listening to practitioners, specifically planners and political representatives, they may easily define projects as socially innovative based only on specific differences of the current project with previous similar ones. Usually they do not specify what exactly they call SI, nor do they refer or subscribe to any of the theoretical approaches of SI. In that sense, the ambiguity of the SI concept makes it difficult to accurately define SI and assess the real level of its achievements in practice.

To escape such pitfalls, we have preferred to contribute to the Dominican urban debate by applying a socio-territorial theoretical approach to the LNB urban project, by trying to identify SI characteristics in the project design and by assessing those SI dimensions as observable in the implementation phase. Thus, our objective is to systematise SI potential or reminiscences at the outcomes level, rather than to meet SI normative expectations.

Firstly, we stress the importance of the institutionalist approach of SI in territorial development, in general (in Section 2) as well as observed in the Dominican urban context (in Section 3). Secondly, the potential SI characteristics of the LNB project are analysed from different stages (Institut Godin, 2015), such as context, process, results and changes (in Sections 4 and 5). Our research is based on qualitative methods. Semi-structured interviews[1] were conducted with actors from the community, local governments, the national government, the private sector, non-governmental organisations, academia and international cooperation institutions. In addition, in situ observation of LNB inhabitants in their daily life was carried out. Finally, Section 6 briefly concludes the article and highlights some key reflections drawn from the case study.

2. SI as a Driver of Urban Transformation

SIs are understood as particular initiatives, actions and mobilisations that can contribute to improvements or even provoke significant changes in governance struc-

[1] The study is based on qualitative techniques, such as interviews, field trips, observation, and documental review. Our considerable insights come from ten semi-structured interviews and two open interviews. The interviews were undertaken in 2018. Informants 1, 2, 4–6 represent NGOs. Informant 3 is a University member. Informant 7 is a Government member. Other interviewees include a LNB Barquita inhabitant, an URBE Patronato employee, members from the Catholic church, members from the Agence Française de Développement (AFD), planning professionals and local governments association. French and Dominican newspaper reports, NGO reports, and administrative government documents were useful sources.

tures and strengthen people empowerment (Moulaert, MacCallum, Mehmood, & Hamdouch, 2013). Common ground between social cohesion and economic development is SI, with the crucial support of dedicated local policies (Hamdouch & Ghaffari, 2016, 2017). In that framework, planning practices can be understood as an unequal encounter between different spatial imaginations and urban narratives that different groups hold, all embedded in the political economy of a concrete time and space (González & Healey, 2005). At the local level, SIs rest on two pillars: institutional innovation and innovation in the sense of the social economy, understood as the realisation of various needs in local communities (Moulaert & Nussbaumer, 2005). This socio-territorial approach of SI integrates three dimensions according to its aims, agency power and process: the satisfaction of human needs, increasing political capacities of citizens, and changes in social relations.

The first dimension covers the basic needs addressed in the project, as the ultimate purpose of SI. In order to operationalise this dimension, we may look at different perspectives of poverty, income, and human needs. Traditionally, income poverty receives the greatest attention along with the economic growth imperative as a measure of the development of a society. Nevertheless, inclusion (or exclusion) is not just about income, but also about freedoms and deprivation. Development requires the abolition of the factors opposed to liberties: poverty and tyranny; the lack of economic opportunities and social precarious conditions; the absence of public services; and authoritarianism (Sen, 1999). Exclusive individual income measures may not explain poverty comprehensively as they do not consider household units and their variations. Regarding the standard poverty line approach, a complementary perspective was developed in the 1970s and 1980s, with an emphasis on unfulfilled human needs. In order to determine the poverty reduction potential of a SI, several factors may be studied, such as its relations with the structural causes of poverty, its impact on the solidarity towards poor people in society, the empowerment of the individuals in poverty, and its specific interactions with Welfare State institutions (Ghys & Oosterlynck, 2014).

The empowerment dimension seeks to increase citizens' socio-political capacities and access to resources needed for the realisation of rights. In order to achieve cities that are more inclusive it is essential to encourage excluded groups to share their own needs to ensure their participation and engage with more powerful stakeholders (UN Habitat, 2017). Beyond the deprivations of marginalised territories, the most common vulnerable groups in cities are the elderly, children, women, and immigrants. Indeed, social inclusion efforts in the territory require integral responses and collaboration between actors from different sectors, including those belonging to the community (De Muro et al., 2008; Moulaert et al., 2013). However, the value of community contributions is not always easy to define. On the one hand, authorities do not always recognise the neighbourhood as a social power of importance, and may usually perceive it as a destabilising element, whereas for technocrats, neighbourhood councils represent barriers for planning, and for political parties the organised community is seen as a simple electoral instrument (Merklen, 2009, p. 88). There is no consensus on neighbourhoods' role in public urban transformation projects, and thus, depending on the institutional context and the local circumstances, projects may be designed and implemented *with* or *without* the community.

Finally, the process dimension looks at the governance mechanisms that may both enable the satisfaction of human needs and enhance the participation of excluded groups in decision-making. This perspective is part of the sociological institutionalist approach, which suggests, within planning theory, that certain policy actions and micro practices in geographically specific governance contexts may be connected to wider structuring forces (González & Healey, 2005). Therefore, SI analysis must consider the institutional environment where it takes place since it imposes a set of internal relations and external actors. This context may be understood as a constraint ("path dependency"), but it may conversely facilitate transformation insofar as actors shape new norms and put new institutional approaches in place, i.e. open a new path (Fontan, Klein, & Tremblay, 2008). Consequently, it is necessary for communities to try to influence institutional structures and centres of power in order to use the acquired capacities collectively, especially in the fight against poverty (Klein & Raufflet, 2014).

Such dynamics indicate that socially innovative development is not a predictable trajectory but rather a search for the mechanisms to achieve a better quality of life and social justice. Therefore, the focus must be on understanding how urban transformations in governance institutions and agency capacity contribute to improve the daily-life conditions of people who suffer from poverty and marginalisation, while at the same time raise issues that are neglected in established discourses and practices (González & Healey, 2005). For these authors, governance capacity in the urban context relates to the ability of the institutional relations in a social milieu to operate as a collective actor towards the creation of better and fairer quality living environments. In that sense, governance practices evolve in a historically and geographically situated manner, and as political agendas are shaped by many conflicting dynamics, practical governance is confronted with difficult questions of representation, accountability, and legitimation.

From a sociological institutionalist point of view, certain qualities differentiate emerging governance dynamics and their transformative potential. First, institutions, understood as frameworks of norms and practices, are distinguished from organisations; second, the focus of institutionalist analysis is interactions, not decisions; third, analysts emphasise how institutions change and the role of intentionality in promoting such change; fourth, while

some analysts focus on the micro-politics of interactions between specific actors in particular arenas, sociological institutionalists have a strong interest in the issue of governance capacity itself; and fifth, within the planning field, sociological institutionalists have been concerned with issues of identity and place, and the interconnection between these two (González & Healey, 2005).

3. Urban Transformation in the Dominican Context

The Dominican Republic has a population of 10,000,000 inhabitants in a 48,442km^2 territory (see Figure 1). It is organised in three macro-regions, ten regions, 31 provinces, one National District, 158 municipalities, and 234 sub-municipalities. Politically, it is a Unitarian republic, with a heavy weight of centralism in the political culture. Traditional presidentialism promotes paternalist political leaderships in the territories, which in turn reinforce the ties to the central authority at the expense of weaker local administrations. These factors contribute to explain the deep political, administrative, and financial dependency of local governments to national administrations (Domenella, Parras, & Auradou, 2017).

According to the Municipal Law, municipalities are in charge of providing certain services: the organisation of traffic and vehicular circulation; the management of public space; fire stations; land management; urban planning; green areas and gardens; maintenance of public spaces; the protection of the environment; the construction of public infrastructures and urban facilities; paving urban roads; the construction and maintenance of sidewalks; the preservation of historical and cultural heritage of the municipality; the construction and management of abattoirs and markets; the construction and management of cemeteries and funeral services; street lighting; the cleaning of local public roads; public adornments; the collection, treatment, and disposal of solid waste; the regulation of urban public transportation; and the promotion of local development. Nevertheless, local governments in the Dominican Republic are weak players in the institutional landscape of the country, and endure three main deficits: autonomy, transparency, and capacities (Domenella et al., 2017).

The focal problem of the municipality is the incapacity of the local governments to transform their environment and become an active territorial development agent (Domenella et al., 2017); local governments are therefore unable to undertake major urban transformation projects that may affect social and economic structures and dynamics in cities. Within this centralised governance scheme, their limited autonomy is confirmed by the fact that traditionally local taxes such as the real estate property tax are collected by the national tax authority, as well as by the inability of municipalities to borrow financial resources, internally or abroad, without permission of the central government. In terms of transparency, allegations of corruption are frequent in local administrations, as well as the misuse of funds. Concerning capacities, there is a lack of soft capacities in terms of technical skills, management, planning, and professionalization of human talent; and when it comes to hard capacities, they fall short of all types of resources. Looking at the financial aspects, 75% of the resources of municipalities come from central government transfers; and of the 10% of the

Figure 1. Map Library of the Dominican Republic: the Dominican Republic and Santo Domingo. Source: Vidiani (2011).

national total income that the government should transfer to the municipalities according to the law, less than 3% is really allocated.

One consequence of these conditions is the inability of local governments to reverse inequalities in their own territories. Even though greater Santo Domingo is the largest urban area in the country, with close to 5,000,000 inhabitants, it has profound territorial disparities. The Santo Domingo Metropolitan area is composed of nine municipalities, among which the four most important are the National District, Eastern Santo Domingo, Western Santo Domingo, and Northern Santo Domingo (see Figure 2). The national government has decided to assign almost US$350 million in 2018 as the total budget for municipalities. The National District, the political and economic national capital, concentrates 10% of the national population and may receive almost US$19 million out of the total government transfers to municipalities this year.

While the National District is the municipality that receives the highest amount of financial resources from the central government, it is also the one generating the most resources thanks to diverse sources of income. These sources include the provision of services such as waste management, advertising, construction licenses, among others. As a result, central government money represents less than 25% of its total income. In contrast, for Eastern Santo Domingo, central public funding represents more than 75% of its income, while for Northern Santo Domingo it reaches 50%. In this context, local governments remain as secondary actors in face of the primacy of the central government, which is indeed the only public body capable of building large urban facilities and social infrastructures. Thus, the role of the central government is fundamental for significant urban transformation efforts, such as the LNB project.

4. The LNB Project

4.1. Context

Nowadays, North-Eastern Santo Domingo concentrates around 300,000 people suffering overcrowded housing conditions and social exclusion. La (Vieja, or Old) Barquita is an emblematic slum at the heart of northern Santo Domingo (see Figure 2), the largest impoverished area in the country, and is located on the banks of the Ozama River, which crosses the city (see Figure 3). Its 8,000 dwellers live in near 1,900 housing units in generally bad conditions, with a lack of services (see Figure 4) and are in permanent danger of flooding and mudslides. The La Barquita neighbourhood emerged after the Dominican civil war of 1965, when migration flows rapidly increased from the countryside to Santo Domingo, especially to Los Mina district. Its name comes from the means of transportation utilised by people to cross the Ozama River from Los Mina, in Eastern Santo Domingo, to Sabana Perdida district, in Northern Santo Domingo. They used a "barquita", or in other words, a small "barco"—boat—to carry animals, motorcycles and various objects. This practice lasted until 1978 when the Gregorio Luperón Bridge was built, popularly known as La Barquita Bridge. Lands around the Ozama River, the 4th most important one in the country, had favourable conditions for rice production and livestock grazing. After hurricane David in 1979, there was already an important human settlement in La Barquita. Population increase in this area took place outside the authority of local and

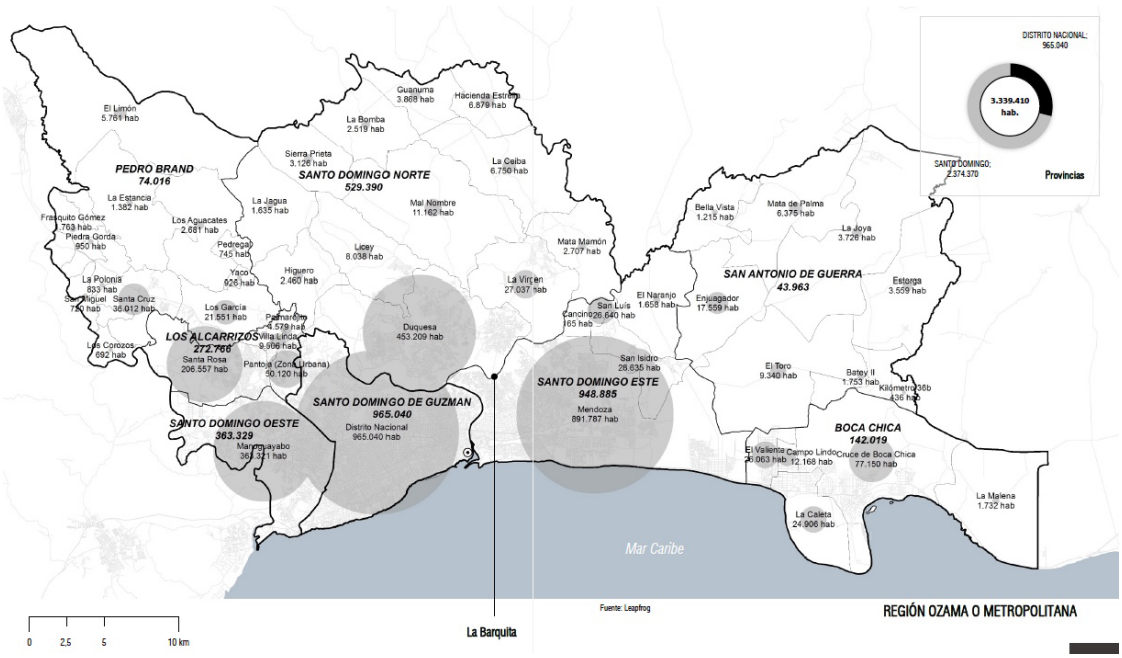

Figure 2. La Vieja Barquita in the greater Santo Domingo, and its areas' populations. Source: Unit for the Transformation of La Barquita and its Surroundings (URBE, 2017).

central governments, and thus without any social or urban planning.

Institutionally, the combination of, on one hand, a lack of territorial regulations beyond bourgeois and wealthy areas of the city, and on the other hand, local administrations without minimum management capacities, contributes to understanding why the Dominican state is unable to provide basic public services and to guarantee rights in the territories (personal interview with Informant 1). However, health, food and nutrition, and housing are priorities for people in Santo Domingo (personal interview with informant 5). The housing deficit in the country, both quantitative and qualitative, is estimated at 75% of the total amount of housing units, which accounts for around two million units for a population of ten million (Gabinete Social, 2017). People in the Old Barquita were looking to survive by settling down with their families in empty lands nearby work centres. As a result, this urban model traditionally criminalises those who seek living solutions under informality, which creates informal centres and exclusion, while wealth concentrates in the National District and fosters territorial gaps (personal interview with Informant 2).

By contrast:

> La Nueva Barquita is [considered as] an integral urban complex composed by infrastructures, facilities, equipment, and administrative procedures that convert a dream into a legal reality of decent housing, social cohesion, and a replicable city. As a housing complex, it sets standards for use of land for high quality physical and social infrastructures, where relocated families from flood zones and landslides will live. (URBE, 2017)

Certain analysts consider the LNB project to be a consequence of the pressure of public opinion on the newly inaugurated president Danilo Medina's administration in august 2012. The administration had to prioritise this project in La Barquita as a new effort to relocate families living in vulnerable areas, knowing that previous attempts were a failure (personal interview with Informant 4). Therefore, it is a *reactive project*, not a proactive endeavour, since it was conceived when the president made his first "surprise visit" to the Old Barquita community in September 2012 in order to assess the damages of the Ozama River floods that took place after the Isaac storm (personal interview with Informant 6). Another way to address the Old Barquita situation may be to consider that it is also a consequence of historical poor risk management in the city, hence confirming that disasters and climate vulnerabilities are more political than natural phenomena (personal interview with Informant 6).

4.2. Actors and Process

The Presidential Decree 16–13, published months later after the first presidential visit to La Barquita, declared this place a highly vulnerable area of the Ozama River, and ordered the relocation of this community. The first commission was created to undertake the necessary studies and consults, and to elaborate technical reports and formulate policy proposals. It was composed of the Ministry of the Presidency, the Ministry of Public Works, the Ministry of Environment, the National Institute for Housing, the Dominican Municipalities Federation, the Father Gregorio Alegría—as liaison between community and government—Architect Gustavo Moré and José Manuel González Cuadra—as General Director of the commission. The following year, Decree 201–14 formed

Figure 3. La Vieja Barquita neighbourhood and the Ozama River in Santo Domingo. Source: URBE (2017).

the public body URBE, which substituted the commission in order to coordinate and oversee other public institutions and private contractors on the implementation of different components of the LNB project. Other institutions were also involved in the project as implementing partner, such as the Ministry of Education, the Water and Sanitation Authority, the National Police, and the Electricity Distribution Company.

Financially, the project was supported by a hybrid resource scheme, from the national government and international cooperation through long-term loans. The national government invested 4 trillion Dominican pesos, which is approximately US$110 million. Besides this amount, the French Development Agency gave a US$210 million loan as budgetary support for several urban projects, including LNB project, a cableway project in Eastern Santo Domingo, and the extension of the second subway line.

URBE is plainly in charge of the coordination and monitoring of the actions performed by the institutions involved in the urban project and environmental rescue of vulnerable neighbourhoods around the Ozama River basin. It has financial and administrative autonomy and operates under the authority of the Ministry of the Presidency. Through the LNB Project and the creation of URBE, the aim was to establish a new integrative protocol for urban renovation projects in the country that combines the social and environmental sustainability dimensions. URBE was created even though there are other public bodies legally enabled for these tasks (personal interview with Informant 6). The lack of technical capacities was also a reason to exclude traditional actors from the design and execution process, as well as time constraints due to challenging deadlines for URBE. In terms of housing solutions, there was a major missing actor in the LNB project—the National Institute of Housing (INVI). Although this institution was included in the presidential commissions for the La Barquita project, it seems that it did not have a significant role in advising and implementing the housing solutions.

Furthermore, the only direct representation of the community officially appointed in the commissions by the president was the parish priest of the La Barquita area, Gregorio Alegría. In other words, the interlocutor between the government and the community was the Catholic Church (personal interview with Gómez). Some say it was not adequate to include religious people in the project and for this specific role because of their dogmas and conservative positions (personal interview with Informant 3). Several protests took place involving neighbourhood councils against father Alegría, also asking for more information about certain parts of the plan from the government (Torres, Jovine, Rodríguez, & Pujals, 2017).

Another feature is the Board of Trustees—Patronato—of LNB, an institutional body that was missing in the previous urban initiatives in this country. The Patronato is a governance unit responsible for the management of the infrastructures and the physical, social, and economic sustainability of the project. It is composed of URBE staff, Father Alegría and community representatives. It governs LNB and is the intermediary between the community and the national government, dealing directly with local governments. Hence, instead of neighbourhood councils, the Patronato has organised residents only per residential blocks and per stairs or floors (personal interview with Informant 7). In addition, the Patronato is in charge of utilities operations: trash collection, public lighting, street patching, gardening, and general maintenance of the project.

4.3. Accessibility and Service Logic of the Project

LNB is considered an extreme vulnerable intervention or palliative project targeted at high-risk families. Its social purpose is to relocate people in danger to safer areas, especially poor communities suffering from regular natural threats. Since this type of projects has been conceived to develop contingent actions to specific situations, they do not respond to a planned and articulated right to housing policy (Torres et al., 2017). Among the mechanisms and requirements to be eligible for one of the LNB apartments, there are strict conditions: to have suffered natural disaster, or to live in a recognised high-risk area. Finally, sometimes more relevant than fragile land property rights and environmental vulnerability conditions, an important (though implicit) eligibility criterion for the national government when choosing in which community to intervene is how powerful is a particular needy community on the media (Torres et al., 2017).

In order to identify eligible families of La Barquita to be relocated, the URBE carried out several censuses: one of the renters, another of the owners of houses, and a third of business owners. "They verified the number of families and the conditions in which they lived, in order to make sure that those counted in the census are the ones that had to be relocated in 2016" (González, 2014). In terms of accessibility and use of the service provided, each relocated family signed a contract that will transfer the property to the family in a 10-year period, in a donation operation.

Meanwhile, the Patronato established a mandatory monthly fee of 1,000 Dominican pesos—about US$20—to be paid by each family to offset the costs of trash collection, gardening, general cleaning, and maintenance of buildings and common areas. The Patronato's rationale was that, once relocated, the residents would have to pay the administration of the housing project the same amount of rent that they paid in their old places at La Vieja Barquita (González, 2014). The first inconvenience of this fee was that it was established without enough consultation (personal interview with Informant 4). The second one was that there are not enough jobs in the LNB area and people have meagre earnings, so they cannot afford this regular bill (personal interview with Alegría).

5. Impacts and Lessons of SI

5.1. Satisfaction of Human Needs

In a wider notion of poverty, basic needs are classified in two types: those defined by private consumption, or the demand side, such as housing and food; and another group including essential services provided by the community such as water, sanitation, transportation, health, education, and culture (Frenesda, 2007). Other specific social inclusion drivers, in a broad view, are: income and consumption, poverty, labour market, political participation and social networks (Oxoby, 2009).

In that respect, LNB was successful in challenging the status quo of the public system in terms of targeting vulnerable populations with urgent needs (personal interview with Informant 4). This project directly contributed to reduce the quantitative housing deficit, through the provision of decent housing to around 5,500 people living in poverty. These families also had access to basic public services in walking distance from their homes, especially health, education, childcare, sport facilities, green areas, religious services, and human security. LNB has therefore created a strongly contrasted living environment when compared to the Old Barquita (see Figures 4 and 5).

However, despite these efforts, unemployment is the most relevant concern of the LNB population and a major threat for the social sustainability of the project. On the other hand, a community leader explained that designers of LNB wanted to convert the beneficiaries into a middle class, but in fact, they continue to be poor and cannot pay basic services although they now have a decent house (Holguín, 2017).

Schwarz et al. (2010, p. 174, as cited in Noack & Federwisch, 2018) avoid a normative understanding of SIs and argues that they may have an ambivalent impact, due to the diversity of actors, intentions, and rationalities when aiming to solve problems. Some contend that SI processes may also create new problems and conflicts (Gillwald, 2000, Lindhult, 2008, as cited in Noack & Federwisch, 2018). In that sense, it was found that when relocating a whole community, there were several consequences that were not taken into account in LNB, e.g., livelihoods in the new territory. Government gave the people a house but not a job, and now they have to pay formal services such as electricity, water, and Patronato's monthly fee without having regular incomes, forgetting therefore that people's needs are indissoluble. In the end, people would try to sell or move to another place (personal interview with Informant 3).

5.2. Change in Social Relations: Impact on Organisations and Territories

The pursuit of social inclusion goals is part of a relevant dynamic based on communitarian development (Caillouette, Roos & Aubin, 2013) that associates with governance models characterised by partnerships, co-production and co-construction based projects, together with a combination of different social and economic logics (Klein, Camus, Jetté, Champagne, & Roy, 2016). In this context, SIs may be found in new social arrangements, new coordination modes, and new linkages between key stakeholders (Klein & Raufflet, 2014).

The LNB project established a precedent of social inclusion and comprehensive approach for urban projects in the country. It also challenged the status quo of the public system in terms of targeting environmentally vulnerable populations (personal interview with Informant 4) and responding with a preventive and permanent solution, contrary to traditional post-events temporary projects. Nevertheless, there are concerns about its limited impact. Particularly, it does not shape a structural path for genuine public policy or new governance approaches; it is just a *single* project. In fact, LNB is an infrastructural solution, not a "reform process or a transformative endeavour" (personal interview with Informant 2). In contrast, as observed in other countries (especially in Europe), certain modes of governance have a

Figure 4. Contrasts between LNB and La Vieja Barquita neighbourhoods. Source: URBE (2017).

greater capacity to foster creativity and transform established decision-making and governance practices than others (Hutchinson, 2014). Differences between neighbourhood focus and wider-spatial-scale targeting are scientifically and politically significant, and the research shows that a combination of scales increases collaboration and resource mobilisation in SI initiatives (De Muro et al., 2008).

URBE served as a project execution unit for urban issues, a non-existent institutional figure in the Dominican landscape (personal interview with Joly at the AFD) and in a low coordination context with institutional atomisation. Among URBE strengths are the strong technical skills of the team, as well as the ability to learn by doing and adapting to changes due to the newness of this type of project in the Dominican urban landscape (personal interview with Joly at the AFD). URBE could also be defined as a parallel administrative body based in the National Palace (personal interview with Informant 3). However, it could make sense in a highly centralised and presidentialist state as the key to guaranteeing the coordination of more than 50 institutional actors involved. These actors are mainly from the central government and from organised civil society, international cooperation, and the private sector: "Since the idea [of LNB] came from president Medina, for once, different institutions worked together, and everything moved along very quickly, which is unusual", confirmed Joan Giacinti (2015), the president of the Dominican-French Chamber of Commerce.

Certain authors have argued in support of the "comingling" of SI with wider hierarchical governance, pointing to the continuing role of the state as a player in initiating and co-ordinating the process of SI (Baker & Mehmood, 2015). In the case of LNB, government institutions enrolled in the project, coordinated by URBE, built different facilities to guarantee the provision of basic public services. The Ministry of Health built a hospital; the Ministry of Education built three schools; the Institute for Child Protection opened a childcare centre; other institutions built sport facilities, a catholic church, a community centre, a vocational school, parks and squares, sewage treatment plants, gardens, as well as electrical, water and transportation infrastructures. The private sector was another key actor, with more than a dozen contractors working directly with URBE in the construction of 1,800 housing units. As a result, LNB is genuinely a living area with various integrated services (see Figure 5).

In fact, it is likely that if there had been local power from local governments and NGOs, the La Barquita project would have been much more conflictive. This is simply because the Northern Santo Domingo government would not have been happy to receive 1,400 new poor families in its territory without receiving extra financial support from the national government to handle these new families. By comparison, the Eastern Santo Domingo government may have considered it positive to expel part of its population, and in return, receive a brand new ecological park in the formerly deprived riverside areas (personal interview with informant 6). In fact, the Santo Domingo Joint Association, which gathers the main local administrations of the area, was not fully involved in the project, despite its coordination abilities and experiences working in the territories. What is more precise and paradoxical is that the "verticality" of the decision-making process by the central government may have been the reason for the rapid execution of the LNB project.

Figure 5. Integrated services in LNB: apartments, businesses, sidewalks, trash collection system, public lighting, and public signs. Source: authors.

Equally important may have been the particular power scheme that prevailed for the URBE top decision-makers. Indeed, the fact that the main leader of the project was not a politician was recognised as a positive feature of LNB. The general director of URBE was the businessperson José Gonzalez Cuadra. He put his private sector management abilities in practice, whereas politicians tend to make promises, but do not keep their commitments (personal interview with Alegría). Alternatively, assigning a businessperson to such an important and strategic project is not that obvious from an institutional point of view (personal interview with informant 3), since the private sector tends to operate with certain verticality and without the democratic spirit that the public or non-governmental sector demands. In fact, LNB was not able to fully integrate neither local governments nor local actors in the process (personal interview with informant 2).

The Patronato, directed by URBE as the developer of LNB and major financial support, was also a decisive actor, compared to other represented community groups. However, the Patronato did not represent the community since excluded people of LNB were not likely to claim their rights because these people were not used to demanding what they deserved. To make it a participative process, it may have needed to be carefully designed to be able to integrate them (personal interview with Informant 4). During the definition of the project, the government stressed the *horizontal* structure for La Barquita project in socio-economic, legal, and technical terms. However, despite the participation of La Barquita dwellers from the beginning, evidence shows that a top-down approach prevailed as people from the community were taught by URBE and acted mainly as receptors of information (Torres et al., 2017).

Likewise, local governments as territorial actors were not fully involved as stakeholders. URBE treated local governments as mere receptors of information, not as part of the decision-making process (personal interview with Gómez). This may be explained by their technical, financial, and administrative limitations. Nevertheless, local governments could have contributed to the relocation and transition of families from La Vieja Barquita neighbourhood to the new housing complex. It just so happened that Northern Santo Domingo municipal authority stared like a spectator at how the central government added a new, closed and over-privileged community to its territory compared to its neighbours (personal interview with Informant 3).

5.3. Improvement of Socio-Political Capacities of Excluded People

SI requires the participation—whether conscious and intentional or not—of a diversity of actors, especially from civil society, politics, public administration, and research; thus, it can become a point of encounter between social problems, research, and public policies (Dandurand, 2005). In the LNB project, the participation level of people in the design of the project was not satisfactory. Indeed, the government started to offer things to people, but then converted the URBE-beneficiaries relation in a clientelist way, with strong power asymmetries and no sense of community (personal interview with Informant 3). Therefore, URBE did not permit people to participate in the implementation of the LNB project (personal interview with Informant 4). There were only informational meetings and several workshops with family members to teach them rules for living in a condominium and on how to utilise the apartments, infrastructure, and services they would have at their disposal. The topics addressed were about health, the use of communal areas, trash management, and noise, among others. Attendance was compulsory for every family (personal interview with Alegría). They also had to pass the adult literacy program. The mandatory training for the families, also regarding citizenship and responsibility on services payments, did not seek to change people, but to create a safe environment (personal interview with Joly at the AFD).

As a result, people's participation did not make them active agents in the decision-making process and thus did not change power relations regarding the formulation and execution of the project (Torres et al., 2017). Indeed, "while having concretely offered improved housing and living conditions, La Nueva Barquita did not promote social cohesion because the ultimate beneficiaries were manipulated and utilized" (personal interview with Gómez). In fact, there are serious doubts about the LNB project contribution to strengthening local social fabric (personal interview with Informant 6): giving "things" to people is not enough; educating them is the key to economic and social progress (personal interview with Informant 3). Education can also help to create a "territorial conscience" in inhabitants, understood as the feeling of belonging to a community and the responsibility to advocate for the improvement of the territory, which was not seen in LNB. In contrast, when such conscience exists, local initiatives for people participation can emerge even in a situation where dwellers are not fully consulted for a project because they can react to this exclusion boosted by their territorial conscience (Hamdouch, Ghaffari, & Klein, 2017).

6. Conclusions

This article discussed the potential role of SI as a driver of inclusive urban transformation in the Central American city of Santo Domingo. The LNB project has been analysed from a governance angle and from the socio-territorial approach of SI. We wished to contribute to the reflection on urban transformation projects in the Dominican Republic, and maybe more largely in the Latin American context, through an institutional analysis of a potential socially inclusive project. LNB was described as a model integral urban project in the Dominican Republic,

but as we have seen, its outcomes present different levels of achievement in the dimensions examined.

On the one hand, LNB has set a standard in urban projects for impoverished populations in terms of its inclusion focus and the comprehensiveness principle of the solution. It has also contributed with two institutional innovations: URBE, as a project execution unit, and the Patronato, as a board of trustees aiming to preserve the physical and normative integrity of the LNB neighbourhood. Above all, LNB has greatly improved the housing and public services access conditions for thousands of inhabitants in particular and offered them a safer urban environment.

On the other hand, on the decision-making and governance side, things are more debatable. A primary result is the vertical relation between URBE and the community and NGOs. Another characteristic is the timid involvement of relevant public actors as local governments, the national housing authority, and other technical and territorial representative structures. The weight of underlying centralism and presidentialism in urban planning was probably unavoidable in this city. The LNB project has reinforced authoritarian presidentialism and centralism, in terms of local people accepting a vertical unidirectional relation with URBE and the government. In addition, the people have accepted that URBE, in order to guarantee the maintenance and enforcement of the neighbourhood rules, has interfered in the community democratic process. For instance, instead of having an independent neighbourhood council, democratically elected by LNB inhabitants, URBE established, within the Patronato, a parallel structure in order to gather regular information about what happens in the buildings and blocks. Tenants chosen by the Patronato and URBE compose this body of informants. In other circumstances, this structure may have been substituted by bottom-up representative structures as neighbourhood councils.

In fact, the concrete processes that connect actions towards the improvement of situations involving fragile people and the potential empowerment of those people in particular are complex and scale-sensitive, and their outcomes are both unpredictable and more or less positive. As demonstrated by Moulaert et al. (2013), there are many examples of SI initiatives and actions at the very local level that remain rather informal and unique while efficiently addressing some human needs in varied existential fields (housing, education, healthcare, etc.), without necessarily changing the "normal" governance processes on a larger scale. Rather, the initiatives can just find new "local" ways for collectively solving specific problems without requiring official governance and decision-making processes. In contrast, some initiatives that are more or less institutionalised and vertical in their decision-making approach can effectively solve key social problems while not really changing usual governance processes (i.e., giving more space to genuine participation). With some specific nuances, the LNB project falls in the latter situation.

This highlights a situation where the LNB project could have been the opportunity for more "transformative" outcomes in terms of participation and empowerment, and in terms of generalisation for further projects, but it wasn't so due to the particular traditional political culture and context in Santo Domingo, characterised by Presidentialism and Authoritarian decision-making processes. The LNB project represents therefore a missed opportunity to create institutional and technical capacities among relevant actors for similar future projects. Likewise, the replication potential of the project is in question due to financial, institutional, and technical constraints.

However, other institutional and sociocultural contexts, prevailing elsewhere or in the Dominican Republic in the future, may offer outcomes in terms of empowerment, participation, and community building that are more positive through socially creative initiatives in urban transformation projects. Such an optimistic perspective not only derives from the successful cases documented in the literature on the five continents (Klein et al., 2016; Moulaert et al., 2013), but is also an illustration and evidence that the outcomes of socially creative initiatives and projects depend on the specific territorial contexts, institutional and political settings, and complex processes that shape their emergence, implementation and governance conditions. Therefore, in the continuation of the strong research efforts devoted to SI research over the last three decades (Moulaert et al., 2017), more case studies are needed to validate the SI potential of similar projects to LNB and would also be useful for comparative research.

Acknowledgements

The authors thank the interviewees and institutions that contributed with their insights and documents, and the three referees whose comments helped improving significantly the initial manuscript.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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COGITATIO

Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183–7635)
2019, Volume 4, Issue 1, Pages 44–52
DOI: 10.17645/up.v4i1.1713

Article

Enhancing Urban Encounters: The Transformative Powers of Creative Integration Initiatives

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Submitted: 10 August 2018 | Accepted: 22 October 2018 | Published: 24 January 2019

Abstract
Sustainable cites require the capacity to live with difference. In a world of increased mobility and migration, our cities become more and more diversified. While national discourses on diversity are often problem-focused, social initiatives are emerging in diverse cities addressing the positive potential of the city as a cross-cultural meeting place. In Norway, such initiatives have increased in number since "the refugee crisis" in 2015, and we see creative approaches arising from civil society, the voluntary sector, private companies, and local governments aiming to facilitate encounters with difference. This article explores innovative integration initiatives in cities in the north, emphasizing how difference might be negotiated, engendering new forms of engagement and responsibility. Cities are seen as sites of experiments, where new relations across difference are developed. Framing encounters as emergent, transitory, fragile, yet hopeful, we discuss the transformative powers of such initiatives for planning in diverse cities.

Keywords
collective learning; cross-cultural dialogues; encounter; Forum Theatre; integration; planning diversity; social initiatives; social innovation; situational understanding

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Transformative Power of Urban Planning through Social Innovation", edited by Torill Nyseth (UiT, The Arctic University of Norway, Norway) and Abdelillah Hamdouch (University of Tours, France).

1. Introduction

In a world of increased migration and mobility, our cities become increasingly diversified. The dynamic complexity, diversity, and fluidity of contemporary cities pose challenges as well as opportunities for urban planning and policy-making. Cities are sites of multicultural belonging, and the cities' capacity to meet the needs of a diversified population and create social cohesion is crucial for sustainable urban development. While urban diversity includes a broad range of aspects, this study focuses on cultural diversity and the inclusion of immigrants. In the cities of Tromsø and Bodø, in Northern Norway, the numbers of immigrants have increased in recent years (of Tromsø's population of 75,000, 14,1% are foreign immigrants, as are 10,1% of Bodø's population of 51,000, according to Statistic Norway at www.ssb.no). Like in many other cities across Europe (Taşan-Kok, Bolt, Plüss, & Schenkel, 2017; Wilson, 2015), there are many emerging initiatives of welcoming new inhabitants and creating spaces for encounters across difference. However, along with initiatives addressing the positive potential of diverse cities, we see an increasing polarization in public discourses on migration and integration with drivers towards more exclusionary accounts of belonging. The "new urban condition", Wilson (2015) argues, is characterized by difference, fragmentation, and plurality, where drivers to tolerance and pluralization encounter their opposite. Cultural diversity is seen as an asset, but also as engendering fear. In Norway, immigration represents a necessary workforce and contribution to maintain population numbers and welfare services. At the same time, a lack of appropriate integration policy leads to increased social differences and processes of social as well as economic segregation (Aure, Førde, & Magnussen, 2018). As Collier (2013) argues, migration has become politicized

before it is analyzed. As European cities become ever more multicultural (Taşan-Kok et al., 2017), it becomes urgent to investigate the conditions for diversity as an asset. How can cities increase their capacity to live with difference? How do they plan for diversity and enhance encounters across difference? What are the transformative powers of innovative integration initiatives?

Planning has been criticized for failing to take account of the diversity of cities (Fincher & Iveson, 2008; Quadeer, 1997; Sanderock, 1998). As noted by Campbell (1996), advocating social justice in urban planning is often met with other conflicting goals, such as promoting economic growth or the green city. Planners thus need new tools for staging inclusive processes and making the orientations of the negotiated plan real (Albrechts, 2004; Nyseth et al., 2017). By focusing on innovative integration initiatives, often initiated and performed outside of the formal planning systems, we seek to explore alternative ways of negotiating cultural difference. The challenge of living with difference and negotiating diversity has led to a growing concern for encounters in urban studies (Amin, 2012; Koefoed, Christensen, & Simonsen, 2017; Valentine, 2008; Wilson & Darling, 2016). This concern, however multifaceted, opens for a greater attention to complexities and contestations, and to the negotiation of difference. City life is often described by a sense of estrangement, of the being together of strangers (Ahmed, 2000; Amin, 2012; Sanderock, 2003; Young, 1990). As cities become more diverse, encounter across difference should be a goal for urban planning (Fincher & Iveson, 2008). Is it possible to plan for encounters among strangers, and facilitate opportunities for positive experiences of diversity?

The socio-economic challenges introduced by globalization processes require innovation and experimentation in urban planning and development that are sensitive to shifting complexities (Nyseth et al., 2017). Social initiatives introduced and performed by various actors—often in concert—seem to play a central role in creating spaces of cross-cultural encounter. In Bodø and Tromsø, numerous initiatives to create meeting places and interaction have emerged—especially since the increased arrival of refugees in 2015. Activities like language cafés, international women's networks, the "People's Kitchen", solidarity cafés, storytelling workshops, embroidery workshops, and various inclusive theatre, dance, and music events are some of the initiatives to be found in these cities. These initiatives stem from volunteer organizations, private companies or individuals, and the public sector, and often a mix of these. Many of them involve actors from the art and cultural industries. In the research project "Cit-egration—Sustainable Diverse Cities: Innovation in Integration" (financed by the Norwegian Research Council, 2017–2021), we study such social initiatives. By cultivating cross-cultural interaction, these initiatives seek to enhance shared belonging and positive coexistence. In order to understand their transformative powers, we need to understand how encounters take place and the impact of these spaces on everyday coexistence. As Wilson (2013) argues, there is little knowledge on which specific relations make such spaces productive. The aim of this article is to explore the potential of social initiatives to create spaces for cross-cultural interaction and dialogues. The article is structured as follows: first, we present theoretical reflections on planning for cross-cultural encounters and methodological reflections on studying such encounters. Then we present two social initiatives: Forum Theatre in Bodø and a storytelling workshop in Tromsø. Based on experiences from these specific encounters, we discuss how new forms of engagement might be engendered, how difference might be negotiated, and how planning might facilitate such initiatives. The potential of integration initiatives is an emergent issue in contemporary urban transformation. Our point of departure is that urban planning should learn from these social initiatives and their experience of enhancing cross-cultural encounters. We argue that such initiatives are crucial to increasing the cities' capacity to live with difference.

2. Theorizing Planning for Cross-Cultural Encounters

The multicultural city is made of a multitude of encounters, where different trajectories, objects, and people form shifting compositions of thrown-togetherness, and multiple pasts and futures are folded into the present (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Massey, 2005; Wilson & Darling, 2016). Within work on urban diversity, the concept of encounter is widely used to explore spaces of cross-cultural interaction. However, the concept remains under-theorized (Wilson, 2017) and we still lack knowledge about how encounters are enacted and how they can contribute to trust and dialogue (Valentine, 2008). Encounter, Wilson and Darling (2016) argue, is centrally about the maintenance, production, and reworking of difference. Emphasizing the performative elements of encounter, the city is not seen as a site where existing differences meet. Encounter also has the ability to make and transform differences. Warning against a naïve celebration of urban inter-mingling, Valentine (2008) emphasizes that encounters do not necessarily lead to respect and trust. Encounters are embedded in history, material conditions, and power structures, and encounters with difference can produce conflicts and anxiety as well as acknowledgement and possibilities. Planning plays an important role in embracing hybridity, and Fincher and Iveson (2008) argue that facilitating encounters between people, similar and different, should be a core issue in urban planning. However, the dynamics of such inter-mingling are, and must always be, largely spontaneous and unpredictable. "Encounters with difference are emergent, often outside of expectation and complicate any neat accounts of agency, causality or moral cultivation" (Wilson, 2013, p. 76).

As the city becomes more diverse, there is a pressing need for approaches to planning and development that

acknowledge the complexities of contemporary cities, emphasizing openness, temporality, and respect for differences (Hillier, 2007; Nyseth, 2011; Nyseth et al., 2017; Pløger, 2004). In her multiplanar theory, Hillier (2007) seeks to develop planning that is open for what might come—for the unknown. Criticizing planning for being too outcome-focused, and thus imposing a futile certainty on a contingent world, Hillier argues for a more flexible planning that is willing to compromise. Inspired by the French philosophers Deluze and Guattari, Hillier encourages an ontology of becoming that recognizes the dynamic complexities of time and space, and the importance of relations—as a politics of the possible. This involves a performance-based planning, a planning that makes sense of disorder and difference, dealing with an unpredictable future. We find these reflections on potential and becoming highly relevant for planning for diverse and just cities, where we argue that facilitating social innovation and cross-cultural dialogues should be central. Social innovation, understood as new ways of fostering inclusion and wellbeing through improving social relations, is becoming increasingly influential in research, collective action, and policy (Moulaert, MacCallum, & Hillier, 2013). In emphasizing a better equilibrium in living together, social innovation explicitly refers to a position of social justice. In line with Moulaert et al. (2013), we argue that analyzing social innovation and planning for just diversity requires engagement with complexity and uncertainty. To plan for encounters among strangers necessarily involves planning for the (partly) unknown. In a study of planning for innovation in cultural industries, Førde and Kramvig (2017) demonstrate the challenges of planning for the unknown, of making planning and policy programs that are open to complexity and difference, which allows the presence of the non-present. It requires a relational perspective on innovation, planning, and encounter with emphasis on experimentation and improvisation. Experiments are speculative methods of knowing, working with doubt and uncertainty (Hillier, 2007; Nyseth et al., 2017). There is growing literature on experimental urbanism, where cities are seen as sites of experimentation. As Karvonen and van Heur (2014) demonstrate, these notions hold forth the promise of experimental processes and innovative action related to a range of fields, such as social cohesion. Concerning work on difference and multiculturalism, cities are often celebrated as laboratories for new social imaginaries and ways of belonging (Wilson, 2015). The urban is seen as a site for producing new forms of citizenship, cultural negotiation, and political interaction, and thus developing new modes of being, Wilson (2015) argues. The challenge is to develop planning approaches that are sensitive to social and cultural complexities, where social innovation and experimentation are key inputs. It implies giving up the fantasy of controlling the future, without giving up the responsibility of facilitating a better future (Hillier, 2007).

The issue of just cities in planning leans on Lefebvre's work of the right to the city (Fainstein, 2010; Fincher & Iveson, 2008; Lefebvre, 1996). The right to the city, Lefebvre (1996) claimed, implies the right to urban life of all those who inhabit the city, regardless of their cultural differences. Lefebvre claimed that social justice must involve certain rights to urban space, to participate in urban life, to use and shape the city as equals. If planning is about bringing imagined futures into being (Healey, 2010), we need to acknowledge the multiple imaginaries at play in diverse cities. Involving diverse groups in the planning process are crucial ideas in planning, but as Healey (2010) demonstrates, ideals of procedural fairness have proved hard to live up to. Many have argued that planners need to acknowledge their role in the politics of difference and engage in developing visions of the just city (Campbell, 1996; Fainstein, 2010; Fincher & Iveson, 2008). Just diversity, Fincher and Iveson claim, requires a normative framework for planning practice going beyond matters of process. "To create more just cities, planners need a framework for making judgements between different claims in the planning process, as well as facilitating them" (Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 5). This implies that planners must engage with what is to be done, as well as how, with issues of substance and values as well as process. They suggest a set of progressive social logics; redistribution, recognition, and encounter.

In line with Fincher and Iveson (2008), we argue that the right to the city should also be understood as a right to encounter. Amin (2002) focuses on "micropublic" sites of compulsory daily interaction and conversation as spaces where diversity is accommodated. The right to encounter comprises daily or regular contact as well as more fluid meetings that occur unexpectedly in public spaces. The right to encounter further implies not only the right to be oneself, but also the right to "become someone else through exploratory encounters with the strangers with whom they share the same city" (Fincher & Iveson, 2008, p. 13). When investigating cross-cultural encounters, it is important to avoid fixed categories of culture and belonging as these are constantly changed, in and through the encounters. As Wilson (2015) argues, there are different notions of belonging, sometimes in tension and sometimes in dialogue, continuously reconfiguring each other. It is also important to keep open the discussion on what "good encounters", "progressive diversity", or "the good city" might be. To call for creative approaches to planning which are sensitive to complexities and allowing for the unknown, and at the same time advertise for normative frameworks for just diversity is not an easy combination for urban planners. Arguing for planning as becoming, Hillier (2007) problematizes the normative role of planning, where the plan is a fixed statement of what ought to be. This should not be understood as discharging planners from the engagement in developing visions and norms for just and diverse cities. The notion of the urban laboratory is part of a wider discursive field including engaged research, interpreting urban development as a collaborative process that con-

stitutes place-specific interventions. It thus connects to debates of the normative aims of social innovation, centering on processes of change, new practices, and concepts that connect future visions of cities to the "politics and practices of hope" (Karvonen & van Heur, 2014; Moulaert et al., 2013). Facilitating encounters and hybridity and making it possible to adopt shared identifications across common divisions should be part of such a normative framework for urban planning and development.

3. Methods: A Collaborative Approach

Cross-cultural encounters are complex and fluid fields of study requiring methods that are sensitive to this complexity. As Wilson (2013) argues, it is important to attend to micro-contexts in relation to diversity-management and examine how new forms of engagement and responsibility might be engendered. In order to investigate how innovative integration initiatives can create spaces for cross-cultural interaction, and how planning can facilitate such initiatives, we must study how encounters across difference take place, and how they are conditioned.

This article is based on on-going research on innovation in integration in the cities of Bodø and Tromsø. The Cit-egration project is based on a collaborative approach, where we seek to co-produce knowledge with involved actors. Artists, voluntary organizations, and the municipalities are official and active partners of the project. The research team is following and taking part in a range of social initiatives, like theatre events, embroidery workshops, storytelling workshops, language cafés, and various city planning meetings and workshops. Our active role in the activities involves what Wilson (2013) calls observant participation as well as participant observation, which often demands the exploration of our own prejudices and comfort zones. Further, we have interviewed participants and collaborated with organizers in reflecting on the dynamics of the encounters; how difference is articulated and negotiated; how the events are planned and organized; and how they might lead to further interaction and participation in the city. We have also followed planning processes in these cities, participated at public meetings and events, and joined discussions and seminars with urban planners in Bodø and Tromsø, focusing especially on immigrants' participation—or lack thereof. In the Cit-egration project, case studies of innovative integration initiatives are combined with studies of how different groups in the city use urban space, how interaction transfer into participation and development of just cities, and the changing organizational pattern for voluntary work. Regarding the initiatives presented in this article, we have followed Forum Theatre and the storytelling workshop from the start, participated at workshops and events, had reflection dialogues with the organizers, and interviewed some of the participants. As we are taking an active role, and even initiating some of the activities, our research implies intervention. Far from being innocent techniques, our research practices produce not only different perspectives but also different realities (Law, 2004). Rather than aiming at order and unambiguity, Law argues that we need to find ways to deal with the messy realities of the worlds we are studying. This means not falling into the trap of (re)producing fixed categories, but striving to be sensitive to, and gain knowledge from, the emerging ambiguities and reconfigurations.

4. Diversity as an Asset in Planning

The inhabitants of Bodø and Tromsø include people from many nationalities, more than 100 nationalities in Bodø (according to their website at bodo.kommune.no), and 136 in Tromsø (according to their website at tromso.kommune.no). Both cities have experienced increased asylum and refugee migration, family migration as well as labor and lifestyle migration. The largest groups of immigrants in Bodø come from Poland, Somalia, Eritre, and Sweden, in Tromsø from Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Germany, with people from Poland and Syria representing the largest growing group. The regime of rights of different groups of immigrants provided them with different resources and possibilities.

Bodø municipality stresses that diversity is an asset for the city and has worked to make refugees settle, emphasizing equal public services and facilitating immigrants' entrance into the labor market. In 2016, Bodø was awarded by the Norwegian Directorate of Integration and Diversity for their work on settling refugees, and how perspectives on integration and diversity are included in the municipality's planning. In their planning strategy for 2016–2020, integration and diversity are accentuated as a common core in all plans and measures. Moreover, immigration is acknowledged as a crucial element in reaching the main objective of the municipal plan to increase Bodø's population to 70,000 by 2030. Immigration and cultural diversity are emphasized as creating possibilities for industrial, cultural, and social development. The municipal plan aims to "create an urban community where diversity is a resource", to create meeting places and include immigrants in order to make them active citizens (Bodø Municipality, 2014, p. 25).

Tromsø's municipal plan of being an inclusive and international city has been explicitly expressed. Tromsø also has a vision of increasing its population to 120,000 by 2044 (Tromsø Municipality, 2015), and here, reaching this goal depends on increased immigration. The municipality is currently working on a strategic plan for integration and has organized a series of café dialogues gathering public services in order to strengthen immigrants' participation in the labor market, education, and civil society. Tromsø municipality has established an integration board to make multiple voices heard in consultation procedures and to innovate the municipality's work on living conditions and participation (according to their website at tromso.kommune.no).

Although integration and diversity are given priority in general municipal plans, the immigrant population is to a little extent included in actual planning processes. As cities of expansive growth, both Bodø and Tromsø are developing new city districts and have many ongoing planning processes. Participation and experimental methods are emphasized. In Bodø a city lab is launched to secure and energize citizens' participation in urban planning, and Tromsø has run numerous participatory workshops and experimental neighborhood festivals in recent years to involve the citizens in discussing the city's future. Still, few immigrants attend public meetings, the city lab, festival events, and other municipal initiatives to engage the citizens in participatory planning processes. In meetings with municipal planners in both cities, they express the need for new methods to involve a broader spectrum of the population. In addition, many of the immigrants we have met express a need for arenas to meet and participate in activities with other citizens across cultural backgrounds. Bringing together people and experience from the public authorities and administration, local industries, and the volunteer sector is an expressed aim in both cities' planning practices, and they are searching for ways to create spaces for these collaborative efforts. We argue that turning to innovative integration initiatives operating outside of planning processes, often by applying methods from the art and cultural sector, might offer useful insights on how cross-cultural dialogues might be facilitated.

5. Creating Spaces for Cross-Cultural Interaction

In this section, we will present two innovative integration initiatives. We have chosen the cases of the Forum Theatre in Bodø and the storytelling workshop in Tromsø to illustrate how social initiatives within the cultural field might facilitate cross-cultural interaction, and to explore how difference is negotiated in specific encounters.

5.1. Forum Theatre

On a Wednesday morning, March 2018, a group of about 30 people is gathered at Folkets Hus, a public community house in Bodø to perform Forum Theatre. The participants are immigrants, mainly from Syria and Ethiopia, and are relatively new to the city. With them is a theater instructor and three theatre actors, people from Batteriet, who organize these theatre events, and us—two researchers following the project. The project is initiated and organized by Batteriet, a resource center under the volunteer organization The Church City Mission, working against social exclusion. The Forum Theatre project is financed by The Norwegian Directorate of Diversity and Integration, and is during the project period included as a part of these immigrants' obligatory introductory program, run by the municipality's refugee services. Batteriet has hired a theatre instructor and actors from Bodø Amateur Theatre to lead the forum theatres. The project started in January 2017 and runs for half a year with the same group. The group meets every second Wednesday to do forums on theatre plays, addressing different themes like democracy, borders, social control, how to get to know people in Bodø, and job interviews. This Wednesday the theme is connected to the MeToo campaign; the discussion is about acceptable and unacceptable ways of approaching someone you are interested in. The session starts, as always, with various exercises. Using our bodies as much as words, we explore each other's borders for intimacy and ways of greeting in different situations and cultures. Then, the theater ensemble performs a short play of a young male medical student who falls in love with his female tutor. As is always the case in these plays, it ends in a catastrophic situation; signals are misunderstood, the student inappropriately seduces his tutor. Then the play is repeated, but this time all participants can take part in changing the performance of the protagonist: the male student. "Stop!" shouts one participant after the other, every time someone wants the actor playing the student to do or say something differently, jumping up to replace him. With a great deal of engagement, bodily expression, noise, and laughter, every situation in the play is challenged and new solutions proposed.

Forum Theatre, devised by Augusto Boal and often described as Theatre of the Oppressed, is used internationally as a tool of empowerment (Day, 2002). It is used as a democratic method to increase participation and make multiple voices heard. The organizers of Forum Theatre in Bodø see this method as particularly suited to face immigrants' situation, as it combines language and cultural training, creates new relations through interaction, and provides joyful breaks in the participants' "trapped situation of waiting" at the asylum center. The language used in the play is Norwegian, with some translation into English and Arab. However, even more communication is based on bodily expression. "It is a suitable arena for interaction when language is a great challenge. We create trust by using the body to initiate communication", one of the organizers argues. The theatre events are highly appreciated by the participants. An Eritrean participant explains: "We talk about the Norwegian society, which is very helpful. The themes are the real life that we are in. All the problems we are in". In addition to offering an arena for participatory language training, the participants stress the importance of the cultural training; the guidance towards trivial everyday situations such as how to meet people on the bus and how to greet neighbors. By presenting stereotyped plays of various situations and then opening the storyline for intervention, difference is articulated and contested. The theatre instructor emphasizes the importance of not presenting fixed solutions in the plays, but rather keeping them open for alternative interpretations and interventions. The Forum Theatre provides an arena for testing out different approaches to specific situations.

5.2. Storytelling Workshop

In Tromsø, February 2018, eight participants, one instructor, and two researchers are gathered at Rådstua, the house for performing arts, to join a storytelling workshop. The project is initiated by The Norwegian People's Aid, supported by the Cit-egration project, organized in collaboration with HATS—a regional interest group for performing arts, and led by a professional theatre actor from SadioNor Theatre Company. Over four evenings, the participants will work on preparing and performing stories from their own lives, ending in a public storytelling event two months later. The participants differ in age and cultural background. They come from Norway, Syria, Ethiopia, Ukraine, and Peru. The youngest are in their 20s and the oldest are in their 80s. They are recruited through HATS. Some have experience in storytelling and performing, others do not. We start with exercises focusing on how to use our voice. Then we all sit together in a circle and share short stories from our lives, like "tell of a moment when you were really afraid". For the next sessions, the eight participants work on stories they are to perform on the final public storytelling event. The only task they are given is to tell something from their life. Then they receive instruction and help from the actor, in a group and individually, on how to frame and dramatize their stories.

Through short accounts of joy and fear, the storytellers share life experiences and get to know each other. They attune their own stories to the life experiences of the others. After being inspired by stories of being on the run from the Syrian army and an authoritarian regime in Ethiopia, an elderly man from Northern Norway decided to tell his story of being a refugee in his own country during the Second World War. By telling a poetic story of his late dog, an Ethiopian man also expresses how difficult it can be to make friends in Norway. For some participants, the storytelling event was the first time they spoke Norwegian in public. By sharing dramatic experiences from before they came to Norway, they also got to mediate parts of their life stories to their friends and others joining the public event. As a woman from Peru expressed: "We who are immigrants are always vulnerable. We miss our home countries. We have so much to tell about our countries, and we would so much like to be heard". The storytelling event became a rare and important occasion, offering professional training and an audience. Another participant, also from Northern Norway, decided to tell the story of how she came to acknowledge and embrace her long-denied Saami identity. A month after the event, she explained how hard it was to articulate these ambiguous feelings of belonging, and how the sharing of stories across difference throughout the workshop enabled her story to be told: "It took time to tell this story, to get the courage. We gave each other courage".

The concept of the storytelling workshops, the instructor explains, is simple: "'A story from your life is unique. And we will listen to you". It was not his plan that the stories should affect the participants' lives so much. In the workshops, differences are articulated and used as sources of inspiration. The way the participants connect and attune to each other, differences in age and background are bridged and the shared elements of very different life stories come to the fore. When the group gathered a month after the event, they decided to take the experiences further and initiated an association to create arenas for people to share their own stories. "This should be the beginning of a movement", one of them says, claiming that such sharing of stories provides courage and hope.

6. Negotiating Difference

Initiatives like these offer spaces of encounter by bringing together urban dwellers from diverse backgrounds in joint activities. As demonstrated also by others (Taşan-Kok et al., 2017), being united around a shared activity may bridge differences in ethnic, class, or cultural background. Through active participation, engagement is mobilized. Participants at the storytelling workshop emphasize that they get to tell stories from their lives that have never been told before and that they have the opportunity to relate to others' stories they would otherwise never have access to. By sharing experiences, mutual understanding and appreciation are engendered. By doing theatre exercises or telling stories together, a kind of conviviality is created where diverse individuals can work together on shared activities that do not reduce them to fixed identity categories.

In these encounters, differences are articulated, negotiated, and contested. The Forum play, when the participants get into an engaged dispute about how the male student should behave towards his female tutor, serves as an example. These negotiations, often performed through humor and laughter, hold multiple layers of meaning. By testing out alternative interpretations of, and approaches to, specific hypothetical situations, they negotiate values and norms. They compare incongruent approaches and try to work out how to relate across the differences. This way of staging hypothetical cultural clashes always holds a risk of producing or reinforcing cultural stereotypes. Boundaries can be produced as well as dispersed in encounters. Being aware of this, the organizers constantly discuss whose stories they play, trying to open up for nuancing the characters in the play. However, as one of the actors says: "We strive to create an arena for interaction among equals, but it is not that simple. The immigrants do not feel as safe as we do, feel like equals".

Both participants and organizers of these initiatives emphasize the importance of "the here and now" in these encounters, of the experiences they share, where their life situation outside of that room and its fixed identities and hierarchical lines are put aside—if only for a while. The value of these moments of community should not be underestimated. Nevertheless, there is lit-

tle doubt that these encounters resonate beyond their own immediate events. As Wilson and Darling (2016) argue, such encounters might contribute to shaping opinions and future competencies for encounter. Our study confirms this, through the participants' accounts of how taking part in the storytelling workshop has given them the courage to tell their stories, and how participating in Forum Theatre has made it easier for the immigrants to interact with Norwegians—in Norwegian, and vice versa. New relations are created through this participation across cultural backgrounds. The initiators of these initiatives, Batteriet, Norwegian People's Aid, and their collaborative partners see these projects as part of the wider work of integrating immigrants with the city, of providing language and cultural training, of creating mutual understanding and relations. Especially the Forum Theatre, which is part of the obligatory introduction program for refugees, has an introduction to work, education, and civic participation as a core aspect. The Directorate for Integration and Diversity, which is financing the project, has contributed to defining the themes for the forum plays, where participation is a common core subject. For some of the participants, participating in these encounters has become a doorway to broader participation in the city. By creating a new association, the participants of the storytelling workshop continue and expand their network of storytellers in Tromsø. In Bodø, several of the Forum Theatre participants have been encouraged into voluntary work with sports clubs and other activities in the city.

These initiatives are not directly linked to planning processes in the cities. They operate outside of the municipal planning structures and practices, with other aims and methods. We argue that these initiatives are highly relevant for planning just and diverse cities, as they contribute to new city dialogues. With methods that allow fixed, predefined identities and power structures to be put aside; they enable the broader participation that is often missing in planning processes. Allowing negotiation of different belongings, needs, and imaginaries, they contribute to condition new imaginaries of urban futures—taking into account the complex and shifting thrown-togetherness of contemporary cities.

7. Planning Social Initiatives

Planning for new and established inhabitants to meet and interact is far from straightforward, as it requires complex work of cultural translation and enters into multiple power geometries (Aure et al., 2018). Immigrants are often people on the move, creating a shifting and fluid field for integration initiatives. The initiative organizers stress the unpredictability characterizing such activities on many levels. In Forum Theatre, the group varies from time to time due to turnover at the asylum center. New ones arrive and others disappear—some are deported, others are given permission to settle in Norway and are transferred to other municipalities. This makes it difficult to plan; the organizers constantly have to change their program and expand their repertoire. Thus, keeping an open space for the unpredictable in planning the workshops and events becomes crucial. Financed by the national integration authorities, the Forum Theatre has to deliver on a project design with pre-defined themes. The theater ensemble claims this works against the principles of Forum Theatre, which is to base the plays on the participants' stories. However, initiatives such as these require resources, and often depend on public financing. "It is difficult to get financial support for projects that are hard to quantify", the initiator of Forum Theatre explains. They constantly have to balance the need to predefine outcomes in project applications against the need for allowing collective improvisation.

These initiatives are innovative as they develop creative approaches to cross-cultural interaction, working towards partly unknown outcomes. Planning such initiatives is challenging, as any design to some extent demands the unpredictable being designed out (Førde & Kramvig, 2017). However, encounters cannot be reduced to the planned or designed outcome. These initiatives are interventions designed to encourage people to meet and interact, but also to think differently about themselves, each other, and their city. The direct and ripple effects of such encounters will often be hard to define and thereby evaluate. Facilitating creativity in this field thus requires plans and programs allowing the unknown to appear. Here, the contributions from art and cultural industries might offer significant insights, as the ongoing unknown, the appearance of the non-present, is a central part of their work. The actors organizing theater and storytelling events work in ways that demand not only improvisation and flexibility, but also planning. Through creative experimentation, these initiatives offer imaginative horizons. We argue that they also offer working methods that could inspire and inform planning for just and diverse cities.

To argue for the importance of facilitating social initiatives like these is not to ignore the importance of mainstreaming in diversity management and planning. As demonstrated by Hou and Kinoshita (2007), more informal social interaction complements formal processes in navigating and overcoming social and cultural differences in communities, particularly between old-timers and newcomers. A just and diverse city needs encounters of different kinds and temporalities. Successful spaces of encounter encourage planned as well as spontaneous meetings (Taşan-Kok et al., 2017). Diversity management thus requires planning for encounter that acknowledges and supports the necessary spontaneity for new cross-cultural dialogues and relations to emerge.

8. Conclusion

Northern cities have always been diverse, but cultural diversity is increasing. Social cohesion and social innovation have become key inputs in sustainable urban plan-

ning and development (Nyseth et al., 2017). In this article, we have shown how innovative integration initiatives connecting urban dwellers with diverse backgrounds might contribute to new urban encounters, enhancing interaction and dialogue across cultural differences. The many social initiatives provide spaces to explore and negotiate difference—and to go beyond them. By offering spaces for people to interact across fixed identities of belonging, we argue that these encounters hold the potential for creating new senses of identity and belonging. Further, such encounters present a possibility to challenge the often problem-focused national discourses, emphasizing the positive potential of the city as a cross-cultural meeting place. Through spaces of intermingling, city dwellers become familiar with diversity, which again contributes to reduce fear and anxiety, making people feel safer in the multicultural city. Cross-cultural encounters thus offer the possibility to transform difference.

Enabling interaction and dialogue across difference is momentous in planning for just and diverse cities. It is important that local authorities support social initiatives enhancing cross-cultural encounters, but also provide the necessary flexibility to form projects based on particular and shifting contexts and improvise when needed. Many such initiatives involve art and cultural industries. We argue that their approach to working and dealing with the hybridity and unpredictability characterizing meetings of strangers, offer important insights for planning and development in diverse cities. Through creative experimentation, bringing in a multiplicity of imaginaries, new imaginative horizons can be created. As McFarlane (2016) argues, encounter offers a lens onto both the city that already exists and the city that might become something different, through an engagement with both its future and its past. Although fragile and transitory, the cross-cultural encounters created by, and through, social initiatives are promising. They may play a role in shaping the politics of the city, and who gets to be a part of that story. By learning from these initiatives and encounters, we might be able to enact difference differently in the city.

Acknowledgments

This article is part of the research project "Cit-egration—Sustainable Diverse Cities: Innovation in Integration" funded by the Norwegian Research Council. Ideas are developed in collaboration with my fellow researchers in the project: Marit Aure and Torill Nyseth at UiT—The Arctic University of Norway, Tone Magnussen, Nordland Research Institute, and Gregory Taff, NIBIO. I would like to thank Norwegian Peoples Aid SørTromsøya, Batteriet, HATS, SadioNor Theatre Company, and all the participants at the events. I would also like to thank the editors and the reviewers for their constructive comments. The publication charges for this article have been funded by a grant from the publication fund at UiT—The Arctic University of Norway.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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COGITATIO

Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183–7635)
2019, Volume 4, Issue 1, Pages 53–66
DOI: 10.17645/up.v4i1.1719

Article

The Social Sustainable City: How to Involve Children in Designing and Planning for Urban Childhoods?

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Submitted: 16 August 2018 | Accepted: 4 October 2018 | Published: 24 January 2019

Abstract
In many countries, cities are expected to stimulate compact city development by the government, while at the same time develop healthier and more social sustainable cities. In Norway, national policy and planning regulation aim at stimulating a development that ensures active urban childhoods. In order to ensure this, the Planning and Building Act ensure particular participation rights for children and youth in the planning process. In this article, we will present how these rights are understood and implemented in practice. Then we will discuss how local government can enable children to participate in a meaningful way and where their input actually contributes to the plans and urban design being developed. This last discussion will be elaborated by studying a case about the Children Track Methodology.

Keywords
childhood experience; children; Children Track Methodology; participation rights; planning; urban design

Issue
This article is part of the issue “The Transformative Power of Urban Planning through Social Innovation”, edited by Torill Nyseth (UiT, The Arctic University of Norway, Norway) and Abdelillah Hamdouch (University of Tours, France).

1. Introduction

In many European countries today, national policies aim to encourage a more compact city development while at the same time expecting the cities to become healthier and more social sustainable cities. Lately, the UN and EU Urban Agenda have spurred a more active national policy-development on sustainable cities, which also recognise the importance of citizen involvement and local knowledge (Derr & Tarantini, 2016; UN, 1989; UNICEF, 2014). This tendency can also be observed in Norway. In order to develop more social sustainable cities and neighbourhoods, national planning policy and planning regulation have, for over 30 years, included aims of active urban childhoods. In order to ensure this, the Norwegian Planning and Building Act ([PBA], 2008) includes specific legal rules regarding children and youth.

The PBA has both procedural and substantial elements. The procedural requirements imply that municipalities must involve children and young people in local planning processes. Furthermore, there are also more substantial requirements, as one of its main purposes (§ 1-1) is that planning, according to the PBA, is to ensure the upbringing conditions for children and youth.

The article presents how these rights are understood and how cities and municipalities implement them in practice. Then the article discusses how local government can facilitate the involvement of children and youth in a meaningful way, where their input actually contributes to the plans and urban design being developed. This last discussion will be elaborated by studying case-municipalities using Children Track Methodology.

The data material, including both survey material from local planning executives and in-depth interviews with municipal actors and stakeholders, stems from a research evaluation of the Norwegian PBA. The article sheds light on how a country, having had an aim of ensuring the concerns of children and youth in planning for over 30 years, is able to do this in practice, and how new methodology can contribute.

2. Theoretical Considerations

The PBA has both procedural and substantial elements, more specifically participation rights and an explicit aim that planning ensures the concerns and needs of children and youth (active childhoods). Firstly, the article presents some of the theoretical arguments for these elements.

2.1. Theoretical Arguments for Participation Rights for Children and Youth

The 1989 UN Convention on the Rights of the Child states that a child's view must be taken into account in all matters that affect her/him (Cele & van der Burgt, 2015). The theoretical perspectives arguing for citizen involvement are many (Hanssen, 2013; Vestby & Ruud, 2012). Firstly, in a more Schumpeterian view, where participation in elections is essential, an important argument for involving children and youth in planning is based on a compensatory justification. As children and adolescents under the age of 18 do not have the right to vote, they should be compensated for that through direct participation. In addition, children and youth are often unable to formulate or raise their claims on their own (Bringeland, 2017; Ministry of Environment, 2009). Secondly, a more participatory democracy strand of the literature (Pateman, 1970, Fung & Wright, 2001) emphasises the democratic principle that all interests and groups should be heard in planning. By channelling a broader array of interest into local policy-making, this will result in a more legitimate urban and local development (input legitimacy; see Scharpf, 1999). Here, children and youth are relevant groups to involve. A third perspective focuses on the effect for individual development and empowerment, stressing that the involvement of children and youth will form them as empowered citizens who are engaged in their communities (Lynch, 1977; Pateman, 1970; Wilks & Rudner, 2013). Participation can, thus, be considered as a lesson in democracy, as Pateman (1970) was concerned with. This is expressed as an important argument by the Planning Law committee in Norway, while preparing the Law, stating that: "The education of children and youth in the role of citizens of society should also be emphasized" (NOU, 2003, p. 171). This is mirrored in the Education Act (1998), where the § 1-1 states that children should "develop knowledge, diligence, and attitudes in order to enable them to live and to participate in community work and community" and that "[the children] shall have a…right to participation" (Stray, 2014). The new main part of the (national) curriculum emphasises the development of democratic competence, stating that democracy and citizenship as an interdisciplinary theme in school will provide pupils with knowledge of the conditions, values, and rules of democracy and enable them to participate in democratic processes (NOU, 2015; see also Meld. St. 28, 2016).

Also from social-policy perspectives and place-development perspectives, many argue for increased participation by children and youth (Gehl, 1971, 2010; Vestby & Ruud, 2012). The involvement of children and youth can help to strengthen their self-esteem, which is important from a public health perspective. Others emphasise that inputs from children and young people contribute with unique knowledge about children's sense of place and their use of their everyday-surroundings. These inputs can inform and shed light on different concerns in the planning processes and provide more informed policy decisions. Hovind (2014) emphasises that it is important to bring children into the planning- and decision-making processes, as they are often an important target group for social sustainable urban policy-making. Jan Gehl—who is known for *Life between the Houses* (1971) and *Cities for People* (2010) believes that we can influence citizens to use of the city through physical planning. Thus, it is important to obtain information from residents about how they want to use the city and how the physical environment should look like (Lynch, 1977). Much of the research literature emphasises that children are able to point out problems that must change in a society, and their views and assessments are important to channel into local planning- and decision-making (Bringeland, 2017; Buss, 1994; Cele & van der Burgt, 2015; Derr, 2015; Derr & Tarantini, 2016). In addition, children and youth differ from adults and often actively use the local community and therefore want more knowledge about how their local environment should be facilitated. This is also emphasised in the international urban development discussion, which argues for greater involvement of children in urban planning and physical environment design because "built environment solutions developed through engagement with children, parents/carers, and the wider community will be richer, while the process itself will directly benefit those who participate" (Arup, 2017, p. 55). Thus, channelling the knowledge and experience they possess can lead to better results and a more appropriate city, location, and service development (output legitimacy; see Scharpf, 1999).

2.2. Active Urban Childhoods: Theoretical Arguments for Planning That Ensure the Concerns and Needs of Children and Youth

The theoretical arguments for ensuring the needs and concerns of children in planning are primarily based upon the wish of developing children-friendly cities and places. In the discussion of social sustainable cities, much of the literature focuses on how politics, in order to strengthen social equality, must address citizens while they are young. Firstly, the increased focus and institutionalisation of health promotion and equality in health contribute to an increased focus on early prevention, life quality, and physical and social active childhoods (Henriksen, 2014; Hofstad, 2018). Physical activity has been shown to be important for children's immediate social, mental, and physical health, as well as benefi-

cial to health across the lifespan (Boreham & Riddoch, 2001; Veitch et al., 2006). Thus, a children-friendly city can have a preventive effect on increasing social cleavages. Jerome Frost, Arup's Global Planning and Cities leader, states:

> The choices we make in the built environment can help to ensure children are given respect, fair treatment, a healthy life, and the best chances of tackling the challenges of tomorrow. By highlighting children's needs, we will be helping to solve other urban challenges, leading to cities that are better for everyone. (Arup, 2017, p. 7)

Secondly, the physical environment is also essential for the development and independence of children and adolescents (Hovind, 2014; Freeman & Tranter, 2011). Independent mobility in a local environment is crucial for a child's development and physical activity, contributing to overall health and well-being (Fagerholm & Broberg, 2011). It is therefore important that there are good and suitable outdoor areas for children and young people which are sufficiently safe, for children to unfold, develop self-esteem, and develop a sense of belonging to the place. Inclusive design and planning are found to be essential to encourage children's spatial mobility in public spaces (Haider, 2007). Here, it is important to emphasise that a playground is not enough to ensure children's development. As Arup (2017, p. 17) states:

> Children's infrastructure is the network of spaces, streets, nature, and interventions which make up the key features of a child-friendly city….By promoting connected, multifunctional, intergenerational and sustainable public spaces for cities, children's infrastructure can generate a substantial range of benefits for all urban citizens. A key focus area for children's infrastructure is the streets and the spaces in front of people's homes. On average, these make up at least 25% of a city's space and have the greatest potential to encourage everyday freedoms and social interaction. This means looking beyond just playgrounds and instead focusing on an intergenerational and multifunctional public realm that families and communities can enjoy together. Cities should aim to enhance a child's connection to nature through green and healthy environments. They should also influence and impact a child's everyday journeys, including routes to and from school or to and from community facilities such as youth centres, parks, leisure, and recreation areas.

Thirdly, due to the trend of compact city development and densification around public transport hubs, there is an increased concern regarding how densification effects urban childhoods (Arup, 2017). Public statistics show that one of the consequences of densification in Norway was a 12% decrease of playgrounds and recreational areas from 1999 to 2004 (Proposition 32, 2008). As a result, research shows that children and youth were less active in 2005 than in 1997 (Hovind, 2014). This inactiveness can, in the long run, result in diminished "health" for the individual and an increased cost on the public health budget.

However, in order to ensure the concerns and needs of children, spatial planning is not enough. A broader societal planning perspective is just as important, ensuring coordinated public services (schools, social care, etc). In order to safeguard the upbringing environment, it is also important to have a broader focus on the employment policy in the municipality, as parents are fundamental factors in their living conditions. Economy, work-places and living environment, health behaviour and the use of health services constitute factors that affect health, and which are unevenly distributed in the population (Hofstad, 2018). Hence, ensuring the concern for children is much related to social and economic planning, as well as land use planning (Hanssen, 2018).

2.3. Theoretical Considerations: Local Knowledge That Can Be Produced by Involving Children

One of the challenges of bringing the children's voice into local planning and policy processes is that they need to be translated into a "language" that fits the planning-format. According to Nonaka and Takeuchi (1995) conceptualisations, the tacit, silent, and non-articulated knowledge of the sense of place of children has to be articulated, expressed, and given a formal language—for example, as text or maps. Different methods exist for doing this, like workshops, digital "sim-city", "children tracks", and the like. Many of these methods function as translations of tacit knowledge to explicit knowledge (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). However, every translation process, mostly being done by adults, represents a risk of reducing the rich knowledge to a very "thin" type of knowledge. Thereby, the rich experiences of how local space is perceived by the children are at risk of being lost "in translation".

3. How Does the Norwegian PBA Ensure the Involvement and Concerns of Children and Youth in Planning?

Children and young people's ability to participate received stronger legal protection through the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1991 and was passed into Norwegian Law in 2003 (Ministry of Environment, 2009). Norway is thus obliged to comply with the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in national law, including Article 12, which states that the child has the right to express his or her opinion on all matters relating to it and to emphasise her/his opinions. The article also includes children's participation in the wider sense, as active participants in society. The principles are reflected in the Norwegian PBA (2008), which included these concerns from 1985.

In Norway, local authorities have extended local autonomy and wide discretion (Baldersheim & Rose, 2014), although within the framework of national legislation. Local government has the main responsibility for land use planning and for broader societal planning, and the PBA is, therefore, a process-law, stating the rules-of-the-game without providing a strong direction for the output of planning.

When it comes to children and youth, the PBA has both procedural and substantial elements. The *procedural requirements* imply that municipalities must involve children and young people in local planning processes. The Norwegian PBA (2008) states that municipalities have an obligation to "ensure active participation from groups that require special facilities, including children and youth" (§ 5-1). Further, it is a statutory duty under the PBA that "the municipal council shall ensure that a special arrangement is established to safeguard the interests of children and young people in the planning" (PBA, 2008, § 3-3, para. 3). Earlier, in 1985, the PBA stated that it had to be appointed a "children's representative", which was often a public planner. Since 2008, the municipalities are freer to choose what kind of arrangement they prefer.

Furthermore, there are also more *substantial requirements* in the PBA, as one of its main purposes (§ 1-1) is that planning, according to the PBA (2008), is to ensure the upbringing conditions for children and youth.[1] To achieve good living environments and childhood conditions for children, the PBA gives the municipalities a right to require outdoor areas and playgrounds by means of "regulation provisions" in the detailed zoning-plans (detaljregulering). In § 12-7 they are entitled to include functional and quality requirements for buildings, facilities, and outdoor areas in the detailed zoning-plan, including requirements for ensuring the health, environment, safety, universal design, and children's special needs for play and outdoor spaces.

In the Impact Assessment Regulations (2017), section 21 on "Description of Factors that Can Be Impacted and Assessment of Significant Impact on the Environment and Society" states that the impact assessment should identify and describe the factors that may be affected and assess significant environmental and social impacts, including the upbringing conditions of children and adolescents. That description should include positive, negative, direct, indirect, temporary, lasting, short-term, and long-term effects.

The PBA gives national authorities the instrument of national "planning guidelines", giving (vague) direction for local planning without steering them in detail. The national guideline for strengthening the interests of children and youth in planninghas existed since 1995.[2] This guideline goes further than the PBA. It emphasises the importance of assessing the consequences for children and young people in planning and construction work under the PBA (2008, 4a, 4b), preferably by highlighting the case by direct involvement (PBA, 2008, 4d). The guidelines also state that these interests must be strengthened. This implies that the considerations will get more impact through the development of guidelines and provisions in the plans for the extent and quality of areas and facilities of importance for children and young people, to be ensured in plans where children and young people are affected (PBA, 2008, 4c). In addition, the RPR has physical design requirements to ensure the consideration of children's and adolescent's upbringing conditions (PBA, 2008, 5a, 5d).

In the white paper NOU (2001, p. 196) the two dimensions—the procedural and substantial—are presented as being intertwined, as "their participation is crucial for, among other things, the development of the upbringing environment". Thus, from a holistic perspective, it is now understood that both the § 1-1 about the purpose of the Act, § 5-1 participation, the § 3-3 about the special arrangement, and the more detailed requirements for investigative requirements—and possibilities to include regulation provisions—together have the potential to ensure open and (local) knowledge-based planning processes with the possibility of broad involvement of all concerned interests. This also applies to weak groups, and especially children and youth (Bugge, 2016). However, even if the institutional framework around local planning has this potential—it is not necessarily realised in practice. The next section will present results from empirical studies trying to map local practices.

4. Data and Methods

The data material stems from a large research evaluation of how the Norwegian PBA function as a framework for local, regional, and national planning. Here, 251 key actors are interviewed, including informants from three governmental levels, and informants from the private sector and civil society. Not all of them have been relevant for the subject of "children and youth", but the interview material gives us a broad and rich knowledge about local practices and perceptions. Many of the in-depth interviews about the situation of children and youth in planning have been conducted in the work of two master theses (Bringeland, 2017; Martinsen, 2018). The evaluation has also conducted a Questback-survey with the planning executives in all municipalities in Norway. Here, 202 of the 428 planning executives answered the survey, giving us a response rate of 47. We also use DogAs survey (Hegna 2017) to municipalities. The data is used to map how municipalities work with regards to ensuring the involvement of children and youth in urban and local spatial planning. In addition, the qualitative interview data are used to illustrate the challenges regarding the systematic inclusion of children and also to identify the success-factors required to achieve a comprehensive, systematic, and meaningful way of including children and youth.

[1] "Ivareta barn og unges oppvekstvilkår" in the original.
[2] The Norwegian title is: "Rikspolitiske retningslinjer for barn og planlegging".

5. Mapping: Are Children and Youth Involved (and Their Concerns Ensured) in Urban Planning?

As the previous section described, it is a statutory duty under the Norwegian PBA (2008, § 3-3, para. 3) that "the municipal council shall ensure that a special arrangement is established to safeguard the interests of children and young people in the planning". Earlier, the PBA stated that the municipalities had to have a "children's representative", which was often a public planner. Thus, even if the PBA states that the municipalities must have a special arrangement, they are now freer to choose what kind of arrangement they prefer. But do all municipalities have such an arrangement? We asked the planning executives in the municipalities, and the results are presented below.

Figure 1 reveals a huge difference between smaller and larger municipalities when it comes to whether the legal requirement for a special arrangement ensuring the concerns of children and youth is introduced. It is introduced to a much lesser extent in small municipalities than in large municipalities. This pattern becomes even more visible when the municipalities are split into smaller categories according to size, as illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 2 shows a systematic increase in the percentage of municipalities that have a special arrangement for ensuring the interest of children and youth in planning, due to municipal size. As much as 91% of municipalities with more than 20,000 inhabitants have a permanent arrangement, while the percentage of municipalities with less than 2,000 inhabitants is 28. In the qualitative interviews, this is explained by the lack of competence and capacity.

The argument that the people are closer to the councillors in small municipalities is to some extent valid for children and young people. Real participation by their side requires more systematic arrangement and facilitation. The variation by size is in accordance with what is found in previous studies of children and young peo-

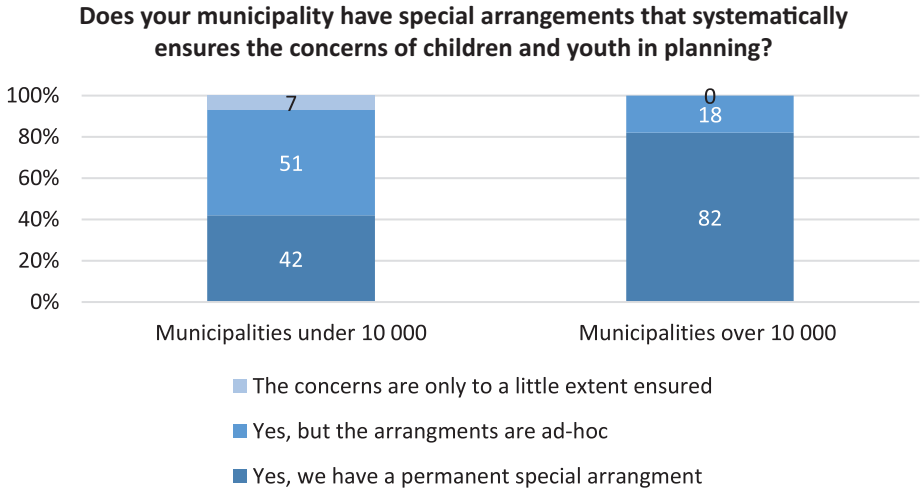

Figure 1. Special arrangements in the municipalities. Notes: Percentage; N = 202, planning executives in municipalities; data from 2018.

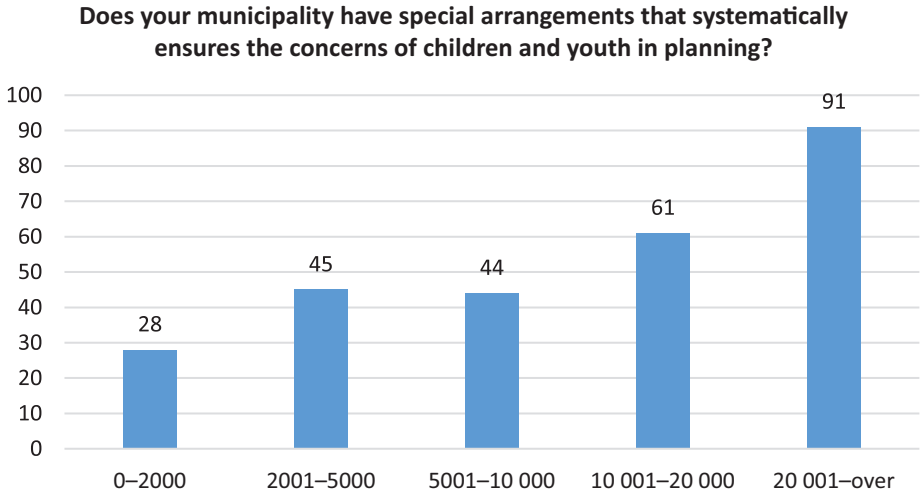

Figure 2. The percentages of municipalities that report that they have a permanent special arrangement—variation between different categories of size. Notes: Percentage; N = 202 planning executives in municipalities; data from 2018.

ple's participation (Klausen et al., 2013; Knudtzon & Tjerbo, 2009).

So, the municipalities that have established special arrangements, what types of arrangements are chosen, now that they are freer to choose? The figure below shows what the planning executives of the municipalities reported in the survey.

Figure 3 shows several interesting trends. Even though the requirement for "children's representative in planning" was removed in 2008, about 60% still have the function of the children's representative in planning matters. This can be considered a relatively large proportion. Children's representatives are most often municipal civil servants—often a planner or a public health coordinator, or from the school department, etc., and come up with ideas. Thus, it is a form of "advocacy" planning. Furthermore, around a quarter of the municipalities involve the children's and youth councils. However, the proportion is not significantly higher than we find in an evaluation from 2006 (Hanssen, 2006), where around 20% indicate that they involved children and youth councils in municipal planning processes. These councils are composed of representatives elected through the pupils-councils at the schools and can be said to be more in line with the Planning Law committee's emphasis that "children and young people's participation must primarily come through children and young people's own involvement" (NOU, 2003, p. 251). This is also in line with the UN Convention of the Right of the Child, stressing that the view of the child must be taken into account (Cele & van der Burgt, 2015; UN, 1989). Other Norwegian studies (Knudtzon & Tjerbo, 2009) find that they function as important arenas for bringing the children's voices to the municipal council, connecting them to the ordinary decision-making processes. The councils are also an important "school in democracy", training children to be active citizens. Alparone and Rissotto (2001) find that youth councils represent the most widespread method in Italian municipalities, in addition to participation in planning urban spaces. But also here, even if this method is characterised by direct participation, Alparone and Rissotto (2001) find that the adult administrator has a key role as the main promoter (and mediator) of children's participation experiences. They might also be gate-keepers. A UK-study shows that children that were involved in children-consultation initiatives in several UK cities were critical to the administrators for not taking their proposals into consideration (Woolley, Dunn, Spencer, Short, & Rowley, 1999). What is more surprising is that only 5% report that they involve the schools systematically in overall planning processes. The extent to which municipalities have used children's tracks is also surprisingly low at only 4%. This is consistent with previous studies, where 5% of municipalities report that they use children's track in planning in Hegna's (2017) study. A similar mapping in Sweden (Cele & van der Burgt, 2015, p. 18) shows that here, the involvement of children is most often carried out by consultations via surveys, reference groups, and youth councils. These are more direct-participation models than the Norwegian "children's representative". Similar to the findings in Norway, only some of the municipalities in Sweden make use of "child-led walks" and maps (Cele & van der Burgt, 2015, p. 18).

The widespread use of advocacy planning in Norway (children's representative) compared to direct participation models, is a worrisome finding. Studies call for updated skills for planners in interacting with children and understanding and translating their sense of space and place. Cele and van der Burgt (2015, p. 18) show that places are often objectified places and the manner in which children experience the same environments, both physically and emotionally, often directly contradicts the conceptions of planners.

Thus, this mapping shows that even if the legal framework requires the systematic involvement of children and youth, there is a large variation between the mu-

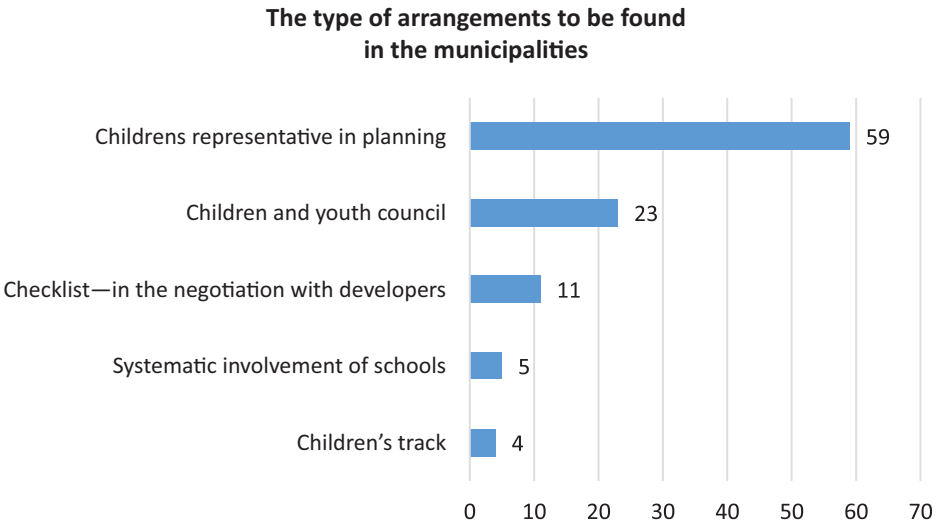

Figure 3. The type of arrangements that are found in the municipalities. Notes: Percentage (many alternatives allowed); N = 159; data from 2018.

nicipalities regarding how these requirements are met in practice. Thus, there is great potential for more innovative ways of including children and youth in municipal planning practices. In the last section, we will show how a certain involving method, the children's track, is used. Then we discuss the strengths and pitfalls of the method.

6. Children Track Methodology

6.1. Presentation of the Children Track Method

Over the last decade, there has been a great deal of innovation in citizen involvement, spurred by digital development and GIS-technology. However, the Children Track Methodology is an old method from the 1970s that has experienced a revival due to digital development. Originally, the method ("Barnetråkk") was developed by a Norwegian planner in the 1970s (Gill, 2018), and after Norway's adoption of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in the late 1980s, the method was more frequently used. The method is easy; by using maps, children are to draw their axes and important places in their everyday-life, and also evaluate them. The axes show the route they take from home to school, or to the playground. And the symbols are different categories of use (play, football, hang around, etc.) and evaluation (a scary place, too much traffic, a nice place to play, etc.). The intention is to grasp the children's use and assessment of their neighbourhood.

In 2006, Children Track Methodology took the step from being a map-based method using paper maps, to becoming an online platform. The platform was given new impetus in 2016 after being updated and promoted by the Norwegian Centre for Design and Architecture (Gill, 2018), and made available for municipalities and schools to use free of charge. Thus, the method became much easier to use for the municipalities.

In the digital version, the map-registrations from each child are aggregated and visualised in maps with many registrations, as illustrated in Figure 4.

The map shows an aggregated summary of the "dots" the children have registered in the digital program, illustrating the places where they spend their leisure time in the neighbourhood. In the text, the planner has condensed many of the inputs related to specific places. For example, regarding the square in front of the city hall (upper, right), the text reads: "The Square in front of the City Hall is a place with a lot of activities, and the children like that. Many say that they hang around there, in the skate park, and meet friends. Several express that they need a bigger skate park". The comments to the red dots in the circles express that the children experience these two places as having heavy traffic, and do not feel safe here. Some of them have expressed that they want light regulation to be able to cross the streets safely.

The map from the children track registrations in Giske municipality shows the aggregated patterns from the children's own registrations. It shows, as red roads, the streets and pathways most of the children use. The violet-coloured areas are considered by the children to be "problem areas". The green colour represents the green areas where the children walk and play. The striped areas are places where the children have reported that they especially like spending time.

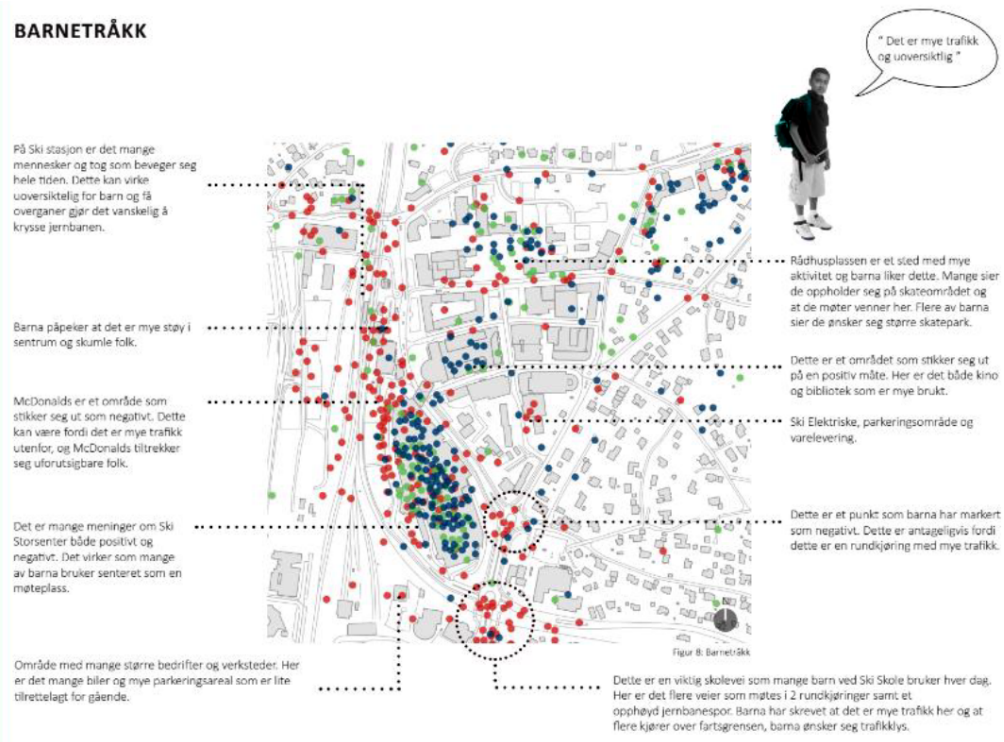

Figure 4. Illustration from the municipalities of Ski. Source: Ski Municipality, 2016.

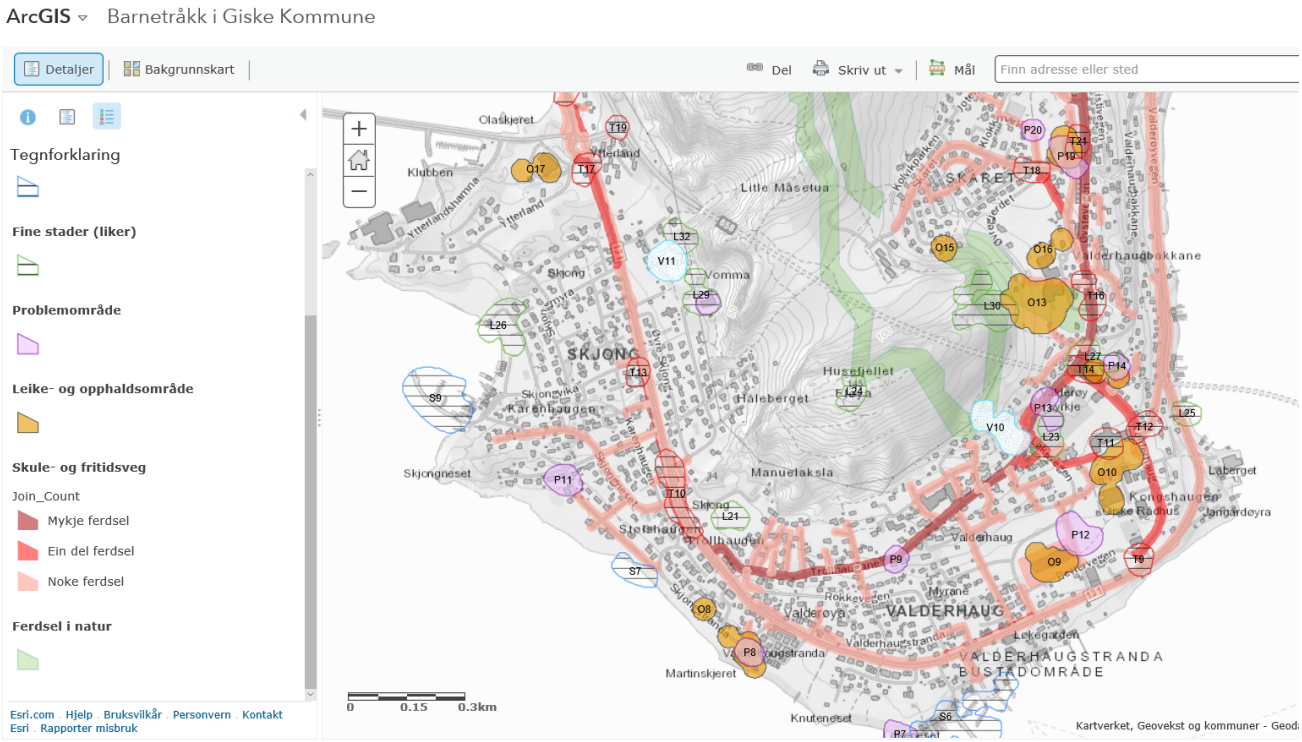

Figure 5. Illustration from the municipality of Giske (Giske Municipality, 2018).

Thus, the maps contain valuable information regarding the children's use of space, and also how they value the space (different qualities). How widespread is this practice? According to the mapping (see the section above), only 4% of the municipalities in our survey reported that they have systematically used this method. This corresponds to a similar survey from the year before (Hegna, 2017), finding that 5% had reported the same. Far more municipalities have conducted a children's track less systematically. However, by conducting an OLS-regression analysis on DogAs survey (Hegna, 2017) we find the same variation due to the municipal size that we had previously found.

The regression analysis in Table 1 shows that municipality size has a significant effect, i.e., that it is primarily larger municipalities that use the method. In addition, the self-assessment of competence has a positive effect, i.e., they consider that their own municipality has the competence to carry out collaborative processes within municipal planning. In addition, there is a positive impact if they usually involve residents in detailed zoning plans. A culture involving residents is reflected in, and reinforced by, competence to conduct participatory processes and actual policies to include residents. However, even if the effects are significant, the model does not explain more than 13% of the variation.

Since the smaller municipalities, to a lesser degree than the larger ones, involve children and youth in planning, it is a method which might be relevant to apply. Therefore, it is important to highlight the strengths and weaknesses of this innovative method for involving children and youth.

6.2. Discussing the Strengths and Weaknesses of the Children Track Methodology

How then, can the Children Track methodology be assessed? Lately, many case-studies of different planning processes using Children's Track have been conducted, which we will use, along with our data material, to discuss the contribution of this innovative method. We also want to elaborate on some of the pitfalls of this method.

Experiences from DogA's pilot-project in Bodø, Giske, and Ski are used as cases in our study. Bodø and Ski are medium-sized cities (51 000 and 29 000 inhabitants, respectively) while Giske is a small municipality of 8000 inhabitants. The case-municipalities show that the method can be applied in a broad range of planning processes; in overall plans and more detailed plans, in general plans and more thematic plans. Often it is used to gain citizen knowledge that feeds into the general knowledge base of the municipality.

Many of the studies show that the methodology leads to greater confidence in the planning processes and procedures. The leaders of the Bodø, Giske and Ski pilots (from the March 2016 final seminar) pointed out that Children Track led to better and more democratic planning processes, and that the pilot attempts were a lesson in democracy, both for municipal employees and for schools and the pupils themselves. In two municipalities, it also had a domino effect and stimulated other interventions. The municipalities experienced that more voices were heard in the planning process, which they considered to be an important norm for planning, and

Table 1. OLS regression analyses of the use of the children track method. Source: Barnetråkk (children's track).

Coefficients						
	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients			
Model	B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.	
1	(Constant)	−1,371	1,433		−,957	,340
	Municipal size—grouped	,505	,160	,234	3,150	,002
	9: To what extent do you (your municipality) need supervision when conducting participatory processes?	,098	,103	,073	,953	,342
	10: How confident are you/your municipality in conducting participatory processes?	,077	,142	,049	,543	,588
	4: To what extent does your municipality have the competence to conduct participatory processes?	,788	,369	,183	2,135	,034
	6: How often does your municipality involve citizens in overall municipal plans?	,232	,144	,147	1,609	,109
	7: How often does your municipality involve citizens in detailed regulation plans?	−,192	,110	-,148	−1,744	,083
	Adjusted R Square	,130				

Note: Coefficients dependent variable: 11.15.

the children themselves felt like they were able to influence their surroundings, affecting decision makers.

The method clearly represents an important tool for channelling the local knowledge of children and youth in many of the cases that are studied, a group they are experiencing is difficult to obtain otherwise (Aune, Olimstad, Refseth, & Zamudio, 2015; Hegna, 2017; Martinsen, 2018). Bodø, Giske, and Ski pilots report that they gained increased knowledge of the children's use of their neighbourhoods, which helped to illuminate potential consequences of the plans. Visualisation also provided a basis for new thinking about the use of the area.

Our data also shows that the method is functioning as a translation of tacit knowledge to explicit knowledge (Nonaka & Takeuchi, 1995). The actors in the municipalities show that the translation from silent knowledge to explicitly mapped knowledge actually makes the concerns the children bring forward become clear and gain weight. The method thus captures a unique, tacit knowledge from the child's own experiences turning it into "explicit" knowledge after Nonaka and Takeuchi's (1995) vocabulary. An informant from one of the case-municipalities stated: "If we had Children's Track earlier, we had gained greater weight in dialogue with builders on the conservation of 100-meter cog, in the detailed regulation of this specific project" (Municipal employee, personal communication).

The children's use and perception of their everyday spatial surroundings is translated into the language of the planners, i.e., maps. Visualisation through symbol usage on maps is important as a political language, and when they are aggregated, they reveal physical patterns (as shown in Figures 4 and 5). In this manner, they get acquainted with children's use of the local community early in the planning process, which provides better conditions for ensuring good living environments and safe surroundings. The municipalities also report that policy areas such as public health and culture, which traditionally do not have routines for using maps in their work, also benefit from the Children Track Methodology (Hovden, 2016). Thus, when the tacit knowledge is translated into explicit knowledge (registrations on maps), they are translated into the language of planners. Thereby, planners that were interviewed considered the information to be easy to include directly into the planning documents. As is stated in the final report from one of the case-municipalities: "The advantage is that the results are available as maps in the municipality's map service" (Ski Municipality, 2016). Cele and van der Burgt (2015) argue that models based on GIS (geographical information systems) and maps are a way for children to be able to express their views on their local environment. However, it requires that the models not only be child-friendly and school-friendly, but also planner-friendly. If it is not

electronic, not believed to provide relevant information in a smart format, or not easy to combine with other planning documents, it is often not considered (Cele & van der Burgt, 2015). If the planner does not know how to interpret the information, it is a risk that an adult-representation will take over.

Some studies also show how citizen knowledge has had an impact on local policy and planning outputs. The information contributes to the fact that the actual design of children's local environment (development projects, street environments, green structures, parks) can be more adapted to children's needs (and children of all ages) and to achieve a more appropriate area development for a broader range of goals. In one of the cases (Martinsen, 2018), as a consequence of better knowledge about the children's use of the area, an area was regulated to play-ground and green-structure instead of parking.

Experience also shows that childhood registrations are often a gateway to interdisciplinary and (whole-minded) work around children within the municipal organisation. Thus, it contributes to enforce a comprehensive child focus in municipal planning and administration at schools, day care centres, child welfare, PP office, health services, social service office, sports, and more. An informant from a case-municipality stated that the method had contributed to creating better cooperation between the municipal school department and the planning department.

All three case-municipalities emphasise that anchoring the municipal administration is crucial in achieving a greater understanding of children's perception of the local community through Children's Track. In the interviews, it appears that the biggest challenge is to cooperate with the schools, as the Children's Track registrations are often conducted in the classroom with the help of their teacher and a planner. Having support from the chief executive in the municipality is important in order to convince the principals of the schools that it is worth taking some hours to carry out the registrations. In addition, political anchoring is important, especially if the method is to be institutionalised as a cooperation between the school department and the planning department in the municipality. It also provides a process-procedure; a spatial plan has deadlines, project group, procedures for informing politicians, etc. Implementation of Children's Track requires that the school collaborate in conducting the registrations. This means that principals, teachers, and the municipality's management must benefit from it. In order to work out this acceptance, great involvement is required; especially if the Children Track registrations should be a regular routine since knowledge is a form of "fresh food". Also in Bringeland (2017, p. 73) and Martinsen (2018), it is emphasised that the registrations must be updated to be used so that different actors can rely on the information.

The final report from Ski Municipality (2016) states that the method has strengthened the strategic attachment of children and young people's participation in the municipality:

> Ski politicians have now in their cooperation platform for the period 2015–2019 stated that children and young people should have increased political influence. They want children and young people to have a clear voice in the development of society, and children and young people should be involved in matters that concern them in particular. The use of Children's Track in planning cases must be continued. It is likely that the results (urban development) will be better. Participation may initially take time in a planning process. The completion of a planning process may be improved if the content of the plan has better support for the population.

Hanssen and Aarsæther (2018a, 2018b) show that digital maps and municipal plan archives have been strengthened as plan tools (Rutledal, 2017). This requires an identification of what type of information is possible to illustrate on maps and the limitations of the graphic language of maps. Planners must, therefore, be aware of the weaknesses of the methods. One of the most important weaknesses is that the methodology reduces the "dense" silent knowledge of the children's experience of the place into narrow map-expressed "explicit" information. As a planner states: "The disadvantage of Children's Track method is that it does not involve direct dialogue with the children and that some information is missing" (Ski Municipality, 2016). Thus, the Children Track registrations should always include a planner that is present in the classrooms during the registrations. By doing this, the planner will be able to obtain more of the "rich" histories that are told by the children while they are doing the registrations. They are able to obtain the "silent" knowledge that appears in children's conversations. Related research literature reminds us that there are experiences about being a child and relating to the environment that can and should only be told by a child (Knowles-Yánez, 2005).

The idea is that the information from the registrations should be aggregated (to ensure anonymity) and shown on a map which is open for the public and other stakeholders. Informants in our study outside these municipalities are worried about how private developers can use the knowledge produced by "children's track" *against* the interests of children. One of the examples was from another municipality that had used the methods. There, private developers studied the maps and used them to argue why they should be allowed to build in a green area that was not so frequently used by children.

Other studies also show that the method, to a small extent, allows children's own creativity to play out, for example, in the preparation of proposals for projects (Aune et al., 2015). The method is largely shaped in the perspective of adults. However, the advantage of the

methodology is that it captures some aspects of children's experience, converting it into a more graphically manufacturing-friendly knowledge type that is relatively easy to integrate into project documents. The map format is, however, not a form of dissemination that hits everyone—especially not the wide range of citizens.

Hence, the discussion has shown that the innovative method of Children's Track Methodology has several strengths, and a huge potential to increase the level of children's participation in planning. This is especially important in small municipalities, which to a lesser degree than larger ones, involve children systematically. However, the strengths of the method, that it reduces thick, tacit knowledge into thin, explicit knowledge expressed by maps, is also its weakness. Much information and local knowledge are lost on the way that might be obtained by more time-consuming methods like charrettes and dialogue meetings.

7. Concluding Discussion

As Simpson (1997) emphasises, once it is accepted that urban planning has an important effect on the lives of citizens—including children, it follows that the process by which decisions are taken about such matters becomes crucial. This is where law and urban planning most obviously intersect. In Norway, where national planning regulation for many years has aimed at stimulating a development that ensures active urban childhoods. In order to ensure this, the PBA ensure particular participation rights for children and youth in the planning process. However, in practice, most land use planning practices today exclude children, in Norway as in other countries (Knowles-Yánez, 2005), thereby losing important local knowledge, as well as the opportunity to educate children about land use decision-making processes and democratic procedures. According to Goodyear and Checkoway (2003), participation in planning processes allows young people the opportunity to assert their political rights as they bring their youth and locale-based knowledge to bear on decision-making processes.

In Norway, even if a large proportion of the Norwegian municipalities report that they have "children's representatives" (an adult), much fewer report about direct representation in decision-making processes. The article has shown that even in a country where children's right in planning has been institutionalised in over 30 years, there is still great variation between municipalities in how they ensure them in practice. Larger municipalities are better than smaller ones at involving children in a systematic way. The institutional settings have triggered some social innovation locally, and we have studied one of them: the children's track method. The method has several strengths, and a huge potential to increase the level of children's participation in planning. In addition, it maps the children's activities and experiences of urban space. In Fagerholm and Brobergs' (2011) study on Finnish children, they used similar map-based tools (GPS tracking), but also mobility diaries, interviews, and questionnaires, observed a high level of independent mobility, suggesting positive developments in children's well-being. The generally high level of independence is related to the high perception of safety, both from the children's and the parent's perspective, in the residential areas. In the UK, Mackett et al. (2007) shows by similar studies that, when not in adult company, children tend to be physically more active and to walk more complicated routes. Thus, this suggests that urban space must be designed to allow the independent mobility of children and increase public health. Another study (Hume, Salmon, & Ball, 2005) asked 147 ten-year-old children to draw maps of their local neighbourhood. Here, the importance of social interaction was highlighted, as they highlighted the locations in the neighbourhood that were common meeting places for them and their friends. Thus, a participatory approach to the planning and design of the public realm is central to the creation of an inclusive environment (Haider, 2007).

However, the challenge of these map-based methods is that it reduces thick, tacit knowledge into thin, explicit knowledge expressed by maps. Much information and local knowledge are lost on the way, which might otherwise be obtained by more time-consuming methods like charrettes and dialogue meetings.

Other studies find that including children in planning processes (Alparone & Rissotto, 2001) has positive effects on the child's personal and social development and factors that are seen to be relevant to success are discussed. In order to achieve this, it requires that the child is recognised as competent and as a social actor with agency to participate in their social and cultural context (Cele & van der Burgt, 2015). However, Cele and van der Burgt (2015) argue that it is important to ask when participation is beneficial and meaningful for those involved. The study of Fagerholm and Broberg (2011) finds that the independent mobility pattern is tied to the home and school areas. The paradox, however, is that newer residential areas commonly tend to have a lack of community infrastructure, which is needed to provide opportunities for children, or families with young children, to interact with other families (Strange, Fisher, Howat, & Wood, 2015). Opportunities for outdoor play and independent mobility are found to be quite limited for many children (Boreham & Riddoch, 2001; Veitch, Bagley, Ball, & Salmon, 2006). Our study also reveals a lack of consciousness in ensuring the concerns for children and youth in planning in smaller municipalities. Thus, urban planning needs to provide infrastructure and public space that encourage young children to connect and build social capital within their local communities.

Acknowledgments

This study has been conducted in a research project evaluating the Norwegian Planning and Building Act, financed by the DEMOSREG-programme in the Norwegian

Research Council. In addition, it has been financed by an extra funding from the Norwegian Ministry of Local Government and Modernization.

Conflict of Interests

The author declares no conflict of interests.

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COGITATIO

Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183–7635)
2019, Volume 4, Issue 1, Pages 67–77
DOI: 10.17645/up.v4i1.1648

Article

Aesthetic Preference as Starting Point for Citizen Dialogues on Urban Design: Stories from Hammarkullen, Gothenburg

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Submitted: 28 June 2018 | Accepted: 28 September | Published: 24 January 2019

Abstract
This article sets out to describe the role of aesthetics in citizen dialogues during the upgrading of a local swimming pool in Hammarkullen, Gothenburg. The swimming pool became an important project because of its role in a larger neighbourhood renovation project that allowed the municipality to focus on citizen engagement and inclusion. The engagement process showed the importance of the local swimming pool for a marginalized group of women of Somali origin, and a decision was made to keep the swimming pool instead of demolishing it. This led to collaboration between project coordinators, the Public Art Agency, an artist and an architect. Individual qualitative interviews focusing on storytelling were undertaken with key stakeholders. The findings show that aesthetic quality mediated the communicative processes between project coordinators and citizens. Art in public space is more than just aesthetics or something to look at; art provokes a wide variety of responses and artists use a variety of means to engage with their public and creating dialogue. Yet the project managers failed to consider the creative process of the architect and her perspective on aesthetic quality and building functionality. Stakeholders take different stances to whether aesthetic quality can be a way of grounding, communicating and evolving, or whether it is a matter of beauty where the artist or architect takes the lead. While the project coordinators affirm sameness, different understandings of aesthetic quality actively negotiate social differences. Inability to consider creative practices' work processes in relation to citizen dialogue can result in conflicts between art, architecture and governance during the transformation of a neighbourhood.

Keywords
aesthetics; architecture; citizen involvement; creativity; public art; storytelling; swimming pool; urban design; urban upgrading

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Transformative Power of Urban Planning through Social Innovation", edited by Torill Nyseth (UiT, The Arctic University of Norway, Norway) and Abdelillah Hamdouch (University of Tours, France).

1. Introduction

Planning authorities within city municipalities increasingly take the role of negotiators between private stakeholders rather than as managers of urban design. This is largely due to the increased need of integrating liberalized service distributors such as energy utilities into planning, and the inability of planning processes to act holistically once implementation begins (Campbell, 1996; Juhasz-Nagy et al., 2017; Nielsen, Juhasz-Nagy, Wyckmans, & Andresen, 2016). Within this technically focused era of integrated planning, municipalities ask for

improved ways to engage citizens and implement citizen's needs into multi-stakeholder processes (Eising & Jabko, 2001). Public art, which has a long history within urban environments (Craske, 1997), is being reconsidered in terms how it can be applied to achieve public engagement. At the same time, its development is also characterised by multiple stakeholders and in need of effective dialogue.

Our research question examines how public art and aesthetic quality influence dialogue between citizens, urban planners, project coordinators, artist and architect. The goal of this study was to learn from its impact on social innovation in neighbourhood upgrading and planning.

The starting point for investigating this is the case of a local swimming pool in the Hamarkullen district of Gothenburg. The project coordinators from the EU-Gugle programme for retrofitting and energy upgrading city districts had chosen to use funding from the programme to engage their citizens. The importance of socioeconomic targets and sustainability introduced the issue of what the local swimming pool meant to a marginalized group of women of Somali origin. In urban environments selected for upgrading in Sweden, it is common that large percentages of the inhabitants have relatively low-incomes and are first-generation citizens. Due to these interdependencies, it becomes important to investigate how participation, engagement, ownership and inclusion can be stimulated during the neighbourhood planning process. The citizen dialogue in this case led to the political decision to keep the swimming; and a resulting redesign collaboration of EU-Gugle project coordinators, the Public Art Agency, an artist and an architect. Building on the ideas from the dialogue with the local women, the artist decided to bring an art installation based on green plants into the swimming pool; somewhere "they could look out but not be seen" and be connected with the green space outside. However, the art intervention conflicted with the architect's standpoint towards functional design, and a significant disagreement about what the aesthetic outcome in this case should be.

By interviewing the stakeholders, we identify and discuss the different stories told about the design and implementation process. The stories, when seen together, reveal new insights about how aesthetic qualities played a key role in shaping dialogue between project coordinators and citizens during the neighbourhood upgrade. The stories further exemplify how working closely with citizens and giving emphasis to their experience may lead to surprising design preferences that question the 'for whom' the redesign should be. We wish by this to contribute to the improvement of existing citizen inclusion practices; by exemplifying how public art and aesthetic quality as an entrance to citizen dialogues can be better managed within the planning process; and, to learn from its impact on social innovation in neighbourhood upgrading and planning.

2. Theory of Aesthetics, Art and Inclusion in Urban Planning

How can aesthetics be approached in the frame of inclusion? First, we need to understand that there are different perspectives on aesthetic qualities. They are often associated with the appreciation of art, but despite this, aesthetic qualities are not easily defined because art can provoke a wealth of associations. Importantly, aesthetic quality is not just about appreciation because we may not like what is being contemplated and this may even be the point of including aesthetic qualities. They can be used to provoke rather than to sooth and attract. An effective way of defining aesthetic quality is to contrast it with what it is not. It is often understood as contrasting with practical qualities associated with moral, scientific and economic factors (Dickie, 1974). Despite the difficulties in pinning down what aesthetic quality is, it cannot easily be ignored. "Aesthetics" Danto suggests are defined by the way "things show themselves", and that as long as there are visible differences in the way things look, "aesthetics are inescapable" (Danto, 1981). If we avoid connecting aesthetic quality to the visual senses, then aesthetic experience becomes broader and less dogmatic. Defining beauty, taste and the role of the senses in relation to reason guided the development of aesthetic theory and found its form in the writings of Baumgarten as "the science of sensory knowledge" (Baumgarten, 1750). In which a correlation between a stringency of knowledge and reason is understood as existing alongside the more diffuse realms of sensation and taste (Baumgarten & Schweizer, 1988; Woods, 2012). When the nature of aesthetic quality was first analysed during the 18th century, it was maintained that the "point of art was the provision of visual pleasure" (Danto, 2005). There is a close association between the appreciation of art and aesthetic theory, but aesthetic appreciation does not have to be tied to art, objects in general or to a particular kind of taste. Prior to the theories of Fredrich Schelling in the early 19th century, aesthetic qualities were associated with a number of different phenomena, including nature, and not particularly art (Lübcke, 2010). Artists such as Duchamp challenged this idea in the early 20th century, making it clear that art could exist that was philosophically independent of aesthetic theory. Artworks no longer had to be beautiful or aesthetically pleasing. Danto proposes that something becomes art, "when it is about something" (Danto, 2005). Aesthetic qualities do not define an object as a work of art; instead, they help us understand the point of a work of art. Aesthetic qualities can be used to make a statement about needs, support cultural preferences and thereby support inclusion. The use of aesthetic qualities to understand inclusive process is not well established. Lossau and Stevens (Lossau & Stevens, 2014) are critical of an analysis of public art from an aesthetic starting point, they suggest that it limits people's encounters to passive reception, and focuses on what the artist, cu-

rator or sponsor intended. This misconception is relating aesthetic quality to passive visual appreciation. When aesthetic quality is connected to a broader set of sensory responses (Baumgarten & Schweizer, 1988) including, taste, smell, sound, temperature and texture, it offers a more active understanding of the environment. An aesthetic analysis places us within an environment that we do not just see but respond to based on the senses that are activated. It also allows for different cultural interpretations of aesthetic qualities avoiding a predefined set of western codes and values (Rampley, 2005). The object centred focus, which has characterised Western analysis of art and aesthetic quality, becomes less important and the potential for including diverse forms and format open up (Coote & Shelton, 1992).

The role of public green spaces in fostering social inclusion of different cultures has been studied (Bowler, Buyung-Ali, Knight, & Pullin, 2010; Seeland, Dübendorfer, & Hansmann, 2009); showing that green spaces can be an important link across cultures; adding to the idea that appropriate use of aesthetic qualities can foster dialogue. The idea of green spaces fostering inclusion also supports the concept of making sense of aesthetic qualities as part of a broader set of sensory responses, as discussed above.

Aesthetic qualities can be used to influence the public, and to understand the intentions of the makers. Regarding inclusion, public art has a long tradition of carrying the agency of inclusion in urban planning and architecture (Sharp, Pollock, & Paddison, 2005); while architecture has been shown to also have the ability to be political and a "frontier of cultural policy" (Nitzan-Shiftan, 2005). Concern for the intention of the maker has moved on from the traditional "artworld" dominance of artists, curators and sponsors (Becker, 2008; Dickie, 1974; Silvers, 2003). The modernist conception of art where autonomous artists required freedom of expression (Malcolm, 1997) has been criticised for its inability to meet public needs (Gablik, 1995) and the monumental and aesthetic interventions in public art no longer dominate contemporary urban planning. Collaborative practices first established during the 1960s started the process of breaking down the distance between the artist and the public. Making the artist a "cultural-artistic service provider"(Kwon, 2002) rather than an aesthetic expert. This shift has also changed the understanding of who the public is and the role that they play. From being primarily an audience who is informed and educated, "the public is being asked to inform and educate the public art process" (Gee, 1995).

Rose and Massey (2003) suggest that although artworks are almost always situated in a place. A work of art that is without a relationship to an audience cannot be defined as a "public" work of art at all (Rose & Massey, 2003). Sharp et al. (2005) argue that "the processes through which artworks become installed into the urban fabric are critical to the successful development of inclusion". However, they also explain that "public art can be read in different ways and that its uses to beautify the city or celebrate its reimagineering do not necessarily enjoy universal consensus. In this respect, public art is no different from art in general where matters of taste and preference become paramount". The current perspective suggests that "the production of aesthetics" is an idea that makes citizens and producers of art become a part of the process. Public art in the Scandinavian context resonates with the Scandinavian origin of co-design, where participatory design during the 60s was rooted in work with trade unions (Ehn, 2017). Scandinavian researchers and trade unions developed the work-oriented approach to democratization of design and co-design in the Scandinavian tradition "includes all stakeholders of an issue not just the users, throughout the entire process from research to implementation" (Szebeko & Tan, 2010). This tradition- of co designing public space offers a particular place for art, in which the role of the artist easily can end up being pre-defined, with the artist acting in the name of all stakeholders' interests. However, art and making art can also be divisive; with experience of urban regeneration and the process of revival potentially causing social divisions leading to what Mitchell (2000) described as "culture wars". Promotion and deployment of the arts can still generate tensions (Lees & Melhuish, 2015), because an idealistic and essentialised sense of place and community when combined with an unspoken expectation for what the arts and culture can do, can be uncritical or imply "minimum risk". The ability of public art to ensure democratic involvement in public places is a challenge because democracy is often contested, belonging to no single political perspective or group (Deutsche, 1992).

The presence of a public art project, helps to give a building upgrade, for example in an inner city neighbourhood, "democratic legitimacy". Terms like "public", and "art" are often associated with universality, openness and inclusion, but in fact they may be supporting the exclusionary rights of property control and disciplinary power because art needs protecting (Deutsche, 1992), often from those that it is intended for. Cultural planning therefore raises the question of "culture for whom?" (Bianchini & Parkinson, 1993; Boyle & Hughes, 1991) This question of "art for whom" is particularly challenging in multicultural societies in modern cities. The question about "culture for whom" can be seen in parallel to the emergence of integration focused urban planning schemes, for example, the currently popular smart city model, in which the city might is seen as a "production of consensus" (Swyngedouw, 2009). When models like this are applied uncritically, questions arise about what it means to be a local voice, and is it possible to resist the dominating groups' visions (Balibrea, 2001).

Public art's goal is to engage with its public and the use and understanding of aesthetic qualities is not always primary. Art provokes a wide variety of responses and artists use a variety of means to engage with their public. This analysis of the role of aesthetic qualities of-

fers insight into how public art functions within a public space, and aesthetic theory helps to differentiate the public art from other aspects found within the physical social context (Woods, 2012). Importantly, the broad sensory definition means the analysis is not limited to the beautiful or what can be seen and as we will show this seems particularly relevant in the case of the swimming pool in Hamarkullen. Where the Somali women emphasized the importance of other qualities associated with the physical environment in and around water, and where what we see is related to privacy and what it means to be a woman in the community.

3. About the Public Swimming Pool and Stakeholders in Hammarkullen

At the centre of this study is the upgrading of the Hamarkullen swimming pool. Hamarkullen is located in Angered, one of ten districts in Gothenburg, northeast of the town centre. The Hammarkullen neighbourhood was chosen for an energy upgrade by the EU-Gugle programme. EU-Gugle is an EU funded program that aims to demonstrate the feasibility of nearly-zero energy building renovation models. The intention is to encourage Europe-wide replication in smart cities and communities by 2020. In Gothenburg, Sweden, the funding was used to address social and economic challenges in the Hammarkullen neighbourhood. The Swedish image as a welfare society is challenged by an increasing spatial concentration of poverties (Castell, 2016). In areas like Hammarkullen, some stakeholders assume that social problems and safety concerns may challenge participation.

The swimming pool became an important project because of its role in a larger renovation project that allowed the municipality to focus on citizen engagement. In addition to serving as a meeting-place for recreation, the swimming pool is important to schoolchildren and the women in Hammarkullen.

The first area plan proposed to close the local swimming pool, and a newer pool was to be built nearby. However, local women of Somali origin objected to this idea, and told the project coordinators from the EU-Gugle project that the swimming pool was a very important meeting place for them.

The key stakeholders in the planning phase were:

- A project coordinator in Angered City District (the district in which Hamarkullen is located) together with researchers from Research Institute Sweden (RISE);
- The Public Art Agency (Statens konstråd);
- An artist (working with the women in Hamarkullen from August 2016 to January 2017);
- An architect (hired in the beginning of 2017).

The project coordinators chose to involve the Public Art Agency and the agency hired an artist to engage citizens in upgrading the swimming pool instead of closing it. Next, an architect was hired to help implement the ideas developed by the artist.

4. Method

Using storytelling is seen as a way to create better design (Quesenbery & Brooks, 2010) and is "closely related to the experience blueprint"(Brown, 2009), meaning that it can give us insights relevant to the (urban) design process. In particular, storytelling was perceived as appropriate to explore the roles related to aesthetic quality, which depend upon how each stakeholder experienced the aesthetic quality and its' role in the design process and final design. The public pool project represents such a design process and we hence chose to focus on storytelling through interviewing and analysis. A story is a meaning bearing unit, typically consisting of a beginning, middle and an end which are connected by a plot (Wende & King, 2015). Scholars of various disciplines propose that stories can be analysed through their ingredients; for example perspectives, characters, context, imagery and language (Quesenbery & Brooks, 2010) or strategies, barriers and goals (Jonassen & Hernandez-Serrano, 2002). Using storytelling as a frame to understand multi-stakeholder actions can provide insight into each participants' experience independent from their professional background. Ideally, the women involved in the art project should have been interviewed as well, but they were not available to be interviewed.

Interviews in the Hamarkullen project were undertaken with the EU project coordinator, a representative for the Public Art Agency, the architect and the artist. We conducted all four interviews individually via Skype, and each took between 30 to 45 minutes. All four interviewees were involved in some way in implementing the public art project. The expectation was that they would offer relevant perspectives about the whole process, their own roles and insight into the roles of other participating stakeholders. The interviews took a semi-structured narrative form, this included asking participants to describe how they experienced the public swimming pool project. Interviews were recorded, and analyses focused on the story told by each of the participants.

The interviews were coded using a "highlighting technique" in four stages: first, searching for "structures of experience", second by describing how structures are thematic of the phenomenon (aesthetics, art and citizens), third by searching for essential themes and, lastly, by explaining and interpreting essential and incidental themes. Things that "stand out" as relevant to the research question were selected, and then used to understand the broader narrative that included all of the stakeholders. In this study, the stories are identified as independent meaning bearers, and represented as holistically as possible in the narrative form of the interview. This is to offer the reader insight into how one story reframes the previous. Afterwards their differences in

relation to the topics of aesthetics, art and citizen inclusion in multi-stakeholder city development are discussed. It is worth noting that the sequence of the interviews influenced interpretation of the stories and the researchers' reflection process following the interviews. This way of analysing is cumulative, acknowledging that the first story leads the researcher to preliminary conclusions, which are later reinterpreted to make room for new perspectives from the other stories. To highlight this perception, the interviews are presented in chronological order in the findings section.

5. Findings

Three main stories were identified from the four interviews. The stories told during interviews of the EU project coordinator and the Public Art Agency have been combined into one during analysis because there were strong similarities.

6. The Story about Aesthetic Quality and Inclusion

The project coordinator and the public art agency participant both mentioned several times that their goal was inclusion. They say their aim was to increase knowledge about the significance of the Hammarbadet (swimming pool) and the symbolic value for Hammarkullen and its users, and to include Hammarbadet's users in the renovation process and the design of the upgraded pool. During autumn 2015, several workshops were conducted with local women, and the importance of the swimming pool to a group of women with Somali origin was identified. These women receive small salaries for heavy labour. The women explained that their social situation prevented them from taking part in many activities in Gothenburg and Hammarkullen. A deep concern for this group of women was expressed throughout the interview with the project coordinator, who said: "These women do not feel secure in most public baths; this is the opposite of many men and younger citizens, who often also have other public arenas and meeting-places".

Small meetings were organised by the adaptation of their approach because the women had little trust in the society. They did not believe their needs and thoughts would be listened to.

During workshops, women shared their experiences and needs, wishes and dreams for the development of Hammarbadet as a meeting-place where everyone can come together. The swimming pool was as a central to their participation and feeling of ownership within the community. They also had very specific aesthetic preferences: the women had expressed and agreed on that they wanted Hammarbadet to be fresh, warm and soft, white and blue: "Blue like the sky, and white like the waves and the foam on the waves", recalled the Project coordinator from meetings with the women had said.

Greenery and greenness were also important. The women also suggested greenery in the big windows in the pool that could act as protection from insight from outside, and along the walls in the entrance: "They said that they like the green—you feel happy—there is a lot of greenness in Somalia. The important thing is [what] the green and the blue tell about different places" (Project coordinator).

The workshops functioned as an inclusive process, and important knowledge was obtained about what the women do in the pool and their needs in terms of feeling safe (being able to see the outside without being seen).

The project coordinator and the Public Art agency participant explained that the proposed relocation of the swimming pool meant that a group of immigrant women would lose their meeting place. In the beginning, the focus of the EU-GUGLE programme and the renovation was on aesthetic quality and the building mass using the framework of EU-GUGLE, the project coordinator analysed how social benefits could be generated for the residential area by integrating the inhabitants, users and staff into the renovation process. They asked: what would make the women use the swimming pool? In a dialogue with the artist hired by the project coordinators, the women designed a swimming pool interior that was divided by green walls made up of moveable plants. However, the project coordinator and public art agency participant explained that this intervention with moveable plants collided with the architect's image of how the swimming pool should look. The architect did not agree with the citizens about which aesthetic qualities should be part of the built environment after renovation. Cooperation between the Public Art Agency Sweden and the artist became the bridge between the needs expressed by the women and the architect's preferences.

7. The Story about Aesthetic Quality as Dialogue and Intervention

The artist tells a story about how she sought to create communities both during the dialogue with the Somali women and through her artwork. She describes how she used dialogues about aesthetic qualities to understand the women's relationship with the building and surroundings.

She explained that first it is important to look at the place and the whole idea of the situation. She observes and talks to people to understand how they use the space, what they like and what they do not like, to find their desires and worries. Therefore, she travelled to the location for the public art, the swimming pool, and the neighbourhood to "look and feel". She asked different people to explain the context including workers from the swimming pool, and used that as a starting point to make a piece of art. She often said during the interview that she "talk[ed] a lot with people".

She learned that the public pool was the only public space where the women could act freely. The women regarded the public pool as a domestic space; the artist´s project subsequently emphasized this idea of feeling at

home. She was interested in how art influences communication. Even though she creates art with people, as an artist she makes the final art installation. The walls around the swimming pool are transparent; there is a close relationship between the forest outside and the swimming pool inside. She wanted to bring the forest into the building. She asked: do we act differently because of the surroundings? The art should influence and bring identity by bringing in the forest. "The art has no straight solution but listening and getting to know the context is the starting point for me, yet the (art) project needs to be interesting on its own", she said.

The women wanted to see outside, but they did not want to be seen. During a workshop, they talked about how they felt about the swimming pool. The artist then went back and forth between her home and Hamarkullen, and developed ideas before returning with her proposals. She said she normally meets different stakeholders involved and looks at the specific location and the general context, then works with the same stakeholders and the architects to gather insights. She sees the Public Art Agency as a key player in this process, ensuring that she could install the art the way it needed to be. She also spoke about the Botanical garden that was part of the final work, because she introduced Caribbean plants which would fit the specific conditions of the swimming pool. However, when "reality hit" the plants would not stand on the floor or hang where she wanted, and she was forced to adapt the installation. She says "reality hit" as if it was something common to her, that the creative work was often interrupted by external factors and needs to be adapted. The main goal was expressed when the artist explained that the greatest challenge to the adaptation phase was to *create* spaces. She emphasized that she needed room for different dimensions of plants to create a feeling of space and to change the original space. This was difficult due to regulations limiting how installations interrelate with safety, access and maintenance.

The art institution's role, in this case the Public Art Agency, was to provide the conditions necessary for the artist to create the art installation. With their support, she talked to the architects to make sure the installation had the space it needed. From the artists' viewpoint, the architect sees the art as a practical challenge. An art installation is demanding it needs maintenance. It is a live element.

The interview with the artist revealed her focus was to create temporary communities with people. Yet by this, she explained that she did not mean co-design in the way that the women decided the final aesthetic; instead, they contributed to her artistic practice and aesthetic choices through a dialogue about their relationship with the building, and the surroundings.

She viewed the Public Art Agency as central to her ability to complete her aesthetic vision in a way that gave the building and the women something that changed their relationship. The artist's focus was to work by "creating temporary communities with people, and let people create the project themselves by the way they move and relate in the space".

Yet she cautioned; the women were not interested in the aesthetic details. The resulting aesthetic quality was the artist's responsibility, and in the artists' view, it is not essential to include all the stakeholders when making decisions about the final details. The artist said: "They do not care so much about the colour of the pot".

The artist saw herself as separate both from the art and from the women in the final design, avoiding co-design advocates. The artist's job is instead to *listen*, and to bring in *something else*. To take what is interesting, not translate, but bring something new, "a new aesthetic", she said.

This artist had never worked so closely with a specific community before, and they made it interesting. These women were powerful, they saved the public pool, it will not be demolished. She believes that the Hammarkullen project added to the feeling of community and helped create the identity. She further argues that "Artists have a viewpoint that can bring a lot to the relationship".

The artist emphasized that she would have little impact without strong support from the Public Art Agency; and as such art can foster dialogue only if the context allows it to; and that a strong political anchoring is needed to bring different aesthetic understandings together.

8. The Story about How a Beginning Can Limit Aesthetic and Inclusive Potential

The first thing that the architect shared was her confusion caused by the amount of interested stakeholders in the project and the process. The architect revealed that she was included very late in the process, after the assessment of the women's needs. The architect was given a list of demands but had not been informed about the project's starting point; leaving her wondering if the swimming pool project required so many resources and attention. She was used to being a part of the ideation process at the start of a project, and this first stage was very important to her. The management of the process by the EU project coordinators and the Public Art Agency meant it challenged the architect's ability and desire to work creatively:

> Hammarbadet is an existing building. In a renovation like this, our task as architects, in addition to taking responsibility for design, is to work with the given conditions and to ensure that today's requirements for function, accessibility and safety are met. Hammarbadet is a very small building; it is already a challenge to make it work with the current regulations. (Architect)

She explained that the Public Art Agency and the artist already had agreed on what the art should "do" and that citizens should feel included in the swimming pool. Following the agreement to use the pool as a symbol of inclusion, they presented the project leader and the

artist's ideas to the architect as a list that was received more or less as a series of "demands in the form of a PowerPoint presentation". The starting point seemed wrong, she said, and the process both of decision-making and communication between stakeholders seemed very messy and unstructured. However, her aesthetic ambition for the building was a priority, and she did not think the building's potential had been achieved. She wanted the public pool to be different:

> I would have for example wanted to add some warm wall colours in the public bath, to make it more appealing and create a different space. The artist's plant based installation is very nice, but she designed it thinking that the pool would have to be white. Conventional public pool surroundings.

It became clear during the interview that the architect had an aesthetic ambition that needed to be included from start to finish if it was to be achieved. A renegotiation could have included the architect from the start, and improved interventions instead of reducing them.

> To make the lobby a meeting place is always one of our goals and for us a matter of course. In this case, the space was very limited. But it resulted in a small area with space for tables and a coffee machine. (Architect)

She suggested that the process involved too many stakeholders and too many researchers. The resulting project was characterised by a lack of agreement between the function of the building and requirements of the public art project. The form of the public art project being was pinned down too early, and resulted in the artist having to adjust her art. The architect thought that the final design was therefore less satisfying for everyone than what it could have been: "The artist's work didn´t get the space it required to give the artist's idea the full impact. It was not possible in the existing areas".

9. Discussion: Three Stories Seen Together

The artist, EU project coordinator, and the Public Art Agency agreed that the artist's view should define the outcome. The artist's role was to create a dialogue with the women that would be manifested through an aesthetic intervention. The project coordinators and the Public Art Agency described conflict between the artist and the architect regarding the artists' aesthetic preferences. The interviews demonstrate that the architect's perspective was closer to the artist's than the project coordinator and the Public Art agency believed. The artist and architect tell a story about compromise between the function of the building and the role of the public art installation; but the coordination of stakeholders and decision-making limited the aesthetic impact for them both.

The interview with the EU project coordinator and the Public Art Agency stressed the project coordinator's interest in the social benefit of renovation of the built environment, and that questions about upgrading and aesthetic quality should be placed within a social context. They emphasized that the overarching goal was to include the women in a dialogue on aesthetic quality and to show how their preferences could be a way to ask, "who do we design for?" For the women using the pool the aesthetic qualities found in the pool should not only please the eye, they should protect and nurture communication. The public art they required should build upon existing sensory experiences of water, warmth and female companionship. The dialogue and connection with the citizens were central and a goal in itself from the very beginning for the project coordinators. If this had been communicated well enough and if the architect had been included from the starting point, perhaps both the process and the end result in terms of the physical intervention would have been closer to the aesthetic "ideal" of both the artist and architect? The portrayal of the architect in the first story, told by the EU coordinator and the Public Art Agency, missed the actuality that her ambitions and goals were very similar to the artist. The architect needed the same open frame for dialogue and creativity as the artist from the beginning. She also expressed that she was responsible for the functionality of the building. If the goal was inclusion, the architect believed that the project coordinators could have established a wider framework that considered the building's potential for physical and functional changes within building regulations. For an architect as for other practitioners following a design process, a starting point with end-user insights and creative idea generation should be an open one, and not defined by strict 'demands' to the creative practitioners; in this case the artist and the architect.

The architect was held responsible for not translating the input from the women and the artist into the final result; the artist saw that the translation had happened before the architect came into the project. The artist understood that the functionality of the building was the responsibility of the architect and hence there is a mitigation in her story. Interviews with the EU project coordinator, the Public Art Agency and the artist implied that the "primary story" was that the women using the pool wanted one thing, while the architect wanted something else. The architect's story conflicted with their view. In this story, what "the women" wanted was translated for them and then presented by the project coordinator. This made it difficult to generate ideas based on user insights while also taking into account regulatory framework. As architects, they had to follow the requirements for function, accessibility and safety.

10. Aesthetics, Meaning and Communication

An analysis of the use and understanding of aesthetic qualities provides a way to access the role of public art within a public space. Aesthetic quality was most noticeable as a term in the artists' story. When the artist

applied the word "aesthetics" the artists' work became a tool for dialogue. If aesthetic quality provided a way of communicating, it could explain some of the misunderstandings between the stakeholders. A discussion on what public art and aesthetic quality "does" is missing from the collaboration between the EU project coordinator, Public Art Agency, artist and architect. While the starting point for the exploration of the Hamarkullen pool project was to establish how understanding aesthetic quality would influence the process of renovation and inclusion, the three stories reveal broader issues. The EU project coordinator found that the needs of the citizens were not consistent with those initially assumed by the architects. The findings indicate that paying attention to aesthetic preferences and using this as a meeting point for dialogue, could provide insights into citizen group's experiences and influence the level of participation and ownership within the upgraded neighbourhood.

While theory related to how art includes or divides is extensive, we find little discussion about the role of aesthetic quality on the roles of artists in relation to other stakeholders in urban regeneration projects. This we believe is because of a misconception; aesthetics is commonly associated with visual appreciation. It is part of a passive relationship with the physical environment. We propose that aesthetics can be applied to a broader set of sensory responses (Baumgarten & Schweizer, 1988), related to an active understanding and use of the physical environment. The sensory understanding also offers room for different interpretations of qualities within the physical environment, including taste, smell, sound, temperature and texture (all qualities found in the Hammarkullen pool). Different cultural interpretations of aesthetic qualities necessary in a community like Hammarkullen must avoid a predefined set of western codes and values. The "application" and perceptions of aesthetic qualities and their place within a core of creative practices, caught our interest. It is present in the different understandings of aesthetic qualities mentioned by the artist, architect and public art consultant and it is realised in the choices made by the artist based on the aesthetic preferences of the women from Hammarkullen. In these interpretations of aesthetics; buildings and art represent the formal and visual aesthetic fields, whilst water, plants and forests represent aesthetic qualities drawn from an active use and understanding of the physical environment promoted by the women of Hammarkullen.

While the architect focuses on what the design of a building can do for peoples' feeling of inclusion, the artist sees the process itself as the one building inclusion. The artist and architect include empathising with the citizens and their needs within the project. For the artist the dialogue with the women in this project is a goal in itself, while for the architect the function of the building and the larger impact of the process on the city district is also important. Sharp et al., explains that 'the contribution of public art to the re-inscription of local place has become commonplace through the work of artists and community groups, as well as by the state acting through local agencies mindful of the agenda of inclusion. This builds upon an idea of community art established during the 1960s, as "listener-centered", ideally with the artist involved with the community and in dialogue with the audience (Gablik, 1995). However, the EU coordinator and Public Art Agency when focusing on the community dialogue missed the importance of the architects' ability to influence aesthetic potential and only focused on the artist-state relationship. This reveals the danger of applying public art projects as "symbolic" capital identified by earlier research. It further shows that there is a danger of listening to only one story in urban planning projects. Although they seemed to be in unison, numerous stories were involved. If dialogue was the aim of involving the artist, this symbolic act was not shared with all stakeholders. This way of using art symbolically but without influencing socioeconomic goals in a material manner has been extensively covered by research; leaving a question of whether the Public Art Agency and the researchers in RISE could have made a more conscious effort to move beyond this:

> The intention is to activate the audience allowing them to become participants or collaborator. Yet the number of projects where this actually occurs seems limited and the capacity of public art to foster inclusion is at best partial, addressing symbolic rather than material needs. (Sharp et al., 2005)

Uneven power relations mean that public art has become an unwitting agent in the over privileging of cultural justice at the expense of socioeconomic redistribution. There would seem to be an exaggerated faith in the influence of public art on economic regeneration, the massive symbolism of works like the "Angel of the North" has led to an over optimistic view of what public art can do. Which is itself part of an over economistic interpretation of the meaning of urban citizenship. A challenge is also that it can be too easy to focus disproportionately on the more spectacular, particularly the iconic, and its ability to re-inscribe place. A blinkered gaze risks the failure to identify the different scales at which public art has come into play, just as it tends to give emphasis to particular representations of it (Sharp et al., 2005). The majority of public art projects are like the Hammarkullen swimming pool on a smaller less visible and less iconic scale. Again, this points to the perception of other aesthetic qualities. When art rarely achieves massive iconic visibility, other sensory qualities on a more intimate social scale can support its role within the public space.

Interestingly while the artist in the story is raising radical questions, the architect initially comes through as having a rigid perception of aesthetic quality; representing a conformist aesthetic ideal. However, the artist mitigates this view by explaining that the architect's preference may also have to do with practical concerns; mean-

ing that the architect may have a larger responsibility for the functional aspects of the final design. There is therefore a division of responsibilities affecting stakeholders' decision-making and relationship between this decision making and knowledge transfer. Yet, when speaking to the architect, it becomes clear that it may be the EU project coordinators way of managing the collaboration process between the architect and the artist; not taking into account the creative process of the architect that actually made communication difficult. Division of responsibilities is a decision made by the coordinators and in this case, there was a crossover of methods and aims. The architect's aesthetic ambitions are actually very high, and she sought lasting change that would result in a feeling of inclusion within the built environment and 'not only' during the process.

11. Conclusions

The stories show that aesthetic quality and public art effectively opens up dialogues between citizens and implementing stakeholders; yet it seems as if project coordinators, and also the artist, at some point start speaking on behalf of the included women instead of keeping them in the process also when the project moves towards implementation. We introduced this article by explaining the inability of planning processes to act holistically once implementation begins; and this project ran into the same difficulty despite the work to create dialogue at the beginning. By presenting the needs of the women to the architect without them being present, they may hinder the "true" co-creation and the possibility of the architect contributing to the collective creative process. Could they have included the women and the architect from start to finish? The choice of approaches presented here centred on aesthetic quality and provides insights into how the stakeholders' view of the role of aesthetic quality can be of importance when understanding how to create dialogue in practice.

A conclusion from the three stories identified may be that the creative processes of artists and architects could benefit from considering their professional understanding of aesthetics and the working process when designing citizen consultation plans; before determining the scope of a building or urban design project. In addition, it could put the aesthetic practitioners in an empowered role within this project: something that could have augmented the impact and avoided the project falling into the category of "symbolic" public art with a predefined purpose. Both the artist and architect want to think about aesthetics with a personal relationship, something that they see evolving from personal meetings with the women and by immersing themselves personally in the context. The artist brings in something new to the relationship between the space and the people, while the architect wanted to modify the building in a functional way. Modern city development and design processes need to be thought of as collaborative; without silos separating the disciplines. In Hammarkullen, assumptions were made about the role of the architect, and there was a lack of understanding between the disciplines. If we are going to avoid silo-thinking, then the stories must be refined to create methods to support integrated urban planning. Such efforts can maximize the impact of aesthetic quality dialogues on citizen inclusion, participation and urban design. The creative practitioners should be mutually invested in the first citizen-centred process and discuss aesthetic outcomes and responsibilities, avoiding 'consensus-seeking' and compromise. The artist and the architect both agreed on these goals. The artist desires to remain autonomous despite combining this need with dialogue and process of inclusion. This implies that securing aesthetic quality remains within the domain of the artist, at the same time the negotiations that took place imply that the artist's autonomy is not intact and requires constant re-evaluation.

Can this case about a public swimming pool inform citizen inclusion processes on the larger scale desired in city planning, without losing its critical and interventionist style of "changing aesthetics"? The project shows the need to consider aesthetic qualities in a broader sense and offer support and explanation to studies that identify the socially including function of green space. The story does add substance to the worry that "those who see public art as leading to the enhancement of community" are missing the point because they "presume that the task of democracy is to settle, rather than sustain, conflict" (Sharp et al., 2005). However, even though the architect's story was ignored during the process, the public art and the open view on aesthetic quality did create dialogue and helped save the pool from demolition. We also want to avoid the pitfall where "community can be a dangerous construct if it hides the process of making individuals and groups behind the façade of its inclusionary rhetoric" (Docherty, Goodlad, & Paddison, 2001). Participatory processes have often been criticized for being political and neo colonialist by nature. We can conclude that the work of the artist in the public pool project challenged this purpose of participation and inclusion. Using Milton Keynes as an example, Rose and Massey (2003) argue that "public art should be understood as an intervention into social space that will actively help to produce that space through a negotiation of social difference, rather than by affirming sameness" and is seen as the opposite of consensual interaction. From the perspective of broad literature on what "public art" should mean, the public swimming pool project is not controversial; yet the stories about the conflict between architect and artist do highlight a fundamental barrier to how local groups and particularly the non-privileged groups can begin to identify themselves with urban regeneration projects. Acknowledging that "it is doubtful as to whether local issues are given full rein when broader economic ones appear to be so much more immediate" (Miles & Paddison, 2005), the stories from Hamarkullen and a discussion about aesthetics as a meeting point may

represent something that could be replicable and indeed scalable. If we allow for the idea that the regeneration should also include the handing over of ideals about aesthetic quality to the communities living in marginalized areas, we may be able to design new concepts for what these neighbourhoods could look like and establish the use of aesthetic qualities as a larger dialogue.

Acknowledgements

This study is a part of data gathering for the PI-SEC research project at NTNU, funded by the Norwegian Research Council. We are grateful for the participation from the Public Art Agency, the artist, RISE architects and the project coordinator.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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COGITATIO

Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183–7635)
2019, Volume 4, Issue 1, Pages 78–90
DOI: 10.17645/up.v4i1.1658

Article

Cultural Initiatives and Local Development: A Basis for Inclusive Neighborhood Revitalization

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Submitted: 29 June 2018 | Accepted: 15 August 2018 | Published: 24 January 2019

Abstract
This article focuses on cultural and creative activities and the development of local communities. Several studies on North America, Europe and Latin America have shown that this type of activity may have a positive impact on the local economy and living environments, and in particular on the sense of territorial belonging and on relations between citizens. In this text, we propose a reading of the impact of neighborhood cultural initiatives in the context of local socio-economic development based on a set of indicators of the local cultural vitality of a neighborhood. The empirical research was carried out in Montreal, namely on two boroughs: Rosemont–La Petite-Patrie and Sud-Ouest.

Keywords
city; culture; local community; local development; Montreal; neighborhood

Issue
This article is part of the issue "The Transformative Power of Urban Planning through Social Innovation", edited by Torill Nyseth (UiT, The Arctic University of Norway, Norway) and Abdelillah Hamdouch (University of Tours, France).

1. Introduction: The Choice for a Culture of Proximity

Like other cosmopolitan metropolises around the world, Montreal faces major development challenges in both economic and social terms. However, as has been well established, creative and cultural activities act both as a lever for economic development and as a tool for social development (Martens, Dobbels, Amez, & Ysebaert, 2014) provided they are part of a broader effort to coordinate between all stakeholders participating in local community development and their actions.

Since the early 2000s, Montreal actors have made the strategic choice of opting for culture, as demonstrated by the slogan "Montréal, métropole culturelle" adopted by the City of Montreal. The development of the Quartier des spectacles in downtown Montreal is part of this orientation (Darchen & Tremblay, 2013; Lefebvre, 2017). In this article, however, we are interested in another dimension of Montreal's choice for culture. In 2007, the organization Culture Montréal, which brings together the community of creators from the cultural field; the Chantier de l'économie sociale, representing the social economy actors; and the Corporations de développement économique communautaire (community economic development corporations, CDECs) put forward a decentralized cultural strategy, first named Pôles culturels and later Quartiers culturels. This bottom-up strategy (Karsten, 2009) generated broad consensus at the neighborhood level. Local actors rallied around it, including neighborhood round tables (which

in Montreal are permanent incorporated organizations), other sectoral tables and artists' organizations. They advocate a culture of proximity as well as links to other collective development actions implemented by local social actors.

The culture of proximity is part of an innovative and alternative local development strategy. Traditionally, culture-oriented strategies for urban and economic development have been concentrated and centralized. Inspired by Florida's concept of the creative class (Florida, 2002), these strategies called for massive investments in artistic and cultural amenities and infrastructures to make the city attractive for the so-called creative class that was to stimulate innovation and economic growth. This approach, which prompted many urban governments to invest in prestigious and concentrated cultural assets (Pilati & Tremblay, 2007), has received much criticism from researchers, who advocated a more inclusive vision of "social emancipation" rather than "physical beautification" (Moulaert, Demuynck, & Nussbaumer, 2004).

This latter vision calls for a multi-faceted strategy (Tremblay & Darchen, 2010) oriented to favoring artistic and creative milieus as well as to the interrelation between production, work and cultural life at the neighbourhood level (Klein & Tremblay, 2016). In addition, it calls for the intervention of local- and community- based organizations as a way to implement "new proximity"-oriented social practices (Barbieri, Fina, & Subirats, 2012, p. 7). In recent years, more and more cities and metropoles have been interested in this more inclusive perspective of culture and proximity that leads to a more open and distributed vision that is centered neither on the creatives nor on centralized elitist-oriented infrastructures but on the well-being of citizens (Karsten, 2009). Our contribution in this article consists of proposing and documenting a way to reveal and analyze the importance of local cultural vitality in this context.

2. The Problematic: Creative Activities and the City

Research on proximity culture in the face of the above-mentioned dominant centralized approach must be linked to the debate on the "new urban policy" (Swyngedouw, Moulaert, & Rodriguez, 2002) and its orientation toward creative activities. This adjustment is part of an economic revitalization orientation pursued by big cities and metropolises that has been addressed by a considerable number of academic works and provoked strategic debates (Florida, 2002; Markusen, 2008; Mommaas, 2004; Sacco, Blessi, & Nuccio, 2008; Santagata, 2006; Tremblay & Tremblay, 2010). These debates focus on policies favoring attractive living environments that can generate prosperity yet are part of a context that questions the means traditionally mobilized by public policies to produce growth.

As several examples have shown, and as mentioned above, urban elites and political actors are turning to culture and the cultural industry (Angulo-Baudin, Klein, & Tremblay, 2017; Rius & Sanchez-Belando, 2015; Scott, 2010) and are promoting notions such as the creative city and the creative town (Bianchini & Landry, 1998; Markusen & Gadwa, 2010). This choice is part of a broader context that includes the post-Fordist governance of cities and the emergence of territorial marketing as a development strategy (Leriche, Daviet, Sibertin-Blanc, & Zuliani, 2008; Sibertin-Blanc, 2009). Seeking to increase their place in the concert of global cities and to foster creativity and innovation, and largely inspired by Richard Florida's concept of the creative class (Florida, 2002), the new urban development strategies promote policies that concentrate cultural activities in order to increase the competitiveness and attractiveness of cities (Scott, 2010), the competitive advantages of central spaces and the profitability of private and public investments made in these areas (Swyngedouw et al., 2002).

These strategies have generated significant criticism regarding their effectiveness as triggers for innovative processes (Peck, 2013; Shearmur, 2010;) as well as their consequences for the residents of the most devitalized cities and boroughs (Chantelot, 2009; Hamdouch & Depret, 2009; Markusen, 2006a). Even Florida himself eventually came close to recognizing that the creative strategy he had been advocating was ill-guided. According to Wetherell (2017):

> Over the last decade, Florida has been beating a retreat away from some of his early optimism….His latest book, *The New Urban Crisis*, represents the culmination of this long mea culpa....Florida recognizes that he was wrong. The rise of the creative class in places like New York, London, and San Francisco created economic growth only for the already rich, displacing the poor and working classes.

At the same time, however, the choice for culture gives actors who represent civil society the opportunity to develop more inclusive strategies and is—this is our hypothesis—more effective in terms of increasing a city's attractiveness. Indeed, such strategies have a positive impact: on civic engagement for neighborhoods and for the city as a whole; on the increase of collective capabilities, which have an influence on the social capital of communities (André & Abreu, 2009; Markusen, 2006b, 2006c); on the construction of positive identities that mobilize citizens (Rius-Ulldemolins & Posso Jiménez, 2016); and on social cohesion (Moulaert & Nussbaumer, 2008; Novy, Coimbra, & Moulaert, 2012). It is this second perspective, which we refer to as the integrated territorial approach of local development by creative and cultural actions, that guides our research. This approach aligns with the integrated area development perspective developed by Moulaert and Nussbaumer (2008) as well as the multi-actors and balanced approach asserted by Karsten (2009) and Rantisi (2013).

3. Theoretical Approach: Cultural Vitality and Integrated Area Development

There is a consensus that a deliberate cultural policy will have an impact on the development of communities both in terms of the identity and image it evokes for citizens and of the management and territorial coordination. An important concept for understanding and assessing this impact is that of "cultural vitality", since it is this concept that will trigger the desired socio-economic changes. In a broader sense, "cultural vitality is envisaged by municipal teams as a pull factor for businesses or new inhabitants" (Sibertin-Blanc, 2008, p. 11).

However, is an increase in the competitiveness of cities through the establishment of major cultural events or major cultural infrastructures a guarantor of the overall improvement of the living conditions of citizens in different neighborhoods of the city? Exclusive proposals advocating the centralization of cultural facilities have been contested by a number of authors, who question the effectiveness of such strategies in the actual implementation of innovative territorial development processes (Shearmur, 2010) and who draw our attention to the possible negative impact of policies on the most precarious local communities, who are already weakened by deprivation. By highlighting the dangers of gentrification, the erosion of social relations and the increase of negative identity-based movements, different authors seek to explore new alternatives that underscore the capacity of a culture to bring forth a dynamic that is new, more inclusive and transformative as well as likely to rebuild the social fabric, promote the participation of citizens and restore individual and collective identities (Vivant, 2007).

It is from this perspective that an integrated territorial approach to local development through culture-oriented initiatives emerges with regard to cultural vitality: the new cultural turn among public agencies, which takes place in parallel with the decentralization of cultural facilities, is a prerequisite for the development of a greater culture of proximity. It has been postulated that accessibility to cultural projects and their integration into local development are more effective in terms of attractiveness than large centralized activities; that they stimulate community empowerment (André & Abreu, 2009; Markusen, 2006b, 2006c); reinforce or generate collective capacities allowing local actors to initiate social innovation (Moulaert, MacCallum, Mehmood, & Hamdouch, 2013); and promote "the good life" in the city (Novy, 2013).

The convergence of territorial development and proximity culture provides public agencies with a toolkit for ensuring a type of social and economic revitalization favorable to the collective well-being (Roy-Vallex, 2010). It does so insofar as it allows these agencies to rethink the objectives of public policies and to modify the modes of governance so as to involve the residents within the definition, implementation and evaluation of the cultural policy (Auclair, 2011). The link between culture and territory thus refers to a socio-territorial capital that is expressed through the residents' sense of belonging and the constitution of social identities attached to the territory.

4. Assessing the Cultural Vitality of Neighborhoods: A Performance Scorecard

In order to equip local actors in their approach to support a culture of proximity, in collaboration with Culture Montréal, we have co-built a set of criteria and indicators as a means to assess the cultural vitality of neighborhoods, the objective of which is to reveal the cultural vitality of neighborhoods and its links with other local community actors as well as to ascertain the organizational and institutional forms taken by the culture of proximity within different neighborhoods in Montreal.[1] Criteria and indicators are based on research that advocates the integration of cultural activity into territorial development with a view to improving the living conditions of citizens. The set of criteria can be used to empirically observe the cultural vitality of neighborhoods and the place of culture in local development as a whole.

These criteria are the following:

1) Assets: The presence of permanent and ephemeral creative (artistic) and cultural activities, as well as organizations and businesses active in cultural creation in the territory.
2) Leadership: The existence of local leaders and their capability to mobilize and gather a plurality of cultural and artistic resources.
3) Governance: The collective capacity to coordinate and align creative cultural initiatives within the overall set of initiatives aimed at local community development and the ability of a community to orient development towards common goals.
4) Resources: All exogenous and endogenous, financial, organizational, institutional and human resources which cultural and artistic actors as well as other actors are likely to mobilize for the development of arts and culture in the territory.
5) Identity: The existence of positive territorial identities favoring the engagement of local actors and their ability to create social, economic and cultural capital in relation to the local history.

Based on these five criteria, we have worked out 22 indicators that serve to "read" the cultural vitality of neighborhoods (Table 1). Their determination results from various meetings of exchange and validation with the ac-

[1] These set of criteria and indicators is a result of collaboration between academic researchers and social actors, in this case, Culture Montréal. This kind of collaboration is supported by the epistemological option of the co-construction of knowledge which implies a paradigm shift in that it allows unofficial knowledge—knowledge of a different cognitive order, co-constructed from diverse knowledge, both academic and practical, and generated, among others, by the stakeholders and actors of innovative initiatives to see the day. See Klein (2017).

Table 1. Criteria and indicators of neighborhood cultural vitality. Source: own compilation.

Criteria	Indicators
Assets	• Presence of formal and informal places where culture is created, produced and disseminated • Presence of cultural and artistic events and activities (formal and informal) • Citizen accessibility
Leadership	• Local actors' vision of the role of culture in the community over the long term • Recognition and legitimacy that benefits actors who mobilize culture • Rally actors around leaders who work for the well-being of the community • Sharing of leadership • Capacity of local actors to include cultural and creative activities in a global development strategy • Stability and adaptability of leaders • Efficacy of leadership
Governance	• Presence collaborations, joint actions and partnerships favoring the establishment of cultural and creative activities • Coordination of local actors having an impact on cultural vitality • Citizen participation in coordination bodies • Engagement of cultural actors in the different coordination bodies • Capacity of cultural actors to rally together
Resources	• Presence of creators • Local cultural entrepreneurship • Public and private support • Presence of artistic and cultural know-how • Citizen engagement in taking part in cultural initiatives
Identity	• Sense of belonging and pride of the community • Presence of cultural carriers and transmitters who reinforce or transmit the sense of belonging

tors themselves. By involving cultural actors in the definition of cultural vitality indicators and in the design of information collection tools, we have assured ourselves of their validity.

5. Sites of Observation: The Boroughs Rosemont–La Petite-Patrie and Le Sud-Ouest

The assessment of the cultural vitality of neighborhoods using the above-mentioned chart was done for two pericentral boroughs of Montreal: Rosemont–La Petite-Patrie and Le Sud-Ouest (see Figure 1). The territory of Rosemont–La Petite-Patrie (hereinafter Rosemont) has 139,590 inhabitants and holds 7.2% of the population of the Agglomeration of Montreal.[2] Its inhabitants are spread over an area of 15.9 square kilometers. The borough is predominantly French-speaking (83%) and its population is relatively homogeneous when compared to other boroughs in the city. It includes four neighborhoods, although it is important to distinguish two large zones, that of Rosemont proper, very homogeneous, and that of La Petite-Patrie, more multicultural. The Sud-Ouest borough is inhabited by 78,151 inhabitants, which corresponds to 4.0% of the agglomeration's population. This borough occupies an area of 15.7 square kilometers and is composed of five neighborhoods whose residents have rather contrasting socio-economic profiles.[3] The immigrant population is relatively large: almost one resident in two has a direct or indirect immigration background (Figure 1).

These two boroughs have been affected by major economic crises since the 1980s as a consequence of the transformations experienced by all industrial economies (Fontan, Klein, & Tremblay, 2005). Their story is embedded in the industrialization of Montreal. In Le Sud-Ouest, the presence of the Lachine Canal[4] and the Grand Trunk Railway (later Canadian National) was the cradle of Canada's industrial revolution and gives evidence to the significant industrial activity that took place there in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Poitras, 2017).

[2] The global city of Montreal encompasses the City of Montreal, which includes 19 boroughs with a population of 1,704,694; the Agglomeration of Montreal, which includes the cities located on the Island of Montreal, being the City of Montréal and 14 autonomous cities, with a total population of 1,942,044; and the Montreal Metropolitan Community, which includes 82 autonomous cities, including Montreal, and has 3,932,981 inhabitants. These data correspond to the 2016 census. Source: Ville Montreal (n.d.).

[3] In Montreal, boroughs are administrative units created by the City of Montreal to provide local services and are headed by a borough mayor and a borough council. The neighborhoods, which make up a borough, go back further in history and have been divided up, in part, through zoning by the City for the purpose of facilitating the management of housing.

[4] The Lachine Canal was built in 1825 to circumvent the Lachine Rapids and to extend navigation on the St. Lawrence River upstream toward the Great Lakes. It was enlarged in the second half of the 20th century in order to adapt to the needs of navigation. In 1970, it was closed to commercial navigation, which had turned to using the St. Lawrence Seaway, a new route more suited to the size of modern ships. In 2002, it was reopened for pleasure boating.

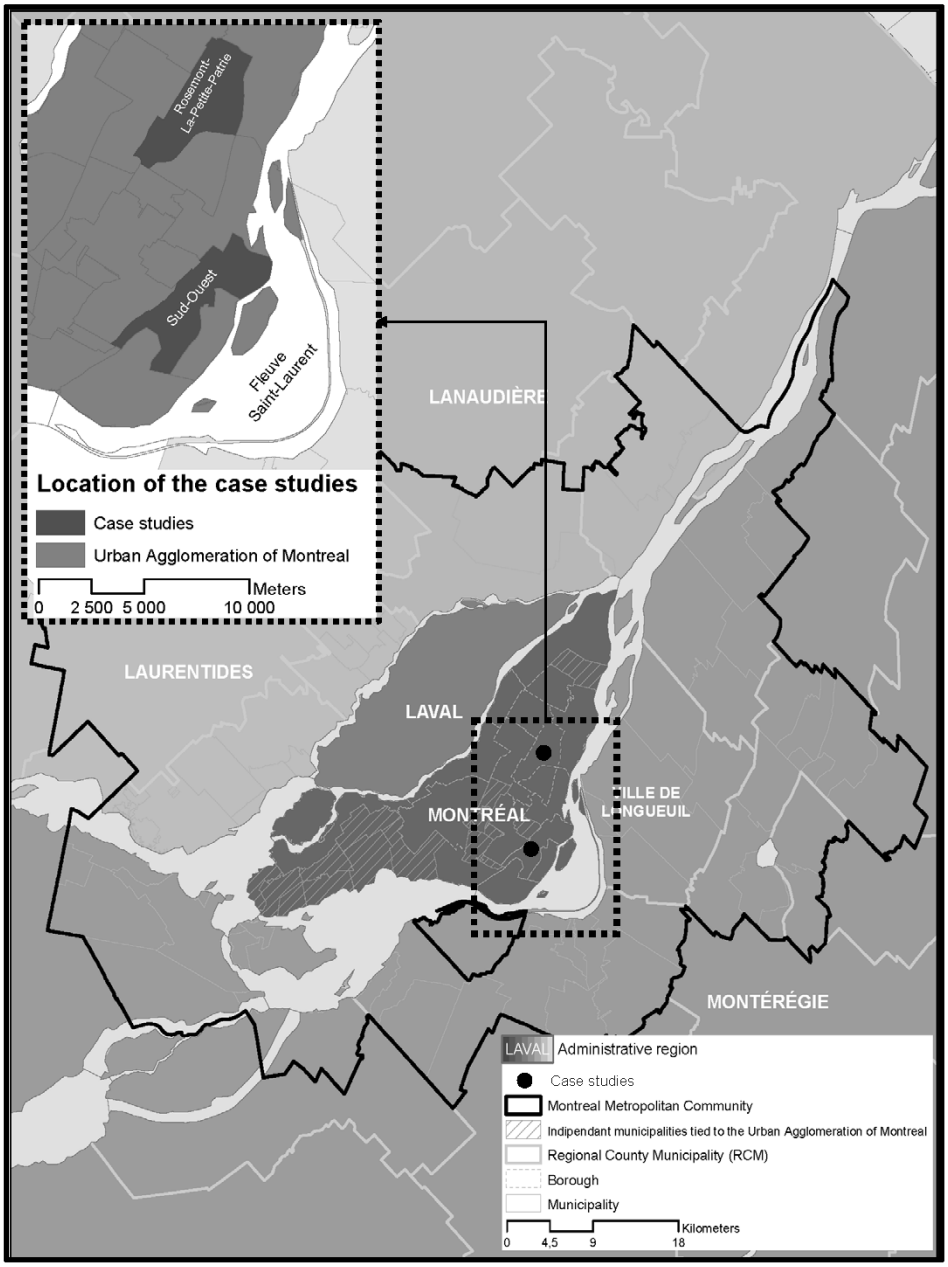

Figure 1. Case studies in Montreal. Source: own production.

Rosemont, for its part, experienced strong industrial growth in the early 20th century due to the presence of the Canadian Pacific Railway company and Ateliers Angus (established by Canadian Pacific Railway), which manufactured locomotives and railroad cars (Nadeau, 2009). The industrialization of these neighborhoods thus explains the strong presence of a working class—and also explains their disarray[5] during the crisis of Fordism and the industrial redeployment of the 1980s.

These two boroughs then lost part of their productive base, which affected local services and the quality of life of citizens. However, in both boroughs, the communities mobilized and, in the 1980s, the above-mentioned CDECs were created with the mission of rallying the actors in order to counteract the loss of productive assets and to create jobs. In Rosemont, the CDEC was a main catalyst of the Technopôle Angus project, which has become a driver of social innovation and job creation in the territory. In the Sud-Ouest, the CDEC, then named Regroupement économique et social du Sud-Ouest (RESO), gave rise to a number of diverse social economy projects. It should be noted that this borough has the Lachine Canal, which, since its reopening for leisure purposes in the early 2000s, has been a driving force in the revitalization of the borough that is gradually becoming attractive as a residential area.

[5] We employ "disarray" in the sense given to this word by Pinçon (1987) in his book on the workers' disarray (désarroi in French) caused by the closures of economic activities.

Thus, following many years of economic decline, these two boroughs, from the 2000s on, engaged in revitalization processes that profoundly transformed some of its parts, both physically and socially (Klein & Shearmur, 2017). Both boroughs underwent gentrification processes, although with different consequences. While the profile of the population is stable in Rosemont, it is changing in the Sud-Ouest with the arrival of a contingent of residents with higher incomes. In addition, since the 2000s, the community organizations of the neighborhoods that make up these boroughs have implemented various projects involving cultural activities. These initiatives often combine the objectives targeted by local economic development with those of cultural development. In fact, both territories are marked by a strong cultural effervescence. It is this common characteristic between these two boroughs that led us to choose them for our empirical study.

6. Methodology

Field research was conducted in the boroughs Rosemont and Sud-Ouest using the multi-site case study method (for the multi-site case study method see Yin, 2009; see also Crowe et al., 2011). Our objective in applying this method was not so much to compare the two boroughs in question as to use the knowledge of their differences to arrive at an expanded reading of local cultural vitality based on the criteria and indicators presented previously. For this, we conducted semi-directed interviews in each borough, whereby we sought to have an adequate territorial representation with regard to not only the neighborhoods that comprise the boroughs but also, at a more functional level, the different types of local actors engaged in the creative activities. Respondents were selected using the purposeful sampling method. The interviews were conducted using an interview guide developed from themes that encapsulate the above-mentioned indicators gathered under five topics (Creative assets, leadership, governance, resources, identity).

In Rosemont, 19 semi-directed interviews were conducted between June and August 2016. The interviews focused on the entire borough and on three of the borough's four neighborhoods (Saint-Édouard, better known as La Petite-Patrie, Étienne Desmarteau and Vieux-Rosemont) in which the vast majority of the borough's cultural activities take place. In the Sud-Ouest, which, as we shall see, is more complex, 28 interviews were required in order to apprehend the different dimensions of the borough's cultural vitality. These interviews were conducted between May and November 2017. They focused on the borough as a whole as well as on the five neighborhoods that comprise it (Griffintown, Petite-Bourgogne, Saint-Henri, Pointe-Saint-Charles and Saint-Paul–Ville-Émard; see Table 2). Each interview was partially transcribed, and the relevant information was coded in an excel table built on the themes listed above to have a general view of each indicator.

6.1. The Results of the Study: A Portrait of the Local Cultural Vitality

The study of the boroughs of Rosemont and the Sud-Ouest allowed us to offer a general overview of these two boroughs based on the actors' assessment of the cultural vitality of their neighborhoods and of the assets needed to enhance it. The overview was established based on information obtained on the cultural organizations present in the boroughs and the interviews conducted. It is presented using the set of criteria and indicators as featured in Table 1.

6.1.1. Assets: Presence of Artistic and Cultural Activities

The cultural events taking place in the two boroughs reveal two approaches. The Sud-Ouest hosts either crowd-pleasing events with a reach throughout Montreal and beyond, in particular festivals, or else activities targeting direct contact between the creators and the residents. In Rosemont, by contrast, the events are lighter and more aligned to the cultural offer desired by the local residents, as underlined by a community organization representative: "There are many small initiatives and many spontaneous developments and small events that we aren't aware of, but that people hear about, and will participate in" (personal communication, community organization, Rosemont).

The spatial distribution of cultural venues is also very different in the two territories studied. In Rosemont, where activities target the entire borough, these places are concentrated in the western part of the borough, in the Petite-Patrie and Vieux-Rosemont neighborhoods. Among the infrastructures that contribute to this centrality is Cinéma Beaubien, a social economy enterprise whose development since the 2000s is indebted to com-

Table 2. Respondents by type and territory. Source: own compilation.

Type of Respondent	Rosemont	Sud-Ouest	Total
Culture and artist organization	11	14	25
Socio-economic development organization	3	5	7
Community organization	2	7	9
Municipal administration	3	2	5
Total	19	28	47

munity action and, in particular, to the local CDEC. In this borough, the community movement has invested in the cultural field, with Cinéma Beaubien being one of its great accomplishments. In the Sud-Ouest, cultural activity is distributed more evenly across the different neighborhoods of the borough. The Lachine Canal, on the banks of which a number of cultural events take place, especially during the summer, functions as a link between the different neighborhoods. The distribution of municipal facilities across the neighborhoods ensures a specific cultural offer in each neighborhood.

Whether in the Sud-Ouest or Rosemont, respondents emphasize the positive effects of creative and cultural activities for the quality of life of residents. In this way, these activities constitute a social glue and an important economic lever. Also, for the commercial actors, culture enhances their customer traffic, promotes the attraction of new customers and brings about important commercial spin-offs. In the words of one respondent:

> People come from all over to see our shows. Our last vernissage drew some 300 people. This generates business for merchants with street-level stores. People come and consume and buy things in those smaller stores and shops. (personal communication, cultural and artist organization, Rosemont)

6.1.2. Leadership: The Capacity to Mobilize Actors and Resources

Two types of leadership can be distinguished. In Rosemont, the role of the Regroupement Arts et Culture Rosemont–La Petite-Patrie (RACRPP) is to be emphasized. Founded in 2006, this organization's mission is to "bring together people and organizations who work professionally in the field of arts and culture in Rosemont–Petite-Patrie to participate in the development of the cultural life of this borough" (RACRPP, 2018). This mission includes creating links with political and administrative authorities and promoting networking as well as the exchange between artists and the community. Most respondents agree that RACRPP's leadership is essential for the cultural life in Rosemont. The organization federates a large number of cultural actors and embodies a type of leadership that is recognized by the cultural community. The municipal administration's consideration of the role played by the RACRPP is reflected in the existence of a dialogue that is built around shared values, such as importance of cultural mediation, citizen involvement and cultural information.

> Based on my participation at the Rosemont–Petite-Patrie round table on culture, I believe that this vision of culture is shared. Even among the politicians who are part of this table there is a climate of agreement as regards core ideas and fundamental principles like cultural mediation, the importance of involving citizens in culture as well as, more recently, the importance of communicating information about cultural events. (Personal communication, socio-economic development organization, Rosemont)

The collective leadership exercised by the RACRPP is exemplary. However, a number of respondents fear an exhaustion of sorts among the main leaders in the cultural arena, which could possibly result from the decrease of resources following neoliberal austerity measures implemented by the government and municipal administration over recent years.

In the Sud-Ouest, the leadership is more fragmented. While difficult to ascertain at the borough level, it is clearly observable once analyzed on a smaller scale, that of the neighborhood. The cultural policy developed by the political actors at the neighborhood level was appropriated neither by the creators nor by the socio-economic actors. Among the reasons that may explain this situation is, to begin, the fragmentation of the territory: the cultural dynamics are very clearly inscribed in neighborhoods and spread throughout the borough only on rare occasions. Secondly, we are witnessing a reconfiguration of the cultural milieu of the Sud-Ouest that is triggered by two factors: the rapid socio-economic transformations of certain areas of this neighborhood; and the transformation of the mandate of the local CDEC, which is RESO. This organization had set up a table and regular meetings of cultural leaders at the borough level. Although it failed to build up the desired momentum, it did allow for the coordination of cultural actors and embedded the role of culture in the strategic actions of local development—especially in the Plans d'Action Locale pour l'Économie et l'Emploi, which are local economy and employment action plans. Over time, the organization has constructed a vision in which culture is a key element in the reconversion and development of the district. It has rallied the economic, political and community actors around this vision by eliminating some resistance.

> The local people made a point of saying that culture as a driver of development was one of their main priorities. But to assert this, [it] calls for a vision, which I believe came largely from the artists who had been investing in the old industrial complexes, and which had become a reality that could no longer be denied. They asserted that they weren't content to just take advantage of the decline and wanted to participate in revitalization as well. So that is where the question of the role of culture in revitalization came up. And I remember the community group was somewhat reserved, if not worried or skeptical, in the face of cultural issues. It seemed to think that putting energy into culture would take away resources from the more essential community challenges, such as food, housing, clothing and education. But over time, the community sector became an ally in culture. (Personal communication, socio-economic development organization, Sud-Ouest).

The round table did not survive the RESO transformation that followed the decrease in funding caused by the implementation in 2015 of government austerity policies. The end of such coordinating activities in addition to geographic constraints meant that the traditional inclination of the Sud-Ouest actors to confine themselves to their neighborhood was reinforced, which has favored the emergence of a localized leadership performed by individuals at the head of organizations or events (Théâtre Paradoxe, la Maison de la Culture Marie-Uguay, Film Noir sur le Canal).

We observe that the leadership applied in Rosemont is performed by leaders and organizations who coordinate the cultural offer at the borough level and who act in alignment with the borough council. In the Sud-Ouest, this coordination no longer exists, especially since the cultural round table has disappeared. In that context, cultural businesses in the Sud-Ouest have become detached from the borough's socio-economic actors, applying their leadership either in specific neighborhoods only or else with a perspective that goes beyond the borough, such as by targeting clients from outside the borough.

6.1.3. Governance: Ways of Coordinating Actors and Initiatives

This theme focuses on the evaluation of how creative cultural initiatives are linked with the entirety of initiatives aimed at local community development, that is to say, the capacity of a community to orient development towards common goals. As we have seen in Rosemont, the cultural actors have set up a table for coordination which, according to the majority of respondents, has a structuring role for the culture in the borough. The RACRPP, which operated in close collaboration with the CDEC RPP until the closure of the latter in 2015, thus demonstrates, as we have already underlined, the capability to bring together cultural, economic and political actors of the territory. It appears that the cultural and community sectors in Rosemont are consolidated through strong ties and bonds. In the words of one municipal actor:

> Rosemont has integrated culture into the community sector: in the old part of Rosemont, the community movement has developed cultural venues and events at the local level. This kind of cultural activity distinguishes it from the more urban core. (personal communication, municipal administration, Rosemont)

In the Sud-Ouest, the Table des acteurs culturels du Sud-Ouest (table of Sud-Ouest cultural actors), created by RESO (the local CDEC), played a similar role according to a number of respondents. The following quote summarizes their appreciation:

> All the initiatives that emerged and that had a chance of being operational and viable were supported by RESO....In 1997, there was first the creation of the table of cultural actors. This was the first real intervention of RESO that was structured to bring together the cultural actors of the borough and to start and see what the cultural development issues were; not necessarily the cultural offer, but rather culture in the sense of something to reappropriate in the context of a neighborhood undergoing redevelopment. So, it was more the idea of culture as a factor of revitalization, and a factor of societal growth for the population. (personal communication, municipal administration, Sud-Ouest)

The role of the CDECs has thus been crucial for the structuring of the local arts and cultural sector. The decision of both the provincial government and city hall to strip these organizations of their financial resources, which led to the closure of the CDEC RPP and the weakening of RESO, had consequences, especially in the Sud-Ouest. As mentioned, the table of cultural actors of the Sud-Ouest folded, which deprived the territory of an agency dedicated to coordinating the cultural actors.

In both boroughs, the interviews revealed the existence of a certain number of more localized coordination efforts around creative and cultural projects. In Rosemont, for example, commercial development companies and retailers' associations provide for networking and exchanges between local businesses, cultural organizations and artists. This web of interactions appears to contribute to the vitality and local cultural dynamics. Many cafes offer their spaces to hold exhibitions and concerts. These interrelations make it possible to transcend the competitive dynamics inherent in commercial activity, in turn allowing for a collaborative dynamic to take root. In the Sud-Ouest, there is an overlap in the dynamics concerning the coordination of projects on the one hand and the issues targeted by cultural leaders on the other. It is mainly the neighborhoods that serve as a framework for these coordination efforts. However, the cultural activities set up around the Lachine Canal make it possible to transcend these neighborhood-based dynamics in favor of a coordination done at a larger scale and that establishes links between diverse actors: cultural actors, borough council, Parks Canada, Quartier de l'Innovation, Société de développement commercial, etc.

6.1.4. Resources: The Means Accessible to Creators

This theme concerns the means (financial, organizational, institutional and human) which cultural and artistic actors as well as other actors mobilize for the development of arts and culture in the territory. In Rosemont, artists rely on the collaboration of the commercial sector, the cafes for example, which serve as meeting points for the artistic community living in the area as well as, in some cases, venues of creation. These sites of creation and dissemination give artists and cultural creators the opportunity to build mutual support networks and to

establish informal as well as more formalized collaborations with one another. This can take the form of sharing equipment, work spaces and know-how.

In the two boroughs, most of the artists and cultural actors met claim feeling a strong territorial rootedness and are eager to participate in the cultural vitality of their neighborhood, and some even aspire to leave a lasting mark, in a work of public art for example. The respondents mentioned that several well-known artists reside in their territory and that these maintain strong bonds with the citizens. In the case of Rosemont, with reference to this commitment of artists to their community, one respondent said: "They have Rosemont tattooed on their heart" (personal communication, socio-economic development organization, Rosemont).

One important aspect in terms of resources is public support, particularly through the borough council, which respondents view as very important. This support may translate into help with the establishment of cultural organizations, the granting of a free lease, the promotion of certain organizations, the hiring of local artists for public events, and help with administrative procedures. "In the projects that I initiated, the municipality provided immense logistical support", said one respondent (personal communication, cultural and artist organization, Sud-Ouest).

Social entrepreneurship, represented by the Société de développement Angus in Rosemont and the Quartier de l'Innovation in the Sud-Ouest, are identified as organizations that support the role of culture in improving the quality of citizens' lives. These two organizations constitute milestones in the advancement, at the level of their borough, of innovation ecosystems in which cultural actors have an important place.

Finally, the role of Sociétés de Développement Commercial (commercial development corporations, SDCs) in supporting local cultural initiatives should be emphasized, in both boroughs. In Rosemont as well as in the Sud-Ouest, their support is vital for the organization of events in the neighborhoods or commercial arteries. They contribute with funding to the realization of a number of activities: "The SDCs support culture a lot....They are important levers. They are funded by its members and have set up programs to finance certain events" (personal communication, socio-economic organisation, Rosemont–La Petite-Patrie).

6.1.5. Identity: The Sense of Belonging to the Territory

The majority of our respondents indicated having a strong sense of pride about living in their respective territory. In both boroughs, such a sentiment of pride has been manifested and reinforced through social struggles which constitute a mark for both districts. In Rosemont, it crystallized as part of the mobilization of citizens and local actors for the preservation of Cinéma Beaubien. In the Sud-Ouest, we observe a strong mobilization of the citizens motivated by the conversion of the former manufacturing facility of Canadian National Railways. The respondents displayed great pride in this collective project, named Bâtiment 7, which is still in progress but whose first achievements are already visible. In the same vein, in Rosemont we can point to the Technopôle Angus, a project initiated in the 1990s following the mobilization of the community, in particular the CDEC, with the aim of converting the brownfield left by the closing of the facility of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Although the industrial past is a part of the identity that is shared by the inhabitants of both territories, it is more pronounced in the case of the Sud-Ouest, especially given the dominant presence of the Lachine Canal as a relic of this industrial past.

> The Sud-Ouest was once home to the working class; it is a neighborhood that has contributed considerably to the making of what was once the industrial cradle of Canada, in the early twentieth century. All of these old factories and foundries, they're all a part of our industrial heritage, and I think people are quite attached to that. (Personal communication, municipal administration, Sud-Ouest)

> You are in the most proud district of the city. People are very proud of their origins. People are very, very close to each other….Historically, this area is a laboratory of sorts. This legacy of labor struggles still comes up, and invariably manifests in cultural expression, to make people feel proud. People are proud to be making a living by working. (Personal communication, community organization, Sud-Ouest)

7. Discussion

Let us recall here that we define cultural vitality not only by the presence on the territory of cultural facilities, creative enterprises and artists but also by the quality of the interactions between the cultural actors and between those from the other fields of local action (economic, social, environmental), as well as the anchoring of these relations into living environments.

In Rosemont, the cultural actors of the territory have managed to bring forth strong leadership at the borough level. This leadership is embodied by representatives of the RACRPP, which has a participative vision of culture. This leadership is recognized both by the municipal authorities of the borough, with whom there is a dialogue, and by the various cultural and socio-economic actors. With regard to governance, the indicators reveal several forms of coordination between actors. The borough council plays a role in the governance of cultural activities, although some respondents would like it to be equipped with more resources. At the same time, strong links between the cultural and community sectors have been observed. These links serve as a basis for building partnerships and support networks and can help to strengthen citizen participation in cultural events. Cul-

tural elements have become cohesive identity markers. Accomplishments achieved through citizen action, such as those of the Technopôle Angus and Cinéma Beaubien, have reinforced a sense of belonging and pride that is part of an integrative institutional and organizational trajectory. This cohesion is favored by the physical morphology of the borough.

In the Sud-Ouest, leadership and cultural governance are being recomposed following the reconfiguration of local development actors as a consequence of the disappearance of the table of cultural actors and the weakening of RESO. The disappearance of the table highlights the increasing structuring role of neighborhoods and the loss of the role of the borough. However, some experiences enjoy the support of all stakeholders, such as Bâtiment 7 in Pointe-Saint-Charles. The initiative to convert this Canadian National Railways facility dates back quite some time and has been mobilizing the actors for over twenty years. These see it as an opportunity to turn a brownfield into an asset for the local community where cultural services and diverse community actions could take place. The reconversion, which is beginning to materialize, is a source of pride and hope. However, the research reveals that while cultural activities are important, collaboration between cultural, community and economic actors is still in need of being further developed in this borough, notwithstanding the willingness of municipal stakeholders to structure the cultural milieu. Moreover, the actors tend to work not at the borough level, which is an official level of government, but only at the neighborhood level, as a result of which they lack a common political interlocutor and opponent who could serve as a unifying force for them.

The two boroughs studied are therefore very active in terms of cultural and creative action. They are boroughs that, by and large, in 2018, are recovering well from the consequences of the major crisis experienced in the 1980s and the economic difficulties of the ensuing years. The boroughs' political bodies are aware of the importance of cultural activity, and organizations coordinate cultural interventions together with community actors. However, in both cases, citizens have not been that much engaged as cultural or artistic creators, instead limiting themselves to the consumption of activities or to citizen participation, thus, to being consumers, which weakens the innovative potential of cultural activity. The Bâtiment 7 project seems to mark a turning point in this regard, since the actors and citizens are engaged in designing and implementing the activities while also drawing benefit therefrom.

8. Conclusion

Proximity culture happens to be an important factor in the conversion of former industrial districts, not only with regard to cultural and creative activities but also local development as a whole. This rapprochement between creative and cultural action and community action is certainly one of the drivers of the socio-economic dynamics of these boroughs. We can say that the set of indicators of cultural vitality proposed in this article allows for a comprehensive as well as grounded assessment of a local cultural dynamic and the interactions between cultural actors and other local actors. At the same time, it allows to reveal a number of key factors in the structuring of a culture of proximity, in other words, factors that need to be considered when seeking to implement a public policy that is oriented towards proximity culture.

Our conclusions from the case study in Montreal can also be applied to other cities and places. Creative, artistic, and cultural activities can be used as a way to promote the expression of ideas from the most diverse groups and thereby begin to open up the deliberative processes traditionally dominated by political and economic elites, or even creative elites, such as those supported by the creative class theory.

Of course, there are cases when the promotion of cultural activities at the local level can have effects that do not contribute to the well-being of residents—the most notorious of which is gentrification. Nonetheless, many empirical studies show that it is possible to counteract the negative effects of gentrification. For the latter to happen, cultural initiatives need to be embedded within larger inclusionary strategies intended to improve both living and working conditions in local neighborhoods (Ghaffari, Klein, & Angulo-Baudin, 2018). Those strategies must involve the residents and community actors, who should be part of culture-based strategies and participate as stakeholders in order to build fairer and more democratic cities.

Acknowledgements

This research was carried out in collaboration with the organizations Culture Montréal, Territoires innovants en économie sociale et solidaire (TIESS), the Centre for Research on Social Innovation (CRISES) and representatives of Montreal's artistic and creative agencies. It is part of a larger outreach project funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC Insight Program).

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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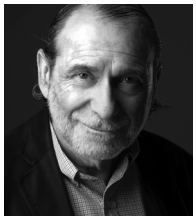

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COGITATIO

Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183–7635)
2019, Volume 4, Issue 1, Pages 91–105
DOI: 10.17645/up.v4i1.1640

Article

Place Innovative Synergies for City Center Attractiveness: A Matter of Experiencing Retail and Retailing Experiences

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Submitted: 25 June 2018 | Accepted: 15 August 2018 | Published: 24 January 2019

Abstract
By investigating the occurrence of place innovative synergies between retail and tourism in a small-sized Swedish city, this article advances knowledge on how city center attractiveness can be enforced in a rural context with competing online shopping and suburban/out-of-town shopping centers. Previous studies of city center attractiveness, place innovation, and social innovation help distinguish innovative intertwinement of correlated trends of experiencing retail and retailing experiences, augmenting customer experiences through place-based characteristics. Interviews, workshops, and participatory observations with entrepreneurs, business promoters, and municipality representatives reveal three dimensions of place innovative synergies in city center attractiveness: 1) innovative variance in city center retail and tourism, 2) innovative interwovenness between the city center identity and its configuration, content, and communication, and 3) innovative interaction between retailers and tourism entrepreneurs in city center events. A key question is whether synergies in temporal events and everyday commerce are sufficiently combined, in order to engender encompassing renewal.

Keywords
attractiveness; city center; city identity; innovation; retail; Sweden; synergy; tourism

Issue
This article is part of the issue “The Transformative Power of Urban Planning through Social Innovation”, edited by Torill Nyseth (UiT, The Arctic University of Norway, Norway) and Abdelillah Hamdouch (University of Tours, France).

1. Introduction

Innovative renewal of cities, destinations, regions and other types of places has been increasingly highlighted in research and practice over the last decade, as a means to ensure the attractiveness of these places in the perceived competition for residents, tourists, entrepreneurs, investments, and events (Arefi, 2014; Brandsen, Cattacin, Evers, & Zimmer, 2016; Moulaert & Van den Broeck, 2018; Nyseth & Viken, 2009; Syssner, 2010). Many city centers, especially in rural areas, are struggling to find new solutions in order to remain attractive because of growing trends of online shopping and suburban/out-of-town shopping centers (Fertner, Groth, Herslund, & Carstensen, 2015; Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017; Olsson & Bernhard, 2018; Teale, 2013; Wahlberg, 2016; Weltevreden & Van Rietbergen, 2007). Such solutions—and the process to develop them—may be understood in terms of social innovation, as they imply new figurations or combinations of social practices that meet societal challenges (cf. Brandsen et al., 2016; Howaldt, Kaletka, Schröder, & Zirngiebl, 2018). The challenge of city center attractiveness is one of the more comprehensive societal challenges faced by rural areas, in terms of depopulation, services decline, and urbanity norms (cf. Lindberg, 2017). A solution for maintained city center attractiveness is perceived in augmented customer experiences, adding place-based values of local stores to the exchange of

payment and products (Coca-Stefaniak & Carroll, 2015; Johnson, Kim, Mee Mun, & Lee, 2015; Morandi, 2011). In this article, this is conceptualized as 'experiencing retail', which is related to the corresponding trend of 'retailing experiences' in the tourism industry, where unique customer experiences are tailored based on the specific character of the place where they are consumed (Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Sundbo & Sørensen, 2013).

Through their co-location in city centers, tourism and retail may engender synergies in their similar reorientation toward place-based customer experiences. This article empirically investigates the occurrence of such synergies in a single case study of Piteå, a small city in northern Sweden struggling to ensure city center attractiveness in a rural context with competition from both nearby cities and online shopping. The main purpose of the study is to advance knowledge on how city center attractiveness relates to the correlated trends of experiencing retail and retailing experiences. The research is conducted in terms of 'place innovative synergies', defined as correlations that boost renewing development paths in cities, destinations, and other types of places (cf. Bernhard, Olsson, & Lundh Snis, 2018; Ericson, Holmqvist, & Wenngren, 2016; Lindberg, Ericson, Gelter, & Karlberg, 2015; Lindberg, Gelter, & Karlberg, 2017; Lundh Snis, Olsson, & Bernhard, 2017; Olsson & Bernhard, 2018). Such synergies imply innovative reconfigurations of spatialized social relations, where the concept of social innovation provides valuable perspectives (cf. Moulaert & Van den Broeck, 2018).

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1. City Center Attractiveness

A growing number of studies scrutinize the attractiveness of various places—e.g., city centers—for residents, tourists, entrepreneurs, investors, and other stakeholders in the light of the perceived competition from online shopping, suburban/out-of-town shopping centers, etc. (e.g., Coca-Stefaniak & Carroll, 2015; Fertner et al., 2015; Hart, Stachow, & Cadogan, 2013; Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017; Litvin, 2005; Olsson & Bernhard, 2018; Pazder, 2011; Sandahl & Lindh, 1995; Wahlberg, 2016; Weltevreden & Van Rietbergen, 2007). Attractiveness can be defined as attitudes, perceptions, and patronage behaviors that pull people to a particular place (Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017; Teller & Elms, 2012). A study demonstrates that the concentration of shops, restaurants, cafés, and other establishments in Italian city centers implies a spatial continuity that generates scale economies, enabling them to compete with suburban/out-of-town shopping malls (Morandi, 2011). The importance of mixed offers in the city centers is also demonstrated in studies from, e.g., the Netherlands, Poland, Sweden, and the UK, including shops, services, activities, culture, entertainment, events, parks, architecture, housing, workplaces etc. (Hart et al., 2013; Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017; Öner, 2017; Pazder, 2011; Wahlberg, 2016; Weltevreden & Van Rietbergen, 2007). A distinction is made between a city's tangible elements of culture, nightlife, shopping, infrastructure, housing, business parks, etc., on the one hand, and intangible elements of perceived personality, emotions, and values on the other (Zenker, 2011). Others conclude that the overall atmosphere or ambience affects city center attractiveness, based on studies in the Netherlands and the UK (Hart et al., 2013; Weltevreden & Van Rietbergen, 2007).

Positive emotional and affective bonding with a particular place has been conceptualized as 'place attachment' (Johnson et al., 2015; Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017). This bonding is linked to the 'identity values' of city centers, identified as crucial for their attractiveness when competing with suburban shopping centers (Morandi, 2011). In addition, 'place branding' and 'place marketing' may serve to reinforce the local identity among existing residents and visitors, while securing visibility to potential ones (Anholt, 2010; Foroudi, Gupta, Kitchen, Foroudi, & Nguyen, 2016; Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017; Warnaby & Medway, 2004; Zenker, Braun, & Petersen, 2017). The accessibility of the city center and its shops and services has been noted to further affect attractiveness in studies from Germany, Sweden, and the UK, highlighting the importance of car parks, public transports, walking-distances, orientation, etc. (Monheim, 1998; Öner, 2017; Teale, 2013; Teller & Elms, 2010, 2012). Some studies from the UK and the US note the impact of co-located commercial and historic cores on city center attractiveness, albeit with a tricky balance act between commercial functions and cultural heritage preservation (Coca-Stefaniak & Carroll, 2015; Litvin, 2005). Others investigate the attractiveness of small and rural towns in Denmark, Poland, and Sweden (e.g., Fertner et al., 2015; Pazder, 2011; Wahlberg, 2016), concluding that it is especially affected by service sector restructuring, demographic change, and community engagement (Fertner et al., 2015).

2.2. Retail and Tourism Attractiveness

Retail is distinguished as a major driver of urban attractiveness, partly by influencing the spatial configuration (Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017; Morandi, 2011; Saraiva & Pinho, 2017; Teller & Elms, 2012). The variety of retail outlets, the product range, and the opening hours in city centers are, in studies from the Netherlands, Sweden, and the UK, noted to be highly valued by customers, whose shopping loyalty is clearly linked to the perceived attractiveness of the city center (Hart et al., 2013; Teller & Elms, 2010, 2012; Wahlberg, 2016; Weltevreden & Van Rietbergen, 2007). The impact of store appearance and physical space functionality on customers' perception of service quality has, in studies from the Netherlands and Italy, been proven to affect their desire to spend time and money there (de Nisco & Warnaby, 2013; Weltevreden & Van Rietbergen, 2007). As agglomerated

stores in high streets and shopping malls compete with each other for customers, while at the same time co-operating in operational and marketing matters, combined competition and cooperation seems—according to a study from the UK—to improve the performance in such agglomerations (Teller, Alexander, & Floh, 2016). Online shopping has been proven to decrease the number of trips made to city centers in the Netherlands and also the number of purchases in city center stores (Weltevreden & Van Rietbergen, 2007). Identified solutions to the e-commerce challenge include improved range, convenience, and accessibility of local shops, as well as augmented customer experiences as consumers increasingly seek a more emotional shopping experience (Johnson et al., 2015; Morandi, 2011; Weltevreden & Van Rietbergen, 2007). These experiences encompass the generated reactions among customers in rational, emotional, sensational, physical, and spiritual terms (Gentile, Spiller, & Noci, 2007), adding place-based values to the exchange of payment and products (cf. Johnson et al., 2015). These can be enhanced through increased intertwinement between digital and local shopping (Neslin et al., 2006; Schmitt, 2003). In this article, the intensified focus on experiences in retail is conceptualized as 'experiencing retail'.

Some studies focus on the role of tourism in city center attractiveness based on cases in Canada, the Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and the UK (e.g., Bridaa, Meleddub, & Pulinac, 2012; Figini, Castellani, & Vici, 2009; Gibson & Hardman, 1998; Valls, Sureda, & Valls-Tuñon, 2014). There are, for example, studies of Europe's eleven biggest cities as tourist attractions (Valls et al., 2014), and more specific studies of cultural tourism in Dutch, French, Italian, Portuguese, and US city centers, e.g., museums and cultural heritage sites (Bridaa et al., 2012; Litvin, 2005; Russo & Van Der Borg, 2002). One study from Italy notes that the impact of tourism on a city center may be economic, socio-cultural, or environmental, affecting the attitudes among local residents towards tourism (Figini et al., 2009). While the economic impact of tourism is generally positive, the study notes that socio-cultural and environmental impact tend to be negative as a whole. The same study concludes that tourists and residents are forced to share the most important resource for tourism: the territory. This makes it important to consider the desires, aspirations, and attitudes of local residents in tourism planning. An encompassing trend of unique customer experiences is distinguished in tourism, often harnessing the specific character of the place where they are consumed (cf. Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Sundbo & Sørensen, 2013). Here, this trend is conceptualized as 'retailing experiences'.

2.3. Place Innovative Synergies

The demonstrated importance of mixed offers in the city centers and the growing role of the experience economy in city center attractiveness alongside retail-focused approaches has inspired studies on the relation between tourism and retail in such settings, based on cases in, e.g., Canada, France, Turkey, the UK, and the US (e.g., Coca-Stefaniak & Carroll, 2015; Getz, 1993; Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017; Rabbiosi, 2015; Vural-Arslan, Dostolu, Köprülü-Babanci, & Aknctürk, 2011). Some of these scrutinize the strategic mix of tourist-oriented facilities and services with retail and other traditional business land uses in the revitalization of historic commercial districts and cultural heritage districts in Canada, Norway, Turkey, and the US (e.g., Bernhard et al., 2018; Getz, 1993; Litvin, 2005; Lundh Snis et al., 2017; Vural-Arslan et al., 2011). Another study investigates tourism-retail synergies in the strategic promotion of leisure shopping for urban tourists in France (Rabbiosi, 2015). Synergies engendered by city center events, based on culture, sports, etc., have also been studied in, e.g., Canada, Greece, Italy, Sweden, the UK, and the US (e.g., Hart et al., 2013; Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017; Kurtzman, 2005; Oppewal, Alexander, & Sullivan, 2006; Wahlberg, 2016). One study exposes that non-commercial activities and events are highly valued by visitors to a small-town center in Sweden (Wahlberg, 2016), while another reveals that sponsorship of sports events positively affects the attractiveness of retail stores in the UK (Oppewal et al., 2006). Higher economic resilience among city centers with main income generation through retail or office rental is indicated in another study in Canada and the US, compared to those primarily relying on tourism and leisure (Gibson & Hardman, 1998).

Studies show that city center synergies imply complex interaction between various industries, establishments, and actors, in order to ensure their vibrancy, viability, innovativeness, and resilience (Brańka, Coca-Stefaniak, & Plichta, 2016; Coca-Stefaniak & Carroll, 2015; Gibson & Hardman, 1998; McAteer & Stephens, 2011). This usually includes continuous negotiations between conflicting interests and perspectives (cf. Brandsen et al., 2016; Evans, 2013; Lindberg, 2017). A study of rural development paradigms in the UK discerns that insufficient acknowledgement of the social diversity of a place and contesting interpretations of its historical trajectories may serve to commodify rural space for consumption by tourists rather than to ensure its attractiveness for residents and other stakeholders (Evans, 2013). Inspired by previous studies on how places are renewed and reinvented in interaction between various processes, components, and actors (e.g., Arefi, 2014; Moulaert & Van den Broeck, 2018; Nyseth & Viken, 2009; Syssner, 2010), the study investigates correlations that boost renewing development paths in terms of 'place innovative synergies'. The study of these synergies draws upon previous studies of 'place innovation', defined as multi-actor processes aspiring to renew, recreate, or redefine cities, destinations, or other types of places (Bernhard et al., 2018; Ericson et al., 2016; Lindberg et al., 2015; Lindberg et al., 2017; Lundh Snis et al., 2017; Olsson & Bernhard, 2018).

As a scientific and practical concept, place innovation specifically pinpoints the innovation perspective in place development, since pre-existing concepts of 'place making', 'place branding', 'place management', 'place reinvention', and 'place-based innovation' rarely address innovation per se and, if so, rarely with references to mainstream innovation literature. The concept of place innovation was incrementally elaborated through dialogues between innovation researchers, tourism entrepreneurs, tourism destination organizations, and municipality representatives in Sweden, and has hitherto been applied in empirical studies of Swedish and Norwegian cases (Bernhard et al., 2018; Ericson et al., 2016; Lindberg et al., 2015; Lindberg et al., 2017; Lundh Snis et al., 2017; Olsson & Bernhard, 2018).

Place innovation helps pinpoint and enforce innovative interwovenness between a place's specific cultural, social, and geographical identity, on the one hand, and its crucial components of physical configuration (e.g., architecture and design), content (e.g., commercial and public services, events, activities), and communication (e.g., place branding, place marketing) on the other (Lindberg et al., 2015, 2017). It further acknowledges the innovative synchronization of parallel management processes, e.g., spatial planning, destination design, business promotion, cultural development, and social cohesion. Place innovation thus enables the identification of innovative ways to interconnect relevant elements and institutions when striving to maintain or improve the attractiveness of a place among existing and potential residents, tourists, investors, and entrepreneurs. The elaboration of place innovation was based on the innovation studies sub-fields of social innovation, user-driven innovation, and service innovation (Lindberg et al., 2015, 2017). Among these, social innovation provides a valuable lens to distinguish innovative reconfigurations of spatialized social relations in territorial development (cf. Moulaert & Van den Broeck, 2018). Urban studies have accordingly made significant contributions to social innovation theory and social innovation processes have been studied in both urban and rural contexts throughout the world (Brandsen et al., 2016; Howaldt et al., 2018; Lindberg, 2017). Matching the complexity of the societal challenges addressed in social innovation processes, studies across the globe have highlighted the impact of local policy regimes on social innovation trajectories (e.g., Brandsen et al., 2016) alongside the imperative of actively involving local stakeholders (e.g., Lindberg, 2017) and establishing new cross-organizational and cross-sectorial constellations (e.g., Moulaert & Van den Broeck, 2018). This matches the complex management of various actors and interests highlighted in studies of city center synergies (Brańka et al., 2016; Coca-Stefaniak & Carroll, 2015; Gibson & Hardman, 1998; McAteer & Stephens, 2011). Social innovation thus provides valuable perspectives when investigating place innovative synergies between the correlated trends of experiencing retail and retailing experiences.

3. Research Design

The study is designed as a single case study, using qualitative methods to explore the multiple-dimensional topic of place innovative synergies (cf. Bailey, 2008; Silverman, 1997; Yin, 2009). The qualitative approach serves to open "the 'black box' of how social phenomena are constituted in real time", reaching beyond subjective meaning to language, representation, and social organization (Silverman, 1997, p. 3). As place innovative synergies arise from social and socio-material relations that are yet to be thoroughly studied, qualitative methods enable explorative identification of relevant variables and correlations (cf. Bailey, 2008). This is further enhanced by the case study design, suitable for exploring contemporary phenomena in real-world contexts with multiple potential variables (cf. Yin, 2009). The studied case is constituted by Piteå, a small-sized city with 42,000 residents and persistent demographic growth during the 2000's (Statistics Sweden, 2016). It is located on the coastal line of northern Sweden, in a rural area approximately 900 kilometers north of the capitol Stockholm and 100 kilometers south of the Polar Circle. The total land area of the municipality is 3086 square kilometers, with a population density of 13 inhabitants per square kilometer (Statistics Sweden, 2016). Every year, Piteå has about 1,1 million visitors, of which 20% are international visitors.

According to the municipality's official website, Piteå is characterized by its cozy atmosphere, shopping, and events (e.g., large conferences, concerts, festivals, tournaments), attracting both tourists and residents (Piteå kommun, 2018b). Its city center attractiveness is perceived to be challenged by suburban/out-of-town shopping centers in two larger cities nearby—Luleå 50 kilometers north and Skellefteå 80 kilometers south—as well as online shopping (Destination Piteå, 2016b; Tyréns, 2014). The establishment of local suburban/out-of-town shopping centers has been actively counteracted by locating the largest supermarkets for convenience goods in the city center, retail of durable goods to the main shopping street and two city gallerias, and retail of low-price goods to an area within walking distance from the city center (Destination Piteå, 2016a, 2016b; Tyréns, 2014). City center attractiveness is further enhanced by the maintained vibrancy of Piteå's main shopping street, with a variety of malls and shops representing both local establishments and national/global chains, as well as recurring events, such as music concerts, a city festival, and an international football tournament (Destination Piteå, 2016a, 2016b; Tyréns, 2014). These efforts to ensure city center attractiveness in a rural context with competition from nearby cities and online shopping, make Piteå an enlightening case when investigating the occurrence of place innovative synergies in relation to the correlated trends of experiencing retail and retailing experiences.

The study aims to create 'socially robust knowledge', where the process and results are validated through continuous dialogues with those who possess practi-

cal insights in the studied area (cf. Nowotny, Scott, & Gibbons, 2001). The study encompassed dialogues between researchers, municipality representatives, business promoters, and entrepreneurs engaged in a joint R&D project on attractive city centers. The project was managed by Luleå University of Technology and Piteå Science Park during 2017-2019, with funding from The Swedish Retail and Wholesale Council (Handelsrådet), The R&D Fund of the Swedish Tourism and Hospitality Industry (BFUF), and Sparbanken Nord. The main goal of the project was to develop knowledge and concepts concerning place-innovative synergies between retail and tourism for attractive city centers. This study, carried out as part of the project, included interviews, workshops, participatory observations, and document studies in order to obtain rich, triangulated data on perceived synergies (cf. Bailey, 2008; Yin, 2009). Participatory observations of 20 local and national events—e.g., lectures, seminars, and workshops—on city center attractiveness, tourism, and retail were carried out in 2017–2018. These were documented through graphic recording, summarizing the events in art sketches. In parallel, interviews and workshops were carried out in a two-step procedure. Initially, stakeholders representing the municipality, business promoters, and entrepreneurs were interviewed during 2017 by researchers from the university and project partners from the science park. This included 13 semi-structured interviews, focusing on the interviewed actors' perception of retail and tourism relations in Piteå's city center and their own role in enhancing existing or potential synergies. The interviews were recorded and transcribed in order to capture detailed perceptions and formulations. The document studies included structured reviews of printed and digital material—e.g., reports, brochures, and websites—produced by the municipality, the local destination management organization, and other public/private organizations depicting and analyzing Piteå's main characteristics, city center attractiveness, and retail/tourism offers.

A thematic analysis (cf. Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012) was subsequently carried out on the collected data, pinpointing retail and tourism relations and synergies in Piteå's city center. The preliminary analysis was further developed through discussions with the stakeholders at two workshops, arranged as part of the project at the end of 2017. The discussions were led and facilitated by researchers from the university and project partners from the science park. A second round of interviews was thereafter carried out in 2018, in order to provide further details on indicated synergies during two city center events: a city festival and a football tournament. This encompassed 10 semi-structured interviews both with former informants and event organizers. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and thematically analyzed, after which the analysis was further refined through discussions with the stakeholders at a workshop later in 2018, arranged and facilitated by researchers from the university and project partners from the science park.

4. Findings

The document studies reveal that Piteå is marketed towards tourists and residents by its cozy atmosphere, shopping, and events—e.g., large conferences, festivals, and tournaments (Piteå kommun, 2018b). The attractiveness for residents is further promoted by the possibility of combining a career with a good life without stress and car queues, with affordable housing and good childcare, school and elderly care. Piteå's main slogan is accordingly formulated as "this is where you come when you come home" (Tyréns, 2014, p. 7). According to a tourism communication guide produced by the local destination management organization, Piteå is to be promoted by the concept "Arctic Lifestyle" that is endorsed by the regional tourism destination Swedish Lapland (Destination Piteå, 2016a). The guide further pinpoints Piteå's "soul" as encompassing three main elements: 1) pride over the beautiful nature, warmhearted residents, and exciting ideas, 2) innovativeness with bold and creative ideas and milieus, 3) hostesship welcoming everyone to shape the future and participate in happenings. The guide also distinguishes Piteå's attractiveness in its small-town spirit, team spirit, creative city, forests, river, and archipelago. Other reports depict Piteå's city center as a strong commercial district, characterized by its history as a wooden town and Sweden's oldest shopping street (Piteå kommun, 2018b; Tyréns, 2014). The stakeholder interviews convey a recurrent perception that Piteå's city center is undergoing renewal, with the construction of modern apartment complexes, the recent inauguration of a luxury design hotel, and reconstruction of the court-house square to be inaugurated as part of Piteå's 400th anniversary in 2021 (see Figure 1).

In the interviews, Piteå's city center attractiveness is perceived as dependent upon seasonal variations: flourishing during the summer with a popular sea bath, an international football tournament, and a big city festival, while dozing during winter, with the exception of some ski sports events and large professional/public conferences. Accordingly, tourists mainly visit Piteå during the summer, primarily from other parts of Sweden as well as Norway, Germany, Italy, and China (Resurs, 2016). The perceived competition from suburban/out-of-town shopping centers in larger cities nearby, in combination with increasing trends of online shopping, are in the interviews and documents conceptualized as major challenges to Piteå's city center attractiveness (Destination Piteå, 2016b; Tyréns, 2014). Local establishment of suburban/out-of-town shopping centers has, however, been actively counteracted, by locating Piteå's largest supermarkets for convenience goods in the city center, retail of durable goods to the main shopping street and two city gallerias, and retail of low-price goods to an area within walking distance, while maintaining a vibrant main shopping street and recurring city events (Destination Piteå, 2016a, 2016b; Tyréns, 2014).

Figure 1. Piteå's court-house square (photographer Johanna Balogh).

4.1. Flourishing Tourism and Struggling Retail

The economic turnover in Piteå's retail and tourism industries has steadily grown during the 2000's (HUI Research, 2016; Resurs, 2016). The annual turnover in its retail industry is 2,437 million SEK (approximately 238 million euro), almost equally distributed on convenience goods and durable goods (HUI Research, 2016). Piteå's overall sales index is 89 (i.e., that 89% of all potential purchases are made locally), of which the sales index for convenience goods is 92 and for durable goods 85. A report on Piteå's retail development, produced jointly by the municipality and the local destination management organization, perceives increased sales index to 100 as crucial for maintained city center attractiveness (Tyréns, 2014). Retail is one of the largest employment industries in Piteå, besides healthcare, education, and manufacturing (Statistics Sweden, 2016). The annual turnover in Piteå's tourism industry is 548 million SEK (approximately 53 million euro), with its 12 hotels and 14 camping facilities as the single largest contributors (Resurs, 2016). As the tourism industry does not constitute a unified statistical category in Sweden, it is difficult to make an exact estimation of its employment numbers, but combined statistics on employment in Piteå's hotels and restaurants, as well as in its personal and cultural services, indicate that it employs half as many people as retail.

In the stakeholder interviews, contrasting perceptions of retail and tourism in Piteå are conveyed. While the tourism industry is perceived as flourishing, with significant growth in profits and establishments during the last years, the retail industry is conveyed as struggling with the competition from online and external shopping:

> The tourism industry is the fastest growing sector in the world. That is fantastic, and they estimate an annual growth by three percent, globally. And then you have industries such as retail, which are having a hard time, generally. (Representative from the destination management organization)

In the interviews, tourism is understood to contribute to increased customers and sales in retail, while retail needs to better harness the sales potential among tourists, e.g., through tailored opening hours, offerings, and events. The tourism entrepreneurs were thereto perceived as more innovative and inclined to change than the retail entrepreneurs. This was generally explained by the latter's hesitant attitude towards actively induced change, prioritizing their everyday business rather than innovative efforts:

> Local retailers need to make as much effort as the online retailers in their operations. To constantly improve. Piteå's retailers seem rather uninterested in doing that. (Representative from the destination management organization)

Some examples of innovative retailers were, however, acknowledged at the stakeholder workshops. This included local stores that had strategically augmented the place-based customer experiences through unique atmospheres and offerings. One of them offers locally designed clothes, inspired by themes from Piteå. Another one is designed as a corner shop from the 1940's, situated in the maritime cultural heritage site Western Dock in the city center (see Figure 2), where it is accompanied

Figure 2. The Western Dock in Piteå (photographer Johanna Balogh).

by a boat café, kayak rentals, accommodation in one of Piteå's oldest buildings from the 16th century, as well as recurring flea-markets, auctions, and cultural activities. The official website of the Western Dock describes the area in the following manner:

> The place, environment, history, and feeling seize you in a special way. The history of the Western Dock spans several centuries…and the city-centered location still attracts visitors from far and near. The Western Dock is a lovely little spot, where you can enjoy the tranquility and history around the boathouses, in a city-centered context. (Western Dock, 2018)

The participatory observations of local and national events distinguish a number of trends in retail and tourism, influencing and inspiring Piteå's entrepreneurs, business promoters, and public servants. A prominent trend is augmented: unique customer experiences in both industries, based on place-based qualities such as personalized reception and services, cultural history, natural surroundings, or local products and services. An adjacent trend is to match increasingly well-informed customers with knowledgeable and transparent staff. The permeating digitalization trend has enforced new ideas of communication channels, such as push notices on cellphones when customers pass stores or other facilities, as well as enhanced webrooming preceding customer's visits to physical stores or facilities. Outlet-services for collecting web-purchased items in local stores and showrooms physically exhibiting web-available goods are adjacent trends. The digitalization trend also encompasses 'open tourism', where tourists and residents are actively involved in the production and consumption of services and experiences (see Figure 3).

The digitalization trend further enables augmented customer experiences through 'mixed realities', intertwining virtual and physical elements in the production and consumption of goods and services (see Figure 4).

4.2. Retail and Tourism Synergies

Some statistical synergies are perceivable between Piteå's tourism and retail industries, as local shopping amounts to a third of all tourist expenditures, followed by a quarter to accommodation, a fifth to restaurants and transportation respectively, and less than a tenth to activities (Resurs, 2016). In the interviews, synergies are mainly perceived around activities, offers, and events. This includes, for example, chartered shopping buses from nearby cities, thematic events such as girls' night, and value vouchers for local stores to hotel guests. The shopping malls (see Figure 5) are described as especially inclined to enhance synergies:

> We [one of the shopping malls] arrange activities in order to create new reasons to visit the local stores and the city center….For example, we've built a roof terrace where you can view Piteå from an entirely new perspective and then eat, drink, and hang out up there. We've also installed an ice rink there….We arrange various activities throughout the year, including…fashion shows, art exhibitions, children's activities, etc. (Retail entrepreneur)

> We [another shopping mall] cooperate with the local university, where there are students in music, media, and previously also in experience design….They have performed in the galleria—playing, singing, and dancing—using it as a scene for public promotion.

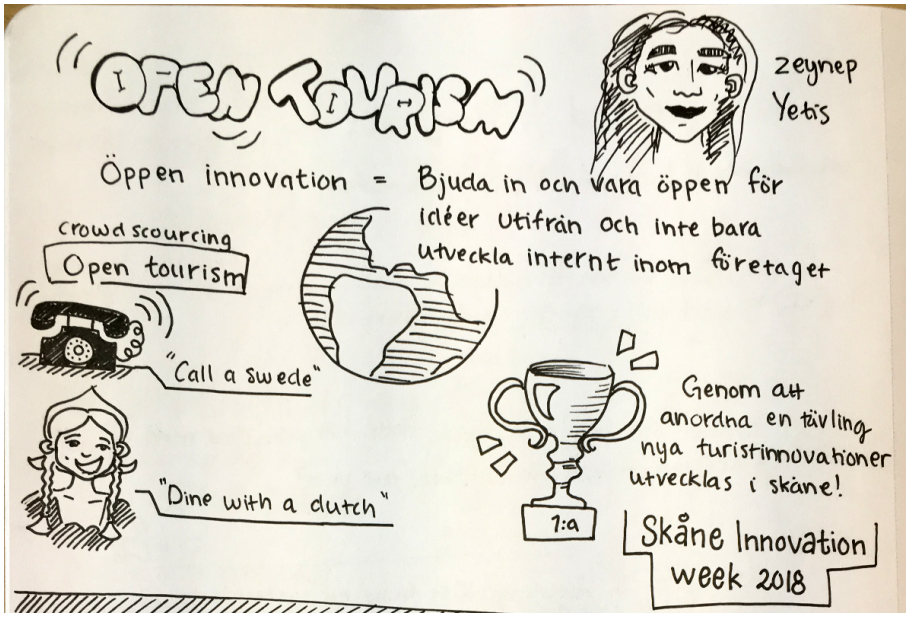

Figure 3. Open tourism (graphic recorder Johanna Balogh).

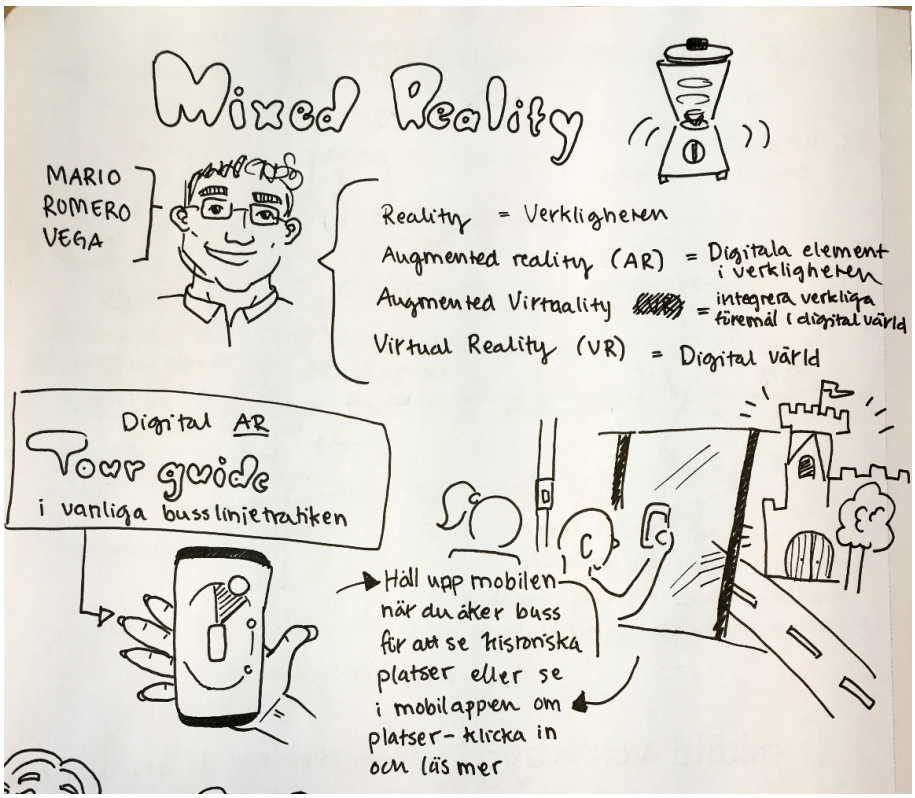

Figure 4. Mixed reality (graphic recorder Johanna Balogh).

That is profitable for both parties, also bringing the university closer to the city center.

Synergies are also perceived in annual events, such as the city festival Piteå Dansar och Ler and the football tournament Piteå Summer Games. The city festival fills the streets of Piteå every summer, with performances by well-known artists, dance, markets, funfair, and other activities. With its free entrance, it attracts around 100,000 visitors and residents. The turnover for the event organization amounts to 3,5 million SEK (approximately 0,34 million euro). Piteå Summer Games is the second largest football tournament in Sweden, and top-five in the world, attracting about 35,000 participants and spectators per day, from all parts of Sweden and 30 other countries. The turnover for the event organization amounts to 12 million SEK (approximately 1,2 million euro) and for the community as a whole, about 60 million SEK (approx-

Figure 5. Shopping mall in Piteå (photographer Johanna Balogh).

imately 5,9 million euro). The follow-up interviews on these events indicate that they are generally positively perceived among city center entrepreneurs:

> The entrepreneurs in the city center seem very happy about the existence of Piteå Dansar och Ler. They especially appreciate the high number of people around. (Representative from the municipality)

> It's truly great that Piteå has such a large, fine tournament [Piteå Summer Games], and it's really important that it may prevail and attract people to the city. (Retail entrepreneur)

The football tournament is esteemed to be especially profitable for the retailers in the city center:

> Piteå Summer Games is a really important event for the retail….There are so many accompanying parents, coaches, youth, and insane numbers of people coming here. The hotels and restaurants are fully booked, and they come here to actually do some shopping. (Retail entrepreneur)

During the tournament, the stores extend their opening hours and arrange Midnight Sun Shopping for a whole evening. Local stores market the tournament in their store windows, offer tailored merchandise, e.g., football shirts, and sponsor the tournament. Some stores and hotels provide discounts to the football tournament tourists.

> We [the shopping mall] cooperate directly with Piteå Summer Games, promoting each other during the tournament. We highlight the tournament in the galleria and they promote our opening hours and merchandise. (Retail entrepreneur)

The sport shops are especially perceived to profit from the tournament and one of them establishes temporary stores at the football fields. The tournament is initiated with a team parade through the city center and several bi-events are arranged in the city center during the tournament, such as cultural performances, trade markets, and flea markets. In order to make the football tournament visitors stay longer in Piteå, adjacent leadership conferences have been arranged, as well as package trips with e.g., midnight cruising on icebreakers. Extended stays with local activities and experiences could be further elaborated, according to some of the interviewees.

The city festival is esteemed as profitable mainly for the tourism industry in the city center:

> It is one of Piteå's biggest events. Most hotels are fully booked and also restaurants. (Representative from the destination management organization)

The festival is perceived as less profitable for the retailers in the city center:

> The festival is usually not so meaningful for the retailers….It attracts other types of people to the city center…who prefer to shop in the temporary street market. (Retail entrepreneur)

There is a widespread perception that established retail is hampered by the festival, as store fronts are hidden behind festival market stalls:

> I know that many [of the retailers] are irritated since [the market stalls] hide their stores, so that the customers don't see their stores or can't enter. (Retail entrepreneur)

Some local retailers do however sponsor the festival, adjust their opening hours and harness the influx of people for adjacent events, although not to the same extent as during the football tournament. One idea proposed in the interviews is to arrange more of the festival events within the stores and thereby attract more visitors to shop. Another idea is to correspondingly move out the stores into the streets during the festival.

4.3. Synergy Management

Synergies between Piteå's tourism and retail industries are partly coordinated by the local destination management organization—Destination Piteå—organized as an economic association of tourism and retail entrepreneurs. Over the last decade, Destination Piteå has been actively engaged in several strategic development processes regarding industrial development and city center attractiveness on local and regional levels (cf. Destination Piteå, 2016a, 2016b). According to the interviews, in Destination Piteå, synergies seem to mainly be discussed as a practical matter of coordinating opening hours, public transports, and city decoration, rather than as a strategic, innovative matter:

> An example of discussed topics [in Destination Piteå] is local and regional transports, and how to cooperate there. Commonly, the bus time tables are tailored to the residents. Absolutely not from a tourism perspective….Opening hours is also a huge topic. Should we be open Sundays? What availability should we have when competing with online services, available around the clock? There is also cooperation around specific themes, e.g., how to promote Christmas in Piteå. (Tourism entrepreneur and representative from the destination management organization)

Destination Piteå is closely related to local and regional public governance, by carrying out public assignments from the municipality to promote tourism and retail and development projects financed by regional authorities. The policy intertwinement is further enforced by the integration of Destination Piteå's official website in the municipality website (Piteå kommun, 2018a). The municipality manages several development processes in Piteå's city center, including planning and reconstruction of public spaces, promotion of business and entrepreneurship, arrangement of citizen dialogues, administration of licensing requests, etc. (Piteå kommun, 2018b). Opinions were expressed during the workshops that the coordinating and guiding functions of the municipality ought to be further developed, e.g., by designating a city manager. At the regional level, Norrbotten Region and Norrbotten's County Administrative Board enforce and coordinate local development processes through various policy instruments, including financing, networks, and strategy documents (Länsstyrelsen i Norrbotten, 2018; Region Norrbotten, 2018). At the national level, the Swedish government manages and inspires local development processes through similar instruments, as well as public laws (Regeringen, 2018).

5. Discussion

The empirical investigation of Piteå reveals both confirming and contradicting evidence of place innovative synergies in its city center in terms of correlations between retail and tourism that boost renewing development paths. Such synergies seem—on a comprehensive level—to be engendered by the conveyed identity of Piteå as cozy and homely, with a "soul" of pride, warmheartedness, hostesship, and innovativeness reflecting the overall ambience and identity values previously identified as crucial for city center attractiveness in studies from, e.g., the Netherlands and the UK (cf. Hart et al., 2013; Morandi, 2011; Weltevreden and Van Rietbergen, 2007). Place attachment is further enforced by the marketing/branding of Piteå's small town character, team spirit, maritime history, wooden architecture and natural surroundings (cf. Anholt, 2010; Foroudi et al., 2016; Johnson et al., 2015; Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017; Syssner, 2010; Warnaby & Medway, 2004). The maintenance of these identifying traits seems to require an innovative variance of services, activities, and facilities in Piteå's city center retail and tourism, reflecting the previously proven importance of mixed offers, variety of outlets, and products, as well as combined tangible and intangible elements for city center attractiveness in studies from e.g., Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, Turkey, Sweden, the UK, and the US (cf. Hart et al., 2013; Karlsson & Nilsson, 2017; Lindberg et al., 2015, 2017; Öner, 2017; Pazder, 2011; Teller & Elms, 2010, 2012; Wahlberg, 2016; Weltevreden & Van Rietbergen, 2007; Zenker, 2011). Such a variance is actively promoted in Piteå through the ongoing city center reconstruction with new attractive apartments, a design hotel and court-house square renewal as well as the central location of both convenience, durable, and low-price goods retail, in combination with maintained vibrancy of the historic main shopping street, the maritime cultural heritage site Western Dock, and arrangement of city center events.

Piteå's place-based identity is harnessed in several of these processes, emphasizing its distinctiveness both in the built environment—due to Piteå's history as a wood-built and maritime town—and in the retail structure, with its historic shopping street and variety of malls and shops representing both local establishments and national/global chains. Innovative interwovenness is thus distinguishable between Piteå's conveyed cultural, social, and geographical identity on the one hand, and its components of configuration, content, and commu-

nication on the other, in line with the concept of place innovation (cf. Lindberg et al., 2015, 2017). This intertwinement seems, however, to be complicated and contested as it involves complex interaction between various industries, establishments, and actors, with continuous negotiations of conflicting interests and perspectives, in correspondence with the reconfigurations of spatialized social relations highlighted in social innovation studies (cf. Brandsen et al., 2016; Brańka et al., 2016; Coca-Stefaniak & Carroll, 2015; Evans, 2013; Gibson & Hardman, 1998; Lindberg, 2017; Lindberg et al., 2015, 2017; McAteer & Stephens, 2011; Moulaert & Van den Broeck, 2018; Nyseth & Viken, 2009). This is, for example, evident in the contrasting interview accounts of Piteå's flourishing tourism industry and struggling retail industry, while statistics expose positive economic developments in both industries and five times as high turnover and twice as many employees in retail than in tourism. Together with the adjacent perception of Piteå's retailers as less innovative than the tourism entrepreneurs, this may be understood as contesting perspectives and priorities between retail and tourism regarding city center identity and strategy (cf. Evans, 2013).

By prioritizing their everyday business, retailers dispute both the promoted identity of Piteå as innovative, with bold and creative ideas and milieus, and the advocacy of innovative renewal as mandatory for maintained city center attractiveness (cf. Arefi, 2014; Brandsen et al., 2016; Moulaert & Van den Broeck, 2018; Nyseth & Viken, 2009; Syssner, 2010). Despite being conceptualized as an attitude issue in the interviews, the perceived uninnovativeness among retailers may just as well be related to structural factors. The fact that Piteå's city center retail encompasses many small shops with few employees, with increasingly slimmed organizations, and prize-pressure due to increased competition from larger and online establishments, probably restricts the retailers' room for innovative strategizing in their everyday work. Some retailers do, however, embrace Piteå's innovative identity, by harnessing local themes and heritage in their store designs and product offerings, e.g., as part of the maritime cultural heritage site Western Dock and the shopping malls' roof terrace, ice rink, and student performances. These examples provide some evidence of place innovative synergies between the correlated trends of experiencing retail and retailing experiences, where unique customer experiences are tailored upon specific place characteristics in both retail and tourism (cf. Johnson et al., 2015; Morandi, 2011; Pine & Gilmore, 1999; Sundbo & Sørensen, 2013; Weltevreden & Van Rietbergen, 2007). As these trends are actively promoted and discussed at local and national events, the interviews and workshops expose a widespread awareness of them among Piteå's entrepreneurs and public servants. The practical intertwinement of these trends seems, however, to be hampered by the overly practical, administrative orientation of the interaction between retail and tourism entrepreneurs in the local destination management organization, focusing on opening hours, public transports, and city decoration rather than strategic, innovative interaction. Some innovative interaction is perceivable in Piteå's annual summer events when the streets, hotels, and restaurants are crowded with tourists and residents during the city festival, Piteå Dansar och Ler, and the football tournament, Piteå Summer Games.

Identified interaction between retail and tourism during these events include mutual marketing, sponsorship, tailored offers and merchandise, adjusted opening hours, bi-events, and package trips. These interactions are, however, unevenly distributed, as the football tournament is perceived as more profitable for Piteå's retailers than the city festival due to the events' differing focus, target groups, and physical configurations. The exposure and accessibility of local stores are, for example, limited during the city festival, as they are hidden behind market stalls, in contrast to the demonstrated importance of accessibility for city center attractiveness in studies from Germany, Sweden, and the UK (cf. Monheim, 1998; Öner, 2017; Teale, 2013; Teller & Elms, 2010, 2012). Innovative potentials are consequently perceived in moving stores out in the streets during the events and locating event-related activities in stores. The complex coordination of various actors and components, identified as crucial in previous studies on place renewal, thus appears incomplete in Piteå's annual events (cf. Brandsen et al., 2016; Brańka et al., 2016; Coca-Stefaniak & Carroll, 2015; Evans, 2013; Gibson & Hardman, 1998; Lindberg, 2017; Lindberg et al., 2015, 2017; McAteer & Stephens, 2011; Moulaert & Van den Broeck, 2018; Nyseth & Viken, 2009). This is further confirmed by the call for improved municipal coordination of city center synergies, potentially enhancing innovative linking of parallel management processes and new cross-organizational/sectorial constellations, as advocated in both place innovation and social innovation studies (cf. Lindberg et al., 2015, 2017; Moulaert & Van den Broeck, 2018). Innovative linking and constellations would require acknowledgement of contesting interpretations of Piteå's identity and historical trajectories, as well as its social and industrial diversity. This may ensure attractiveness among a multitude of existing and potential residents, tourists, investors, and entrepreneurs and counteract the negative sociocultural impact of tourism, as noted in previous studies from Italy and the UK (cf. Evans, 2013; Figini et al., 2009). A hitherto rather unexploited development path regards, for example, Piteå as a winter city, as part of the "Arctic Lifestyle" concept endorsed by the regional tourism destination Swedish Lapland, where previous studies in e.g., Canada, Finland, Japan, Sweden, Switzerland, and the US provide inspiration (cf. Davies, 2015; Henke, 2006; Kostenius, 2018; Pressman, 2004; Rönkkö, 2014).

6. Conclusion

In the results, three dimensions of place innovative synergies are distinguished that seem to enforce city center

attractiveness: 1) innovative variance in city center retail and tourism, 2) innovative interwovenness between the city center identity and its configuration, content, and communication, 3) innovative interaction between retailers and tourism entrepreneurs during city center events. The innovativeness varies, however, between and within these dimensions. Variance is, for example, discerned in the extent to which Piteå's conveyed identity as cozy and homely, with characterizing maritime and wooden heritage is exploited in tourism and retail. Such exploitation is most prominent in the first and second dimensions of innovative variance and interwovenness, and less in the third dimension of innovative interaction during events. Variance is also detected in the conflicting perspectives and priorities regarding city center identity and strategy between retail and tourism, depicting the former as struggling and un-innovative and the latter as flourishing and innovative. Variance is further distinguished in the extent to which the correlated trends of experiencing retail and retailing experiences are actively synchronized, as efforts to augment customer experiences do not necessarily imply concrete cooperation between retail and tourism. Such cooperation does take place during Piteå's annual city center events, but not necessarily with a focus on augmenting customer experiences. The occurrence of place innovative synergies thus varies in both form and extent, as the innovative variance, interwovenness, interaction between retail and tourism in the depicted city center events, shopping mall efforts, and the maritime cultural heritage site reach different arenas and scales.

The key question is whether synergies in temporal events and everyday commerce are sufficiently combined, in order to engender encompassing, sustainable renewal in city center attractiveness. This study helps discern relevant indicators for estimating that, but further studies are required in order to confirm their relevance and their causal links in various geographical and demographical contexts. Such studies could specifically investigate the impact of local policy regimes and stakeholder involvement on place innovation trajectories, highlighting factors of social diversity and contesting interpretations of the place's historic and contemporary identity. The main practical implications of the study include improved insights into place innovative strategies for city center attractiveness, underlining the need to enhance cross-industrial synergies through complex and diligent coordination of concerned actors, components, and processes. This includes innovative intertwinement of the correlated trends of experiencing retail and retailing experiences, enabling concrete and strategic interaction between retail and tourism. It also includes innovative delineation and exploitation of place identity for improved attractiveness, acknowledging social diversity and multifaceted perspectives. Among tourism and retail entrepreneurs, place innovative synergies may be encouraged through arenas for concrete interaction, exploring mutually profitable pathways to innovative intertwinement of experiencing retail and retailing experiences.

Acknowledgements

The study was funded by The Swedish Retail and Wholesale Council (Handelsrådet), The R&D Fund of the Swedish Tourism and Hospitality Industry (BFUF), and Sparbanken Nord.

Conflict of Interests

The authors declare no conflict of interests.

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Urban Planning (ISSN: 2183-7635)

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